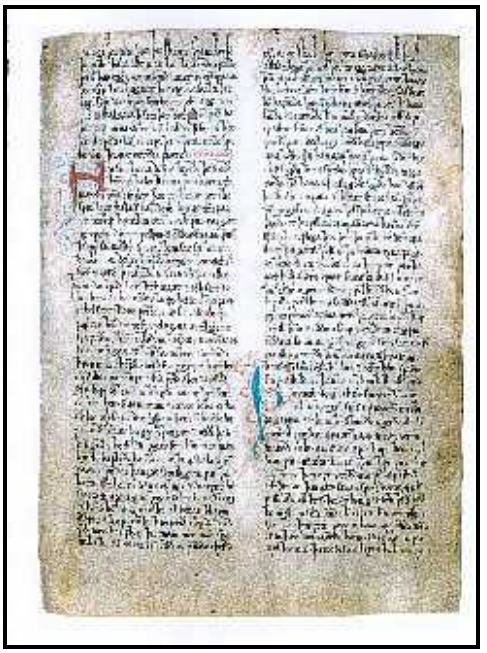
Table of Contents

Translation and cultural influence in Norway c.1100-1600

Elizabeth Sverdrup Rasmussen



A Thesis in the Humanities Doctoral Program

Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for
The Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

Abstract

Three major disruptions marked Norwegian literary production, style, and language: the introduction of Christianity, the Black Death, and the Reformation. The influence of foreign writing in translation was pivotal to the transition between the pagan Viking Era and the Christian Middle Ages in the 11th and 12th centuries and to the passage from Catholicism to Lutheranism in the 16th century.

Translation in a medieval (and to some extent Renaissance) context must be understood as transfer of knowledge, the crossing of linguistic and cultural borders, including adaptation, paraphrase, imitation, summary, and compiling. The objective of the present work is to examine Norwegian medieval and Renaissance translations in a broader European context and emphasize how the encounter with the foreign helped shape the national.

For centuries, long before the official introduction of Christianity, the people of the North had been in more or less regular contact with foreign cultures through commercial travels and raids. By adopting the Christian faith, Norwegians became members of an international community with long-established literary traditions and a legal system that was being revised and enforced throughout Christianity to harmonize secular and ecclesiastical life.

Translated texts helped explain and consolidate the social conventions promoted by the new religion. The need for exemplification marked textual imports of all genres and translators played an important role in the reshaping of the Old Norse mentality. Religious and devotional material preceded the secular court literature from the French-speaking territories. Hagiographic material ran parallel to heroic tales as both genres helped illustrate the virtues of Christian life and needed only minor adaptation for a Norse audience. Over time, pagan literary conventions blended with those of the imported Christian material and resulted in a distinct literary style, adapting and recreating material of Breton, Arthurian, and heroic origin. Adventures of chivalrous knights (Marie de France and Chrétien de Troyes) and heroic kings (Einhard and Turold) were translated alongside famous legends of martyrs and biblical heroes.

The break with the pagan religion was the first of a series of cultural disruptions in the North. The systematic encounter with the foreign gave rise to a new perception of *self* in relation to *other*. The interaction engendered a desire to record the nation's history, and chronicles were written in both Latin and the vernacular. Throughout the Norwegian Middle Ages, translators contributed to the inclusion of *other* in *self*, to the assimilation of cultural values and concepts into Old Norse society. The main texts of Western Christianity were imported, adapted, and disseminated along with secular texts that were performed to help instill and exemplify acceptable Christian behavior while amusing the audiences.

The Old Norse language became standardized towards the middle of the 12th century and was used by the Norwegian administration until the end of the 14th century when Danish was adopted. The Black Plague had decimated an already fragile political and social climate and opened up for Danish rule. The increased presence of Danish administrators following the Kalmar Union influenced the

evolution of the national language. By the 16th century, the vernacular had more or less developed into the dialects that we know today. The dependence upon Denmark was formalized in 1536.

The first native humanist, master Geble in Bergen, superintendent of a now impoverished protestant church, called upon lawyers of the civil administration to solve pressing social, political and economic problems. The retrieval of the legal texts led to the rediscovery of the historical saga material. The motivation was to protect *self* from *other*. The key to the restitution of a national identity lay in the uncovering of the *former self*, in the examination of the national past, in the translation of the main national medieval documents.

Norwegian humanism was born in Bergen but grew to maturity in Oslo, the new seat of the civil and ecclesiastical administration from the middle of the 16th entury. In contrast to the first humanists who had worked almost exclusively in the vernacular, the intellectuals in Oslo translated from the vernacular into Latin, relying on Old Norse sources as well as intermediary Danish translations, mainly the ones produced in Bergen.

The historical focus of Reformation scholars was on the former self rather than on the foreign. However, as the century came to a close, intellectuals yet again turned to literature from the French-speaking territories. The timid incursions into French intellectual life towards the end of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century marked the beginning of a new era for Norwegian literature in the vernacular, and a new will to look beyond national borders, a will to open up for the world outside.

Acknowledgements

When I first started looking into and preparing the material for what what I thought would be a rather small thesis in the Humanities concerning history of translation in Norway, I had no idea of where the work would take me, nor a clear idea of where to look for the material I needed. The relative late entry of the Norwegian University Libraries files onto digital databases was one reason why the project at first appeared so limited, and the field of study so inaccessible, which of course, was not the case at all. Indeed, quite a lot of research had concentrated on both original medieval Norwegian literature and on texts in translation, and most of the texts existed in printed form. Once I got to Norway and was able to go through the library index cards, the work in many ways shaped itself.

I wish to thank the librarians at the National Library in Oslo for their kind and patient assistance. As for the illustrations, I especially wish to express my gratitude to Ulf Göransson, Head Librarian at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, who provided beautiful diapositives of a passage in the Old Norse "Desiré" from the Codex De la Gardie 4-7 (*Strengleikar*), and Marianne Overgaards, *lektor* at the Arnamagnaean Institute in Copenhagen, Denmark, who managed to provide me with superb illustrations from *Elucidarium* (AM 674a, 4º), *Stjórn* ("The Sacrifice of Abraham" and "The Fall of Jeriko" – AM 227 fol.), and *Humiliúbók* (AM 619, 4º). All the illustrations have been scanned and reworked by my brother, Torleiv Sverdrup, who also produced a customized map and helped me with the final lay-out.

I also want to extend my profound gratitude to Reidar Astås, retired *lektor* and theologian at the Regional College of Vestfold in Tønsberg who has worked extensively on a number of Old Norse translations of Biblical and religious material, especially the texts of *Stjórn*. Astås graciously volunteered to read parts of my draft, notably the sections dealing with theological and religious material in Old Norse translation. Professor Sverre Bagge, acclaimed historian at the University of Bergen, also accepted to have a look at the preliminary version of the section dealing with the Old Norse chronicles. Their comments and questions helped me re-focus. They pointed out mistakes and pitfalls so easy to fall into for the generalist. If any remain, they are of course my own responsibility.

I also wish to thank Dr. Serge Lusignan of the University of Montreal as well as Dr. Gunnar Harðarson, Icelandic scholar at Reykjavik, who both graciously helped me procure copies of their recent books, which were out of stock.

Finally, I wish to express gratitude towards my three thesis directors. First Dr. Judith Woodsworth, then at Concordia University (Québec), now President of the University of the Laurentian (Ontario), for whom I had worked as research assistant when she was editing—jointly with Dr. Jean Delisle of the University of Ottawa—the *Translators through History/Les traducteurs dans l'histoire* project. She is I think the one who is "responsible" for my entering into this project. She persuaded me to enter the PhD Humanities Program and start working on the history of translation with a Scandinavian, preferably Norwegian, perspective. She enthusiastically encouraged me in the initial phases and pushed me forward. She has

the marvelous gift of making one feel *capable*, a true blessing in a university professor. Even when we only had scant material, she was optimistic. And, ultimately, her optimism proved right and the material emerged. I am also thankful to her for proofreading and correcting stylistic errors.

My Danish tutor, Dr. Hans Møller, retired research librarian but still Associate Professor in the Department of Danish Studies at the University of McGill, is a passionate advocate of Danish literature with an encyclopedic knowledge of especially Danish Renaissance literature and culture. He has been very helpful with the section dealing with the Reformation century, and has asked pertinent questions pertaining to the Old Norse medieval period and tried to make me focus on the essentials.

Last, but not least, I wish to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Claire LeBrun of the Département d'études françaises at Concordia University, my main thesis director who has been my guide and "anchor" through years of study and research. Over the years, she has patiently encouraged me and generously read (and re-read) my many drafts and commented on my work. For her dedication and steadfastness I am truly grateful.

Table of Content

Map


ICELAND
NORWAY
FINLAND
SWEDEN
IRELAND
FRANCE
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
ITALY
GREECE

Preface

> Oratione & carmini est parva gratia, nisi eloquentia est summa: Historia quoque modo scripta, delectat. Sunt enim homines natura curiosi, & qualibet nuda rerum cognitione capiantur.
>
> (C. Plinus, *Epist. VIII*. Lib. V. in Kirchmann (1684) before the *dedicatio*).

The present work aims at giving a survey of translation activity in Norway in the Middle Ages and through to the Reformation century and at putting medieval and renaissance texts in translation in Norway into a broader European perspective and context. The primary motivation was to make the material more accessible to students of Norwegian literature and to free it from its traditional Old Norse setting, and place it specifically within a larger European intellectual and cultural tradition. Even the Eddaic and skaldic literary expressions may be studied against a backdrop of European culture and in many instances echo foreign literary forms. Finally, Old Norse translation literature needs to be considered an integral part of the history of Norwegian literature, the result of the encounter with foreign literatures.

Traditionally, translated literature has tended to be either obscured or presented as original writing, which of course it *is* to some extent. Most histories of literature make little mention of imported literature and literary themes; however, the abundance of literary exchange between European cultures has had an impact on the development of most national literatures. Translation studies, and especially the history of translation, supplements philological and comparative studies of literature by allowing for a more global approach to the material.

This thesis seeks to supplement more conventional histories of literature by contextualizing the material and accentuating the role of translators as cultural communicators and conveyors of knowledge. By importing Latin and vernacular manuscripts and by having them translated, medieval Norse scholars established cultural links to the major centers of European learning where the texts originated. The close connection between some of the Norwegian medieval clergy and universities in the French-speaking regions, including scholarly monastic centers such as Malmesbury and Saint Victor, opened up for cultural exchange. The Victorines scholars definitely marked the contemporaneous theological discussions and their writings were extensively compiled and disseminated throughout Western Christianity. Some of these texts were also read and translated in the North.

The material presented in this historical survey has already been amply examined by Norwegian, Icelandic and Norwegian historians, theologians, and philologists, specialists whose work has been of the utmost importance for an understanding of the Old Norse mentality and intellectual taste. The greatest achievement of these scholars has undoubtedly been the reconstruction of the individual texts from various more or less fragmentary manuscripts and the keen analysis of their main linguistic features, authorship, and dating. The texts included in this survey are therefore representative rather than exhaustive, and seek to draw attention to the largely anonymous medieval and renaissance translators and their work, and to the context in which they worked, and how the translated literature influenced the Norse vernacular and contributed to the emergence of a new literary

style—the Old Norse courteous style. The objective has been to be able to submit a representative and manageable corpus.

The result of the direct inter-cultural and political exchange with Western Europe after the introduction of Christianity was curiosity for the literature and intellectual activity of scholars in the French-speaking regions, theological and devotional literature as well as the romance literature written and performed at the royal courts in France and Norman-French England. The imported court literature in conjunction with the devotional material influenced and shaped the mentality of the Old Norse people. All the texts originated in the rich literature of the French-speaking territories. Translated material originating from other linguistic territories, for example hagiographic material imported from the German-speaking regions of which there are a few examples, have not been considered as they lie outside the scope of the present thesis.

At the early stages of the research work for this study of translation in medieval Norway and the ensuing cultural influence, the somewhat cliché perception of Norway as a *peripheral* cultural and geographic entity was both a problem and a blessing. It obscured the picture but effectively made certain aspects stand out that would not otherwise have received attention. As I went through the material, the sharp contrast between the Old Norse pagan mentality and its emphasis on honor, personal courage, skillfulness, performance and pride and the Christian ideal of submission, humbleness and penitence became much clearer, and illustrated the remarkable change of mentality that had to come about when Christianity was adopted. However, the new religion and the concurrent European culture cannot have been completely unknown to the Norse people. The Vikings had certainly encountered it on their many commercial travels and incursions abroad in the centuries leading up to the introduction of Christianity. Of the early Old Norse literary genres, some were more particular to the Old Norse society, such as the (often *impromptu*) skaldic tradition, whereas some of the older predominantly Eddaic literature in many aspects echoes both Classical and European proverbial literature.The pre-Christian Eddaic poetry and mythology have typically received considerably more attention than the literature in translation, and are generally defined as both more *literary* and above all more *national*.[1] The tales of the *Eddas* as well as poetry in skaldic verse continued to be popular in Norway well into the 12th century. The skalds were still appreciated at the court, but the Old Norse poetic tradition had been and remained a predominantly oral activity. Skaldic verse was dramatic and not well suited to medieval Old Norse prose literature (Halvorsen 1959). The stories of the *Eddas* kept being recited throughout the 12th century as part of an oral although not *popular* tradition. And the Skaldic poetic tradition continued for some time, especially in Iceland, and (mainly) Icelandic skalds performed for the Norwegian kings and their courtiers well into the 13th century (Halvorsen 1959). The recital of Skaldic and Eddaic poetry was a demanding, obscure, and concise exercise (Cook & Tveitane 1979). In addition, the Eddaic tradition was *dramatic*, not epic (Halvorsen 1959) and hence not easily adaptable to the epic French court literature, written in a very different poetic form.

[1] There are two Eddas. The *Elder Edda* is a collection of mythological tales in skaldic verse, probably recorded around 1250 under Hå kon Hå konsson, but composed some time towards the end of the 10th century or even

Through periodic raids and merchant travels the Vikings had encountered other European cultures from the 7th century onwards and maybe earlier, meaning that they had, for centuries, been in contact with other cultures, and consequently must have heard a number of popular legends, stories and chronicles from far and wide, which in turn may have inspired and stimulated their own (predominantly oral) literary traditions.

It is extremely difficult to isolate the early literary traditions of Norway from those of contemporaneous Europe. For example, the highly didactical *Hávámál*, containing the accumulated wisdom of the Old Norse society,[2] contains features reminiscent of the *Disticha Catonis*, a collection of proverbial learning, widely read and appreciated throughout medieval times.[3] Also, the literary form and construction of *Konungs skuggsjá* reflects yet another European genre with roots back into Classical literary traditions, namely the *dialogue*, a derivation of the Greek philosophers' teaching techniques.[4] A comparative study of the Old Norse pre-Christian literature and other European literatures—both the written and oral, mythological, legendary and historical material—would be interesting. However, this lies far beyond the scope of the present survey.

Not until the introduction of Christianity do we see a concerted effort at importing the literary ideals and thought systems of other cultures. The many translations undertaken during the first centuries of Christianity in Norway increased the pace of cultural influence. The translated texts were highly *conscious* attempts at conforming the Old Norse mentality and ideals to the accepted belief patterns of the continent. They articulate the increased and more systematic inter-cultural exchange that took place after Christianity was introduced, and are the expressions of an explicit desire to bridge the gap between the intellectual currents of Europe and cultural and political life in Norway. What surprises is the the variety of imported genres, greatly emphasizing the underlying wish to bring the native cultural and literary expression more in tune with contemporaneous European tastes.

From the very beginning of this project there emerged a sense of ambiguity, a perception of both *sameness* and *alterity*, of cultural *remoteness* as well as *proximity*. The extraverted ambitions and the relatively prolific production of the medieval translators stand in sharp contrast to the introspective activity of the Reformation-century reformed humanists. Whereas the Old Norse medieval translators were *inter-lingual* conveyors of *foreign* culture, the culture of *others*, the

---

before, comprising amongst others *Hávamál* or Odin's Speech; *Rigs†ula*, outlining the organization of society and the main social classes; as well as *Voluspá* or the Prophesy of the Sibyl. *Voluspá* contains the famous account of Doomsday or Ragnarók. The *Younger Edda* is attributed to Snorri Sturlason. Written in vernacular prose it includes the Deluding of Gylfi (a questions and answers book about Norse mythology), the Death of Balder, and *Skáldskaparmál*, a guide to poetic composition (Ebbestad-Hansen 1993, *Britannica* 2000). A small vellum manuscript from the late 13th century—*Codex Regius*—contains most of the Eddaic poetry and represents the single most important source manuscript for the study of pre-Christian Scandinavia culture and mentality (Arnamagnaean Institute. See also Ebbestad-Hansen 1993).

[2] *Hávamál* is a didactic collection of proverbial poetry in which moderation and self-control are presented as the greater virtues. *Hávamál* reflects everyday wisdom and gives advice as to appropriate behavior in a world full of animosity, rivalry, and danger (cf. Fidjestøl 1996).

[3] Translated into Old Norse and circulated as *Húgsvinnsmál* at the time of the romance literature or just before, meaning the beginning of the 13th century (Barnes 1987). In Europe, *Disticha Catonis* was usually on the curriculum of the lower classes (Grendler 1989).

[4] Especially Plato, who encouraged discussion and debate of ideas and used the dialogue as a teaching tool (Conley 1927).

reformed clergy of the 16th century turned more specifically to the Old Norse historical saga material and law collections. Theirs was an *intra-lingual* quest with a view to examining and understanding *themselves* as a group in another epoch. However, the translation activity of both periods reflects the same determination to redefine (and in the Reformation century, the will to recover) the self.

In a few instances when citing texts, I have given my own translation because I have not been able to find an established English version. In only one case, I have supplied my translation because I felt that the established English version had recreated the original in a way that did not really convey the spirit of the original message.

Part I: Preliminaries

General Introduction

> Our language can be seen as an ancient city: a maze of little streets and squares, of old and new houses, and of houses with additions from various periods; and this surrounded by a multitude of new boroughs with straight regular streets and uniform houses.
>
> (Wittgenstein 1958: 8)

Translation and translated texts have become such an obvious and pervasive part of modern life that we hardly stop to think about their omnipresence. And if we do, the mere volume certainly overwhelms us: translation is present in the media, in business, in science, in the arts, in fact in almost any aspect of life requiring written communication. Oral translation as a communications tool has accompanied humanity for as long as we have spoken different tongues. It has made our world a smaller place, and, to some extent in modern times, erased the linguistic boundaries between nations of different cultures.

Because of translation, people in different countries are increasingly able to operate within a common cognitive space, a *locus communis*, resulting from general globalization. This, of course, has not always been the case and the degree to which people of different cultures have shared a common cultural space has depended on the degree of literacy in the interacting population. The illiterate segments of nations, no matter their social status, have typically depended on the actions of the literate and educated, they were an audience, not an autonomous readership. Translation has for centuries played a central role in the communication between people of different linguistic and cultural realities. The translated text can be characterized not only as a medium of transfer but also as an intellectual *site* where specific linguistic and cultural boundaries have crossed, a meeting place where different cultures can meet, complete and supplement each other (Pym 1998).[5] The present thesis proposes a comprehensive rather than exhaustive survey of texts in Old Norse translation (Danish-Norwegian in the Reformation century)[6] and of the knowledge and ideas that they conveyed.

The literary productivity of medieval Norway stands in contrast to the restricted scope of the Reformation-century humanists, and illustrates the societal decline that marked the Norwegian society in the wake of the Black Death. The aim is to review the texts that were translated for the native Old Norse audience and

[5] Using the theories of Michel Foucault, translation can be defined in terms of a spatial dimension in which knowledge and discourses of different cultures can meet and be transmitted (*translatio*), a site of literary encounter from where new discursive territories (*imitatio* and *inventio*) can emerge. The study of translation then focus on this inter-cultural site and the practical conditions and mechanisms that lead to its creation (Lotringer 1996, Foucault 1970).

[6] To simplify, the term "Old Norse" will be used indiscriminately with reference to both the Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic vernaculars. The differences between Old Icelandic and the vernacular spoken in Norway were mainly dialectical; the languages were mutually comprehensible. Both scholars and manuscripts moved regularly between the two communities, and in 1263 Iceland became a dependency of the Norwegian throne. It has therefore been difficult for scholars to determine whether or not an anonymous translation was written in Norway or Iceland, by a Norwegian hand or by an Icelander. Many texts translated in Iceland, especially the religious material from the missionary period, found their way to a Norwegian readership. However, the majority of texts included in this survey were translated in Norway or commissioned by people associated in some way or other with the Norwegian archdiocese or the Royal Court.

readership, and present the texts that reflect the cultural connection between the predominantly rural and sparsely populated Norway and the more urban and intellectual Western European society, to outline the dependency upon contemporaneous European literary trends and point to the differences as well as to the similarities between Norwegian and European intellectual life during the Norwegian Christian Middle Ages and the Reformation century.

In view of the uncertain identification of most Old Norse translators, the medieval section will primarily focus on the translated texts as they are found in extant manuscripts, facsimile, or printed editions. In the Reformation century, the authors and translators are no longer anonymous, and it has been easier to establish contacts, friendships, and immediate interpersonal cultural influence. The majority of medieval Old Norse translators were indeed anonymous members of the clergy or people associated with the royal court. We must, nevertheless, not forget the human creators of the translated texts, their professional and intellectual affiliation, and their role as cultural intermediaries at the interstice of the learned Latin culture and the popular vernacular world, more precisely at the *discursive interstice* between the recognized *auctores* and the readers. Their anonymity should not detract from the importance of their accomplishments.

Some translators initiated translations, others worked on the orders of various ecclesiastical or royal patrons. However, they all left their mark on the texts that they worked on by the active choices they made in terms of extraction, summarization, adaptation, suppression, expansion and glossing. The imported texts not only contributed to the dissemination of the works of contemporaneous foreign scholars and authors, but also helped instill the new models of behavior and shaped the Norse Christian mentality, and illustrate to what extent Norse clerics were informed about and interested in what happened on the European scene.

Since the rediscovery of the Classical authors in medieval times, European scholars have deployed considerable energy translating and imitating the authors of Antiquity. The imported material was in general adapted for the native audience. Medieval translation must generally be understood as knowledge transfer—*translatio studii*—in one sense or another, often with a looser association between form and content than in the original material. The concept of medieval translation must be correlated with the concepts of *imitatio*, *emulatio* and *inventio* in an inclusive framework. In a Norwegian medieval context, too, and for the purpose of the present survey, it must be correlated to all of these.

Many of the texts included in this dissertation have undergone transformations over the centuries. Indeed, very few have survived in their initial manuscript form as a consequence of generations of copyists, and the need to adapt to the native audience and its mental framework. Nonetheless, they carry the mark of their initial translator.

The complex relationship between the scholarly Latin and the more popular vernacular determined how translation as a literary phenomenon emerged in medieval times. Translation in the Middle Ages included glossing and elucidation, adaptation, paraphrase, extraction, summarization and compilation. The degree of literal correspondence between the source and target texts depended to a great extent upon the genre and the specific source, so that translators of biblical and devotional

material followed different rules than translators of secular works. This was the usual practice throughout Europe, including Christian Norway. However, in Norway, most of the translated foreign material invariably tended to be presented as *sagas*, meaning *histories*, and adapted the main features of Norse chronicle writing to the various genres of imported literature.

The Middle Ages and the Renaissance centuries were productive literary years throughout Western Europe, centuries over which the vernacular reclaimed its birthright, and nations emerged in accordance with linguistic and cultural unity rather than with political or religious boundaries. The new national literary identities developed as a result of a long synergetic coexistence between the Latin culture of the Roman Church and its vernacular-born scholars, a natural outcome of the long interaction between different cultural and intellectual realities. Translation was part of the intellectual landscape throughout the entire period, both as a didactical tool and as an intellectual exercise.

The objective is to reconstruct various aspects of specific historical and textual events that took place in medieval Norway, to present a *selection of discourses* that seem essential for the understanding of translation activity in Norway and point to the literary genres (*emulatio*) that it fostered. Any attempt to establish the conditions under which the Norse translators worked can at best be incomplete, as the source material is highly fragmentary, and little is known about the individual translators. Nevertheless, there is enough material to suggest a pattern and to illustrate the central role of translators as creators of bonds between different cultures, between the Latin world of learning and the Norse vernacular society, and between the latter and other medieval vernacular cultures.

The introduction of Christianity brought not only a new religious context but also a long-established literary tradition and culture based upon books and the written word. It also meant that the intellectual focus was turned towards the exterior, towards the foreign, towards the *other*, the different, the far away and unfamiliar. The adoption of the new faith implied a radical change of mentality. In the slow process of conversion and change, translation became an essential and effective tool. The Church, with its bureaucratic methods, became a model for secular organization. With time, the emerging state—represented by the King—started recording main events, and commercial logbooks were kept to keep track of property transactions and tax collection. By the middle of the 13th century, written culture had permeated most of Norwegian society, and a project of cultural importation took place under Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217–1263). Learning based on written documents and recordings had become the norm for a small but ambitious elite (Bagge 1998).

The Old Norse medieval culture combined popular traditions and relics of pagan superstition and complex scholarly Christian learning.[7] The social (and some times cultural) difference between ordinary people and the intellectual elite was great, as in most European societies. The clergy's main mission was the education and elucidation of the masses in the main articles of the faith. From the beginning of the Christian era in Norway, monks, missionary clergy and scribes translated and adapted the major didactical works used by the Church in its teaching. Later, in the 13th century, the secular court literature in translation served the same purpose, supplementing the religious and devotional material that was by now available, functioning as appropriate *exempla* of good Christian behavior.

The foreign secular material represented a variety of genres such as popular legends, songs and *lais*, and various *gesta*, which all laid claim to some degree of historical veracity and legitimization. Both Marie de France's *Lais* and Chrétien de Troyes' Arthurian poems became very popular. The opposition between *stories* and *histories* was not a great one in the mind of the medieval audience. In the transition from oral to written transmission of historical events, when the story was recorded as a discursive event, the discursive event became history.

The *purpose* of the story mattered more than its actual degree of veracity. Once it was written down, the story could start a life of its own and contain as much *truth* as any real historical event. Truth and fact were not interconnected as they are today. For the medieval reader, the fictional story—the written event with no basis in any genuine historical events—could be as instructional and "…true as any factual event. The medieval story—many were indeed of quite complex and learned origin—often became, because of the perceived *truth* it conveyed, the inspiration and foundation for common folklore, such as the *Tristan* legend(s) and some of Marie's *Lais*. Translation led to imitation first, then emulation and finally to original invention. The imported *discursive events* gave birth to new themes in the popular and oral tradition and led to a reorientation of the native literary taste.

[7] A number of pagan beliefs survived in many rural European communities, too, as large portions of the populations continued to be illiterate (Léon 1967).

The recording of history in the Old Norse vernacular had started early, before Christianity had been firmly established in the 12th century. In some respects the Old Norse saga tradition found its parallel in an older European medieval tradition of chronicling, as represented in the works of Einhard (770-840) and the Venerable Bede (c.672-735).[8] The tradition of chronicling in Latin was indeed an established European activity by the onset of the Christian Middle Ages in Norway. The early Western Church had produced quite a number of histories of heroes and saints, modeled after the old Roman accounts of illustrious men. The people of the North also became interested in recording their past. A number of historical sagas were composed during the 11th and 12th century (See Appendix 1) from which Snorri Sturlason's (c. 1178-1241) world history *Heimskringla* (c.1230-35) was probably derived (Ebbestad Hansen 1998). The compact style of the early native historical sagas greatly influenced the *form* of the imported literature, and most genres—chronicles, romances, hagiographic and biblical material—were referred to as *soga*, emphasizing the element of *story*, of discursive event, pointing back to the oral popular tradition and performance of the pagan skalds. The visionary *Draumkvedet* (c.1300), an epic sung poem recounting the protagonist's voyage to the Kingdom of Death, Purgatory, Heaven and Hell (Mortensson-Egnund 1996) further illustrates the degree to which the imported Christian literary models had been incorporated into the native poetic expression.[9]

Much of the vernacular literature (original and in translation) has for the most part been considered purely national literary expression. However, both *Heimskringla* and *Draumkvedet* grew out of a common European tradition for chronicle writing and medieval visionary poetry. In the same way, the *Song of Roland* (c.1100)—one of the earliest Charlemagne legends to enter the Old Norse story-telling tradition—became part of the native song tradition and popular memory, a derivative of the French vernacular epic tradition, of which *La chanson de Roland* by Turold is the best known example. The *Song of Roland* represented a distinct Northern branch and continuation of the *chanson de geste*. Similarly, the many translations of Norman-French and Anglo-Norman vernacular court literature—the chivalric and Arthurian material—into Old Norse have almost systematically been neglected by the authors of histories of Norwegian literature. However, these translations, examples of an intentional literary exchange at the interstice of two cultures, belong to the Norwegian literary history as much as the

[8] The early Middle Ages saw a marked interest for the recording of historical events in Western Europe. Einhard wrote the widely distributed *Vita Caroli* c. 830 (Brunel 1972) and Bede *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 2000), later King Alfred (849-899) ordered the compilation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (c. 890) (*Britannica* 2000, Danielsen et. al. 1992). Nithard (d. 844) wrote a history of the sons of Louis the Pious, in which parts were rendered in the vernacular, notably the oaths given by Charlemagne and Louis in Old French and Old German (Halphen 1996). Adam of Bremen (d.c.1072) wrote *Gesta hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, and Saxo Grammaticus (c.1128-1204) composed *Gesta Danorum*.

[9] Visionary poetry—in which dream and travel into another dimension, most frequently the underworld, were the main themes—had become popular readings during the Middle Ages. One of the more famous examples is the apocalyptic *Visio sancti Pauli Apostoli*—the second last entry in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók*—in which the narrator has a wondrous dream: "Ein lœ ugardag at kveldi svaf ec í hvilo mínni. ok ec í draume mínum myccla sion" (Indrebø 1931: 148) ("One Saturday night while sleeping in my bed, in a dream I saw many wondrous things"). Also, the vision of Elisabeth of Schönau (c.1129-1164), in which she learns about the Assumption of Mary, can be found in many Icelandic manuscripts (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963). The 14th century saw a proliferation of visionary literature (in Scandinavia represented by Birgitta of Vadstena) which in Dante's *Divina Commedia* had developed into a literary secular genre.

more “original” works.

Literary historians, it seems, have been reluctant to present the chivalric romance material in Old Norse translation as the native expression of European cultural and literary trends. The emphasis has been on Old Norse society and culture, and the external sources of influence have been noted in an almost parenthetical fashion. My aim is not to diminish the national aspect, nor question its worth, which is both real and interesting in its own right, but rather to place the various vernacular texts in a broader European cultural perspective and context. I wish to *explicitly* underline the connection between the literary activity in medieval Norway and the universal medieval corpus of learning and literary expression, illustrating how parts of this corpus were channeled into the intellectual circles of the North.

What should be included in a history of literature, of course, depends on the definition given to the term *literary activity*, and the way we deal with the conventional opposition between imported literature and native creation. For the purpose of this thesis, I have chosen to consider almost every aspect of written activity during the period in question—fictional, historical, didactic, religious, and theological writing—as literary activity, whether it was imported or original. The medieval historical sagas stand out as the more original; they may have been inspired by foreign chronicles, but are in no sense of the term translations. However, the translated material belongs as much to the native literary scene.

Much of the secular literature contained religious material, examples and explanations, and it is difficult to deal with medieval writing without taking into consideration the highly didactical and moralizing nature of all writing. Virtually all literary activity in the Middle Ages was permeated by religious thinking.[10]

Medieval Norse writers, who translated source material containing the commentaries of others, became preoccupied with much the same questions and problems as their Continental colleagues, and were not at all as eager as we are today to define and separate the genres. As we have already stated, fictional work could be as didactical as any devotional treatise and vice versa.

In medieval times, original work, translations and adaptations were read and accepted in much the same way. The human authors, compilers or translators were not in focus, they were not considered important at all, in as much as their role was that of the intermediary messengers in a continuum of knowledge dissemination. The Schoolmen were part of a tradition in which the individual author of ideas remained anonymous. The same model of analysis and commentary was applied to a variety of writing. According to medieval literary tradition, the discourse that characterizes the evolution of human history obscures the role of the individual author. Medieval scholars’ perception of authorship and authority does not allow for the attribution of one single individual as the author of a theory or an idea (Minnis 1988). The medieval notion of *auctor* and *auctoritas* may need some clarification. To medieval grammarians the term *auctor* conveyed the notions of creator, achievement and growth. An *auctor* brought something into being and made it grow.

[10] Although we commonly distinguish between secular and religious literature, this distinction was less marked in medieval than in modern times, simply because religion permeated all aspects of life to a degree quite foreign to modern thinking.

An *auctoritas* was a quotation or extract from the work of an *auctor* and was in essence a *sententia digna imitatione*, a profound saying, or wise judgment, worthy of imitation or implementation. An *auctoritas* was often used as an *exemplum*. Medieval scholars were obliged to defer to the recognized *auctores*. God, who guaranteed the superlative *auctoritas* of Scripture, was the supreme creator of all things as well as the *auctor* of written words as they appeared on the "Sacred Page" (Minnis 1988).

Translators are the intermediary authors of texts to which they cannot lay authorial claims, although they need much of the same skills (Eisenstein 1983). In view of the medieval perception of authorship, the relation between medieval authors and their texts becomes both obscured and confusing. Many but not all medieval translators omitted to mark the texts with their own name. As we have stated earlier, the identity of the individual translator or copyist was of little importance in the indispensable process of knowledge transfer. Medieval writers, translators, and commentators invariably sought the underlying meaning(s) of the texts they encountered, and were preoccupied with the inherent and static (and consequently eternal) *truth*, which was both complex and *pluralistic*, especially when working on authoritative texts.[11]

Theology, according to Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141), was the pinnacle of all philosophy, containing the key to universal truth (Minnis 1988). And truth, medieval scholars believed, could only be unraveled using clearly defined literary procedures and text analysis methods. For medieval authors, the same literary rules applied to secular texts as to the more complicated "Sacred Page." It was therefore commonly accepted that scholars needed thorough training in the liberal arts in order to read and understand secular writing as well as the infinitely more complex writing of the Scriptures. Hence the constant emphasis on training in the liberal arts and on mastering the *trivium* (Le Goff 1985, Minnis 1988).[12] Medieval authors had a literal focus on the text, on the signifying quality of the *letter*, on literal interpretation and hermeneutics. The quest for universal truth(s) so omnipresent in medieval scholarship helps explain why so many of the medieval translators and copyists remained anonymous. The standardized and highly conforming medieval knowledge—at least in aspiration—was indeed a truly universal and *inclusive* phenomenon, looking towards, not the particular and national, but rather the common and universal (Minnis 1988).

[11] "… The supreme God […] could never suffer decay or hurt or change […] What remains constant is better than that which is changeable" (Augustine 1961: 133). The scholastics' search for universal and constant truth in essence was a quest for the eternal and divine.

[12] Although already at the time of the Church fathers, Cassiodorus (c.480-575) claimed that a literal approach was not always the best: "Some times it is better to overlook the formulas of human discourse and *preserve* rather than *measure* God's word" (Minnis 1985: 33, italics mine).

If the evolution of knowledge is understood as a series of discontinuities in parallel yet not concurrent levels (Foucault 1971), then the breaks and ruptures will naturally tend to obscure and make oblivious the individual in the evolutionary discursive process.[13] What was important to medieval scholars was unveiling the inherent value and truth hidden in the written word. People associated with literary authorship were individuals through which a given theory or idea could be expressed: they were considered merely the conveyors of an already existing discursive and cognitive traditions (Foucault 1971, Minnis 1988). The principle of the author as an intermediary conveyor of a greater—often divine—message in which *truth* was one of the important ingredients (Minnis 1988) also applies to the authors and translators of medieval Norway.

Norway remained close to Denmark throughout the early Christian Middle Ages, first during the joint ecclesiastic administration of all the Nordic regions under the archdiocese of Bremen-Hamburg (831-1103),[14] later under the Scandinavian archdiocese at Lund (1104-1153) (Kolsrud 1913),[15] then the ecclesiastical center of Denmark. During the first half of the 12th century, Norway depended directly on the religious institutions of a brother nation that fostered several medieval scholars of some contemporary reputation, and consequently must have developed ties to some of Danish intellectual centers, although I have not come across traces of such relations. Over the centuries Denmark produced not only Saxo Grammaticus (c.1128-1204), author of *Gesta Danorum*,[16] but reputed speculative grammarians such as Martinus de Dacia (d.1304), author of *Liber modorum significandi* (c.1270); Johannes Dacus (13th century), who wrote *Summa grammatica* in 1280; as well as Boethius de Dacia (13th century) who commented on the work of Pricianus in *Modi significandi sive Quaestiones super priscianum maiorem*, in addition to writing a commentary on the whole of Aristotle's work (Grane & Hørby 1993, Brandt 1882, Favier 1999, Lusignan 1986, *OLIS*, *Britannica* 2000).[17]

[13] According to Foucault, the notion of discontinuity and rupture precludes a continuous causal explanation of historical events (Merquior 1991).

[14] The destruction and pilfering of the Monastery of Lindisfarne in 793 by Danish Vikings (described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*) was one event that motivated the establishment of the Archdiocese of Hamburg (831-1103), an ecclesiastic center with main focus on the evangelization of the Scandinavian and the Slavian peoples. The Danes were largely Christianized by German missionaries (Harðarson 1995), whereas the christening of the Norwegian people primarily was taken on by missionary monks and bishops from the British Isles.

[15] The establishment of a Scandinavian archdiocese meant direct contact between the Scandinavian ecclesiastic authorities and the Holy See in Rome. The channels to the church province of Hamburg-Bremen ceased to be effective (Harðarson 1995). Lund had been the seat of the first archdiocese in Scandinavia, established in 1103, to which the Norwegian dioceses reported until the founding of a national seat in Nidaros in 1153 (Kolsrud 1913). The three first Norwegian dioceses were Trondheim, Selje, and Oslo (Kolsrud 1913, Øverå s 1952, Helle 1974).

[16] Saxo's voluminous *Gesta Danorum* contains the history of Denmark from its legendary beginnings (Dan the First) to the reign of Valdemar II Seier (1170-1241) (Fisher & Davidson 1980 & *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). Saxo's history of the Danes is normally referred to as *Geste danorum*, a title sometimes used interchangeably with the somewhat shorter *Historia Danica* published by Christiern Pedersen in Paris in 1514 (Nielsen 1996).

[17] In many Latin references to the Danish people by Danish medieval and Reformation scholars we find the forms "dacus" instead of "danus," "dacorum" instead of "danorum," and "Dacia" instead of "Dania" (Nielsen 1996, Bruun 1877), a phenomenon which in some instances may lead to confusion as to the geographical origin of Danish medieval scholars, because Dacia, in Antiquity, corresponded to the area of the Carpathian Mountains and Transylvania, in present-day north-central and western Romania (*Britannica* 2000).

Denmark was Christianized much earlier than Sweden and Norway, and had for that reason been integrated into the European community of scholars and Latin learning at an earlier stage, demonstrated by the extensive historical work of Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1128-1204), secretary to and trusted friend of Absalon (c.1128-1201), the powerful Archbishop of Lund from 1178 to 1201. The proximity to Christian intellectual activity in Denmark certainly inspired people in Norway in the same way as the activity at the monasteries and *studia* in the French-speaking territories. However, Danish scholars appear to have participated to a fuller extent in the various intellectual debates that preoccupied European intellectuals in the 12th and 13th century. Compared with Norway, medieval Denmark was definitely a more *urban* and *intellectual* society, with many smaller centers of learning—such as the monastery of Sorø—that were able to sustain viable intellectual activity. Norwegian church officials could probably have benefited more from the geographical and linguistic proximity to the Danish intellectual centers, but political rivalry between the two nations in the early Christian era to some extent caused the Norwegian scholars and church officials to cultivate and maintain their association with France and England, and the main universities in Western Europe instead.[18]

After the establishment of a national archdiocese in Trondheim in 1153, the Norwegian clergy gained freedom from the Danes in ecclesiastical matters; however, the freedom was to be relatively short-lived. Two centuries later—following the devastation of the Black Plague of 1349 [19]—Norway once again came to depend on Denmark both economically and politically, when the first formal union of the three Scandinavian countries was signed at Kalmar in 1397. As a direct result of the Kalmar Union, the Danish vernacular was adopted by many in the Norwegian administration and by the National Council, and increasingly served as the standardizing norm for the emerging Middle Norwegian dialects. Originally a union of formal equals, it soon became evident that Denmark was the dominant partner. Within a short time, therefore, Sweden withdrew from the agreement, whereas Norway remained bound by its conditions until the official annexation of 1536 and the concurrent introduction of the Protestant faith (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Bagge & Mykland 1993).

When Norway had joined the Christian West, the country and its leading classes instantly had been included into a strictly organized religious and cultural

[18] On a political level, there had been periods of cooperation as well as rivalry between Danish and Norwegian rulers. Danish Vikings had started raiding East Anglia in 787 and captured York in the year 867. This was the beginning of the Danish rule in Anglia that would last until the English King Harold Godwinson (c. 1022-1066) defeated the Norwegian Harald Sigurdsson the Ruthless (r. 1046-1066) at Stamford Bridge. The same year, in October, William, the Duke of Normandy (William the Conquerer: 1027-1087), vanquished Harold II at Hastings in a battle that established the Normans as rulers of England. In both England and Normandy the ties to Scandinavia were close, as both Danes and Norsemen had participated in the conquest of Normandy in 911. But after the Danish King Canute (c.994-1035) had conquered the English and defeated the Norwegians and the Swedes in 1026, the relations became more strained (Baugh 1978, Thuesen 1997, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, *Britannica* 2000). In 1028-29, Olav Haraldsson had been expelled from Norway by King Canute. When he returned in 1030 to reclaim the throne, he was killed in the battle of Stiklestað, and Canute's son by a slave woman, Sven Alfivason, became King of Norway. Ever since the battle of Svolder (1000) in which Olav Tryggvasson fell, the Danes had been influential political players in all the Scandinavian regions, and Danish Kings continued to challenge both Norwegian and Swedish rulers (Danielsen et. al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

[19] The Black Death made its first incursion in Bergen in 1349. The devastation of the recurring pestilence put an end to an era in which the legal system, the political order, and the social institutions had been developed according to the ideals of the greater European nations, notably France, and the ecclesiastical and royal authorities easily compared with its counterparts on the Continent (Danielsen et.al. 1992: 80-81).

system developed by generations of Church scholars. Christianity was based on the written word, on centuries of accumulated, recorded knowledge. The vast body of Christian learning was now made available to the people of the North with new expediency, and created an urgent need for new professions, not only priests, but also secular clerics and officials with a profound understanding of the Church's teachings and its administrative and legal practice.

The new faith, and the changes it brought about to the political and social structure, led King Sverre Sigurdson (r. 1177-1202)—at the end of a period of civil war between rivalling clans—to formally align the royal power with that of the Church, at least in principle. However, Sverre's seeming acceptance of the changes to the power structure effectively consolidated the King's secular powers vis-à-vis the Church, as he would from now on be King *by the grace of God* and not by acclamation at the assembly of free men—the *Þing*—as had been the tradition. The King in principle no longer needed the approval of the people or the Church as the royal succession was determined by lineage (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998). The ancestral principle of *election* now finally had been set aside and the new principle of hereditary continuation of the crown made the question of royal succession much simpler. Indeed, the old elective system had more than once fomented bloody strife between rivalling factions.

The election of Bishop Eystein (d.1188) in 1161 and the coronation of Magnus Erlingsson (r. 1161-1184) in 1163 marked the beginning of a more formal partnership between the monarchy and the archdiocese (Kirby 1986). A century later, the revised laws of Magnus Håkonsson the Law Mender (r. 1263-1280), *Landsloven* (1274-77), confirmed and strengthened the hereditary monarchy and regulated its relations with the Church, implementing the ideals presented in *Konungs skuggsjá* of c.1250 (The *King's Mirror*). The mirror portrayed the privileges and duties of a Christian king, the *rex justus*, God's worthy representative on earth (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998), and at the same time promoted a strong monarchy (Bagge 1998).[20]

For the members of the Norwegian elite, the French court remained the ideal to copy (Venås 1962). The many civil wars and clan feuds that had marked the 11th and 12th centuries seem to have delayed the early emergence of a national literature, but had led to the Icelandic chroniclers' extensive narration of political and historical events pertaining to events in both Iceland and in Norway. Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217-1263), by encouraging the importation of Norman-French court literature, responded to a real need for renewal—a need to keep up with the literary trends of the Continent. Under the influence of the clerics, who for the most part had their intellectual training from the centers of learning on the Continent, the written word had become the medium of choice for literary creation and knowledge transfer. The influx of European heroic and legendary literature in translation did not, however, completely suppress the traditional heroic and legendary tales which lived on in a parallel oral tradition.

[20] Such princely mirrors, manuals of good Christian behavior and ideals, would become a familiar didactical tool well into the Renaissance. In 1533, Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* (1516) was translated by himself into English (1533) as *The Education of a Christian Prince* (Stillwell 1972), and into Danish by Poul Helgesen in 1534 (Bruun 1877).

Due to various external causes, the translation activity in Norway never evolved into a genuine national literature (Halvorsen 1959), in contrast to Denmark and Sweden, where the great European intellectual trends influenced both religious life and the development of the national literature (Gravier 1962). In medieval Norway, the lower clergy often received only the basic education required and therefore had a rather superficial understanding of the contemporaneous European culture compared with the students who had been sent to different European *studia* for higher education (Berggrav 1953). In this of course, they did not differ much from their European colleagues (Lusignan 1986). The discrepancy between Norway and the Continent in terms of intellectual capability may be attributed primarily to numbers, to the fact that the more populous nations had the financial means to foster large intellectual centers. The pressing need for missionary work in the North also had the Church channel its activities towards more immediate obligations.

Medieval translators were not merely subservient appendices to authors of original literary works, but significant agents of influence in a process of knowledge transfer by which the distinctiveness of one culture was being channelled into another in accordance with the subjective nature and cognitive baggage of the individual translators. Medieval translators were learned men of their times, with the preferences of their class and the prejudices of their education. Their education was truly universal and highly mobile. Medieval knowledge migrated between the various centers of learning: students as well as teachers moved from *studium* to *studium*. In Norway, most of the translators—primarily clerics and people associated with the Church or the monasteries—had usually been educated abroad or were foreign clerics. The missionary bishops and monks had been the first to bring with them new ideas, manuscripts and copies of texts representing the main teachings of the Church as well as the fashionable literature read at the various courts around Europe. They also brought with them a tradition of vernacular translation and glossing, notwithstanding the superior status of the Latin. From the 7th century onwards, in England, parts of the Bible had been translated into the vernacular, and towards the end of the 10th century, King Ælfric (c.995-1020) had the historical material of the Old Testament rendered into Old English (Kirby 1986).

The distinct national and not so long ago pagan Norwegian character did not in any way preclude the adoption and assimilation of the literary and cultural ideals that permeated European society of the time, since the intellectual elite were members of a truly international category of scholars. They were, however, all people at the interstice of two very different linguistic and cultural realities: the *space-confined* vernacular culture and the ubiquitous Latin culture of knowledge. In Norway, like elsewhere in medieval Europe, the learned and the *villain* lived side by side. In fact they originated from the same vernacular culture. Consequently, the vernacular and the Latin in many instances accompanied each other to a greater extent than normally acknowledged and the distance between the learned and the unlettered was definitively less marked than what is generally admitted. Born into the popular and vernacular, medieval intellectuals advanced into the prestigious (and exclusive) Latin world of learning, a world where knowledge and the Latin language were intimately linked (Lusignan 1986). In Norway, the Latin culture did not, however, dominate intellectual life or the Church to the same degree as it did on the

Continent, as Old Norse society traditionally had been organized according to different class criteria. A mastering of the Latin language and culture remained, nevertheless, the key to knowledge and science. One essential characteristic of medieval scholars and clerics is precisely this mixing of social and cultural levels, the possible transition from the popular and vernacular to the learned and Latin. Christianity introduced a system in which talented members of the common population could aspire to unprecedented upward social mobility. However, this new upward mobility challenged the static structures of the Church. New scholarly professions and a new way of thinking contributed to the rise of the bourgeosie and challenged the tripartite division of feudalism (Badel 1969, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986, Minnis 1988).[21]

Throughout the whole missionary period in Western Europe, the Church had needed local people for pastoral duties, clerics who were able to deliver the articles of the faith in the native tongue. The habit of translation had been an essential tool, and was so in the North, too. Born of the inevitable relationship with the vernacular and popular, translation emerged from a long tradition of glossing and oral explanation. Translation had become an integral constituent of the general medieval effort at comprehending the more obscure aspects of the Christian doctrines, dating back to the early days of the Church Fathers (Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986, Minnis 1988). Translation became an important tool in the Christening of the North as well, and religious material, predominantly Biblical, didactic and devotional material, such as homilies and Psalters were translated during the first centuries of Norwegian Christianity, and preceded the writing of the vernacular sagas as well as the translation of court literature.

The flourishing literary activity in 12th- and 13th-century Norway stands in sharp contrast to the intellectual paralysis of the 14th and 15th century as well as to the timid cultural awakening of the 16th century. The fumbling beginnings of the first generation of Norwegian humanist circles focused on the work of their medieval predecessors, but never managed to acquire their vitality and outward aspiration. The intellectual range, too, had been drastically reduced to comprise mainly the enterprise of the nascent historians. The nation's history had to be re-established. The constitution of a self, of a distinct national identity, had to be redefined before other intellectual activities could be undertaken. It has not been established to what extent the Norwegian humanists of the 16th century knew about the vast corpus of medieval court literature and religious and devotional texts in vernacular Old Norse translation. The humanists of the 16th century concentrated on recuperating the historical material. Therefore, the two periods considered in the present survey—the Christian Middle Ages and the 16th century—differed considerably with regard to both scope and intellectual enterprise. The medieval experience became the focus of the humanists, their source of inspiration, their pride and regret.

At the onset of the 16th century, Danish scholars once again led the way, staking out the course for the new Reformed Church, imposing both the revised

[21] The Goliard movement, represented by amongst others Abélard (1079-1142/43) and later Rutebeuf (c. 1230-c. 1280), is a good example of how some medieval scholars challenged the inherited perception of the world as a static order and the opposed the privileges of the ruling classes (Le Goff 1985).

doctrine and a new academic curriculum on their brothers in the North. The role of translation in the process of conversion to Protestantism in Denmark was substantial, religious treatises were published at a high rate, and the vernacular rapidly gained acceptance as a legitimate tool in the dissemination of the Protestant doctrine. By the 16th century, the practice of translating important theological treatises no longer needed justification or the approval of the Church, and relatively quickly original writing in the vernacular—also in matters pertaining to religion and theology—had become commonplace (Brandt 1882, Edwards 1994, Vellev 1986).

In Denmark, the new religious doctrine was eagerly debated, not entirely without risk as we will see later, and vernacular pamphlets were printed expeditiously. Only a handful of Danish representatives for the Counter-Reformation were heard. In Norway, the new Protestant theology was not debated, at least not publicly, and the clergy, especially the bishops—with the exception of Olav Engelbrektson (c.1480-1538), the last Archbishop—had been conspiciously inactive considering the pace with which Martin Luther's Protestant doctrine gained ground in northern Europe.[22]

Many members of the Norwegian clergy stood firmly against the changes, but for various reasons never voiced their opposition in the form of pastoral letters or theological treatises. In practice, the native clergy therefore appeared to neither reject nor accept the Reformation, and very few members of the Catholic clergy resigned. Most of the parish priests remained in their positions, and only three bishops were removed by force, namely those of Hamar, Oslo, and Stavanger. The Archbishop fled to the Netherlands. In Bergen, master Geble, elected by the Chapter to head the diocese but not yet consecrated, was asked to take on the position of Lutheran superintendent. In Oslo, the removed Catholic bishop, Hans Ræff, was reinstalled in 1542 as reformed superintendent. Consequently, the transition from the Catholic to the Reformed faith was implemented with little resistance. However, due to the fact that most of the old clergy remained, the changes to religious life were insignificant. Not until the second half of the century, when a new generation of Lutheran-born and trained clergy held key positions within the school system, did the reformed doctrine really reach the general population (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997, Vellev 1986).[23]

The intellectual elite in Norway, less aristocratic and consequently less educated than their Danish and other Western European counterparts, operated from within a now impecunious Lutheran Church since most of the Catholic Church's revenue-yielding land properties had been expropriated by the Danish crown. The dioceses still were responsible for organizing and dispensing elementary education and training clergy, like in the Catholic days. The closest university was in Copenhagen and many of the other institutions that had previously received northern

[22] Much of the agitation and apparent confusion in pre-reformation Denmark stemmed from the fact that the country still had a monarchy based on election and not on succession. The principle of nomination of the monarch by the Danish (and Norwegian) National Council was at the root of many royal feuds and disputes, and explains how and why the last Norwegian archbishop, Olav Engelbriktsson (c.1480-1538), could contest the Protestant King Frederik I by refusing to crown him. The natural Chairman of the Norwegian National Council, Archbishop Olav stubbornly avoided any meeting of the National Council at which the most unsuitable King might be acclaimed (Ellingsen 1997).

[23] See "The End of Catholicism in Norway."

students were now forbidden to anyone coveting positions within either Norwegian state administration or the reformed Church (Brandt 1882, Edwards 1994, Ellingsen 1997, Vellev 1986). The humanist clergy of post-Reformation Norway and their struggle to regain some sense of identity must be seen in light of a somewhat controlling Lutheran church and a more restrictive political structure introduced by the Danish authorities. The difficult financial situation of the dioceses aggravated the already stressful situation. Recovering some of the glorious past now seemed more important than belonging to a larger intellectual community. The hesitant search for a national distinctiveness led to an increased interest in and restoration and translation of many of the medieval manuscripts, mainly the saga material, which for some time had circulated from hand to hand.

The preoccupation with the saga material marked the beginning of a new sense of national worth. The motivating force was an emerging awareness of a historical *lacuna*, of discontinuity and rupture. Change by definition *is* the result of rupture. During the Reformation-century, the medieval period and its history, the rupture between old and new, became the principal object of the Norwegian humanists' study, a retrospective and introverted look at the past in search of clues for the future, in search of inspiration for a new beginning. It probably felt both safer and more right to concentrate on the sovereign *self* of a few centuries back, to search for a national identity, than comment on the more controversial topics of the times. The lack of a national printing press further restricted the intellectual efforts of the Norwegian humanists. Their attitude of seeming correctness and self-restraint in matters of political and religious importance stands in opposition to the extensive translation activities in contemporaneous Denmark and other European countries.

The first Norwegian humanist at the Chapter of Bergen returned to the national past and to the vernacular expression. A sense of urgency with respect to the recovery of the nation's past and to the restoration of the Old Norse language can be perceived. The first half of the 16th century was indeed a period during which a handful of clerics sought the possibility of a new beginning, not by opposing the outcome of external and internal political events—meaning the selection of a new King and the introduction of the Reformed faith—but by trying to ameliorate the practical aspects of the current situation and finding a solution to the growing conflict between the natives and the Danish administrators on the one side and the German merchants who enjoyed special trading privileges and the protection of their powerful organization on the other. Translating the old laws was part of this quest for a solution to societal problems. The encounter with the organization of the Old Norse society led to an interest in the saga material, and eventually engendred a new national conscience. The impetus to this *ad fontes* came mainly from within as a result of pressing local needs, but can also be seen as a consequence of a general interest of European scholars in the past (Bø 1982, Ekrem 1992).

The European Renaissance indeed engendered a series of historians and chroniclers. The first generation of Norwegian humanists also looked to the past, in an effort to reclaim the past. The first translation efforts reconnected two periods of the same vernacular. By their *intra-lingual* vernacular work, the first humanists in Bergen stand out as different from their European contemporaries who predominantly moved between the Latin and the vernacular, but for whom the latter

always retained an inferior auxiliary status. Not until the second generation of Norwegian humanists did Latin start dominating the intellectual scene.

Converging on the old cathedral school in Oslo during the second half of the 16th century, the intellectual elite returned to learned Latin expression, to inter-lingual translation, mainly from the Old Norse vernacular into Latin. This, too, was counter to the established order of things in which translation and glossing from the scholarly Latin to the popular vernacular remained the tendency. What we see, then, is a movement over time from intra-lingual vernacular translation to inter-lingual translation between Latin and the vernacular. However, the subject matter, the Norwegian past, remained the same.

Latin was to dominate the Norwegian intellectual scene from the 16th century onwards, in contrast to other European countries where the national languages gradually gained ground in the field of scholarship. Protestant literature originating in Denmark and Germany had been in focus. As the century drew to a close, the Norwegian humanists once again started turning to other Western countries in search of inspiration and encouragement. A handful of scholars started turning to the work of European vernacular writers of their time, especially authors from the French-speaking territories. In Trondheim, humanists such as Hans Mogensen and Anders Christensen Aarebo turned to inter-vernacular translation and looked for inspiration abroad, in the writings of French authors. The diocese of Trondheim and the humanists associated with its Latin school never acquired the same status and recognition as their colleagues in Bergen and later Oslo, but nevertheless opened the ground for a new type of literature. In particular, the translation of Du Bartas' *La Sepmaine* signified that the circle somehow had come to a conclusion. This timid yet important return to contemporary European authors and vernacular literary trends truly marked the beginning of a new era characterized by a greater opposition between religious and scholarly authorship on the one hand and literary creation on the other.

Translation Theory and the History of Translation

> [W]e shall hasten to define the vernacular as [the language] which children learn from those around them, when they first begin to distinguish words [… and] we have another, secondary language […] called "grammar" […] Now of these two the nobler is the vernacular, first because it was the first type to be used by the human race; secondly because the whole world employs it […and] finally because it is natural to us, while the [grammar] is more an artificial creation.
>
> (Dante Alighieri (1981) *De vulgari eloquentia* [1303-1304]: 15).

Translation studies offers various descriptive, functional and systemic approaches to translated texts by focusing on the role of translations both within a given literature and at the interstice of literatures and cultures. The historical perspective on translation activities offers both an interpretative and an explorative tool to the understanding of the correlation between the translating agent and the material text. History gives access to the discipline, and provides researchers with the intellectual flexibility needed to adapt their thinking to new views about theory, and leads to a greater tolerance of new concepts about translation. Study from a historical viewpoint also allows for a distinction between real progress and simple reformulation (Even-Zohar 1990, Hermans 1985, D'Hulst 1994).[24] Historical evaluation may also measure the effect of translation upon the receiving cultures. The historical approach may offer an epistemological foundation upon which to construct an adequate description of the many problems faced by translators (Gutt 1991, Klein 1990). Translators have persistently looked for some sort of rational set of presuppositions upon which to justify their enterprise and the methods employed. History can help us sort out some of these presuppositions (Pym 1998, Delisle 1980).

The history of translation tries to show how different cultures have interacted over time (Pym 1998), in as much as translation can be seen as a bonding process in which the act of translation is perceived not only as a purely interlinguistic performance, but rather as a selective activity carried out in a specific socio-linguistic, psycho-linguistic and pragma-linguistic context, a product of human enterprise and development (Gutt 1991). In view of this perception, translation becomes more than a written text: it is a text born of two separate cultures, the result of complex needs and specialized agents. The translated text becomes a discursive territory between latent and manifest expression, between external and internal realities, not within one conceptual framework, but across conceptual borders and linguistic realities (Lighthall 1988, Pym 1998). Translation activities have always reflected political, economic, and social structures and power relations of which the human translator is an integral part (Gutt 1991). Translators operate at the very

[24] "Elle est pratiquement le seul moyen de retrouver l'unité d'une discipline, en montrant les parallèles et les regroupements entre les traditions de pensée et d'activités divergentes, en rapprochant le passé et le présent" (D'Hulst in *Meta* 39:4 [1994]).

intersection of cultures and may in their own right become a point of encounter, the instigator or the producer of text. This is especially true with regard to translators in a medieval context (Pym 1998).

History of translation supplements more traditional histories and histories of literature by focusing on literature, politics, economy and demography at a *crossroads* where different linguistic and literary traditions meet, a specific interactive discursive territory where *space* and not time is the ruling principle (Lotringer 1996). Hence the history of translation aims at reconstructing parts of this inter-literary exchange throughout a given period by assessing the translation activities performed. The emphasis is on the term "*parts,*" because the evaluation of the influence wielded by translations on any particular culture cannot be anything but partial in that it covers only *one* of many aspects of a nation's evolution and the forces at work in creating cultural identity (Stanford 1986).

Any history is discourse at some level or another, whether oral or recorded, legendary or factual. The history of translation in particular, based solely on written sources, puts into perspective the notion of history as *literary events*, as opposed to that of history as a *story*, depending not only on written sources, but also on archeology and other sciences giving clues to the past. Historians of translation collect written discourses and to some extent create and formulate their own historical subjects—the discursive events called translations—and determine the interrelation between these events and their origins. The historical events must not only be recorded, they must also be explained and arranged, so as to make room for the historians' reconstruction of specific aspects of the past (Stanford 1986). The absence of recorded discursive events does not mean that they have not existed, only that the discursive events were not collected, and consequently that they have been replaced by new events, absorbed and transformed over the course of time (Lotringer 1996). History of translation can be understood in light of Foucault's theory of discontinuity according to which history results from a complex system of superposed *layers* of discursive events.[25] These layers are not all synchronous: they represent a series of more or less overlapping discontinuities in which translation is only one of the forces. Discontinuity means rupture, a change of direction, an adjustment of perception, a new start in an almost Freudian understanding of human existence as perpetual recommencement. Progress can only be achieved through rupture. The notion of disruptive progression and not that of a continuum dominates Foucauldian theory (Foucault 1971, Lotringer 1996). Nevertheless, we normally have a perception of continuity, of steady advancement, of human progress,[26] stemming from the fact that new knowledge and theory invariably grows out of the old, whether it builds on it or breaks with it (Brown 1979).

[25] Foucault's perception of knowledge is based on change and mutability. The relationship between knowledge and the expression of knowledge is the focus of Foucault's work. He was inspired by Bergson (1859-1941) who studied aphasia, a condition in which the expression of thought is impossible but not the thought itself: a condition characterized by an almost complete dissociation between thought and discursive expression (Merquior 1991, Foucault 1971).

[26] The prevalent notion of "l'humanité en marche" is particularly present in the writings of the French Romantics, for instance in the *Histoire de France* by Jules Michelet and *La légende des siècles* by Victor Hugo.

Thus history signifies the existence of multiple—but not always concordant or simultaneous—discursive realities, in which there exists a potential conflict between the expressions of implicit and explicit, external or internal realities. Little history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations (Pym 1998). History is always cumulative and progressive in the same way as knowledge and learning (Brown 1979), although new definitions of progress tend to diminish the temporal dimension in favor of the spatial arrangement.[27] However, time is a highly real thing, and *timing* and geography have traditionally played a role in the transmission and dissemination of ideas (Stanford 1986). This holds true also for the history of translation.

Our perception of history depends on what has been preserved for posterity to study, on the past organization and construction of discursive events, as well as on our own intellectual baggage and interpretation of the extant material. Our dependence upon previous collection to some extent precludes the ideal of scientific objective knowledge, in as much as objectivity relies on a presumption of passivity and non-interference, in short on perfect unbiased conditions of preservation. However, we know that such conditions are non-existent, and that the process of collection and arrangement of historical discursive events inexorably has been both active and subjective. The relation between the human historians and their object of study is marked by the opposition between the objective physical material (the texts on paper for instance) and the subjectivity of human action. Because of the inherent subjectivity of the researcher, science cannot produce final truth (Brown 1979, Toulmin 1982). However, the imperfection of the collection methods and the subsequent rate of preservation, and the ensuing admission that absolute objectivity is impossible, should not make us refrain from seeking new knowledge, or systemizing our knowledge.[28]

The history of translation places not only the translator, but also the historian of translation at the interstice of two cultures where knowledge and information move across and between disciplines. Whereas disciplinary research largely stays within the boundaries of pre-established rules, the inter-disciplinarian moves outwards from the starting point in search of «natural alliances» and correlations (Klein 1990).[29] Translated texts express the *willed* transposition of a certain textual reality of a specific culture onto a receiving textual reality and culture. A trans-discursive practice, it links two dissimilar textual and discursive realities which the historian of translation must take account of and put into perspective (Bassnett-McGuire 1980).

For the translation historian the emphasis is on the external political,

[27] The spatial arrangement of knowledge and the distribution of its discourses are central themes in Foucault's notion of the "archeology" of knowledge in which the spatial dimension dominates and incorporates the temporal dimension. The historian maps out a discursive territory, a field where discourses emerge, evolve, remain and disappear. The focus is on the practical conditions behind the very existence of discourse, the internal and external dimensions of discourse (Lotringer 1996).

[28] In view of the immeasurability of knowledge, objectivity as a scientific ideal needs to be redefined (Gholson & Baker 1985: 756).

[29] Pym believes that the chances of translation studies becoming part of something larger called intercultural studies is growing. He advocates more freedom from institutions and believes that translation studies could benefit from having no institutionalized academic structure at all (Pym 1998). This view is echoed by Klein, who argues that individual disciplines in many instances become irrelevant, subordinate, or instrumental to the larger framework of activities and paradigms in a holistic scheme (Klein 1990).

economic, or ideological events in as much as they are the expressions of textual events from which the translations are born. The historical approach to translation aims at uncovering the *impetus* behind the evolution of a specific literary and cultural discourse and is highly complementary to the traditional amalgamation of historical, political, literary and linguistic research.

By translating and commenting on a wide range of authoritative texts, the medieval intermediaries not only conveyed the discourses of others, they also in turn became originators of new discourses (Minnis 1988, Le Goff 1985). The medieval translators enjoyed considerable freedom in their practice: recreations, adaptations, summaries, and transliterations of foreign literature, both classical and contemporaneous, both religious and secular, were produced in Europe throughout the centuries (Le Goff 1985). These translated texts served as prime conveyors of new ideas, literary styles and genres, often taking the place of and obscuring the originals which were written in a language no longer mastered by the reading audience. This was certainly the case with the Latin version of the Bible, which had replaced the Greek and Hebrew Old Testament texts. Later, various *glossaria* frequently were substituted for the Latin Bible as source texts, in particular the works of Anselm of Laon (d.1117) and Peter Lombard (c.1100-1160/64) (Minnis 1988, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

The contribution of translators and their by nature *inclusive* activity lies in the fact that translators made *exclusive* knowledge available to a larger circle of otherwise excluded readership. In dealing with medieval translators of both secular and religious texts, it is important to remember that for medieval scholars, the human author always remained subservient to the *auctoritas* of the text, especially when dealing with material of divine origin. Medieval textual meaning was highly pluralistic in nature. Medieval meanings tended to be *multiple*, however not random or unpredictable (Minnis 1988). This plurality of meanings gave scholars some intellectual autonomy in their search for the universal truth hidden deep down in the authoritative texts as a reflection of the divine order of things; however, the boundaries of heresy were not to be overstepped (Le Goff 1985). The many possible textual meanings were repeatedly analyzed, classified and ordered in quest for the *universal*, not the particular; the *typical*, not the individual; the *allegorical* rather than the literal (Minnis 1988).

The actions of individual humans—the subjective agents—have always determined to what texts were selected for translation (Pym 1998). *Translatio* means "carrying across" and assumes some degree of wholeness as regards the object moved. However, in the process of transference, we know that no communication, whether intralingual or interlingual, can occur without some loss of information, either by design or by accident (Nida 1976). In medieval Norway, despite the medieval ideal of sacred literalness (Pym 1998), translated texts were to a large degree adapted to the particular mentality of the Norse audience. Translation in many cases meant manipulation (Hermans 1985). Adaptation became vital to acceptance, and relevance outweighed literality (Gutt 1991), illustrating and confirming the theory that any idea or statement in a given language indeed can be translated into another language unless the form itself is integral part of the message. Or in the words of Roman Jakobson: "Languages differ essentially by what they

must convey and not by what they may convey (Jakobson in Brower 1966: 236)."

Translators at the medieval royal Norwegian court had to take into consideration the traditional literary expression of the Norse language when adapting their material for the native audience. The literature imported derived from an already established written tradition with precise rules and conventions, meaning that the translators had to compensate for the cultural difference. The traditional Old Norse literary expression had been oral and dramatic rather than epic before the introduction of Christianity and its book-based culture. The concise form of the Skaldic and Eddaic genres had been born of and reflected the Old Norse mentality. However, once Christianity had been adopted and literature became a *written* exercise, the need for change became manifest. The Skaldic poetry was still performed at the court and at major meetings for some time, as of old. But, the vernacular written saga prose took over as the preferred literary form and was adapted to accommodate the foreign material, no matter what the initial genre had been. The secular court literature imported from the French territories, for instance, was composed in epic verse, and the translators faced a considerable task of adaptation.

The degree of faithfulness to the original text varied; however, when it came to the secular vernacular material, the Norse translator probably did not feel the same obligation to the rules of truthful and literal translation as he would have when he worked on sacred material. Consequently, upon meeting with religious and devotional material in contemporaneous European writing, the Norse literary tradition, by borrowing stylistic features and adopting new words and concepts from the foreign material, developed its own style, and acquired its own voice. Over the centuries, the imported literature influenced the native vernacular in both its oral and written expression, evolving from the concise Skaldic genre of the pagan times to the learned style of the court literature of the 13th century.

Periodization and Corpus

Outlining the history of translation in Norway, the problem of limiting the corpus along a time axis became evident. Where should the periodic limits be established, and according to what criteria? The question of literary and historical periodization poses certain problems in the North, as the literary trends did not coincide, at least not as a concerted phenomenon, with the established European literary periods that we have become familiar with. This is particularly true with regard to the Norwegian medieval period.

There is a common consensus in regarding the pre-Christian centuries as the Viking Age (c. 800-c. 1070) and the time after Christianization as the Middle Ages. The Norwegian Middle Ages will therefore not be divided into smaller units (high, middle, and low) as is common when referring to the European Middle Ages. The Viking Era was over by 1070 when the last incursion took place. The same year King Olav Kyrre (r. 1066-1093) founded the town of Bergen, which was to become a great center for the transmission of European literature and culture in the 13th century (Danielsen et. al. 1992). By the time of the Nordic conversion, the countries with which Norway had the closest ties—in particular England and France—already had a number of flourishing urban communities with renowned centers of learning and knowledge. The first Norwegian clergy came from England and were influenced by the intellectual trends there. Later, Norwegian priests also studied at the University of Paris or at the monastery of Saint Victor. The emergence of the universities in the 12th century, especially those of Paris and Oxford, were to contribute substantially to an increased opposition between the predominantly *rural* monastic orders and a new class of *urban* university scholars (Le Goff 1985). This division of the ecclesiastical orders along new intellectual lines did not to a great extent mark the Norwegian scene.

The introduction of the Christian faith in the 11th century marked Norway's entry into the European medieval community. With its long tradition of professional scholars and the written book Christianity changed the Norse vernacular literary expression from a predominantly oral exercise to a written discipline. In the old society, oral poetry performed by a professional skald had dominated as the literary expression, not a unusual phenomenon in oral societies, in comparison with the common prose of the written European literature at the time (Bagge 1998). Traditional Skaldic poetry performed at important assemblies and celebrations slowly faded into oblivion as the book entered the cultural scene and introduced other forms of literary expression, especially the chivalric and heroic tales of the French tradition (Halvorsen 1959).

In Norway, the general literacy rate was considerably inferior to more central European countries throughout the Middle Ages; however, it increased towards the end of the period. The runic tradition had consisted mainly of short texts on wooden or stone slates. Knowledge and learning was primarily an oral exercice based on memorization and apprenticeship. Books were not part of the Norse pagan culture (Bagge 1998).

The relatively late introduction of Christianity and the Latin book culture in the North explains the cultural difference between refined medieval urban culture on the Continent and rural Norwegian society. The importation and appropriation of novel ideas and new doctrines became somewhat asymetrical, because intellectual thought was dependent upon an urban environment to survive and develop. And Norway remained a rural society for centuries. Only in the beginning of the 19th century did the North catch up with the rest of Europe, although the Romantic Movement in its Norwegian expression again was largely *introverted* and nostalgic, not extraverted and innovative like its European counterpart. The steadfast quest for and preservation of a distinct national identity had never been relinquished and the near-obsession with the national self marks most of the literary and political discourse of the 19th century.[30]

The question that arises is whether the 16th century Norwegian humanist movement were part of European humanism and Renaissance, or whether the Northern literary production was an altogether different phenomenon built on other premisses? Certainly, the structure of Norwegian society and the living conditions of ordinary people in a predominantly rural nation remained practically unaltered well into the 19th century. The social gap between the learned and the "ignorant" widened as education and schools were available only for the few who could afford to travel abroad. The country completely lacked institutions of higher learning until the establishment of the first Norwegian university in 1819, after the country had passed under Swedish domination following the Napoleonic Wars. Copenhagen had been the undisputed educational hub of Denmark-Norway. In Norway, the contrast between towns and the countryside became more marked, and the social difference was emphasized by the different vernaculars used by the learned and the ordinary people. Danish was the language of the administration. The elite—many of whom were of Danish stock, imported at the time of the Reformation—spoke a derivation of the Danish language, whereas the population at large spoke local Norwegian dialects.

Norway differed radically from Denmark, where scholars indeed followed the European literary trends and participated in the discussions of the day. The impoverished reformed Norwegian clergy had much less opportunity to participate, on a political as well as on a cultural level. The humanists in Bergen and Oslo were predominantly at the receiving end of the European scene, basically through their close connections with Danish scholars and through channels in the Danish civil administration. As a consequence, the focus of the Norwegian scholars remained on the local and the national, and inevitably the local and national past. However, the working conditions, the relative isolation and poverty of the new reformed clergy in conjunction with a general lack of printing possibilities locally restricted the scope and dissemination of the work of the Norwegian humanists.

For the historian of translation, the abundance as well as the rarity of material for a possible and appropriate corpus does at times present a real problem.

[30] In southern Europe, the medieval period was over by the early 14th century; however, in parts of Eastern Europe, and in the remoter parts of rural Scandinavia, the Middle Ages lasted well into the 19th century (Larrington 1995). Industrialization modernized European society. In Norway, there was little industrial development indeed, and the mining activity which started in the 17th century was located in remote areas and did only marginally contribute to the development of urban communities.

Rarity facilitates the selection, but is the corpus truly representative when the source material is scant? The selection of texts chosen by historians may indeed include material containing bias and distortion. Many old manuscripts have not survived, and the extant material is not always readily available. In most instances the historian will be dependent upon the selections made by others or simply upon the texts that are available (Pym 1998). The corpus will invariably be flawed by *lacunae* of greater or less importance, and the reality is that we often are obliged to work with fragmentary samples and arrive at deductive and approximate interpretations of their impact and influence (Stanford 1986). This is certainly true for the material covering the two periods discussed in this dissertation.

In the humanities—a field based solely on the study of texts—every written source is the physical product of the efforts of particular people for specific purposes (Pym 1998). Historians of translation and cultural transfer will inevitably have to construct models of the whole from a few given parts and may sometimes be tempted, therefore, to act as if the information available is always satisfactory and conveys both immediate and adequate value. This, of course, is not always true. Historians of translation can at best be seen as readers of indices, as investigators of inventories of information that has to be sifted through, evaluated and organized. Some of the information must perhaps be discarded and the process of exclusion takes on as much importance as the process of selection or inclusion. The corpus must be manageable (Pym 1998).[31]

In many instances, the historian of translation will use already existing lists to extract a satisfactory corpus. An important part of the work consists of either reducing available lists—i.e. existing bibliographies or catalogues—in order to arrive at a smaller, more malleable corpus (the reductive method), or looking for a possible corpus, starting with a smaller selection of texts and working "outwards" (the incremental method). In establishing the research material it is essential to be aware of the difference between *catalogues* and *corpora*. Generally speaking, catalogues strive towards maximum completeness. They are all-inclusive, whereas corpora are both exclusive and selective, lists of texts drawn up according to specific criteria (Pym 1998).

Historians of translation must take account of the complexity of both historical and literary events—physical and discursive—and not be tempted to consider translated texts in isolation (D'Hulst 1995). Little history can be construed from the analysis of isolated translations. Consequently, the transition from *catalogue* to *corpus* involves the constitution of a body of texts upon which the research can be performed. In establishing his corpus, the historian is affirmed as a writing subject—who through his or her work not only can shed light on new aspects of a nation's history, but also in some ways model it (Pym 1998).

In Norway, translation in the Middle Ages has been the subject of very specialized and intermittent scholarly consideration. Medieval Norwegian and Icelandic literature has been extensively examined in light of specific linguistic and literary factors, and the main emphasis has typically been on the various philological

[31] The recurring problem of corpus and the survival of source texts have been amply discussed by a number of scholars and are therefore not part of my study. Only parts of the Old Norse literature are currently available in manuscript or printed form and many documents have been lost.

aspects of the texts. The Old Norse translations have lived an almost *ad hoc* existence and have rarely been put into an overall European perspective as the expression of interlingual and intercultural exchange. The work of the Old Norse translators has primarily been regarded as individual efforts. This may be explained by the fact that, to a great extent, Old Norse translators have remained anonymous. Little is known of their life and work, only the texts, more or less complete, more or less faithfully copied, have survived. However, the anonymity of the Old Norse translators does not lessen their importance as intercultural transmitters of ideas, as agents of renewal and influence at the junction of different cultures. The diversity of textual genres translated from French and Latin during the Norwegian Middle Ages is in itself ample evidence of the wide scope of the enterprise and clearly illustrates what the priorities of the translators were. The medieval translators indeed were part of a greater mission, supported and encouraged by the Church, especially in the early Christian period, importing not merely stories but entirely new literary ideals based on new social models. The concerted efforts of the first translators of the 12th and 13th centuries, and the very scope of their enterprise, stand in sharp contrast to the timid relaunching of intellectual activity in the 16th century, after nearly two centuries of virtually no literary production, be it original work or translation. The two periods are very different, yet they share some features, especially the interest in the nation's history and in the lives of the ancestors. The link between the medieval period and the Reformation century is primarily textual. The historical medieval texts became the source texts used by the Norwegian humanists in their efforts to recover their identity as a nation and as a people.

With the exception of *Strengleikar*—found in the De La Gardie Codex from the 13th century—the majority of the surviving medieval Old Norse texts have survived in later Icelandic copies, largely dating from the 15th century.[32] The majority of the manuscripts and their handcopies are preserved at the Arnamagnaean Institute in Copenhagen, or in Icelandic and Norwegian State archives. The accuracy of the transcriptions of the old extant manuscripts in Old Norse is uncertain, and has been subject to controversy amongst scholars. Over the centuries, the texts have been subject to modifications, "corrections," contractions, and augmentations, which makes the question of accurate datation difficult. The problem of exact datation is however not the focus of the present thesis, which rather aims at placing the translated texts texts at the interstice of cultures as the written evidence of cultural exchange.

The corpus established aims at being representative, not exhaustive. The list of translations includes the more important texts and illustrates the preoccupations of the intellectual elites in medieval times, and also exemplifies the difference of focus between the two periods considered. The bibliography for the corpus contains translations, the main sources as well as reference works used by the translators. Because most of the translators remain anonymous, the Medieval Section has been organized according to translated material. The Reformation-Century Section focuses more on the translators and what we know about them helps elucidate their work (For Corpus see Bibliography).

[32] The extant manuscript of *Strengleikar* dates from c. 1270, but derives from an earlier version from some time before 1250 (Cook & Tveitane 1979, Venås 1962).

Part II: Translation in the Norwegian Middle Ages

Scholasticism and the Notion of Translatio Studii

> We are dwarfs sitting on the shoulders of giants. Therefore we see farther than they do, not because our eyes are sharper or we are bigger, but because their exceptional greatness carries and lifts us up.
>
> (Bernard of Chartres in Le Goff 1985:16. My translation)

> The soul consists of a rational and an irrational part. The irrational part is the inferior part and exists only in light of the rational part. Intelligence is found in the rational part, and its manifestation leads to the conclusion that everything exists in light of intelligence … One must not shun philosophy, if it is true that philosophy is, as we believe, the acquisition and application of knowledge, and that knowledge is considered the greatest treasure of all.
>
> (Aristotle 2000: 18 and 27. My translation)

Traditionally, the work of translators has been relegated to the peripheries of the greater cultural transformations and their literary manifestations, regarded as a supplementary linguistic exercise of mainly secondary consequence. Translators have systematically been excluded from the histories of most national literatures to which they abundantly contributed as disseminators of knowledge throughout the centuries (Bassnett-McGuire 1980). They have generally been missing from the discourse of literary history. However, the increasingly *speculative* nature of medieval scholarship, especially that of the 12th and 13th centuries, suggests that medieval translators were much more than merely the servants of the original *auctores* and the disseminators of their *auctoritates*. The medieval translators were indeed individuals capable of initiating not only new discourses but also new discursive practices. The many vulgarizers, compilers, encyclopedists and and commentators of the *auctores*—such as Honorius of Autun and Vincent of Beauvais—were crucial not only for the dissemination of ideas and the confirmation of the Christian doctrine, but also for the invention of new ideas (Minnis 1988).[33]

The degree to which the Old Norse translators followed the intellectual activity in Central and Western Europe can to a certain extent be discerned from the choice of texts for translation, although in Norway, as a general rule, the more controversial texts were not imported. Norwegian scholars and Church officials seem to have considered the need for further Christianizing and strengthening of the faith more imperative than participation in the intellectual debates of the day. Nevertheless, the intellectual work undertaken at the various European universities and intellectual monastic centers inevitably affected the translators and consequently the translation performed in Norway.

[33] Some scholars feel that the terms "scholastic and scholasticism" should be given to all the Schoolmen or professional philosophers and teachers of the entire Christian medieval period (i.e. c.500-1500) and especially from the time that the Church gained control over the teaching under the rule of Charlemagne (742-814). However, it is generally accepted to term scholastic the academic activity of the Schoolmen associated with the emerging European universities of the 12th to the 14th century (Le Goff 1985).

The urban development of the 12th century gave rise to a new type of scholar based on the separation of intellectual and manual work, which in the early centuries of the Middle Ages had run parallel within the monastic system. The break with the tradition of *ora et labora* and the emergence of the university scholar led to a different organization of secular life based on a social distinction between rural and urban communities. The traditionally introverted and rural monastic educational institutions got severe competition from the more independent and urban universities, which grew out of and shared much of the secular town's vitality and aspirations. The opposition between the two intellectual movements—the outwardly directed rationalism of the university clerics and the introverted mysticism of the more rural monastic orders—was at the root of many disputes between scholars from the two opposing traditions (Le Goff 1985).[34] The universities recruited students mainly from the urban classes, as the new institutions for higher learning offered, for the first time, a genuine possibility of social ascension.

The intellectuals of the 12th and 13th centuries were indeed *urban* scholars, not automatically destined for life and service in the Church. The clerics at the medieval universities considered themselves not only masters of knowledge but *merchants* of words, gaining their livelihood performing their profession. The university teachers were employed and remunerated by the university or paid directly by the students. Indeed, the first universities were organized *corporations* of teachers and students, unions of masters and apprentices (Le Goff 1985, Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967). The organization of the Schoolmen at the universities in guild-like associations widened the gap between the secular and ecclesiastical orders, between the rational and the mystic, and between philosophy and revelation, although the intention was probably the reconciliation of the two. The Schoolmen became *paid* intellectual *workers*, not servants of the Church, earning a living from their intellectual activity only, not prebends and privileges (Le Goff 1985).

[34] It is important to remember that the 12th century was a time of religious renewal and reform, as already stated. Many of the larger monastic orders were established (Dominicans and Franciscans for instance), and the Church started thinking of Man as an individual and not merely as a representative of a collective whole. The sacrament of confession grew out of the perceived necessity for a more personal relation with the divinity and consequently an increased need for individual guidance. The victorious and distant Christ, King of the heavens, was replaced by a figure less removed from the everyday sufferings of humanity. Religious devotion became more emotional, less rigid. Hence the first medieval reform movement addressed the individual and put the Passion of Christ in focus. The spontaneous use of the vernacular in sermons grew to some extent out of this new compassion for and interest in the individual (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986), a tendency that was reflected in the emerging heretic movements. The adoration of the almost human Christ paved the way for the cult of the Holy Virgin, the human Mother of God (Borst 1974). The Gregorian reform in the 11th century initiated a series of smaller reforms (adopted by four Lateran Councils) aimed at reorganizing the educational system and at redefining the doctrine to be taught in schools. The slogans were *libertas Ecclesiae* and *puritas Ecclesiae* (liberty and purity of the church). Abélard argued against the mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux and tried to bring theology down to the level of philosophy in a rational system in which language and reality are seen as two aspects of the same *logica ingredientibus* (*Catholic Encyclopedia*, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986).

The new medieval intellectuals were in essence ambulant merchants of knowledge with an increased *secular* vocation, and as such considered themselves skilled intellectual urban *craftsmen*. As craftsmen their work was organized and remunerated differently than the ecclesiastical intellectuals of the past. When Rutebeuf (c.1230-c.1280) claimed that he was not a manual worker,[35] he did not deny his craftmanship, he only made a distinction between the manual and the intellectual worker. In fact, he seems to have taken pride in his superior *métier*.[36] The works of Peter Lombard (c.1100-1160/4) and Peter Comestor (d. c. 1178) were decisive in bringing about a permanent change of direction. Peter Lombard transformed the Bible into a scientific corpus, and his *Quatuor libri sententiarum* became the basic manual in the theology faculties for the next centuries. Comestor's *Historia scholastica* from c.1164 represented the new intellectual ideals. Through these books a larger readership now had the possibility to access what their studies had brought forth (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, Le Goff 1985, Chavy 1988b).[37]

The medieval organization and ordering of knowledge was primarily based on the notion of *resemblance* and *repetition* of *form* in a system where the required textual form took precedence over the content. Things and beings were able to interact and communicate only because they resembled each other, and each resemblance had value only from the accumulated value of other things that resembled it. The medieval knowledge system then represented a closed system of *recurring similitudes*, in theory precluding the discovery of new things or systems of thought (Foucault 1970), nourishing constancy and stability. Nevertheless, the Scholastics' constant preoccupation with exegetical structure and rules, continual rumination over the same classical and dogmatic texts, constant obsession with classification and order, inevitably led to a modification of the relationship between the rational and the spiritual, science and religion, as well as the "ignorant" and the learned. It led, in short, to new knowledge and understanding. Within a scholastic learned context, translation was an intellectual exercise closely related to the exegetical work of medieval scholars. It was predominantly a *repetitive* activity, a trans-lingual re-examination of the *same* (Le Goff 1985, Minnis 1988). And yet, it meant *motion* rather than stagnation, sharing, not excluding; translation was an exercise in which the *self* met the *other*.

[35] "Je ne suis ouvrier des mains" (Le Goff 1985: 116).

[36] In the same way, Pierre Abélard (1079-1142)—who, brutalized, castrated, and dishonored, found himself incapable of manual work—reverted to the métier of which he was the true master: the university professor, the producer and vendor of thoughts and words (Le Goff 1985). Schoolmen like Bernard of Chartres (d.c.1126) and Pierre Abélard were the first of a generation of scholars open to and interested in the newly rediscovered and re-translated texts of the ancient Greek and Arab authors (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, Le Goff 1985, Chavy 1988b).

[37] *Historia scholastica* became a sourcebook for Norwegian writers of biblical and theological material, too. The Old Norse Maccabees text produced by Brandr Jónsson (d.1264) uses material from Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (Wolf 1995, Kirby 1986).

The study of the classical authors and the continual examination of their language led to a gradual acceptance of the notion of vernacular knowledge and mobility as opposed to the traditional and more monastic notion of Latin knowledge and stability. The rediscovery of the classical languages as *vernacular* languages was indeed significant for a new understanding of the ancient *auctoritates* and the emergence of the idea of *translatio studii* as knowledge transfer not between sacred languages, but between vernaculars. Along with it came a growing sense of history and knowledge as something *dynamic* and consequently the accumulation of knowledge as evolution and progress. This new dynamic notion of knowledge was diametrically opposed to the Church's static perception of history and learning, and marked the first factual separation of knowledge and language (Lusignan 1986, Le Goff 1985).[38]

The acknowledgement that many of the ancient *auctores* had indeed been vernacular authors, and that their works had been translated into other contemporaneous vernaculars, marked the beginning of a new status for the medieval national languages. The embryonic apprehension of the process of *translatio studii*—to which the wandering scholars greatly contributed—as the transference of knowledge between geographical and linguistic regions as well as different historical periods were instrumental to the liberation and development of the vernacular (Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1967).[39] The increasing awareness of the former vernacular status of Latin and the historic passage of the Greek letter into the Latin vernacular was at the basis of the first great mutation or proto-renaissance of the 12th century. The idea of transference had already been suggested by Hugh of Saint Victor and Bernard of Chartres (d. c. 1126), and had been adopted by Chrétien de Troyes (active c. 1164-1190) and further elaborated by Nicole d'Oresme (c.1320/5-1382) (Lusignan 1986). The notion of *translatio studii* took into account a conscious transition from secular to sacred in ancient times (Minnis 1988).[40]

[38] The rediscovery of the Classical authors in the late Middle Ages and the constant revision of and exegetical work on the authoritative texts as compared to the Sacred Page only helped further the nascent perception of the world as part of a dynamic system. The first medieval translation efforts typically aimed at correcting the work of the predecessors, at commenting on their work, at examining and explaining the differences between classical and scholastic Latin. The attention to detail was of particular importance. The essentially repetitive and introspective work of glossators and scholastic commentators, initially an attempt to strengthen the static and divine, eventually led to new discoveries, individual interpretations and questioning on an unprecedented scale (Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986).

[39] Medieval scholars were almost exclusively born into the vernacular language, a fact reflected in the different regional coloring of the Latin. As a result of its uncontested status as the superior language in the fields of education, religion, and culture, medieval Latin can be characterized as a semi-living language (Lusignan 1986). The wandering scholars and students had indeed been physically instrumental to a *translatio studii* long before Bernard of Chartres (d. c. 1126) developed the idea of intellectual heritage (Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1967). Dante in his *De vulgari eloquentia* (1303-1304)—the medieval work that best analyzes the relations between the vernacular and Latin (Lusignan 1986)—is aware of the vernacular nature of the mother tongue of the first man, Adam, and develops a theory of linguistic evolution in order to explain the existence of the various vernaculars. Dante believed, like many of his contemporaries, that all the vernaculars in the world derived from the one given to the first man at the moment of his creation, the man who "knew neither mother nor milk, who saw neither childhood nor adolescence" (Dante 1981: 20). He continues to claim that "since man is a most unstable and changeable animal, his language cannot be lasting or constant, but must vary according to times and places as do other human things such as manners and customs" (Dante 1981: 24). In his search for vernacular eloquence, Dante was certainly ahead of most scholastics. However, his contemporaries and successors seem to have paid little attention to his defense of the vernacular as a poetic and literary expression, and *De vulgari eloquentia* was not printed until 1577 (Dante 1981).

[40] The school at Chartres formed the pioneers, amongst others John of Salisbury (c.1110-1180), friend of Abélard, and Bernard of Chartres himself, so instrumental to the promotion of the study of the ancient *auctoritates*. The intellectuals went *ad fontes*, to the writings of not only the Church Fathers, but also of the non-Christian philosophers of Antiquity who were supposed to express some degree of *auctoritas*. The universitarians of the 12th and 13th centuries considered themselves the inheritors of the

The motive for translation during the Middle Ages was initially predominantly didactical, in the French-speaking territories (Lusignan 1986) as it was in Norway, too (Kalinke 1981, Kirby 1986, Barnes 1987). Translation exercises in many instances were integrated in the teaching process and grew out of a need for glossing and explanation in the vernacular. Glossing, commentary and teaching were closely linked (Minnis 1988). Both teachers and students translated passages of the Latin authorities in order to acquire better Latin skills as well as to acquire greater understanding of the *auctoritas* (Lusignan 1986). The vernacular commentaries implicitly gave translators and scholars an autonomous voice (Minnis 1988), and the energy put into the Latin and vernacular glossing and commenting of the authoritative texts reveals a genuine yearning for understanding and (self)-enlightenment. Translation, copying, glossing, and study were in the beginning different ways of achieving the same goal, namely learning. Translation in particular was an effective way to acquire academic knowledge and skills. During the Middle Ages a specialized vocabulary applicable to the study of the Classics developed and became standardized. The intellectuals' persistent probing into the meaning and significance of the written word eventually paved the way for new interpretations, new discourses, and eventually a new order of things (Lusignan 1986, Minnis 1988, Lawson 1967).[41]

The driving force behind the scholastic effort was the conviction that reason could be used to elucidate and defend spiritual truth and the dogmas of faith. The Scholastic rationalism was profoundly opposed to mysticism, which emphasized intuition and contemplation. Although ridiculed by its descendants, and especially by the humanist scholars, scholasticism as it was developed by the scholars of the first universities can be seen as the first real intellectual opposition to the authority of the Church (Wippel et.al.1969), a first attempt to introduce "objective" experience and observation into the sphere of philosophy and science (Le Goff 1985).

However, the time was not yet ripe for intellectual freedom and independent scientific knowledge. Challenging the Christian doctrine and the authority of the Church remained a dangerous undertaking. The scholastic system of thought as it developed presupposed a hierarchy, not only of texts and words, but also of languages and discourses, and scholarly activity remained highly regulated by the Church. For many centuries to come, Latin would remain the natural superior language because it was believed to hold the keys to divine revelation. For

---

wisdom of their intellectual ancestors. In order to understand and evolve, they needed to build on the learning and science of the Ancients. The 12th century scholars were rationalists trying to reconcile the wisdom of the pagan authors of Antiquity and the doctrine of the Christian faith. Faith and reason should go hand in hand, and the cumulative nature of knowledge from now on included the masters of the past (Le Goff 1985). In his statement, Bernard implicitly recognized the importance and the wisdom of the Ancients and consequently the justification of the translation and study of their texts (Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1957).

[41] Scholasticism was in essence a system of interpretation applicable to the Scriptures as well as to philosophy (and eventually to secular literature). The Scholastics were systematic thinkers who worked hard to classify and organize knowledge and wisdom. The categories of Aristotle (384-322 BC) were important tools in the work of medieval exegetes, as evidenced by the many commentaries to Porphyry's *Isagoge*, an introduction to and explanation of Aristotelian logic (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Marius Victorinus, Roman rhetorician and grammarian and a man of great learning and knowledge of the philosophers according to Saint Augustine (Augustine 1961: 159), had been one of the first to translate Porphyry's *Isagoge* from Greek into Latin in the 4th century. His translation started a series of Latin translations of Aristotle's work, amongst others *Categoria decem* and *Principia Dialectica*. Boethius, too, translated the *Isagoge* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Aristotle profoundly marked Scholastic thinking (Grane & Hø rby 1993).

generations of scholars, the pathway to knowledge lay in the secrets of the Latin grammar. The Scholastics believed in the existence of a universal grammar applicable to all languages. Indeed, the grammarians tried to *explain* the vernacular languages in light of the grammar (Lusignan 1986). Scholasticism had its roots in the initial *speculation* of the Church Fathers and particularly that of Saint Augustine (354-430) (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The study of grammar and philosophy were therefore inextricably linked (Lawson 1967), and the prescriptive and normative works of the first grammarians developed into the speculative *g*rammar of the 12th and 13th centuries (Lusignan 1986).[42]

The medieval notion of *speculum* accentuated the belief that language (meaning Latin) was *reflective* of both the spiritual and the moral reality underlying the physical world. Grammatical research consisted of "speculation" and the medieval grammarians became philosophers looking for some universal key to the mysteries and divine origins of existence itself (*Britannica* 2000, Favier 1999). The scholars did not seek to understand the individual thought of each authoritative writer, but rather to understand the inherent, universal, and *true* knowledge that was supposed to be contained therein (Minnis 1988, Le Goff 1985, Lusignan 1986).[43]

---

[42] The study of grammar thus moved from the initial explanation of the *auctores* (Minnis 1988) to the speculative grammar of the 13th century to which Martinus of Dacia's *De modis significandi* (c.1270); and Roger Bacon's (c.1214-c.1292) *Summa grammatica* (c.1245), the first essay on speculative grammar, contributed (Favier 1999, Brandt 1882, Grane & Hø rby 1993), and of which William of Conches (1080-c.1153/4) and Peter Helias (act.1135-1166) were to become the supreme masters. Grammar by now had become a *scientia* and the grammarian a professional philosopher (Favier 1999, Lusignan 1986). Speculative grammar did not apply to any specific language, but rather tended to prove the possibility of a universal grammar applicable to all languages. The Latin language now had become the object of a science based essentially on the study of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (Lusignan 1986).

[43] The rationalism of Roger Bacon (c.1214-1292) and Robert Grosseteste (1168-1253) contested this universal approach, claiming that science should only rely on experience, and that without experience and observation there could be no satisfactory knowledge (Le Goff 1985). This was in harmony with the conviction of Isidore (c.560-636) who believed that the interpretation of Scripture must be based on rational logic (Minnis 1985). The status of the grammar study gradually diminished during the Renaissance as humanist scholars increasingly came to look upon it as a preparatory study. Latin grammar became a tool to further knowledge, not a source of knowledge in itself as it had been for generations of scholars (Grendler 1989).

Schools, Education and Audience in Medieval Norway

> Let those men teach boys who can do nothing greater, whose qualities are a plodding diligence, a rather dull mind, a muddled intellect, ordinary talent …Neither grammar nor any of the seven liberal arts deserve the entire lifetime of a noble talent. I (…) pity those who waste nearly all their lives in public schools.
>
> (Petrarch in *Rerum familiarium* (1352), cited in Grendler 1989: 3)

> I believe without a doubt that not merely probable but necessary arguments can be found to explain anything which exists, although they may at times remain hidden despite our efforts to reveal them.
>
> (Richard of Saint Victor in Wippel & Wolter 1969: 213)

By the time it reached the North, the Roman Church had already established universal authority in the West, and its main task was to implement and establish the Christian doctrine in the remaining corners of the known world. Medieval educational ideals were introduced along with the new religion as the first missionaries recruited and trained native people for service in the Church. Talented students were sent abroad for higher studies, and institutions of learning on the Continent determined the kind of knowledge that found its way northwards. The people of Norway could now benefit from a highly codified educational system, based on loyalty to the Latin culture of the Roman Church.

Christianity created new bonds to the Continent and represented a step away from the purely regional to the more universal. The channels of contact with the Continent became less personal and more institutional. Through its membership in the Church, every small local community now had affinities with other Christian communities all over Europe (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953). This affinity was enhanced by the creation of schools where the common doctrinal and social ideals could be nurtured.

On the Continent, schools had existed for centuries and were a natural part of society.[44] They had been indispensable tools in the struggle against what the Church considered paganism and heathen ignorance. The first elementary schools in Europe date back to the Etruscan period. The Romans followed suit with institutions of advanced learning.[45] During the early Roman Empire, quite a sophisticated network of elementary and secondary schools developed throughout the territory, as well as some institutions of superior learning. In Gaul, cities such as Besançon, Lyon, and Toulouse established and financed elementary and reading schools. The main subjects were reading, writing, simple mathematics, and reciting. Both boys and girls had been accepted as pupils in the Roman public schools. Christian schools, too—both public and communal—initially accepted both sexes; however, the practice of admitting girls was gradually abolished as the Church asserted its authority (Léon 1967).

The fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 led to the disintegration of the public school system, so that by the end of the 6th century, the Roman school system based on Greco-Roman ideals was completely in ruins. Education had become the privilege of the few. The immanent conflict between the principles and traditions of classical education and the ideals and moral principles of the new faith still in search of a comprehensive doctrine led to a radical change of course. Saint Augustine (354-430) had tried to amalgamate and reconcile the ideals of the old culture with the principles of the new. However, not until Gregory (c.540-604) did the truly *universal* character of the Church take form, enabling the Church to start asserting its controlling authority in matters of education and schooling (Léon 1967).

Higher education, promoting refined techniques of thought and speech, and addressing the old problems of philosophy and theology, appeared for the first time in post-empire Europe. All the new educational schemes were organized by clerics and controlled by the Church. The relative political and religious stability of the reign of Charlemagne (742-814) engendered a renewed interest in education and literature. Distinguished scholars and authors such as Alcuin (735-804)[46] and Paul the Deacon were invited to his court (Chavy 1988b, Léon 1967, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

---

[44] On the Continent, there were also a number of secular municipal schools. The historian Froissart had attended a mixed elementary school in Valencienne (Larrington 1995).

[45] The Roman schools were headed by a *primus magister*. The children who attended were accompanied by a *paedagogus*, a house slave who functioned as both *repetitor* and *preceptor* to the young pupils. Secondary education was available to both girls and boys between the age of 12 and 15, and offered training in oratory skills based on the work of Cicero, advanced grammar, and the discussion of classical authors. Secondary teaching, in the form of lectures, was performed by a *grammaticus* (Léon 1967, *Britannica* 2000).

[46] Also known as Flaccus. English scholar, educator, and theologian, Alcuin was master of the cathedral school at York (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). His work *De virtutibus et vitiis* ("on virtues and vice") was translated into Old Norse and figured in *Humiliúbók*, preserved in a manuscript known as Codex AM 619, 4° (Flom 1929).

The 8th century saw the emergence of the *seven liberal arts*, arranged and codified as the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*. The *trivium* consisted of the three basic elements of elementary education and represented an introduction to more advanced studies: grammar, rhetoric, and logic. The *quadrivium* dealt specifically with science and numbers, i.e. arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music (Léon 1967). Cathedrals and monasteries had hosted school activities from the early days of Christianity. However, from the 11th century, higher learning was dispensed in *studia* by semi-professional, independent teachers, such as the universitarian Abélard (1079-1142/4), and monks such as Lanfranc (c.1005-1089), Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109), and Hugh of Saint Victor in Paris (Le Goff 1985, *Britannica* 2000).[47]

With time, the *studium generale* in Paris became a renowned center for theological studies. Both students and teachers enjoyed special privileges and tax exemption, and could only be judged by their own ecclesiastical tribunals, despite the fact that they were considered secular. The secular status of the Schoolmen signified a step away from ecclesiastic control over the curriculum taught and studied at the university. Aristotelian logic and Priscian's and Donatus' grammars were officially adopted,[48] and soon became the foundations of grammar teaching.[49] The decision to confirm the authority of Priscian and Donatus testifies to the inherent conservativism of medieval teaching and the intrinsic veneration for the established grammatical authorities. Grammar was indeed considered the foundation and beginning of all other sciences (Léon 1967, Lawson 1967, Grendler 1989).

---

[47] Some of the cathedral schools, initially quite small and unpretentious local seminaries, would develop into the universities of the 12th century (Léon 1967). The term *universitas* initially signified a loose association of students and teachers and conveyed a notion of *openness* and general *accessibility*, with an inherent assumption (at least in theory) of universal and academic freedom (Lawson 1967).

[48] Priscian (491-518) was a grammarian from Mauritania who taught Latin in Constantinople, where Greek was the main language of culture and science. He was a Latin teacher in a cultural context where Latin had status as second language in much the same way as it had in Europe during the Middle Ages (Lusignan 1986). His *Institutiones grammaticae* and Aelius Donatus' (4th century) *Ars minor* were used as an introduction to the Latin language for many generations of Christians. The acquisition of the Latin language and the interpretation and exegesis of the Scriptures passed through the study of Latin grammar (Lusignan 1986). Donatus taught rhetoric at Rome. Eusebius (later Saint Jerome) was his student (*Britannica* 2000).

[49] These two grammars, Æ sop's*Fables*, and Cato's *Disticha Catonis* constituted the main curriculum of elementary Latin teaching. The *Disticha* were used when teaching basic reading skills (Lawson 1967, Grendler 1989), and were translated into Old Norse as *Hugsvinnsmál*, probably some time before the translation of chivalric court literature, i.e. the beginning of the 13th century (Barnes 1987). Elementary medieval teaching typically focused on the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the main precepts of charity, the seven works of mercy, the seven deadly sins, the seven main virtues, and the seven sacraments (Chavy 1988b, Lawson 1967).

Many students from the Scandinavian countries enrolled at the University of Paris in search of higher education (Grane & Hørby 1993). The University of Paris was organized into four faculties from 1222: the arts, medicine, theology, and law. The Faculty of Arts, where all students started out and which led to the lower degrees, was where most of the Nordic students were found (Léon 1967). The faculty of Arts at Paris, like that of Bologna, dispensed both *secondary* and *superior* education. In Paris, some of the monastic schools also gained great reputation, such as Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Sainte-Geneviève and Saint Victor on the Île-de-la-Cité in what would become known as the Latin Quarter (Léon 1967). However, the papal schism in the late Middle Ages (1378-1417) and the war between France and England made Nordic students seek other universities, predominantly in the German-speaking territories (Grane & Hørby 1993).[50]

From a historical perspective, education has predominantly been an *oral* activity between teacher and students, or between master and apprentice. It had been a predominantly private enterprise. Constant rehearsal and repetition were the main didactical tools, and the masters needed only a minimum of skills to teach small children the rudiments of reading and writing. In general, people learned what they needed in their respective trades and crafts, and schooling was usually practical and work-oriented (Grendler 1989). Medieval Christian teaching focused on *reading* skills (Lusignan 1986, Lawson 1967) and was primarily offered to boys.[51] Since ordinary people were illiterate, many remained steeped in what the Church held for pagan tradition in rural areas (Léon 1967). Like their European colleagues, the Norwegian clergy made ample use of simplified liturgies and images from hagiographic works to instill the main articles of the faith.

[50] Between 1419 and 1525, 160 Norwegians had their names entered into the matrix at Rostock. Three of the four last Catholic archbishops, Olav Trondsson (1453-1474), Gaute Ivarsson (1474-1510), and Olav Engelbrektsson (1523-1537) had studied at the University of Rostock (1419). The latter also presided over the Norwegian College there (Øverå s 1952).

[51] There was no equality between the sexes in medieval Christian schools as there had been in the Roman elementary schools. Girls normally learnt to read the vernacular, only infrequently Latin or rhetoric, which were perceived the prerogatives of men (Hannay 1985, Larrington 1995).

To remedy the poor quality of popular devotion, the Fourth Lateran Council convened in 1215 to launch a reform of the Church, demanding that all Christians attend Mass every Sunday, and that priests give a sermon at least once a month in order to explain the content of the rites (*Britannica* 2000, Bagge 1998). The new requirements of personal participation engendred a series of sermon books and commentaries on the various passages from the Scriptures, especially the texts of the Gospels and the Epistles (Lawson 1967). The sermons, usually composed in Latin, were in many cases delivered in the vernacular for the benefit of the parishioners. With time, some of the more famous and effective sermons were recorded in the vernacular (Lusignan 1986).[52] This was also the case in Norway, where the vernacular had a strong position. The Old Norse *Humiliúbók* contains a series of well-known homilies and sermons in vernacular translation.[53] The texts in *Humiliúbók* must have been used from quite early on and were probably studied in the cathedral schools and in monastic communities, as some of the texts address the "good brothers," and in general served as a guidebook for both clergy and parishioners (Kirby 1986, Knudsen 1952, Indrebø 1931, Salvesen 1971).

In pre-Christian time, from the 9th century, children of leading Norwegian families had been sent to foster care with friends of family abroad, normally to contacts in England or in France. Some children could be as young as seven years old when they were sent away. In the foster homes they encountered Christian culture and the literary traditions of early medieval Europe (Baune 1995). The fostering system created allegiances across borders and helped introduce European ideas into the Norwegian upper classes. In the early days, when the archdiocese for the northern regions was located in Hamburg (831-1103), a few Norwegian and Icelandic students had studied at the Benedictine monastery in Fulda, which had become a renowned cultural and intellectual center in the Germanic world (Øverås 1952).[54]

---

[52] During the reforms of the 11th and 12th centuries, many priests felt an urgent need for sermons in the vernacular, and often translated the Latin text *impromptu* when addressing the congregation. Spontaneous translations of sermons were fairly common in 12th century France, and probably elsewhere, too. In addition, there is strong evidence that the vernacular was used regularly between the lower clergy, who were living symbols of the perpetual contrast and opposition between the vernacular and Latin culture, men situated at the interstice between their own vernacular origin and subsequent ecclesiastic vocation (Lusignan 1986).

[53] In general, the difference between a *homilia* and a *sermo* is mainly that a homily expounds on a textual excerpt from the Evangelia—an exegesis of the passage—whereas the sermon takes its lead from a specific event in the day's text (Knudsen 1952, Salvesen 1971, *Britannica* 2000).

[54] The monastic school at Fulda was primarily the work of Maurus Rabanus (c.776-856), Archbishop of Mainz and Abbot of the monastery (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996). The first two Icelandic bishops, Ísleifr Gizurarson and his son Gizurr Ísleifsson, had both studied in Saxony. Ísleifr had studied in Herford in Westphalia and was consecrated by Adalbert of Bremen in 1056 (Harðarson 1995, Øverå s 1952).

From the very beginning, the missionaries, who were used to organize and supervise schools, organized systematic teaching in the more important churches as well as in the monasteries. The teaching primarily aimed at recruiting native clergy for which there was a great demand; however, like in most countries, also lay students were accepted in Norwegian schools, usually the sons of the ruling classes.[55] The larger Norwegian chapters offered elementary education and remained economically responsible for education throughout the Middle Ages (Berggrav 1953). The smaller churches at Nidaros had probably organized some type of teaching before the cathedral school opened, but not all churches or chapters had schools (Øverås 1952).[56]

In 1215, Pope Innocent III reiterated, in an announcement by the Fourth Lateran Council, that it was every chapter's duty to hold school and teach the basic articles of the faith (Grendler 1989). This of course applied to the Norwegian chapters, too, which had not been able to implement the educational policy of the Holy See in a satisfactory manner. A special letter from the Pope reminded the Norwegian authorities of the irregularities and demanded that schools be founded. This project became easier when permanent dioceses were established (Øverås 1953).

The different ways in which medieval European teaching was organized did not affect the choice of manuals and books put to use in the various schools and universities around Europe. Indeed, the common curriculum varied very little until the beginning of the 15th century when the humanists effected a revision of the universities' academic content (Berggrav 1953).[57] The content of the teaching in the Norwegian schools was the same as in other European schools: *trivium* for the lower classes and *quadrivium* for the more advanced students. The school at Nidaros was founded around 1153 in conjunction with the establishment of the Archdiocese for the Northern countries and the Atlantic Islands (Øverås 1952).[58] The same year, Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear (c.1110-1159)[62] traveled to Norway to supervise and reform the school at Nidaros (Øverås 1952). He was probably assisted by Bishop Eystein, himself a keen reformer (Faulkes & Perkings 1998). The Holy See clearly tried to supervise even the most remote regions.

---

[55] We never hear of girls being enrolled in the Norwegian schools. Girls may have received some education at home. If not, the usual road to knowledge and education for medieval women was the convent (Larrington 1995).

[56] Trondheim was also called Nidaros in medieval and Viking times; the name Trondheim (Trondhjem, Trondhem) became more prominent during the 15th century (Müller 1997).

[57] The common school curriculum throughout the Christian world was as follows: **Grammar**: Priscian (3rd century) and Donatus (4th century) together with the ancient poets, later Alexandre de Villedieu (c.1150-c.1240). **Rhetoric**: Cicero (106-43 BC). **Dialectic**: Aristotles (384-322 BC), Porphyry (233-309) and Boethius (480-c.524/5). **Arithmetic**: Martianus Capella (5th century) and Boethius. **Astronomy**: Hyginus and Ptolemy (85-165 Egypt). **Medicine**: Claudius Galenius (c.130-200) and Constantin Africanus (c.1015-c.1087). **Canon law**: Gratian (d.c.1159) *Decretum gratiani – Concordia discordantium canonum* (c. 1140) at the University of Bologna. **Theology**: The Bible, later also Peter Lombard's (c.1100-1160/4) *Sentences*. The curriculum had its origins in the 5th century Roman schools (Minnis 1988, Le Goff 1985, Léon 1967, Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967). In the 12th and 13th centuries, schoolmasters and university professors invariably used *Speculum Doctrinale* by Vincent of Beauvais, and Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium*, as well as Jerome's (c.350-420) *Vulgata* (Minnis 1985).

[58] The Archbishops for the northern regions and the Atlantic Islands had previously been stationed in Bremen (from 788). In 1072 separate archdioceses for these regions were founded (Kolsrud 1913). Nicholas Breakspear later became Pope Adrian IV (r. 1154-1159), the only Englishman ever to have held this position (*Britannica* 2000).

The fact that the Latin culture arrived late in the North made its Nordic expression slightly different from that of the Continent. The Latin alphabet was not immediately adopted by those writing in vernacular Norse, and national and foreign traditions continued in parallel for some time after the introduction of Christianity.[59] The Latin culture remained confined to ecclesiastical matters and rarely manifested itself in other spheres of Norwegian society. Hence, the vernacular enjoyed a less subordinate status in Norway than on the Continent, and was even taught in the schools from the beginning. The omnipresence of the vernacular did not, however, diminish the role and status of Latin in the school program. Latin grammar, of course, remained the main preoccupation of medieval teachers and students, in Norway as elsewhere (Øverås 1952). It was after all the key to both contemporary and ancient knowledge.

The introduction of a foreign language and a culture based on books changed the way people thought about learning and knowledge and the way learning was transmitted to future generations. The Christian educational system brought with it the idea of a society of experts in which expertise was defined according to an individual's degree of learning and bookly experience. Knowledge and wisdom no longer passed from generation to generation in a direct oral manner, as had been customary in Old Norse society: rather they were contained in the philosophy and experience of foreign people in remote countries, in places unfamiliar to most Nordic people. The historical experience of Christianity had been recorded in Latin and its introduction created an immediate need not only for education but for translation so as to reach the vernacular-speaking Old Norse audience.

Christianity and the culture it conveyed and disseminated had a substantial impact on Norwegian medieval society and its literate elite (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953). As the Church strengthened its position as both a secular and religious authority and increased its control over the monarchy, many Latin texts necessary to the rites of the Church were written down, imported, and translated into the vernacular. Two English vernacular homilies were probably translated into Old Norse as early as 1060/66, not long after the fall of Olav Haraldsson in 1030. The language of the homilies is didactical: simple and straight to the point, adapted to the mentality of a people unfamiliar with the Latin language and Christianity's literary traditions (Halvorsen 1959).

In view of the primarily oral aspect of both learning and teaching in the Middle Ages, the notion of audience in the sense of those who give an ear should not be underestimated. There was always a much greater audience than there was readership. The notion of audience reflects some degree of interactivity, of apprenticeship; a close relation between the reader and the listeners. In the Middle Ages, the close relationship between scholarly authority and the learners was an important one, as the organization of the first universities demonstrates (Lawson 1967).

For the Church, translation had primarily served as exegetical tool for the initiated. The translations between the sacred languages in the centuries of the Church Fathers had mainly been performed for and by men of the cloth or people

[59] The oldest surviving Norwegian manuscripts using Latin characters date back to around 1150, but the Old Norse language was probably codified and the orthography fixed as early as the beginning of the 11th century (Venås 1962).

otherwise connected with the Church, theologians and scholars. The activity of translation throughout medieval times reflected the power relations between first the Classical languages of their revered *auctores*, and later the opposition between Latin and the vernacular languages in the increasingly bi-lingual medieval societies (Minnis 1988, Lusignan 1986). Reading and study of the *auctoritates* were considered as exclusive activities, and not all texts were deemed suitable for the common people. The Church exercised censure as a tool to keep the "ignorant" from accessing knowledge to which, by their station in life, they were not entitled. However, the care of the soul increasingly preoccupied the Church, and the articles of faith had to be taught.

The religious medieval literature that was imported ended up marking not only the Old Norse secular literature but also popular imagination. Hagiographic legends, for example—narrated first in Latin then in the vernacular—became cherished sources for secular literature and folklore (Kalinke 1981) and confirm the tremendous dominance of the Latin culture on the national cultures throughout the Middle Ages (Gravier 1972).

Medieval readers would normally read aloud, even when they were on their own.[60] Books were expensive, and few people could afford them. Reading was an oral activity principally between a reader and his audience. In contrast, the education dispensed by the universities depended entirely on the written word and individual and solitary reading. The university manuals were indeed very different objects from the earlier manuscripts of the monastic *scriptoria* of the early Middle Ages, and which had been precious objects of luxury reserved for the few, even within the orders. The book acquired a new status. At the universities, the book became an essential didactic tool. The *auctores* on the university curriculum had to be read by all, students and teachers alike. The masters even had to *publish* and make available their own lecture series in advance, and the students were expected to take notes during the classes. The new status of the book is illustrated by the Statutes of the University of Padova (1264), which claimed that "*without written lectures there could be no university*" (Le Goff 1985: 96). The textbook emerged as the medieval intellectual's most significant instrument, a source of income as much as acquisition of knowledge. The many written texts and course manuals contributed to the growing mobility of learning (Le Goff 1985).

[60] Saint Augustine wondered at Ambrose, who read silently to himself. "Whenever he read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart explored the meaning, but his voice was silent and his tongue still… He never read aloud… Whatever his reason, we may be sure that it was a good one" (Augustine 1961: 114).

The introduction of paper in Western Europe in the 13th century had a positive effect on the prices of books. It allowed for more books to be produced, which in turn led to diminished control by the Church of scholars who translated, commented, corrected, and "improved" on the writings of the classical authors and Biblical sources. The increased use of the book also signified the beginning of new commercial potential. Medieval and Renaissance university scholars benefited from the right to earn a livelihood from their teaching and writing. The book soon became a commercial object and a source of income.[61] The notion of knowledge as something marketable represented a significant shift away from the traditional exclusive relationship between the scholar and his craft (Eisenstein 1983, Le Goff 1985).

The medieval upper classes often remained illiterate, as writing, to a greater extent than reading, was considered a skill to be mastered by hired help such as scribes, secretaries, and monks. This was particularly true since the notion of literacy and scholarly learning was closely linked to the mastering of Latin (Eisenstein 1983). People who could read and write in the vernacular were generally considered illiterate by the educated elite (Badel 1969). Latin was a privilege of the few, the ultimate key to knowledge and elucidation, reducing those who did not master it to ignorance. The contempt for the native languages by the scholars was universal; yet, the remarkable popularity of court literature, romances, and the poetry of the troubadours testifies to the vernacular's truly literary aspiration and capability.[62] In the North, the social distinction between the Latin elite and the vernacular classes was much less marked.

Literacy—in Latin as well as in the vernacular—was essentially an *urban* phenomenon throughout Europe (Eisenstein 1983). Medieval literacy has been estimated at approximately 10% in countries such as France and the Netherlands (Edwards 1994). In Norway, the numbers were probably much lower until the Reformation (Bagge 1998). In Europe, the cities made up approximately 10% of the population towards the end of the Middle Ages. In the larger cities, an estimated thirty percent were literate; however, the overall literacy rate has been set at 5%. In view of this level of reading skills, any reform or upheaval, such as the later Reformation, must necessarily be considered a *minority* phenomenon in as much as the "illiterate" masses were hardly ever mobilized (Edwards 1994).

National languages were not taught on a regular basis in European medieval schools, with the exception of England where English had been taught up until the Conquest. In post-Conquest England, Anglo-Norman was taught in order to help the students understand the basic rules of Latin. However, the vernacular had a clearly auxiliary and subordinate function compared with Latin. Nevertheless, just like the superior Latin, the French vernacular in England was indeed an official language throughout most of the Middle Ages (Lusignan 1986). In contrast, Old Norse was

[61] The commercial potential was further developed with the invention of the printing press.

[62] Throughout the Middle Ages, many children had been taught how to read, although not always in the Latin, as illustrated by Geoffrey Chaucer (c.1340-1400), who in 1391 translated a treatise on the astrolabe for the benefit of a young boy who did not master Latin. As an apology, he argued in the introduction that the people of Antiquity had indeed been able to use their own vernacular language when writing scientific texts, and felt that he was entitled to do the same (Lusignan 1986). Chaucer is a good example of the secular translator of the later Middle Ages who gave the clerics competition. Chaucer was indeed a "multiprofessional:" court official, poet, diplomat, and translator (Pym 1998).

probably taught in the Cathedral schools alongside Latin and the vernacular Norse seems to have been used in most written and oral communications, also within religious contexts, as a matter of course (Øverås 1952). The fact that the early Icelandic family sagas and the Norwegian kings' sagas were composed in the vernacular certainly suggests that the vernacular was taught in the early schools; however, we know little about the organization of such vernacular teaching. Also, we have limited knowledge about the literacy rate as regards the vernacular in Christian medieval Norway; however, the early translations of fundamental texts[63] into the vernacular suggests that the national tongue in general held a strong position (Halvorsen 1959, Øverås 1952).

Despite the fact that the instruction of young people was often free of charge, the number of Norwegian students remained quite small (Baune 1995). The Norwegian cathedrals were, like their European counterparts, formally obliged to dispense Latin teaching. In 1170, the Vatican issued a papal bull ordering all dioceses to offer elementary schooling (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953, Lawson 1967). The instruction was issued by the Third Lateran Council of 1179, presided by Pope Alexander III (c.1105-1181), and yet again in 1215 (Grendler 1989) testifying to the Church's general concern about and preoccupation with the quality and permanence of education (Lawson 1967). The various churches at Nidaros probably had dispensed some type of teaching before the cathedral school opened, but not all churches or chapters had permanent schools (Øverås 1952). In 1215, Pope Innocent III (1160/61-1216) reiterated, in an announcement by the Fourth Lateran Council, that it was every chapter's duty to hold school and teach the basic articles of the faith (Grendler 1989). This of course also applied to the Norwegian chapters which had not been able to implement the educational policy of the Holy See. A special letter from the Pope reminded the Norwegian authorities of the irregularities and demanded that schools be founded (Øverås 1952).

In Norway, the European educational system was copied. From the middle of the 12th century, many Norwegians studied at French monastic schools and universities, especially the ones in Paris, which exercised a significant influence on the medieval Norwegian clergy. Bishop Eystein (d. 1188), the first native archbishop, had allegedly been a student at the Monastery of Saint Victor in Paris, a renowned monastic school in the 12th century. He presumably had received his elementary-level schooling in Norway before pursuing abroad. A few studied at Herford in Germany. And King Olav Kyrre (r. 1066-1093)—one of the first to incorporate the Christian principles into the existing law collections—had received a priest's training abroad (location unknown) and both read and wrote Latin. A certain Jon Fleming, teacher of canon law at Nidaros, had studied in both Paris and Orleans. However, very few of the regular students in Paris were Norwegian. During the 14th century, for instance, only two of the 189 Scandinavian students came from Norway, despite the repeated efforts of the Church to send students abroad (Øverås 1952).

[63] For example, various passages from the Gospels, Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* and Gregory's *Homilia VIII*.

The recovery and study of the Roman law texts by jurists at the University of Bologna, a university specializing in legal studies (Léon 1967), led to the codification and teaching of ecclesiastical canon law in the 12th century.[64] By the 13th century, both civil and canon law were taught at the major European universities (Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967).[65] The extensive body of ecclesiastical law and regulations was compiled primarily in order to ensure uniformity of the faith. Canon law dealt with the organization of the liturgy, preaching, works of charity, and the organization of Church institutions at a time marked by ecclesiastical schisms and doctrinal dispute (*Britannica* 2000).

Olav Haraldsson (r. 1016-1028) and Bishop Grimkjell (d.1046) had incorporated the Christian principles into the laws during a meeting at Moster in 1024.[66] The recording of the Christian principles into the Norwegian *Gulatingsloven* in the 11th century, with a view to regulating the relationship between the King and the Church, thus preceded the 12th-century introduction of canon law into secular laws throughout Christianity (Kværness 1996, Øverås 1952).[67] Canon law regulated the relation between the secular and ecclesiastical powers. The amendment of the Old Norse laws was a first step towards an institutionalization of Old Norse society under the direction of the Church. There was of course no constitution, and traditionally, Norwegian kings had no legal power other than the one bestowed upon them by their peers (Bagge 1998).

In Old Norse society, the laws had primarily been intended to resolve conflicts between private persons rather than between people and institutions as was the case for canon law. Consequently, the introduction of institutionalized bodies such as schools, churches, and a professional legal system signified a radical change of direction. The implementation of the new institutions was facilitated by the fact that no existing institution, religious or legal, had to be set aside or abolished. In fact, there was no real opposition to the new order of things (Bagge 1998).[68]

---

[64] A certain Irnerius (c.1055-1125) was the first university *lector* to teach both Roman and canon law at the University of Bologna (Grane & Hørby 1993). He is believed to have delivered his first law lectures about 1088. Gratian (d.c.1159) codified the field of canon law in a body consisting of more than 3800 texts touching upon every imaginable aspect of Church discipline. *Concordia discordantium canonum* soon led to the recognition of ecclesiastical law as a field of study separate from that of theology (*Britannica* 2000).

[65] Only a few universities offered courses in theology, but most had professors of canon law. The University of Montpellier (1289) taught only medicine. Oxford and Paris were the only ones to have professors in all four faculties: arts, medicine, theology and canon and civil law (Grane & Hørby 1993).

[66] Grimkjell came to Norway as one of four missionary bishops around 1014. He was English of Norwegian descent. He composed *Officium Olavi* (Øverås 1952, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Kolsrud 1913.) The laws were compiled in the Old Norse vernacular under Olav Kyrre (r.1069-1093) (Øverås 1952), probably as an attempt by the Church to further institutionalize the "legal system" in a society where the hierarchy was loose and where the power structures were constantly changing. Law and politics were mainly a question of interpersonal power structures, where each man competed with his peers (Bagge 1998). The Christian principles and privileges later became known as *Archbishop Jon's Law*. Jon (d.c.1152) was Bishop Eystein's predecessor in Nidaros (Kværness 1996). In the 13th century, Iceland accepted the authority of the Norwegian king, and became part of a greater Norwegian realm. The laws were again revised and compiled and have survived in a codex known as *Jonsbók* from c. 1281 (Arnamagneaean Institute).

[67] The early Christian kings all tried to adapt the existing laws to the new faith. Olav Kyrre (r.1069-1093) also amended the laws and continued the work started by Grimkjell and Olav Haraldsson (Øverås 1952).

[68] The opposition between secular and ecclesiastical authorities was developed in *Konungs Skuggsjá* (the King's Mirror) of c.1260, which tried to reconcile the two powers, at least in theory, by defining and explaining the obligations and privileges of a Christian king in relation to the Church's authority (Åstås 1987a & 1993, Barnes 1987). The Mirror's redefinition of the role of the King implicitly aimed at strengthening the power of the monarch in relation to the ecclesiastical authorities (Bagge 1998). *Konungs skuggsjá* can also be seen as an attempt to outline new ideals for the royal power. It condemns the principle of joint kingship so common in Norway in the previous century, and at the same time seeks to strengthen the monarch's position

By organizing a Norwegian archdiocese, the Roman Church strengthened its influence and authority in both countries simply by becoming a much stronger hierarchical presence locally (Ekrem 1998a & 1998b). The newly found independence from Denmark in ecclesiastical matters had a positive effect on Norwegian intellectual life.[69] The presence of higher-ranking Church officials at the archdiocese of Nidaros meant the presence of better-educated people, clergy and clerics with degrees from the emerging European universities and first-hand knowledge of and familiarity with contemporary European culture and literary activity. The proximity between the archdiocese and the King's court in 12th century Trondheim was important for the further development of the relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical powers (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953).[70] Under Håkon Håkonsson, the royal court moved to Bergen.

Little is known about daily life in the cathedral schools; however, we know that there were quite a number of *secular* pupils in Trondheim, primarily due to the presence of the royal court. In Oslo, there were fewer secular students; the majority of them were *prestlinger*, meaning that they trained for priesthood. Most students boarded, and the day started around five in the morning and continued until five in the afternoon, with only two breaks during the day. The curriculum was mainly the same as elsewhere, but there seems to have been a general shortage of books. One of the main subjects was the *calendarium*, as it was important to be able to calculate the holidays (Berggrav 1953).

Norwegian schools seem to have collapsed as a result of the devastation of the pestilence in the middle of the 14th century. The quality of the teaching suffered from a lack of qualified teachers and the economy was shattered. When Aslak Bolt (d.1450) became Archbishop in 1436, he found the situation untolerable, and specifically ordered that the chapters send clerics abroad for higher education, partly in order to comply with the many papal bulls that had come over the centuries in an effort to reform and strengthen the educational system, partly in order to assure a minimum of quality.[71] The intention was good, but few actually were sent abroad as both money and competent candidates were scarce (Øverås 1952). The lack of money in the 14th and 15th centuries may be one of the reasons why the academic level of the late medieval Norwegian clergy was so inconsistent, and why no one at the Norwegian chapters seems to have participated in the debates of the Scholastics, limiting their efforts to the mere importation of the main texts.

The advent of the printing press in the 15th century and the general acceptance of the vernacular in the Reformation century helped authors reach a

---

in relation to the ecclesiastic powers (Barnes 1987). Håkon Håkonsson revised the laws further in 1260, explicitly making the monarchy hereditary, thereby eliminating the possibility of joint kingship. In 1274, Magnus Håkonsson continued the revision of the legal texts, laying the ground for a centralized state and a harmonization of the legal system (Venås 1962, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

[69] The founding of the archdiocese ended the young Norwegian Church's dependence upon the Danish archdiocese at Lund (then the ecclesiastical center of Denmark. Today part of Sweden).

[70] This relationship was modified when the King set up court in Bergen and the physical distance between the two powers became significant. The monarchy gained in strength during the reign of Håkon Håkonsson and remained rather strong until the Norwegian court was moved to Sweden in 14319. The Black Death further benefited the Church which gained almost absolute control of political life from the middle of the 14th century.

[71] The Lateran Council of 1215, stipulating that it was every chapter's duty to organize schools, had been the first attempt at improving the general level of education amongst the lower clergy (*Britannica* 2000).

broader readership. The printed book allowed for better quality control, as texts could be corrected and reprinted at a reasonable cost and within a relative short timeframe. The era of the scholastic glossator and commentator (and guardian of "true" knowledge) effectively came to an end (Eisenstein 1983). The target audience was no longer only the learned scholars of the Church or the universities, but anyone who had the money to purchase books and the curiosity to learn.

Early Historical Compilations

> Transcuntibus insulas Danorum alter mundus aperitur in Sueonica vel Nordmanniam, quae sunt duo latissima regna aquilonis et nostro orbi adhuc fere incognita. De quibus narravit mihi scientissimus rex Danorum, quod Nordmannia vix queat transiri per mensem, cum Sueonia duobus mensibus non faccile percurratur…
>
> Omnibus itaque diis suis attributos habent sacerdotes, qui sacrificia populi offerant. Si pestis et famis imminent, Thor ydolo lybatur, si bellum, Wodani, su nuptiae celebrandae sunt, Fricconi.[72]
>
> (Adam of Bremen 1876: 169 & 175)

The first native historical works during the Christian era were produced at the archdiocese in Nidaros, not long after it was founded in 1153.[73] These first histories were probably inspired by the writings of contemporaneous European histories as well as older historical material. The present chapter on the early Norwegian histories has been included not because the early Latin and vernacular chronicles were translations in any sense of the term—in fact they were regular medieval histories—but because many of them became cherished sources for the literary production of the Humanist translators of the 16th century. It is therefore necessary to trace the origins of these medieval Norwegian historical works in order to get the broader picture and assess the scope of the Humanist enterprise. In addition, the Old Norse histories composed in the 12th and 13th centuries reflect a general European interest for the past, as illustrated by the works of Geoffrey of Monmouth, William of Malmesbury, Hugh of Saint Victor and Peter Lombard to mention a few. They illustrate how Old Norse vernacular cultural traditions in many ways ran parallel to contemporary Latin culture.

The works of medieval Old Norse historians were rediscovered in the 16th and 17th centuries and their translation into contemporaneous Danish formed the basis for an emergent historical and national awareness. Two of the three oldest surviving manuscripts are Latin chronicles written in Norway: Theodoricus Monachus' (13th century) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* (c.1170) (Halvorsen 1959, Øverås 1952) and the anonymous *Historia Norwegie*, which has been attributed by some to Bishop Eystein Erlendsson (d.1188). The third chronicle

[72] "When you travel beyond the Danish Iles, another world opens up: Sweden and Norway, the largest territories in the North and up until now almost unknown to people in our part of the world. The knowledgeable Danish King [Svein] has told me that it takes more than a month to trek through the Norwegian territory, and two months to travel through Sweden… For all their gods the priests have attributes, and offer on behalf of the people. When pestilence and famine are imminent, the idol Thor gives good counsel, when there is war, Wodan (Odin), when marriages are celebrated, the god Frey [is called for]." There is no evidence that Adam was a geat traveler. In his description of the Northern regions, he relies to a great extent on previous Latin historians such as Einhard, Martianus Capella, Solinus and Orosius (Adam of Bremen 1876: 169. My translation).

[73] The earliest recordings of the life of the Norsemen were made by Ottar from Hålogaland, who voyaged to the Arctic North, a journey that took him beyond the Kola Peninsula and down to the White Sea in modern-day Russia. Ottar later visited King Alfred (849-899) in England, who included his story in Paulus Orosius' (5th century) historical geography book— *Historiarum Adversus Paganos* (The Seven Books of Histories against the Pagans)—the first Christian world history from the Creation to the year 417 AD. King Alfred had Orosius' history translated into Old English from Latin around 890 (*Britannica* 2001, Danielsen et.el. 1992). The history about Ottar's travels to the great North thus survived as an insertion in the Old English version of Orosius' geographical history on the pagans, a work which was later commonly referred to as *Orosius* (Danielsen et.el. 1991, *Britannica* 2000).

is the vernacular work *Ágrip af konunga sógum*, an abridged history of the Norwegian kings, probably written in the second half of the 12th century (Halvorsen 1959, Ekrem 1998, Andersson 1985). The text has been preserved in one single slightly defective manuscript, the AM 325 II, 4º, from around 1220-1225, a copy of an earlier original. Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* and *Historia Norwegie* may have been amongst its sources, as may the work of Sæmundr Sigfússon (1056-1133), the Icelandic author of the now lost *Noregs Konungstál* (the oldest vernacular history of the early Norwegian kings), and Ari Þorgilsson' (c.1067-1148) *Íslendingabók*, composed some time between 1122 and 1132 (Indrebø 1936, Andersson 1985). The internal relationship between the earliest historical sagas, both the Latin chronicles and the vernacular sagas, is not clear. However, in the 13th century, Snorri Sturlason probably used them and various Icelandic sources when composing *Heimskringla*, the history of the Norwegian kings from their mythological origins to the 12th century (Andersson 1985, Snorri 1981, Ebbestad Hansen 1998).[74]

Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium

Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium was compiled by Theodoricus, a Norwegian (probably Benedictine) monk. This history of the Norwegian kings extends from Harald Hårfagre (r. c. 885-933) to the end of Sigurd Magnusson's reign in 1130, when the civil war (c.1130-1240) broke out as a result of contention over the succession between the different descendants of Sigurd Magnusson (r. 1103-1130) Jorsalfare[75] and Magnus Olavsson (r. 1093-1103) Berrføtt (Faulkes & Perkings 1998, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).[76] The exact dating of Theodoricus' work is uncertain, but *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* must have been written some time between 1177 and 1188, during the bishopric of Eystein, as it was dedicated to "To his Lord and Father, the most reverend Eystein, Archbishop of Niðaróss [by the] humble sinner Theodoricus [who] pledges the obedience owed by a subject, and the support of prayers" (Faulkes & Perkings 1998: 1).

In addition to summarizing the lives of kings and events pertaining to Norway and the islands under Norwegian control, Theodoricus specifically raises the issue of royal heredity and succession according to the notions of *primogenitur* and legitimate birth advocated by the Church (Faulkes & Perkings 1998, Chapter 26). This interruption of the narrative—in which he cites Lucan's (39-65) *De bello civili* as an example—must be regarded in light of the ravages of the Civil War (1130-1240) and the instability it brought to the country (Faulkes & Perkings 1998). The civil wars eventually contributed to an accelerated centralization of both the Church and the monarchy, and paved the way for the construction of a national state with fewer main players (Bagge 1998). According to Norse traditions, the male lineage had been of importance (but not exclusively) when selecting a new leader,

[74] For a more detailed list of Old Norse-Icelandic chronicles, see Appendix 1: Norse-Icelandic Historical Sagas.

[75] "Who had been on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem."

[76] A hitherto anonymous *Historia de profectione danorum in Hierosolymam*, estimated to date from around 1200, may also have been compiled by Theodoricus some decades earlier (Ekrem 1998b, Øverås 1952).

whether he was born in or out of wedlock; however, the succession was only valid after confirmation by the *Þing*, meaning that the leader needed the support of his subjects to remain in power (Faulkes & Perkings 1998). *Support*, not subjection, and s*election*, not heredity, had been the overruling principle, although the factors of family and wealth had counted when it came to being considered. Old Norse society, as we have already mentioned, was in many ways less hierarchical than its European counterparts: a society with few institutions where *free* men enjoyed relative equality. Towards the end of the 13th century, both the old and new aristocracy emerged as clearly subordinate to the monarch, and the new rules were reiterated in the laws recorded by Magnus Håkonsson (Bagge 1998).

The principle of succession by male lineage alone did not become customary until well after the first rounds of civil war in the 12th century (Faulkes & Perkings 1998). It remains a central theme in *Konungs skuggsjá*, composed towards the middle of the next century. Traditional Norse society was based on rather precarious relations (and rivalry) between regional chieftains or kings who regarded each other as peers and equals. The setting around the rich landlords was the *farm*, not the court, and the boundaries of the "kingdoms" and ruling families were unstable, constantly at the mercy of changing allegiances and loyalties. Old Norse society was a profoundly *rural* phenomenon and *ruralness* in conjunction with strong bonds to the soil permeated most interpersonal relations and was reflected in the literary traditions. The establishment of the archdiocese meant the replacement of the traditional direct power relations between groups of equals with a more marked opposition between the people and the new ecclesiastical and legal institutions (Bagge 1998).

The narrative of *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* is full of digressions and references to various medieval authorities. Theodoricus says: "In the manner of the ancient chroniclers, I have added digressions in appropriate places which, in my opinion, are not without value…" (Foote in Faulkes & Perkins 1998: 2). In this he did not differ from other medieval historians, as it was normal and accepted practice that the compiler displayed his knowledge and gave pertinent moral advice. The insertion of moralizing material emphasizes the didactical character of the work. Towards the end, Theodoricus acknowledges his indebteness towards other historians, both contemporary and ancient: "I have learned what I have written from the reports of others" (Foote in Faulkes & Perkins 1998:54). He found the material in various Latin chroniclers and "by assiduous inquiry" of the Icelanders (Faulkes & Perkings 1998, Prologue), confirming his dependence upon both vernacular and Latin sources. Amongst the vernacular authors that he may have used, we naturally think of Sæmundr Sigfússon (1056-1133) and Ari Þorgilsson (c. 1067-1148), more or less his contemporaries, who were the first to compile in the vernacular the history of the Norwegian kings and the settlers of Iceland (Andersson 1985).

Amongst the foreign historians consulted by Theodoricus, we find Sigebert of Gembloux (c. 1030-1112), a Benedictine monk like himself (*Chronicon ab anno 381 ad 1113*),[77] Hugh of Saint Victor (*Chronicon*), Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) (*Liber exceptionum*),[78] and Paul the Deacon (c. 720-799) (who wrote *Historia langobardum* and *Historia romana*). Theodoricus may have read these chronicles himself, as they were very highly esteemed and widely disseminated during the Middle Ages, or read selected texts in a compilation. *Historia naturalis* by Pliny the Elder (23-79) is also mentioned in his text. *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum* by Adam of Bremen, although not mentioned, also seems to have been a more or less direct source. However, Theodoricus often misquoted his sources, and mixed them up, so that, for example, when he thought he was citing from *Historia naturalis* by Pliny the Younger (which is actually the work of Pliny the Elder), he really quoted a passage from Isidore's *Etymologia* (Faulkes & Perkings 1998).[79]

Although Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* definitely cannot be defined as a translation, it does however, lean quite heavily on both Latin and vernacular sources, and the narrative is interspersed with references to a number of known historical works, including quotations from these as well as from biblical passages. The narrative, typical of the saga literature, has many features in common with the biographical genre (Bagge 1998). In the chapters relating the lives of Olav Tryggvasson and Olav Haraldsson (the two kings who Christianized the country), the tone is definitely hagiographic (Faulkes & Perkings 1998), testifying to the Church's attempt at combining story and sermon in its effort to instill and maintain the faith. The heroic conduct of the two saga kings were probably more in tune with the expectations of the Norse audience as regards valiant behavior and merit. It was easier to accept a strong belligerent King and his religious convictions than to be influenced by the examples of weak martyrs who had led miserable lives and who could lay claim to no heroic deeds whatsoever. The Old Norse admiration of the physically strong and mighty finds its natural expression in the veneration of the "eternal" King, Saint Olaf (Bagge 1998).

---

[77] Although all sources give 1112 as Sigebert's last year, his chronicle goes from 381 to 1113 (OLIS, BNF, *Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[78] This early compilation, a synopsis of world history, was by many medieval scholars erroneously attributed to Hugh of Saint Victor. The passage in Theodoricus' history is taken from the chapter "De gente normannorum" (Faulkes & Perkings 1998). Richard's main work is *De trinitate*, a speculation on the Trinity and the Christian notion of love in the spirit of Anselm. He became subprior of Saint Victor in 1159 and prior in 1162, and succeeded Hugh as master of the abbey school and remained there until his death (Wippel & Wolter 1969). Hugh of Saint Victor, however, wrote a *Chronicon*, also a universal history (Favier 1999). Robert Wace (c.1100-1174), the first to write about the Legend of the Round Table in the Anglo-French vernacular in the *Roman de Brut*, also wrote a history of the Normans, the *Roman de Rou* between 1160 and 1174 (Shichtman 1987, *Britannica* 2000). All of these books may have been known to Theodoricus Monachus.

[79] *Auctores* explicitly mentioned by Theodoricus: Boethius, Saint Jerome, Isidore of Seville, the Venerable Bede, Remigius of Auxerre, Hugh of Saint Victor, Sigebert of Gembloux, Paul the Deacon, Lucan, Horace, Pliny the Younger, Jordanes, Plato, Origen, Saint Augustine, Pope Gelasius, and Virgil. Theodoricus also refers to the inescapable Holy Scripture, *Septuagint*, as well as some of the apocrypha, such as the Gospel according to Thomas. He also includes a whole chapter (Chapter 20) to the problem of calculating the beginning of the world and the work done by the Church Fathers and their successors (Faulkes & Perkings 1998).

Historia Norwegie

The rather brief and unassuming *Historia Norwegie* contains a short prologue and a Book One of only twenty-three pages in all. It includes some material derived from reputed medieval European chronicles such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* (c. 1135-37); Honorius of Autun's *Imago mundi* (c. 1110); and Julius Solinus' D*e mundi mirabilibu*s (3rd century) (Venås 1962, Ekrem 1998a, Barnes 1987).[80] Adam of Bremen's *Gesta Hammaburgensis*, which describes the early Christian missions to the northern regions from 788 to 1072 (Koht 1950), presumably was one of *Historia Norwegie*'s most immediate sources,[81] and the "Prologue" to *Historia Norwegie* presumably shows a strong dependence upon Honorius of Autun's "Prologue" to *Imago mundi* (Ekrem 1998). Some of the oldest written material pertaining to the life and miracles of Olav Haraldsson are found in the C-text of the old *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* which in essence follows the arrangement of Orosius' *Historiarum adversus Paganos* (Sando 1999, *OLIS*, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999)[82]. Indeed, the main medieval *auctores* and chroniclers seem to have been an inspiration to the Norse historians.

Modern scholars do not agree as to when this history was written. Koht (1950) dates the work till about 1170, whereas Skard (1930) proposes 1180. Kirby (1986), on the other hand, contends that the history must date from the years 1177-1178 or the years immediately thereafter, as the text refers to the death of a certain Nicolás Sigurðarsson killed on Saint Mary's Mass, meaning September 8, 1176 (Kirby 1986).[83] Despite the reference to the slaying of Nicolás, Ekrem argues that there are certain textual indicators suggesting that the work may have been composed as early as 1152, in conjunction with the founding of the Norwegian archdiocese at Nidaros (Ekrem 1998a & 1998b). She has suggested the possibility that this rather special historical work could have been inserted by Eystein himself into a petition to the Holy See for a national Norwegian archdiocese and consequently was sent out of the country (Ekrem 1998a).[84] According to this theory, the original manuscript was sent to Rome along with the petition for an archdiocese, possibly explaining why Theodoricus was unfamiliar with it (Ekrem 1998a). Nevertheless, since so little is known about the circumstances of *Historia Norwegie* and the fate of the original manuscript, these theories remain highly hypothetical.[85]

---

[80] Solinus was more famous, however, for his compilation of Pliny (the author of *Historia naturalis*). His *Polyhistor* was a popular source for many medieval compilers and encyclopedists (Chavy 1988b, *Britannica* 2000). These mirrors of the world were popular. William of Conches (1080-1153) also wrote a *Philosophia mundi* at almost the same time (Chavy 1988b).

[81] Adam of Bremen also draws on Solinus, Lucan, Martianus, Orisius and Beda, all mentioned in his section about the northern regions (Adam of Bremen 1876: 169 & 183).

[82] The C-version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* narrates the history of the Anglo-Saxons from approximately 500 to William the Conqueror's victory in 1066 (Sando 1999), and is preserved in the British Museum as Ms. Cotton Tiberius B i (OLIS).

[83] The killing of Nicolás is recorded in both *Historia Norwegie* (Kirby 1986: 50) and in Magnus Erlingsson's Saga in *Heimskringla* (Snorri 1979: 676).

[84] In 1153, Eystein had already been a priest for some time. He was elected Archbishop in 1157 and received the pallium from the Pope in 1161 (Kolsrud 1913).

[85] Yet, if Archbishop Eystein was truly the author of *Historia Norwegie* and Theodoricus compiled *Historia de antiquitate regum Norvagiensium* during Eystein's archbishopric—possibly at Eystein's request as suggested by the dedication—it somehow seems strange that Theodoricus apparently had no knowledge of his patron's historical work, made no reference to it, and that no copy was made. In addition, any theory suggesting that the text was composed prior to the establishment of the archdiocese in 1153 must per force explain the existence of the passage about the death of Nicolás in 1176. The incident may

There are certainly many unanswered questions in relation to the redaction and fate of the original manuscript of *Historia Norwegie*. One thing is certain: Theodoricus never referred to it in his *Historia antiquitate regum norwagiensum*. Indeed, *Historia Norwegie* seems to have disappeared from circulation altogether and does not appear to have been consulted by the 13th-century vernacular saga writers.[86] It has also been argued that *Historia Norwegie* may have been the first of two books, and that *Passio Olavi*—positively attributed to Archbishop Eystein—may have been intended as the second volume, as suggested by the opening lines of *Historia Norwegie*: "Incipit liber primus in ystoria Norwegie" (Ekrem 1998b). The worship of Olav was a national uniting factor throughout the Christian Middle Ages (Mørkhagen 1995). The *Passio Olavi* soon acquired great popularity, also outside Scandinavia, and Nidaros became a cherished place of pilgrimage. There are three extant manuscripts: in England, France and Finland. The *Passio* contained not only the biography of the martyr King, but also accounts of miracles attributed to his divine intervention (Skard 1930).

It could well be that Eystein indeed was the author of both; however, the chronological relationship between the early Latin histories remains to be determined before the various theories can be confirmed. *Historia Norwegie* adopts much of the same structure and historical sequence as Adam's chronicle, which quickly had been established as an authority on the northern regions, and leans on its content as well its form. However, the narrative tone of *Historia Norwegie* is definitely more optimistic and appealing than that of its German predecessor. The author summarizes the history of the major kings and the story of the country's Christianization. Norway is presented as a country rich in natural resources, although with remote regions in need of sustained missionary efforts, in short a place worthy of the Church's engagement (Ekrem 1998b).

---

of course have found its way into the narrative at a later date, inserted by a copyist eager to augment and "improve" the text by adding moralizing material—in this case the story of Nicolás's death at the hands of the Birkebeiners.

[86] A copy of the manuscript was brought to the Orkneys, and re-copied there. The original is lost, but a manuscript is owned by the Earl of Dalhousie in Scotland. The text was discovered by P.A. Munch discovered there in the 1840s (Koht 1950).

Notwithstanding the dispute over *Historia Norwegie's* origin and conception, compared to its Latin predecessors it certainly offers a new image of Norway, insisting on its natural riches and varied geography. The *Historia* in many ways can be considered a counter-argument to Adam of Bremen's rather condescending description of the Nordic countries as the poorest and most arid of all regions, suitable for sheep only (Ekrem 1998a).[87] In Adam's history Norway is presented as the most peripheral country in the world, and as such deserves to be put at the end of the book, which is in fact where it is placed.[88] Furthermore, Adam's account of Olav Tryggvasson gives a very negative picture of the legendary King, described as a rather violent man of not-so-Christian principles with heathen magic powers—Olav allegedly threw bird bones in order to foresee the future. In Adam's opinion he was not at all a very suitable candidate for sainthood, which had indeed been proposed as an appropriate recognition of his efforts to Christianize the people of the North (Koht 1950). Adam's report probably contributed to the failure of this project. Consequently, *Historia Norwegie* can be seen as an attempt to rectify the negative perception of the Northern regions as underdeveloped in terms of Western Christian civilization and refinement. It definitely offered a renewed image of the Northmen to which Theodoricus' *Historia antiquitate regum norwagiensium* also contributed.[89] However, the sense of cultural inferiority and isolation can be detected in most of the early chonicles and continued to permeate much of the 13th century chivalric and romance writing, as well as the last historical sagas, such as Sturla Þórðarson's *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (Barnes 1987, Andersson 1985).

---

[87] Propter asperitatem montium sive propter frigus intemperatum sterilissima est omnium regionum, solis aptis pecoribus (Adam of Bremen 1876: 178).

[88] "Nortmannia, sicut ultima orbis provintia est, in ultimo libri loco convenienter ponetur a nobis" (Adam of Bremen 1876: 178).

[89] On the possible relation between Latin and vernacular chronicles, see Ulset 1983.

Vernacular historical sagas

The third of the oldest surviving Norwegian historical texts is the vernacular *Ágrip af konunga sógum*, an "excerpt" of the history of the Norwegian Kings, written some time around 1190. It has become an important source book, fundamental to understanding of the historical saga writing (Indrebø 1936). Despite the fact that *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* was composed in Latin and the anonymous *Ágrip* in the national tongue, there are so many similarities between the two texts that modern scholars believe that the two texts must have been compiled by one and the same author, or alternatively by two compilers who made use of the same source material (Halvorsen 1959, Andersson 1985).[90] The chronological sequence and textual interrelation between the early Norwegian historical texts is hard to establish as many of the central manuscripts have been preserved as fragments only or as incomplete later copies (Andersson 1985). *Ágrip* may be seen as one of the earliest attempts at creating literature in the mother tongue for a growing number of more educated people converging on the royal court. It remains the only example of a completely Norwegian-produced vernacular historical work. The Icelanders dominated the historical genre that grew out of the oral — almost biographical—vernacular tradition, whereas the subsequent chivalric and romance genre belonged entirely to the Norwegian court (Halvorsen 1959).

However, the early Norwegian and Icelandic historians seem to have been familiar with each other's work as well as the work of both contemporaneous and earlier European chroniclers, which may have served as models for Old Norse compositions. The English Henry of Huntingdon (1084-1155)[91] and the Danish Saxo Grammaticus (d. 1204) were certainly known to their Norwegian contemporaries. The indebtedness of the Norse historians to the academic works of famous medieval scholars is of course established. Through the numerous *compendiae*, *compilations*, *mirrors*, and *summae*, medieval knowledge had repeatedly and systematically been selected and organized in an effort to arrive at a true comprehension of the order of things and the principle underlying the divine origin of existence. The early Norse vernacular historians probably tried to model themselves after the Latin authoritative sources without, however, attaining the same level of linguistic and narrative elegance, or the scholarly perspicacity and discernment of their predecessors (Halvorsen 1959).

Whereas the vernacular historical works in Latin belong to the second half of the 12th century, during which the Church was established and consolidated as a cultural and political institution with considerable power, the chivalric sagas and sagas of the Norwegian kings were compiled in the 13th century by people associated with the royal court. The early Latin works did not influence the use of the vernacular in any way. Indeed, the vernacular seems to have held the stronger

[90] Halvorsen maintains that *Ágrip* seems to have been influenced by the rules of rhetoric outlined in *Institutiones grammaticiae* by Priscianus, reflected by the vernacular text's somewhat unusual utilization of alliterations, amplifications, rhymes, parallelisms etc. Consequently, the vernacular of *Ágrip* is not the colloquial Old Norse found in most secular texts, and shows a move away from the sober and precise Skaldic Norse of the mythological Eddaic poetry (Halvorsen 1959).

[91] Author of *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardii*.

position all along. The Icelanders were the masters of the saga genre (Halvorsen 1959), and it is largely due to their efforts that the historical manuscripts were preserved, and that the sagas are still read and appreciated, especially *Heimskringla* by Snorri Sturlason (Anderson 1985, Kalinke 1981).

Snorri Sturlason—by far the most famous of the Old Norse chroniclers—was but one of a series of Norse-Icelandic historians. He was an Icelandic scribe and legal expert who worked at the Norwegian court during the reign of Håkon. His *Heimskringla* was probably composed some time between 1230-35. It is a comprehensive work covering early Norwegian history from the time of Halvdan Svarte (9th century) to Magnus Erlingsson (r. 1161-1184), preceded by a Prologue outlining the legendary Ynglinge origin of both gods and kings (Andersson 1985, Snorri 1981, Ebbestad Hansen 1998).

Medieval Iceland and Norway were brother nations sharing the same culture, language, history and literary traditions. They had in many instances been subjected to the same political and ecclesiastical authorities. Iceland had been populated by Norwegians early in the 9th century. The Icelanders enjoyed a fair degree of freedom and self-rule, and were not subjected to the monarch in the same way as were the Norwegians, but were governed by a local council of free men who met whenever called for. For a long time, Iceland remained closely linked to Norway through the archdiocese in Nidaros, which also functioned as the archbishopry for all the Atlantic Islands. Scholars and legal experts moved freely between the two communities in medieval times and it is therefore difficult to establish whether the anonymous author of a translated text was Icelandic or Norwegian, as there were only minor dialectical differences between the two vernaculars until the end of the 14th century (Kalinke 1985a). Towards the end of the 13th century, Iceland accepted the authority of the Norwegian Crown but kept the Althing as the local governing body. The Norwegian laws were again revised and reinforced in 1274. New laws were also compiled for Iceland, approved by the Althing and recorded in *Jónsbók* in 1281 (Arnamagnaean Institute).

The Icelanders were the uncontested masters of the saga genre in the vernacular. Some of the very first Norse-Icelandic historical writers in the vernacular have been identified. Sæmundur Sigfússon's (c. 1056-1133) *Konungatál*,[92] and Ari Þorgilsson's (c. 1067/8-1148) *Konunga ævi*—now lost—were both sources Snorri must have been familiar with, in addition to the Latin chronicles of Adam of Bremen, Theodoricus, and Eystein. Moreover, Norse chronicles by unknown authors existed, such as the already mentioned *Ágrip* (c. 1190), *Morkinskinna* (c. 1220), *Fagrskinna* (c. 1220), and the now lost *Catalogus regum Norwagiensis* (Andersson 1985), mentioned by Theodoricus in his *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium* (Chapter 20), a work which was probably just what it claimed to be, a simple *list* of Norwegian kings and their reigns (Faulkes & Perkings 1998, Anderson 1985, Storm 1880).

[92] *Konungatál* is contained in a collection of manuscript texts known as the *Fagrskinna*, discovered in the 17th century by Thormod Torfæ ús, the Icelandic secretary to Christian IV (1588-1648). The manuscript was named *Fagrskinna* because of its beautiful leather binding. In the Middle Ages, this book was wrongfully referred to as *Noregs konungatál* (Schreiner 1972). *Konungatál*, the original compilation by Sæ mundur Sigfússon, has been lost.*Fagrskinna* is believed to contain material from several source texts: *Morkinskinna, Ágrip, Hlaðajarla Saga* (lost), and a lost version of the *Jómsvíkinga saga* (Andersson 1985).

All of these books, and in particular Ari Þorgilsson's (c. 1067-1148) *Íslendingabók* (c. 1122-32)—considered the prototype for the kings' sagas of the 13th century—and *Konunga ævi*, are now considered amongst the direct "ancestors" of Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Andersson 1985). Snorri himself based his chronicle on both written and oral sources and is careful to insist on the authority of the oral tradition, despite his awareness of the fact that the skalds never were free to tell a story in an "objective" manner:

> Bók þessi lét ek rita fornat frásagnir um höfðingja þá, er riki hafa haft á Norðrlöndum ok á danska tungu[93] hafa mælt, sva sem ek hefi heyrt fróða menn segja, sva ok nökkurar kynkvíslir þeira eftir því, sem mér hefir kennt verit, sumt þat, er finnst í langfeðgatali, því er konungar hafa rakit kyn sitt eða aðrir stórættaðir menn, en sumt er ritat eftir fornum kvæðum eða sögulljóðum, er mann hafa haft til skemmtanar sér. En þó at vér vitim eigi sannendi á því, þá vitum vér dæmi til þess, at gamlir fræðimenn hafe slíkt fyrir satt haft (…). Tökum vér pat allt fyrir satt, er í þeim kvæðum finnst um ferðir þeira eða orrostur. En þat er háttr skálda at lofa þann mest, er þá eru þeir fyrir, en engi myndi þat þora at segja ásjá honum þau verk hans, er allir þeir, er heyrði, vissi, at hégómi væri ok skrök, ok sva sjálfr hann. Þat væri þá háð, en eigi lof.[94]
>
> (Pálsson 1944: 1-3)

The sagas reflect the extraordinary evolution of perception the Norse people had of themselves. From the earliest vernacular sagas of the 12th century—in which the old mentality seems to be prevalent—to the *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* of the middle of the 13th century, an ideological change had taken place. The strong-willed and powerful elected kings of the Vikings had been replaced with kings theoretically at the service of both God and the people. The ancient kings had owed service to none but themselves. The emergent Christian society built on strong institutions and redefined royal power and privilege. The new order, which finds its expression specifically in *Konungs skuggsjá* (c.1260), the Laws of 1274, and *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* (c. 1265), marks a clear separation of *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, more in compliance with contemporaneous scholastic ideology (Bagge 1998, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967.[95]

---

[93] The Old Scandinavian Norse dialects were commonly referred to as *Danish tongue*, illustrating the dominance of the Danes even in the earlier times.

[94] In this book [*Heimskringla*] I have written the tales of the old chieftains who ruled in the Northland, and who spoke the Danish Tongue, according to the accounts of old wise men. I have also written about their lineage in the manner that I was told. Some of this is contained in the ancestral speeches, recording the descent of many kings and great men, others derive from old songs and poems of the kind people recite to amuse themselves. Although we do not know for sure the veracity of their content, we still know that wise men have held these tales for true […] Everything that is told in these songs about their [the king's and chief's] incursions and battles we believed in. It is however in the manner of skalds to praise the man before whom they stand; nevertheless, no one would dare tell a man about sham deeds if everyone listening knew that they were only boasting lies, including the man (for whom the poem was composed). Such behavior [on the part of the skald] would be contempt and not praise […] And I believe that the old songs are true as long as they are performed well and interpreted with sagacity. (My own literal translation which I think is more faithful to the wording of the original text. For a standardized English translation, see Monsen & Smith 1990: xxxv-xxxvii).

[95] The separation of *sacerdotium* and *imperium* so predominant in scholastic thought was radically opposed to the Norse tradition in which there was a close link between the divine and the royal. The legendary divine origin of the royal families was, with the introduction of Christianity, converted into the idea of the "king by the grace of God" (Flint 1975a, *Britannica* 2000, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967). Odin was considered by the Norse people the predecessor of all kings. In *Ynglingesaga*, at the beginning of Snorri's *Heimskringla*, Odin is presented as a great chieftain and soldier from somewhere in Eurasia, where he also supposedly had been a great landowner. With time Odin gained divine status and his descendants were men of great reputation and skills, from amongst which the Norse people elected their kings (Snorri 1981: 13-48, Monsen & Smith 1990: 1-35). This divine origin of the pagan Norse kings may have spurred the interest in their lives and deeds.

The first historical sagas, inspired, in particular, by the English and French medieval chronicles, put Norse society into a historical continuum with tentacles into the histories of other European nations such as the Normans both in France and England. Much more than a mere description of national heroes throughout history, the saga literature engendered a historical and national *conscience,* and an awareness of the *self* in comparison with the *other*. Contemporary European chroniclers wrote almost exclusively in Latin. In light of the Latin literary tradition of Christianity, the omnipresent vernacular of the Old Norse writers therefore stands out as the explicit expression of a nascent national identification. The use of the vernacular can be seen as an *inclusive* exercise aiming at encouraging awareness of the past and a pride in the national, possibly as a natural reaction to the massive importation of foreign material by the Church. The effort to make the foreign material available to a wider audience, in combination with a general strengthening of political structures and the emergence of a more centralized administration led to major changes in literary taste.

By the 13th century, the *state* was in place and interest for past political events and structures declined. The Old Norse audience and readership, mainly members of the clergy and the emergent native aristocracy now converging on the royal court—people who had learnt some Latin and maybe some French, and who were eager to appear as educated as their peers in England and France—now turned away from the devotional literature of sermons and homilies characteristic of the missionary period, and also the historical material originating in the 12th century, and embraced the literary conventions of contemporaneous European culture (Halvorsen 1959).

Secular Court Literature in the 13th Century: Chivalric and Arthurian Themes in Old Norse Vernacular

> Dyrleger menn ok daða fuller hygner menn ok hœverskir voru i fyrnskonne i Brætlandi at riki ok at rœysti. at vizsko ok at vallde. at forsio ok kvrtæisi. er um atburði þa er jnnanlandz gærðuzt at kunnigir skylldo vera viðrkomandom ok æigi glœymazt okunnom þa leto þæir rita til aminningar. i strænglæika lioð ok af þæim gera til skermta nar ok varo mioc margir þæir atburðir er oss samer æigi at glœyma. er viðr læitom lioða bok at gera.[96]
>
> (Sir Equitan in Cooke & Tveitane 1979: 66)

Medieval history writing borrowed many features from the biography, and especially that ultimate biographic genre: hagiography. Some times narrative mattered more than historical fact, so that even fantastic and legendary material would be included. The distinction between legend, story and history in medieval writing was not always clear, as all authors laid claim to some degree of historical veracity. The line between fact and fiction was indeed blurred, and the Latin histories of the earlier medieval English chroniclers, for example, contained much of the Celtic material prevalent in the vernacular and secular French court literature of the 12th and 13th centuries. The early European histories were learned "ancestors" of fictional court literature. Both heroic epic and chivalric romance were to become extremely popular throughout Western Europe, both in the oral and the literary traditions.

Norwegian society in the Christian Middle Ages was a sparsely populated rural society far removed from the urban reality and courtly refinement of the creators of the French court literature. Old Norse society was organized around powerful landowners or strong pretenders to the throne and their ability to rally the local peasants and bondsmen in local "armies" (Bagge & Mykland 1993).[97] Long before their inclusion into the community of Christian nations, the Vikings had been in regular contact with foreign people along the trading routes. Common commercial travelers emerged as early as the 8th century. In Christian times, the many pilgrimages brought the Norse people in direct contact with contemporaneous popular European literary traditions, songs, and legends, and literary material from even farther away. The commercial and military routes dating back to the Roman Empire were privileged places of encounters between various travelers—pilgrims, students, teachers, merchants—and entertainers such as the jongleurs and the troubadours (Halvorsen 1959).

The three principal destinations for pilgrims from the North were Rome, the Holy Land and Santiago de Compostela. In order to get to Santiago, pilgrims had to

[96] "Excellent and accomplished men, clever men and courteous, were in Brittany in olden days, with power and prowess, with wisdom and with might, prudence and politeness, who, concerning the events which took place in that country, in order that these be known to posterity and not be lost to strangers, had been written in *lais* for remembrance's sake and made into entertainment. There were many of these adventures that we ought not to forget when we are trying to make a book of *lais*" (Cooke & Tveitane 1979: 67).

[97] In the Old Norse pagan society, the main social distinction was between free men and bonded labor (Bagge 1998).

pass through the French territories. Traveling was a slow affair. Some people traveled as solitary wanderers, others as part of larger groups. In the opposite direction came foreign pilgrims to the shrine of Saint Olaf in Trondheim. We know very little of the Norwegian pilgrim's entourage, but at least the more important people, in the manner of their European counterparts, must have traveled with members of their household, including wife, children, clerics and servants (Ørjasæter 1994, Togeby 1972). This was also true for many of the crusaders who crossed the southern parts of the Continent on their way to the Holy Land (Pernoud 1990). The pilgrim routes were essential parts of an informal system of communication between people of different nations and cultural traditions, and the pilgrims were instrumental to the dissemination of well-known stories and legends, the lives of the saints and miracles, as they would share the same devotion, pass-time and entertainment along the way (Ørjasæter 1994, Togeby 1972).

Some of the Celtic themes developed by the romance authors of the 12th century appeared for the first time in the early chronicles. In the early Middle Ages the Venerable Bede produced the first history of the English people from the time of their conversion, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. He was also responsible for the first reputed translation of the Bible into the vernacular, but unfortunately his work has not survived (Kirby 1986). William of Malmesbury (12th century) compiled *Gesta regum Anglorum* around 1125 and Geoffrey of Monmouth (d.1154) probably finished his *Historia regum Britanniae*—translated into Old Norse as *Breta sögur*—a decade later, some time between 1136 and 1138 (Barnes 1987, Venås 1962).

Early medieval history writing had predominantly been a monastic activity, and the English chronicles probably arrived in Norway with the missionary monks. They became precious sources for the Old Norse translators and saga writers (Barnes 1987, Venås 1962). In the 12th century, many of the events narrated in the European chronicles moved from the monasteries into the courts. The historical became courteous. Monmouth's *Historia* constitutes the earliest written sources for the Celtic legends of King Arthur and his twelve knights. The Anglo-Norman Robert Wace (c. 1100-1174), a contemporary of Geoffrey and William, repeated parts of Monmouth's history in his vernacular *Roman de Brut* (c. 1155), presented to Eleanor of Aquitaine.[98] Wace transformed Geoffrey's Latin prose chronicle into a verse roman (Brunel 1972, Shichtman 1987, Pym 1998, *Britannica* 2000), and by doing so introduced the *matière de Bretagne*, i.e. Arthurian fiction, for the first time in the vernacular. *Roman de Brut* was named after the founder of the Britons, presumably the legendary Brutus, son of Caesar. Wace also wrote a *Roman de Rou*, recapitulating the history of the people of Normandy (Shichtman 1987) from Rollo the Viking (c. 911) to Robert II Curthose (1106) (*Britannica* 2000).[99] The motivating interest behind these two histories probably was the common French characteristics of both the Duchy of Normandy and the English court. France and England represented the pinnacle of medieval refinement and intellectual enterprise. Scholars from many countries converged on the universities and schools there, where the best medieval teachers taught, and where, as we have seen, a few Norwegian students attended. Members of the Norwegian court and church had personal and ecclesiastical contacts with both of these French-speaking entities (Barnes 1987).[100]

The Arthurian legends were in essence and composition much closer to the popular story than to the traditional chronicle. They were highly entertaining and quickly appeared in other vernaculars and soon became popular reading throughout Europe. However, a vast repertory of miscellaneous Celtic myths supplemented the

[98] Eleanor (1122-1204) married Henry II Plantagenet in 1154. Her son was Richard Lion Heart. She was an educated woman with an interest in literature and was grand patron of many troubadours. She also corresponded with the scholarly Hildegard of Bingen (Aasen 1996). Hildegard (1098-1179) was a prolific Latin writer, author of medical treatises, musical plays, and visionary accounts. Her most famous books are *Causae et curae*, *Physica*, *Liber Scivias* and *Liber divinorum operum.* In her work, she reconciles the new intellectual ideas of her time with traditional monastic mysticism, arguing that Man, who himself is nature, is able to understand nature by rational thinking and transform it with his actions. Implicitly, she too challenges the static world order (Le Goff 1985, Larrington 1995).

[99] In medieval times, it was usual to assume that a country was named after its first legendary leader or chieftain. Grammaticus Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* narrates the history of the Danish people from Dan the First to the reign of Valdemar II Seier (1170-1241). That Dan had been the first Danish king, was something Saxo had read in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*. Dan was brother of Angel, who had founded England. Both were sons of Humbli (Book One). Another tradition (*Chronicon Lethrense* – the Chronicle of Lejre) holds that Dan is the brother of both Nor(i), the founder of Norway, and Østen, the first ruler of Sweden, and that Ypper of Uppsala was their father (Fisher & Davidson 1998, Book One, Footnote 1). In *Ynglingesaga*, Snorri refers to Dan the Proud as the person from whom Denmark took its name (Monsen & Smith 1990: 12).

[100] Hå kon had several contacts on the Continent. He was on friendly terms with Henry III of England, who mediated between Hå kon and the Scottish King Alexander over the Orkneys and Hebrides (Barnes 1987). Hå kon also was on good terms with Matthew Paris, the English monk and historian who wrote about the King in his *Chronica majora*. Moreover, Hå kon's daughter, Kristin, married Felipe, the brother of Alfonso of Castille in 1268 (Barnes 1987). Alfonso X (1221-1284) was himself a scholar and had produced several compilations as well as a law book—*Las Siete Partidas* (The Seven Divisions of Law)—which contained discourses on manners and moral, as well as the various obligations of a monarch (*Britannica* 2000). The law collection aimed at creating greater national awareness and political unity in a region where Islam stood against Christianity. Alfonso commissioned a series of translations from Greek and Arabic into the Hispanic vernacular (Pym 2000). He was also interested in mirrors, and may have encouraged or been the source of inspiration for *Konungs skuggsjá* (Barnes 1987). See also Glø ersen 1972.

Arthurian legends (Barnes 1987), including the legend of Tristan and Isolde, as it has been transmitted by Béroul and Thomas (Marchello-Nizia 1995), in addition to a number of fables and tales disseminated by jongleurs and singers (Brunel 1972).

Traditionally, the romance literature imported from the French-speaking territories have been grouped into three distinct branches: the *matière de Bretagne* (represented by Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France), the *matière de France* (romans d'aventure, such as *Floire et Blancheflor* and *Parthenopeu de Blois*), and the *matière de Rome* (for example *Alexanders saga*, *Aneid*, *Troyes*, and *Thèbes*). Almost without exception, the material, including the cycle of Charlemagne—of quite another scope and origin—was presented in the North as *riddarasögur*, as chivalric romance (Halvorsen 1959, Kalinke 1985, Barhes 1987). As we see, some of the historical and heroic material translated into Old Norse as chivalric romances derived from a distinct Roman tradition, such as *De excidio Troiae Historia* (*Trojumanna saga*) by Darete Phrygius (OLIS),[101] the *Defense of Rome* (*Romverja*) by the Roman historian Sallust (c. 86-35 BC), and a chronicle entitled *Veraldar saga* (History of ancient times) containing extracts from early medieval writings, amongst others the works of Bede and Isidore (Barnes 1987).

Alongside the Arthurian legends, which spread to other cultures with quite some speed, we find the chansons de geste with their roots in the Charlemagne tradition, and non-Arthurian romans d'aventure such as *Floire et Blancheflor* and the story of Elie of Saint-Gilles (*Elis saga ok Rósamunde*) (Barnes 1987). The sources and genres associated with the Arthurian legends and Breton material were many, but in their Old Norse version they were all typically referred to as riddarsögur, romances of knightly deeds, a term which came to cover a whole spectrum of imported vernacular literature: the roman courtois, the chansons de geste, the *lais*, as well as some of the more hagiographic and historical works, such as the epic story of Dietrich of Berne (Kalinke 1985b).[102]

The Earliest Epic Figure: Charlemagne And His Entourage

The various chivalric romances of Celtic and Arthurian origin were akin to the spirit of the epic material associated with the achievements and heroic deeds of Charlemagne (742-814)— the first truly great medieval European literary hero—and his entourage. *Vita Karoli* (c. 830), composed by the Frankish historian and Charlemagne's court scholar, Einhard (c. 770-840), had launched in his chronicle a literary theme with an astounding success and longevity (Brunel 1972). The *Pilgrimage of Charlemagne* had probably been known in the North long before the reign of Håkon, as it had been included in the story about Holger the Dane (Togeby 1975), a legend subsidiary to the Charlemagne tradition (Brandt 1882, Barnes 1987, Togeby 1972).

[101] A Trojan priest and presumed eyewitness to the Trojan War. *Daretis Phrygii de Excidio Trojae Historia*, composed in the 5th century AD, claims to be a translation of Phrygius' first-hand account of the war (*Britannica* 2000).

[102] Apparently this heroic figure of the German legendary tradition may have derived from Theodoric the Great, the Ostrogoth King who ruled over Italy from 493 to 526 (*Britannica* 2000).

The *Chanson de Roland* is the oldest of the French *chansons de geste*, recorded or sung by Turold around 1100 (Brunel 1972, Halvorsen 1985).[103] Its early conception and popularity in the oral tradition explains why this chanson is amongst the first works of the French vernacular tradition to be translated into Old Norse. Its translation into Old Norse represents the beginning of a literary venture that in Norway would mark the literary efforts of the 13th century (Barnes 1987, Cook & Tveitane 1979, Halvorsen 1959, *Britannica* 2000). The Charlemagne cycle—and especially the legend of the valiant Roland—must have been known in Norway from quite early on through the tales about Hrolf Kraki, one of Charlemagne's two Danish heroes, the other being Holger the Dane (Lönnroth 1975). In the Ynglinge saga, Snorri briefly mentions Hrolf Kraki, who was only eight years old when he was elected King of Lejre (Snorri 1979:34). The story was retold in the Icelandic *Skjóldungasaga* as well as in some of the Skaldic kennings (REX). The exploits of Charlemagne early on became popular themes in the North, part of a vast repertory of migratory legends, and Saint Olaf's son Magnus (1024-1047) was named in honor of the legendary heroic Frankish King (Lönnroth 1975). In Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, the legend finds its parallel in *Bjarkamál* (Lönnroth 1975), an Old Danish epic poem about the siege of Lejre, Hrolf Kraki's fief.

The very first *Vita Caroli Magni* had been written by the Frankish historian Einhard (c. 770-840) about 830, i.e. not long after Charlemagne's death in Spain (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encylopedia* 1999). It soon gave birth to a tradition of heroic poems and songs, which by their reference to the *gesta* had nearly historical ambitions. The *chansons de geste* in the beginning shared some of the same features as the *lai*: they were both musical poems belonging to the repertory of the countless jongleurs and troubadours who crisscrossed the Continent entertaining peasants, towns people, and other travelers along the many pilgrim routes (Barnes 1987, Cook & Tveitane 1979, Halvorsen 1959, Ørjasæter 1994).[104]

The different texts belonging to the cycle of Charlemagne were compiled and translated into Old Norse before or around 1250. Scholars usually agree that the part containing the *Chanson de Roland* was produced in its vernacular Norse version as *Runzivals Þattr* (the Book of Roncevalles) towards the end of the 12th century. However, the poem must have belonged to an oral tradition long before it was written down. Both Normans and Norwegians had a tradition of reciting heroic poetry to the troops before combat (Lönnroth 1975). According to William of Malmesbury, a singer entertained the Norman troops at Hastings in 1066, performing a cantilene about Roland as encouragement before the battle (Lönnroth 1975). In the saga about Saint Olaf, the skald Tormod is requested to perform for the men. He recited from the Danish *Bjarkamál*, featuring Bodvar Bjarke, one of Hrolf Kraki's berserks (Snorri 1979). The legend of Hrolf Kraki is interesting in that it

[103] The oldest surviving French manuscript dates from between 1125-1150, but the original poem was compiled or recited by a certain Turold, and probably dates back to the end of the 11th century (Brunel 1972).

[104] The term *gesta* (n. pl) refers to (heroic) deeds and adventures. It initially referred to the verse narratives of Greek and Roman Antiquity such as Homer's *Odyssee* and Virgil's *Enead*. The distinction between story and history is not always clear. The *chanson de geste*, recounting presumable historical events, ran parallel to the Celtic *lai*. It was an oral genre, sung by jongleurs (Moignet 1969). The term *gesta* was used by medieval chroniclers such as Adam of Bremen (*Gesta hammaburgensis*), Saxo Grammaticus (*Gesta Danorum*), William of Malmesbury (*Gesta regum Anglorum*), Thomas Walsingham (*Gesta abbatum monasterii Sancti Albani*), and Curtius Rufus (*Gesta Alexandri Magni* also known as *De Rebus Gestis Alexandri Magni*).

took on a life of its own, and presents evident parallels to both the cycle of Charlemagne as well as to the mythical tales of King Arthur. Like Charlemagne and Arthur, Hrolf is accompanied by twelve great heroes: his faithful knights (Lönnroth 1975).

The adventures and deeds of Charlemagne, who gained a reputation as a great Christian King and pilgrim—seem to have been popular knowledge long before it was translated into the vernacular in the 13th century (Togeby 1962). This early heroic legend probably inspired the authors of the various Norwegian sagas. The Battle of Roncevalles, originally a minor encounter between the French King and the Basques, was transformed in the poetic tradition it engendered into a battle between Christians and Saracens, and exemplifies the conflicting loyalties at work in feudal society (*Britannica* 2000). *La Chanson de Roland* and *Le pélerinage de Charlemagne* were combined by the Norse translator into one tale, the *Karlamagnussaga* (Kalinke 1981, Venås 1962, Togeby 1975, Halvorsen 1959, Cook & Tveitane 1979). The saga was apparently translated in parts over a certain period of time, so that some passages of the Norse cycle may in fact be older than others, and actually much older than previously thought (Lönnroth 1975). Some of the legends about Charlemagne were included in Theodoricus' *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium* (Lönneroth 1972).[105]

The famous tales of Charlemagne's pilgrimage and heroic exploits may have been used by the missionaries as *exempla*, thereby becoming factual rather than fictional. Consequently, the motivation behind the translation of romance and heroic literature was not merely entertainment as many of the prefaces so ardently claim, that of *Strengleikar.* They all contain didactical digressions and *interlinea* commentary. Nevertheless, the Old Norse *riddarasögur* brought entertainment to people no longer content with the religious and edifying texts which had marked the first centuries of Christianity. The fictitious character of the *romans courtois* captured the imagination of Norwegian courtiers, although the translations arrived at a time when this type of literature was no longer fashionable at the European courts wherefrom they originated (Kalinke 1981).

The Norman Conquest of England in 1066, led to an abrupt halt in Old English literary and translation activity as the national vernacular was suppressed by French at the court (Kirby 1986, Gravier 1975), which from then on became the everyday language of the Anglo-Norman court in England (Lawson 1967). Consequently, the medieval French territory cannot be restricted to a geographical area, but must include parts of England, as the English elite adopted the French vernacular and remained French-speaking well into the 14th century (Baugh 1978, Gravier 1975, Lusignan 1986). The social status of the French vernacular increased after the Norman Conquest and vernacular literature flourished on both sides of the Channel, explaining how Chrétien de Troyes (act. 1164-1190) and Marie de France (act. 1160-1190), the former royal poet at the court of Marie de Champagne (c. 1126-1173), the latter associated with the Anglo-Norman court of Eleanor of Aquitaine, could be part of the same literary tradition, using almost the same vernacular expression.

[105] Chapter 23, describing Charlemagne's subjugation of the Langobards (Faulkes & Perkings 1998).

The Arthurian Tradition in the *Matière de Bretagne*: Chrétien de Troyes

Between 1164 and 1190, Chrétien composed a series of *romans courtois* that were based on the same Arthurian legends as some of Marie de France's *Lais* (c. 1160). In Chrétien's *romans*, the intricate psychology of the protagonists was carrying the narrative. The action carrying the tale was internal more than external and accompanied by a good dose of humor, the *rire médiéval*, in the manner of the *fabliau*, through which medieval authors laughed at and criticized members of their society, rich and poor, clerical and profane (Brunel 1972, Laurion 1997). Chrétien's contribution to French vernacular literature is significant. He sought inspiration for his *romans* in classical works such as Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, which he translated in the 1160s (Monfrin 1964 in Deslisle 2001, Foucher 1975). While looking for inspiration in Ovid's poetry, he at the same time successfully operated a cultural transfer between two vernacular traditions, the Celtic and the French, a phenomenon that was quite unheard of then in learned circles (Lusignan 1986).[106]

The various aspects of matrimonial union and the true passion between lovers constitute the central literary theme in the romance genre, of which *Floire et Blancheflor*—by the Countess of Dia (b.c. 1140), the wife of Guillems of Poitiers—is another good example (Larrington 1995). The romance of *Floire et Blancheflor*, for a long time thought to be of Moorish origin, deals with the separation and reunion of two young lovers, the Saracen Floire (Flores) and the Christian girl Blancheflor, sold by Floire's parents to a Muslim ruler in the Middle East (Berdal 1985). The story was translated into the East Midland English vernacular around 1250 and became very popular (*Britannica* 2000). A little later, towards the end of the 13th century, the poem was also translated into Old Norse (Halvorsen 1959) as one of the last "romances" to be translated (Barnes 1987).

Romance literature combined two notions that had hitherto been considered incompatible: love and marriage (Brunel 1972). The *roman*, originally referring to any writing in the vernacular or the *romanz* language, made it easier to present profane themes properly, and to bypass the obligations of correctness and social convention. The use of the vernacular justified the preoccupation with the quotidian and immediate, not the learned and abstract. In addition, the vernacular opened the door for women to be literary characters and active participants in the narrative (Barnes 1987).[107]

French chivalric literature dealt not so much with the external conflicts between heroic men—although these conflicts constituted the setting—as with the emotional aspects of life and the complex loyalties at play in a feudal medieval society. Chrétien played with the contradictory demands of love and chivalry, and the opposition between the altruistic (and somewhat unattainable) ideals of the heroic knight and his quest for personal glory. The Arthurian legends can be regarded as part entertainment and part didactical stories in which the adventure of the protagonist becomes a learning experience for the audience, and the actions of the heroes become examples to follow (Barnes 1987).

---

[106] Marie de France was greatly inspired by Ovid's writings, illustrated by her reference to one of his book in the *Lai of Guiamar*: "Le livre d'Ovid, ou il enseine comment chascun s'amur estreine" (Rychner 1972: 12).

[107] The literary representation of women in court literature engendered a new perception of love, marriage and friendship, as developed by Jean de Meung (1250-1305) and Guillaume de Lorris (c.1215-1278) in *Le Roman de la Rose* (Le Goff 1985).

The Celtic legends in French vernacular mix pagan and Christian ideals in an imaginary world of courtship and adventure governed by the intervention of destiny and magic (Venås 1962). Many of the chivalric themes were incorporated into 12th-century courtesy handbooks, such as *De arte honeste amandi* (between 1174-1186) by Andreas Capellanus (Halshall 2000), a forerunner to the many medieval Prince's Mirrors, such as Robert of Blois' *L'enseignement des princes* and *Beaudous* (Barnes 1987, *OLIS*). From the early chronicles to the court romance and courtesy books, the characteristics of the protagonist's *persona* evolved and assumed a new mission. The heroes depicted in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britannicae* are presented as real historical figures. In the *roman courtois* they are treated primarily as fictional characters, whereas courtesy books present the main characters as recommendable behavioral models (Barnes 1987).

Three of Chrétien's *romans courtois* were translated into Old Norse in the 13th century: *Eric et Enide*, *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*, and *Perceval ou le conte du Graal* (Zinc 1972). In the Norse romance, the physical strength, courage, and the prowess of the heroic knight came to the fore in a concise and direct narrative more in tune with the native literary traditions and Norse ideals of personal behavior (Halvorsen 1959) than with the well-constructed character study of Chrétien's knights. The Norse versions downplayed the intricate psychological schemes and emotional conflicts of Chrétien's originals (Zinc 1972), and the first person narrator who delivers the author's ironic commentary, as well as monologues and longer descriptive passages, were also eliminated (Halvorsen 1959). One reason for this textual modification may be that Chrétien's audience was made up of courtiers familiar with the literary figures, rhetorical formulae, moral values, and descriptive methods used by the author, whereas the Norse audience represented a group of less sophisticated courtiers who were being introduced to foreign ideals. Consequently, the Old Norse translators of Chrétien's *romances* in many instances worked selectively—omitting passages or explaining the more controversial ones—in an effort to improve on the conduct of the heroes, or at least excuse the worst examples of foolishness and undignified behavior (Barnes 1987).

The new behavioral ideals are echoed in *Konungs skuggsjá*, especially the notion of the divine origin of royal power—the rule by *gratia dei*—and the idea of the King as a *servant* in the larger scheme of things (Øverås 1952). The chivalric court literature introduced the very *unmanly* notion of *service* as part of the noble man's duties. The Christian King was sourrounded by his able men, the royal counsel, bound forever by an oath of servitude. In the chivalric world there was a chain of servitude. The idea of individual freedom and independence vis-a-vis the King contained in the old order—in which loyalty to the leader was constantly subject to change and circumstance—had been lost (Bagge 1998).

The *Matière De Bretagne* and the Romance Tradition: Marie de France

The first religious vernacular texts in Norway had been significantly adapted for the benefit of an audience of Christian neophytes, basically unfamiliar with the scholarly tradition of theological exposition. The early religious material used by the missionaries had already incorporated a certain number of secular legends and

stories so as to make the new religious concepts less foreign. Under Håkon Håkonsson the literary taste changed (Venås 1962). Indeed, most medieval Norsemen did not consider tales about God and the sufferings of the Saints entertaining (Kalinke 1981), and the Celtic tradition in its French and Anglo-Norman expression was more in tune with the Norse temperament and mentality than the biblical and religiously inspired material. The original verse romans were translated into a prose vernacular that emulated the native narrative tradition, and—as a result of the subtle amendments to the texts in an effort to reach the Norse audience—changed the spirit of the tales and made them definitely northern (Barnes 1987). Yet, despite the apparent adaptation of the source texts by the translator(s) through omissions and amplifications and notwithstanding the frequent conversion of indirect speech into direct speech (Venås 1962), the Norse romances by and large remained quite faithful to the original texts (Gravier 1975).

King Håkon Håkonson (r. 1217-1263), who had received his education in England and France according to the customs of the upper echelons of society, ordered the translation of a collection of Anglo-Norman *lais* into Old Norse at the very beginning of his reign. These *lais* became some of the first concerted encounters with European romance literature and stories based on the Celtic legends of Arthur and the knights of the Round Table. At the time of their translation (Extant manuscript from c. 1270) into the Norse vernacular, the 21 *lais* already existed as an established collection of romances (Kalinke 1981), and Håkon commissioned the translation of the whole sequence (Venås 1962, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

The initial name of the Norse collection was *Lioðabók* (Song Book), but it is better known as *Strengleikar* (stringed plays/dances). The Norse translator explains the title by referring to the instruments that were used when performing the originals (Venås 1962). A *lai* was a Celtic musical poem from the "syðra Bretlande," i.e. French Brittany, accompanied by one or more stringed instruments, such as harps, fiddles, hurdy-gurdies, lyres, dulcimers, psalteries, and rotes (Kalinke 1981, Cook & Tveitane 1979). Initially, the Celtic singers performed the *lai* in their native tongue while the content was being rendered into the French vernacular by an interpreter. As the genre gained in popularity, the appellation *lai* was transposed to both French translations and copies, even when these were no longer accompanied by music (Venås 1962).

The original manuscript contained not only the Strengleikar, but also *Pamphilius* and *Elis saga ok Rósamunde*, the story of Elie of Saint-Gilles (Cook & Tveitane 1979). Some of the stories in *Strengleikar* are anonymous; but eleven have positively been attributed to Marie de France. (Skårup 1962, Laurion 1997, Rychner 1971, Venås 1962, Tveitane & Cook 1979).[108] Little is known of Marie's life, but she probably lived as a *courtisane* at the Angevine court of England (Aasen 1996). Some suggest that she may have been associated in some way with the Convent of Poissy near Paris, entrusted to the nuns at a young age. Others contend that she was Marie, Abbess of Shaftesbury, (illegitimate?) daughter of Geoffrey Plantagenet and thereby Henry II's half-sister (Labarge 1986).[109]

It has been suggested that the *Strengleikar* were translated by different Norse translators; if so, however, scholars believe that they must have worked as part of a greater team as the style and overall structure seem coordinated and coherent (Venås 1962).[110] At a time of significant scholastic refinement Marie was the first secular author to consciously adopt and adapt the riches of the vigorous folklore and vernacular oral traditions and make it part of a respectable and written "courteous" romance tradition. *Chèvrefeuille*,[111] *Lanval* and *Le mantel mautaillé*[112] are, apart from the Tristan romance the only examples from the Celtic tradition in Great Britain to find their way into Norse translation, with the exception of Breta sögur based on Geoffrey de Monmouth's *Historia regum* Britanniae[113] and *The Prophecies of Merlin*, translated as *Merlinúspá* (Cook & Tveitane 1979). Probably, the Old Norse translation of the *Prophecies of Merlin* preceded that of *Breta sögur* and may therefore have inspired the latter's translation. *Merlinúspá* is an Icelandic verse translation by Gunnlaugr Leifsson, a monk at Ðingeyrar, but was probably read in Norway as well (Kalinke 1981). As we have seen, the Arthurian material translated in medieval Norway was indeed limited yet included some of the best of what the chivalric literature had to offer (Halvorsen 1959).

All *lais* comprised in the Old Norse collection *Strengleikar* were believed to be of Celtic origin according to Marie's own statement as well as the Old Norse translator (Cook & Tveitane 1979). However, Marie does not distinguish between the traditions of the two sides of the Channel; to her the *lais* are all "Breton," meaning from Brittany. *Chèvrefeuille* (*Geitarlauf*) belongs to the Tristan legend and

---

[108] For a complete list, see Appendix 2. In addition to the twelve *lais* that Marie is supposed to have written (Cook & Tveitane 1979) she also composed *Isopet* around 1180—a collection of fables based on Æsop's collection—and *Purgatoire de Saint-Patrick*, which she translated from Latin (Skårup 1975. For a discussion of which *lais* in the collection are anonymous and which are positively attributed to Marie, see Tobin 1976 and Cook & Tveitane 1979.)

[109] Duke Geoffrey (1113-1151) of Anjou, Touraine and Maine married Matilda of England in 1128. Their son, Henry, married Eleonor of Aquitaine. He later became King Henry II of England (*Britannica* 2000).

[110] The collection of *Strengleikar* was also referred to as "breta strengleikar Roberti abbatis" by the Swedish royal antiquarian Olof Verelius in 1691, suggesting that Brother Robert was the translator; however, this late theory remains highly hypothetical (Venås 1962).

[111] This Tristanian romance was entitled *Geitarlauf* in Old Norse, a literal translation of the word *Chevrefoil*, even though the plant existed and had a Norse name: viðvindill (Venås 1962).

[112] *Le mantel mautaillé—Mottulssaga*—a fabliau (Zinc 1975) expounding on the disconcerting consequences of a chastity test at the not so "courteous" court of King Arthur (Kalinke 1991). This text was probably translated for sheer amusement and laughter (Kalinke 1981)—by some attributed to Marie, by others to Chrétien de Troyes—and is the only fabliau to be translated into Old Norse (Halvorsen 1959, Barnes 1989).

[113] However, Geoffrey's Arthurian story pretends to be a historical work and not a romance.

the imaginary of the British Isles. It narrates a short passage in the longer version, how Tristan carves his name with a knife on a twig of hazel and sends it down a stream as a message to his beloved Isolde (Marchello-Nizia 1995, Cook & Tveitane 1979). The *Lai of Lanval* (*Janual* in Old Norse) derives from the Arthurian tradition. Despite Marie's claim to recounting only Celtic tales, one of the *lais* in the collection is definitely not of Celtic origin, namely the second *Lai of two lovers*, which instead belongs to the *matière de Rome* and tells the story of how the Duke of Piacenza eloped with the one of the Roman emperor's daughters. No sources have been found for this incomplete Old Norse translation, and nothing suggests that this *lai* of non-Breton origin was part of the initial collection. It may have been inserted into the collection at a later point (Cf. Tobin 1976, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

The Old Norse translator of *Strengleikar* made certain modifications to the text of the *lais* to have them conform more to traditional Old Norse literary conventions. As with the translations of Chrétien de Troyes' chivalric romances, the Norwegian *Strengleikar* emphasized action over psychology. The first part of the prologue is not by Marie, but by the Norse translator or redactor, explaining the *lais*' genre and their Celtic origin. The stories were to some extent abridged and simplified for the Old Norse audience, maybe inspired by Marie's intention to keep things short, as expressed in the *Lai of Guiamar*,[114] claiming that there would be strict verbal economy and emphasis on the main events. This promise of verbal restraint does not, however, prevent this particular *lai* from being one of the longest in Marie's collection (Cooke & Tveitane 1979).

The exact literary sources for the *lais* is uncertain, as there are no traces of written Celtic source material before Marie. The *lais* found in *Strengleikar* that cannot positively be attributed to Marie derive from various anonymous French poets or jongleurs' repertory (Tobin 1976 & Cook & Tveitane 1979). The Old Norse collection was accompanied by one *chanson de geste*: the story of Elie of Saint-Gilles. Furthermore, in the Norse collection, the *Lai of Equitan* differs considerably from the rest. It contains a number of the translator's personal interlinear commentaries, allusions to the Scriptures, and a couple of Latin quotes not found in Marie's original. In general, the *interlinea* comments and clarifications so typical of medieval religious works give the *lai* the moralizing tone of an *exemplum*, suggesting that the translator was indeed a cleric used to religious discourse and admonition. Says the narrator of the *Lai of Equitan*: "He who put this book into Norwegian advises all who hear and have heard this story that they never covet that which others own by right, whether property or partner in marriage, and that they never envy another man's lot or luck" (Cooke & Tveitane 1979:79). Such a moralizing, explanatory, and didactical tone prevails in much of the material translated into Old Norse, suggesting a certain need for clarification or distanciation from the hero's action and the inculcation of more appropriate moral values than those conveyed by the main characters in the story.

[114] "Les contes ke jo sai verrais, dunt li Bretun unt fait les lais, vos conterai assez briefmen" (I.e.: the stories that I know are true, that the Britons turned into *Lais*, I now will tell you in brief."). The *Lai of Guiamar*, Rychner 1972: 6. This is, however, a *lai* of uncertain origin, that may have been included in the collection by Marie even though she did not write it (Tobin 1976).

The Legend of Tristan and Isolde

The mythical tale of Tristan and Isolde was first recorded in the Anglo-French vernacular by Thomas in England some time between 1170 and 1173. The Frenchman Béroul composed another version just a decade later. The theme seems to have had great success from the start, and Chrétien de Troyes also claims to have composed a *roman*, referred to in the prologue to *Cligès ou la fausse morte*, entitled *Le Roi Marc et Yseult la Blonde* (Foucher 1975, Marchello-Nizia 1995).[115] Of the earliest French manuscripts and copies, none have survived in their entirety, and Thomas' text as we know it today through Bédier is a reconstruction based on the German and Norse adaptations from the 13th century (Marchello-Nizia 1995, Skårup 1975).[116] Although strictly speaking not part of the Arthurian cycle, the legendary tales of Tristan and Isolde derive from the same Celtic mythical world, and have a definite Arthurian coloring, especially in their Old Norse version. It was quickly adapted to become more chivalric, closer to the court romance, which was then fashionable on both sides of the Channel. The love relation between Tristan and Isolde is an example of true courtly love—*fin'amor*—the kind that was possible only outside of marriage (Marchello-Nizia 1995).[117]

Chrétien de Troyes and Marie de France were contemporaries of Thomas, and certainly the connection to Marie—by way of their simultaneous presence at the court of the Plantagenets—and to chivalric romance must not be ignored. Quite early on, Thomas' *Tristan et Yseut* probably had circulated accompanied by two smaller stories: the *Lai du Chèvrefeuille* (c. 1165) by Marie de France, and *La folie de Tristan*—either the Oxford or the Berne manuscript, which had been composed at approximately the same time. The Tristanian theme became an instant success, of which the many translations and adaptations, both in verse and in prose, over the next centuries, are proof (Marchello-Nizia 1995).

The Norwegian translation of Thomas' *Tristrams saga ok Isondar* (1226) almost coincides with the composition of Snorri's historical saga (c. 1230-35). The saga of Tristan was the work of a certain Brother or Abbot Robert in 1226, according to the translator's own statement in the prologue (Kalinke 1981, Marchello-Nizia 1995). Robert probably also translated *Elis saga*. Some scholars surmise that he was of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman origin, as indicated by his name, which was not a common Norse name at the time (Venås 1962), others that he may well have been of Norse stock (Marchello-Nizia 1995). Notwithstanding his origin, he was probably attached to one of the two monasteries founded by English monks: either Lyse Kloster (Bergen) or the monastery at Hovedøya (Oslo) (Halvorsen 1959).[118]

---

[115] In this prologue Chrétien claims to have translated Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (Foucher 1975: 94). By the 12th century, the rediscovered Classical authors clearly influenced the writings of the French court poets.

[116] Joseph Bédier (1942) *Le Roman de Tristan et Yseut* (Foreword by Gaston Paris). Paris : H. Piazza.

[117] Says Marie de France about the passion between the two lovers in the *Lai du Chèvrefeuille*: "De lur amur ki tant fu fine, dont il eurent meinte dolur, puis en mururent en un jur" (Marchello-Nizia 1995: 213). The notion of *fin'amor* has been eliminated in the Norse version, where it is substituted by "um hina tryggazto ast þ eira" (their true love) (Cook & Tveitane 1979: 196).

[118] Marchello-Nizia positively places Robert at the Monastery of Lyse near Bergen, where Hå kon Hå konsson held court (Marchello-Nizia 1995: 1519).

Very little is known about Brother Robert; however, a presumed English origin could account for his obvious mastering of the contemporaneous French vernacular which was then the language of the English upper classes, but not at the same time explain his apparent vernacular Norse skills (Cook & Tveitane 1979). However, it has been argued that people did on occasion change their name for a more Christian appellation—upon admission into a monastic order for instance—and that the name Robert cannot necessarily be taken as an indication of foreign origin (Marchello-Nizia 1995). Robert—obviously a cleric of scholarly training with knowledge of the literary trends on the Continent and possibly educated abroad—could well be of Norwegian stock and yet master the French language. In *Konungs skuggsjá* the father advises his son to learn both Latin and French—valsku[119]—suggesting that French may have been taught in the 13th century Norway, and considered part of a nobleman's education (Cook & Tveitane 1979).[120]

In the North, the legend of Tristan became a *riddarasaga*. Brother Robert adapted the story to his native audience, an audience completely unfamiliar with the Celtic mythical universe or the intricate and refined ideals of European courtiers and their notion of *fin'amor*. The chivalric and court literature of 12th-century France and England and the mentality it conveyed was indeed far removed from the life and ideals of the people of the North. In Norway there were very few urban centers and very few castles and fortifications resembling the ones described in the legends of Tristan and Arthur. The social hierarchy outlined was established along different lines. The native Norwegian nobility lived under different circumstances than their aristocratic counterparts in other countries. Consequently, the Norse version of the Tristan legend—the first of the French court romances to reach the North—had to be modified in a number of ways to accommodate its Nordic audience and mindset. Yet Robert's work became a model for the subsequent translation of other chivalric themes (Marchello-Nizia 1995) and the romance literature enjoyed great popularity.

The Norse version of the Tristan legend is considerably shorter than Thomas' original. In it, most of the psychological qualms and trials of the protagonists, as well as many of the rhetorical and descriptive passages have been eliminated. The uncontrollable and fatal passion of adulterous love in combination with the intricate psychology of the protagonist—so unfamiliar to the Norse mentality and so essential to the French romance literature—were indeed new literary themes. The expression of passionate and fatal love with no regard for honor and lineage had had no place in the saga literature: self-control and the maintenance of one's honor had remained the greater virtues. Yet Robert clearly put considerable effort into making his hero acceptable to the audience in presenting Tristan as both noble and refined. However, the task was formidable (Marchello-Nizia 1995).

The chivalric ideals set out in the *romans courtois* built on the notion of *servitude* inherent to the strongly hierarchical structure of European feudal society. The knights were bound to their sovereign king, God's chosen ruler, by an

[119] "Valsku / velsku," originally the Old Norse term for "Welch," was used about the Norman-French vernacular (Norrø n ordbok 1993).

[120] It is tempting to suggest the possibility that Robert—if of foreign origin—could have been assisted by a native scholar or oral helper, in the same way as translators of the Arabic scientific and philosophical texts in Toledo were assisted by Jews and Mozarabs who were not accorded any status or importance in relation to the translation they performed (cf. Pym 1998).

immutable oath of servitude and loyalty. In return, the King himself owed servitude, at least in principle, to both God and the people. In the court romances, servitude to the knight's chosen lady was added (Marchello-Nizia 1995). This view of inflexible power allegiance was unfamiliar to the Northern mentality (Bagge 1998). In the North, the principle of the King being in power *by the grace of God* had in the 13th century—as a result of the sustained pressure and intervention of the Church—only just started to gain common acceptance (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998). The traditional Old Norse King had in theory been chosen from amongst equal contenders. The perception of the King remained that of an elected leader. Servitude and submission were not part of the Norse social and political conventions; not until the 13th century, when we see the emergence of a state in a more modern sense of this term does the idea of service enter the mentality.

The irony so prevalent in both Chrétien's *romans* and to some extent in Marie's *Lais* had no equivalent in the Norse literary tradition, as most Old Norse sagas had been composed *in honor of the protagonists*, great men and forefathers worthy of praise and memory. Snorri specifically stresses the importance of the historian's adhering to the truth. Honor depends on truth, and there can be no honor based on deceitful praise. Says Snorri in his Prologue to *Heimskringla*:

> En þat er háttr skálda at lofa þann mest, er þá eru þeir fyrir, en engi myndi þat þora at segja sjálfum honum þau verk hans, er allir þeir, er heyrði, vissi, at hégómi væri ok skrök, ok sva sjálfr hann. Þat væri þá háð, en eigi lof
>
> (Pálsson 1944:2)[121]

In the North, a hero or King could definitely not be laughed at, in the manner of *Le mantel mautaillé* where the author ridicules the events and behaviors of the people at the court of King Arthur. Moreover, the idea of *nation* had not the same significance in Norway as in the countries where the court literature had developed (Venås 1962). The staying power of a Norwegian King continued very much to be contingent upon the support of powerful regional landlords: by the 13th century the monarchy had not yet grown into a solid institution, although the process of reform had been launched. The French court literature, firmly rooted in a society ruled by the notion of a strong monarch within clearly defined geographical borders, can therefore to some extent be regarded as an important propaganda tool in the service of King Håkon's political ambitions, conducive to the acceptance of the idea of the necessity of a strong monarch. The political message was mixed with the general desire for courtly entertainment.

The Old Norse *Tristan*, therefore, was not a *roman courtois* in the same way as its French model, nor was it a text written according to the traditions of the historical sagas. Rather, as it exists today, it can be considered an *intermediary* type of text, truly at the interstice of two very different literary conventions. There are few surviving manuscripts containing the legend in its entirety in any language. The

[121] It is however in the manner of skalds to praise the man before whom they stand; nevertheless, no one would dare tell a man about sham deeds if everyone listening knew that they were only boasting lies, including the man (for whom the poem was composed). Such behavior [on the part of the skald] would be contempt and not praise (My translation).

extant Norse version has survived in a 15th century manuscript, meaning that copyists and scholars had had more than 200 years in which to manipulate, adapt and "improve" the text further, in accordance with common medieval scribal practice. It is therefore not possible to assume that the extant Norse version is identical to the one produced by Robert, or that its conciseness and brief form necessarily reflects Robert's initial work. Medieval convention demanded the elucidation, embellishment, and improvement of the source material, especially when the translator worked for an aristocratic patron, and consequently chivalric romances more often than not idealized the knights as almost perfect representatives of courteous behavior (Marchello-Nizia 1995, Barnes 1987).

The court *romances* dealt with passionate (predominantly extramarital) love, magic, and implacable destiny: in short, love doomed to the torment of repeated separations, passionate reunions, and finally death. These themes are also central to Thomas' *Tristan* in which passionate love is conceived of as a dangerous emotion that the medieval author implicitly warns against and which inevitably leads to only one thing: to elimination, to final reunion in death (Marchello-Nizia 1995). Tristan, a victim of circumstances beyond his knightly powers, battles against destiny and its fatal outcome. Everything in life is pre-destined, and the adventures of the hero are undertaken solely in order to demonstrate his personal merit. In the Norse worldview, man is not ruled by destiny to the same extent. Rather, he must face and challenge it. In short, he must—by his heroic actions—prove that he is a man. This aspect of the *roman* carries the Norse narrative. When Tristan drinks the magic potion that was prepared for someone else, he has no choice but to *accomplish* his destiny which in due course sends him to his death. By adapting the text, by suppressing the recurring mental agony and the moments of hesitation, by rendering the protagonist physically more active and making him less vulnerable to the irrationalities of amorous passion, Brother Robert made the story more palatable to his native Norse audience while retaining the essence of the narrative (Marchello-Nizia 1995). In adapting the source text to a new audience, Robert performed a *translatio* that became an *emulatio*, and prepared the way for a new literary genre in a distinct Norse context. In the North, the theme of destiny took precedence over magics. Elements of the supernatural and fantastic were confined within the limits of the acceptable and rational.

Latin Romances Inspired by the Chivalric Tradition

The influence of foreign literary models, the vernacular prose style of the historical sagas, and the rhetorical ideals taught in the cathedral schools helped shape the new literary Norse vernacular. The years 1220-1250 were remarkably productive in terms of literary importation and adaptation, and the many translations from the French vernacular marked both the Norse vernacular and the native mentality. The earliest homilies and other devotional material had been translated according to the conventions of saga prose. The Norse vernacular gradually became more complex as a consequence of the encounter with Latin and French, to the point that towards the end of the 13th century, many Norse authors started imitating Latin grammar and syntax (Halvorsen 1959), as did many of the European vernaculars. In 13th-century

France, for instance, the vernacular started appearing in certain scholarly texts. The coexistence between Latin and the vernacular over the centuries had an impact on both Latin and the vernacular (Lusignan 1986).

In the second half of the 13th century, the attention of Norse translators turned away from the French chivalric to the common Latin heritage of the medieval Christian world. However, the spirit of court literature lived on for some time. When Håkon's son, Håkon the Younger (d.1257), translated the hagiographic legend of *Barlaams saga ok Josaphat* from Latin, it too was presented to the Norse audience as a *riddarasoga*, i.e. a chivalric romance. This legend from the early days of Christianity[122] recounts the story of third- or fourth-century missionary efforts in India, initiated by Saint Thomas.[123] Both Barlaam, the missionary monk, and Josaphat quickly found their way into Roman martyrology, and the story of their lives seems to have enjoyed a large popular appeal. Vincent of Beauvais (1190-1264) included the story in his *Speculum Historiale* and it can also be found in an abbreviated form in Voragine's (c. 1229-1298) *Legenda aurea*. *Barlaams saga ok Josaphat* was translated into Old Norse sometime around 1250 (Astås 1990a & 1993, Venås 1962, Rindal 1981, Tveitane 1968, Ryan 1993, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

Amongst the Latin material translated there were epic poems, such as *Pamphilius de amore*,[124] derived from a 10th-century Latin comedy based on Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (Cook & Tveitane 1979, *OLIS*), and *Alexanders saga*, written by the Icelandic Bishop Brandr Jonsson (d.1264)[125] at the request of Magnus the Law Mender (Halvorsen 1959). This *saga* about the life and deeds of Alexander the Great (356-323 BC) was produced after the death of Håkon from a Latin text by Gautier de Chatillon (12th) (Togeby 1975).

---

[122] Believed by some to derive from a Buddhist legend (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). According to Kirby, this legend was translated into Old Norse in the beginning of the 13th century, under King Håkon Sverresson (Kirby 1986).

[123] The Old Norse translation drops the description of the early Christianizing of India, and the material referring to Saint Thomas, but stresses the importance of disseminating the faith to every corner of the universe (Astås 1990: 124-152).

[124] *Pamphilius ok Galathea*—a Norse translation of *Pamphilius de amore*—has been preserved in the Codex De La Gardie (c.1270) along with *Strengleikar* and *Elis saga*, in Manuscript De La Gardie 4-7 (Kalinke 1981 & 1985b. See also Bate 1976).

[125] Brandr Jónsson (c.1200-1264) was born of a wealthy and influential Icelandic family. He received his education at the Augustinian Monastery of Þykkvabær and also probably studied abroad. He was ordained priest in 1238, became Abbot of the monastery in 1247 and Bishop of Hólar in 1262 (Wolf 1995). He also translated parts of *Stjórn* (Unger 1862, Togeby 1975, Kirby 1986) and *Gyðinga saga* (Wolf 1995).

Miscellaneous

Whereas the Icelanders had been the undisputed champions of historical saga writing in the 12th and 13th centuries, the Norwegians became pioneer Old Norse translators of medieval chivalric and contemporaneous court literature in the 13th century. Most modern scholars agree that no *roman courtois* was translated in Iceland, for example, where this genre seems to have been almost ignored and where the family sagas for which the Icelanders have become known were in vogue. The chivalric court literature became popular in Iceland only from the 14th and 15th century, when the surviving manuscripts were copied and preserved for posterity (Togeby 1975). The only other examples of chivalric literature in translation in Scandinavia are the romances commissioned by German-born Queen Eufemia (d.1312). She had married Håkon Magnusson (r. 1299-1319) in 1299 and was Magnus Eriksson's (r. 1319-1355) maternal grandmother (Kalinke 1981, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). At the beginning of the 14th century, she had ordered the translation into Old Swedish of *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion*,[126] the *Duc Frederic of Normandy*, as well as *Flores oc Blantzeflor*, which are amongst the few chivalric romances translated into Old Swedish (Zinc 1972). The Swedish translator of *Yvain ou le chevalier au lion* probably used both the Norse *Ivens saga* and Chrétien's original *Yvain* as source texts (Barnes 1987). The translations were probably a gift to the Queen's son-in-law, Duke Erik Magnusson of Sweden (Berdal 1985).

The translation of chivalric and romantic court literature in Norway reflected, as we see, the main trends of the European courts of the same period, although some of the texts translated during 13th-century Norway no longer were fashionable in their countries of origin. The translated texts depicted a more refined society than that of the Norwegian court, and supported and illustrated the Christian ideals of royal and courtly behavior promoted by the Church. These new ideals were reflected in the revised laws of the second half of the 13th century. The creation of historical texts in the 12th century, the translation of French court literature in the 13th century, and the religious and devotional material imported throughout the period, all worked towards the same goal: a more complete adoption and assimilation of the new secular and religious ideals, and hence the modification of the native mentality.

[126] The Old Norse version has been preserved primarily in the following vellum manuscripts: Holm 6 (early 15th century), Holm 46 fol. (1690), and AM 489 4° (c.1450), and a number of derivations of these (see Blaisdell 1979). There are at least nine complete manuscripts of Chrétien's text, and a series of defective ones (Woledge 1988).

Biblical and Devotional Texts in Translation

> Fili mi. Attende sapientiam meam et prvdentie mee. Inclina aurem tuam ut custodias cogitationes et disciplinam labia mea conferuent. Fauus enim distillant labia meretricis et nitidius olei guttur eius. Novissima autem illius amara quasi absinthium et acuta quasi gladius bices. Pedes eius descendunt in mortem et ad inferos gressus eius penetrant. Per semitam uite non ambulant. Uagi sunt gressus eius et inuestigabiles. Nunc autem fili mi audi me et ne recedas a verbis oris mei. Longe fac ab ea viam tuam et ne appropinques foribus eius (Solomon. 5: 1-8). (Written at the back of folio 8 of AM 619, 4º: *Humiliúbók.* [127]
>
> (Indrebø (1931).
>
> Keep me ever your servant, far from pride.
>
> (Saint Augustine 1961: 24).

Many of the basic texts used by the Church were soon translated into the vernacular and compiled in devotional collections such as homilies, prayer books, and other didactical manuals intended for use in the Church and the Cathedral schools. Parts of the religious literature in Old Norse translation have been preserved, and are indicative of a concerted attempt at introducing the prevailing contemporary scholastic ideas. Notwithstanding the fact that the religious literature in translation was just as voluminous as the courteous saga writings—indicative of a sustained translation activity on behalf of the Church—no traces of autonomous religious polemic or exegetical writing have been detected. However, more than a hundred hagiographic texts have been repertoried, as well as different stories about the apostles (Astås 1993).

Vernacular traces of religious and liturgical material have been preserved in a number of more or less complete manuscripts. The Christian principles that were incorporated into the old law texts contained different vernacular translations of the apostolic *Credo,* presumably the Old Norse versions that had been introduced by the first missionaries. Although the Mass was celebrated in Latin, the Church encouraged preaching in the native tongue (Astås 1993) and the vernacular seems to have been used as a matter of course. The theology of the 12th and 13th centuries introduced the idea of confession, penitance and redemption on an individual level, and increasingly addressed all parishioners, not only the rich and prosperous. The reforming initiatives of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 modifed the way people participated in religious ceremonies. The Council sanctioned the notion of transubstantiation and stipulated that all Christians should attend Mass once a week and receive communion at least once a year, normally at Easter (*Britannica* 2000). With greater popular attendance, the need for sermons and elucidations in the

[127] "My son, attend upon my wisdom, and bow thine ear to my understanding. That thou mayest regard discretion, and that thy lips may keep knowledge. For the lips of a strange woman drops as an honeycomb, and her mouth is smoother than oil, but her end is bitter as wormwood, sharp as a two-edged sword. Her feet go down to death, her steps take hold on hell. Lest thou shouldest ponder the path of life, her ways are meveable that thou canst not know them. Here me now therefore, O ye children, and depart from the words of my mouth. Remove thy way far from her, and come not nigh near the door of her house." (The Holy Bible, King James' Authorized Version, Proverbs, 5:1-8).

vernacular increased (Bagge 1998). The new organization of Christian life and the Holy Mass, and the demands that it put on the individual parishioner indeed was the prime motivation behind the Old Norse translation of biblical and devotional material.

In the old religion, participation in common rites linked to the seasons and the fertility of both land and beasts had been essential to the feeling of belonging to the community.[128] The opposition to the "foreign" elements of the new religion can be illustrated by the precarious situation in Iceland at the beginning of the Christian era. Christianity almost tore the small community apart, as people were split over the ban on pagan rites. For the Norse people, religion consisted of communal ceremonies linked to nature's seasons. Christianity, in contrast, accentuated the importance of philosophy and reflection in accordance with a Church calendar fixed by events that had happened in a faraway country more than one thousand years earlier. In Iceland, a compromise was reached after long negotiations with the main leaders, and it was determined that the Icelanders should officially adopt Christianity. Yet they would, for the time being, retain the right to sacrifice animals in secret, expose newborn children, and eat horsemeat as before (Bagge 1998). The incorporation of Christian principles into Icelandic law collections set the scene for the introduction of Christianity in Norway, too.

The oldest extant Norwegian law collection, *Gulatingsloven*—the first to explicitly outline Christian principles, rights and obligations—had been written down for the first time by Olav Haraldsson and Bishop Grimkjell at Moster in 1024. The Church privileges were revised and repeated by Olav Kyrre (r. 1066-1093) later in the century (Kværness 1996, Øverås 1952), and finally by Magnus the Law Mender in 1274. The Old Norse version of *Symbolum Apostolicum* was used as an introduction to Christian principles (Astås 1987e). Secular laws had existed for a long time before Christian principles were introduced, so that Christian principles were inserted into an already operative legal tradition, and adapted so as to become more palatable to the local population. The practice of some of the old rites was tolerated for a little while longer, giving people the opportunity to adapt gradually to the new faith and its restrictions and obligations. Both the Icelandic *Grágás* and the Norwegian *Gulatingsloven* prohibited pagan rites and blood offererings; however, such rites continued to be performed, and were accepted or at least not severely punished for some time yet. The author of *Íslendingabók*, Ari Þorgilsson, himself a priest, holds that sacrifice can be performed, but for obvious reasons not in public (Kværness 1996).[129]

The translations of the various religious and theological texts had their origin in the missionary priests and monks who had struggled to explain and expound on the *evangelia* in the vernacular from the very beginning. Every "holy" day of the year would be celebrated with a mass in the honor of the patron saint and the story of his or her life would be read aloud and explained. *Helgar Þyðingar*—"interpretations" of the Saints—and homilies in the vernacular had become common by the middle of the 12th century (Astås 1993), as elsewhere in Europe (Lusignan

[128] Annual blood sacrifices were performed "til árs ok friðar," i.e. for the year and the peace (Bagge 1998: 77).

[129] "Blote kan ein godt gjere om det berre skjer i løyndom (Kværness 1996: 143)." However, both *Gulatingsloven* and *Grágás* clearly prohibit such pagan practices (Kværness 1996: 148-149).

1986). The difference was that in the North, *Helgar Þyðingar* were presented as primarily *historical* material and carried the title *saga*, such as, amongst others, *Maríu saga* and *Postola Sögur,* which included the sagas of Paul and Peter (Kirby 1986, Unger 1871 & 1874).[130] The devotional texts were primarily used as *exempla* in the teaching process, and the translator sometimes added his own comments and proverbs of more familiar Norse stock and in this way made the message less foreign. In fact, the Norwegian Church frequently used both Latin and Old Norse proverbs to illustrate the faith (Astås 1993).

Despite efforts to adapt the constitutive texts to an audience of relative heathens—especially in the early days of Christendom—the vernacular translations in many instances show evidence of substantial dependence upon the Latin sources. The complex relation between the scholarly Latin and the vernacular resulted in a literary Old Norse full of latinizations and loanwords, especially in the earliest translations, proving that finding or inventing appropriate Norse words for the terminology of Christian theology was indeed a difficult task (Tveitane 1968). The work of the earliest Norse translators of religious material contributed substantially to the development of the Norse learned style found in both the *Heilagra manna sögur* (c. 1250-1300) (Tveitane 1968), and the Old Testament material known as *Stjórn* (beginning of the 14th century), and to the colloquial vernacular of the romance and chivalric literature (Astås 1993, Cook & Tveitane 1979). By the end of the 13th century, not only translators had recourse to Latin syntax and structure, it became outright fashionable to apply both the rules of Latin rhetoric and grammar to original vernacular prose writing. *Konungs skuggsjá,* composed approximately at the same time and in the same environment as *Barlaams saga* (c.1260), is a good eample. The language of this *speculum,* despite its explicit *oral* conception in the form of a dialogue between father and son, definitely belongs to the learned style, with many characteristics borrowed from contemporaneous sermon writing, as evidenced by the many references to and quotations from biblical material (Halvorsen 1959, Astås 1987 & 1993).

[130] These stories are also found in the Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (Halshall 1997).

The author of *Konungs skuggsjá* was probably inspired by the third book of Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maior*'s, *Speculum historiale*.[131] *Speculum maius* consisted of thousands of quotations by classical, patristic, and medieval Latin authors (Øverås 1952). It was indeed a typical medieval court manual, full of moral precepts and rules for good behavior (Lusignan 1986). In the spirit of Vincent's encyclopedic Great Mirror, *Konungs skuggsjá* carried many contemporaneous European ideals to the Norwegian court (Øverås 1952), as well as selected biblical material with explanations, so as to ensure appropriate understanding of the Church's position in questions pertaining to teaching and dogma. *Konungs skuggsjá* is not a translation in the strict sense of, but rather an example of autonomous Norse compilation of contemporaneous medieval wisdom. Paraphrastic renderings of the Genesis, although not excerpts from the earlier parts of *Stjórn*, have been included in *Konungs skuggsjá*,[132] an occurrence which may suggest (but not prove) that, to some extent, the writing of the two books was either coordinated or part of the same didactical strategy (Astås 1987).[133]

Of the religious works in translation, some texts may be considered more important than others, not only for the role they played in the indoctrination and maintenance of the Christian faith, but because they served as models for the emergent literary vernacular in a society where the Christian faith was in the process of being consolidated. This holds particularly true for the first collections of translations of homilies and didactical material into the Old Norse vernacular. The earliest translations set the stage for the development and orientation of the native language.

Humiliúbók: The Old Norse Book of Homilies

The preserved copy of *Humiliúbók* (*Codex AM 619, 4º*) is the oldest surviving Norwegian manuscript and dates back to approximately 1200.[134] However, various fragmentary sources exist that may be considerably older. Indeed, the oldest dated fragment has been dated back to c. 1175. The Old Norse homilic texts themselves are probably much older and were probably translated and used by the early English missionary monks and bishops. Evidence of an earlier existence is indicated by recognizable features of older Anglo-Saxon scribal and calligraphic techniques and letter types in the surviving manuscript and fragments (Knudsen 1952).

Imported to Norway from England in the early Norwegian Christian Middle Ages, the Latin alphabet had already been modified to accommodate the English

---

[131] Vincent of Beauvais (c.1190-1264) was a contemporary of the Norse compiler of *Konungs skuggsjá*. His goal was to collect, classify, and order knowledge—all available knowledge. He was the first to enumerate kings in his chronological history of France, *Speculum historiale* (BNF). Vincent was in the service of Louis IX (1226-1270) as lector and preceptor (c.1250) to the royal children (Astås 1986) and as such may have been particularly appreciated by the Norwegian compiler as he composed his manual of Christian virtues and recommended royal behavior. Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* also included an extensive compilation of Hélinand of Froidmont's (c.1160-c.1229) *Chronique* in which the idea of *translatio studii* from Greek and Latin into French is prominent (Lusignan 1986). His writings are recorded in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 212.

[132] Victorine influence on these two books is also possible. A commentary on the Psalms by Hugh of Saint Victor may have figured amongst the numerous sources to *Konungs Skuggsjá*, and many of the interpretations in *Stjórn* seem to derive from the exegetical *Liber exceptionum* de Richard de Saint Victor (Harðarson 1995).

[133] See also Bagge 1973 and 1976.

[134] Probably not after 1220. Parts of the material date back to the beginning of the 12th century (Wolf 1995).

vernacular and its particular sounds, and was easily adaptable to the Norse tongue, which shared many phonetic characteristics with Old English (Venås 1962). The material contained in the *Humiliúbók* had most likely been introduced in the form of an established Latin collection—brought in by the missionaries—with the exception of the material pertaining to Saint Olaf, which probably derives from a Latin text composed in Norway (Indrebø 1931), such as the *Passio Olavi* written by Eystein Erlendsson (d.1188) (Ebbestad Hansen 1998) or an even earlier unknown hagiography. The various legends of Olaf and the devotion it helped spread quickly became a uniting factor in Norwegian medieval religious life (Mørkhagen 1995).

The *Humiliúbók* shares many characteristics with the contemporaneous Norse translation of *Elucidarius* (c. 1200) by Honorius of Autun, a summary of all Christian theology in the form of a dialogue. The orthography of the Norse homilies is not coherent and the scribe has used both upright and rounded *d*s (not to be mistaken for the fricative ð) interchangeably. The upright *d* was primarily used with Latin loanwords, i.e. in unassimilated vocabulary, typical of the earlier translations into Old Norse. By the middle of the 13th century, the upright *d* had all but disappeared in Norway. The older texts of *Humiliúbók* also use the Anglo-Saxon *r* with a long "tale" as well as the Anglo-Saxon *æ*, showing a possible debt to an unidentified old English source text (Indrebø 1931).[135]

Alcuin's text, Gregory's sermon on the nativity, the sermon on Saint Stephen, and the *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli*—a debate between the body and the soul from the 3rd century, originally composed in Greek, the first language of the Church—all contain certain linguistic features that are notably archaic in relation to the Norse vernacular of contemporaneous texts, i.e. texts from the beginning of the 13th century. This strongly suggests that the extant *Humiliúbók* was in part copied from an earlier, already established compilation and that the initial translation of the constituent texts was undertaken before 1150 (Knudsen 1952, Indrebø 1931). The Old Norse version is not a faithful literal translation of the Latin text, as there are many differences between the two, especially concerning the details of the dialogue.

[135] We know that Ælfric (c.995-1020) had the Old Testament's historical material translated into the vernacular, and that the Norse "Bel and the dragon" in *Hauksbók* derives from an Old English Homily composed by Ælfric or translated at his request (Kirby 1986). Influence from the English scribaltradition is therefore more than possible.

The Norwegian *Humiliúbók* is mainly a collection of sermons for a selection of days celebrated during the Church calendar (See Appendices for a List of Contents). In the few places where the term *omilia* has been used, the author usually refers to an allegorical explanation and elucidation of a specific Bible quotation, which is given at the top of the text. Sermons like the *Admonitio valde necessaria*, *De ammonitione bone*, and *Sermo ad populum* all are representative of archetypal medieval didactical sermons composed in order to guide the audience through the main articles of faith and giving practical advice in matters pertaining to everyday life. People were advised to behave properly in Church, and the necessity of learning *Pater noster* and *Credo* by heart was underlined. The Norwegian *Humiliúbók* starts with Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*,[136] and ends with a commentary on *Oratio dominica* or the Lord's Prayer. In between comes a selection of sermons appropriate for important Church holidays, in addition to the legendary and miraculous life of Saint Olaf as well as the apocryphal *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli* (Knudsen 1952). Generally speaking, the apocryphal writings were regarded as less authoritative than the works of known *auctores*; however, they were still considered highly worthy of scholarly scrutiny and study and some of them enjoyed immense popularity (Minnis 1988).

The *Visio sancti Pauli* had been translated into Latin from the Greek towards the middle of the 5th century and subsequently into many Western vernaculars. The Latin text was preserved in several versions, some quite heavily abridged and extensively rearranged. The text also reached Norway, probably some time in the 11th or 12th century. There are two extant Old Norse versions of *Visio sancti Pauli*, deriving from this vast repertory of early medieval visionary and apocalyptic apocrypha. The text in *Humiliúbók* (AM 619, 4º), and another, a more faithful translation, transmitted in conjunction with another medieval visionary text, *Visio Tnugdali*, found in AM 624, 4º, a rather complete manuscript of which only a minor part of the beginning is missing (Tveitane 1965).[137]

[136] Written for Alcuin's son. The Latin text has been preserved in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 101: 613-638.

[137] An Icelandic manuscript from the end of the 15th century (Tveitane 1965).

In Norway, the compiler of *Humiliúbók* adapts the apocalyptic "vision" of Paul to the local educational conditions and to the specific mentality of Norse Christianity, emphasizing the concrete and quotidian over the abstract and foreign, freely using the idioms of Old Norse poetry, proverbs, and law texts (Knudsen 1952). The dialogue between the Body and the Soul in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* (AM 619, 4º) derives from an apocryphal text commonly referred to as *Visio sancti Pauli*, of which there existed several Latin and vernacular versions, from which the Old Norse version in the *Humiliúbók* takes its title. It also takes material from a *Visio Philiberti*, as well as from an Old French poem entitled *Un samedi par nuit*, also deriving from one of the many *Visio sancti Pauli* texts.[138] In essence, the text tells the story of how the narrator (the apostle is not mentioned in the Norse text) dreams that his soul leaves him after death and what happens to it thereafter. The Norwegian version found in AM 619, 4º was written down c. 1200 (Salvesen 1971, Togeby 1975).[139]

In die Pentecosten sermo and *In ascensione domini nostri Jesu Christi* are the only texts in which the Latin quotes have been kept in their original form without any interlinea or other explanations in the Norse text. These sermons were obviously not intended for the broader public, but rather the brothers of a monastery in the first case and the Latin-reading clergy in the second.

> Þess mæiri vón æigum vér þæirrar miscunnar af honom. At vér hofum gort sem Petrus mælte umm sicok frændr ok aðra postola.*Ecce nos reliquimus omnia et secuti sumus te*. Vér hofum allt fyrirlátet fyrir guðs sakar. Bœðe fe ok frændr. ok*omnem mundi pompam*… Guð se þes lofaðr at sva erom vér oc aller saman comner til þessa staðar. Œigum ok allt saman… œðs þurfum vér mioc at hugr vœr se æigi aptr til hæimanns ne til hægóma veraldlegra luta…
>
> (Indrebø 1931:94).[140]

About the history of the manuscript of the extant *Humiliúbók*, very little is known indeed, except that Arni Magnusson (1663-1730) discovered the manuscript in Norway and brought it to Copenhagen (Knudsen 1952). The oldest extant Norwegian manuscript, it was probably written down at the monastery of Munkeliv near Bergen (Knudsen 1952, Indrebø 1931). This Benedictine house soon acquired a reputation as an institution of learning, and is where Arnulf, the first native *magister* or schoolmaster with a valid degree, lived and worked (Øverås 1952). However, the translator or compiler in charge of the Old Norse Homily remains anonymous. His working conditions must have been difficult, since books and libraries were scarce and expensive during the first centuries of Norwegian Christianity. Some of the

[138] The French translation of the *Visio sancti Pauli* has been preserved in a manuscript known as Ms. 815 de Toulouse, fol. 58 (Meyer 1895).

[139] The theme of falling asleep on a Saturday night is also central to the 14th-century *Draumkvedet*, which is a Norwegian expression of a by then established European visionary tradition.

[140] The greater hope do we have of His mercy, as we have done what Peter told of himself and the other apostles: See, we left everything and followed you. We have left everything for the sake of God, both family and herd. And all the world's delightful splendor … Praise the Lord that we too have congregated in this place [where] we own everything in common… We must be vigilant lest our minds seek back to the world and the entrapments of temporal things… (My translation).

material in *Humiliúbók* is very old indeed, and belongs to some of Norway's oldest textual material. The more ancient text is probably the explanation of the Pater Noster in the last homily, along with Gregory's *Homily*. However, sermons composed in the 12th century dominate the collection (Knudsen 1952).

Not only were reference books rare in medieval Norwegian scriptoria, the physical material used in medieval book production was also a deficient commodity. There are indications that the scribes working on the preserved manuscript of the *Humiliúbók* were short of parchment, as some of the folios show definite signs of repair *before* redaction (Knudsen 1952). At least two scribes have been at work on the parchment; and in view of the many similarities in their work, scholars now believe that they belonged to the same milieu, again the monastery of Munkeliv (Indrebø 1931).[141]

Medieval homilies were parts of a truly international body of texts with a wide readership in both the Latin and the Byzantine churches. *Humiliúbók* is no exception, and shows evidence of indebtedness to its medieval ancestors such as the Anglo-Saxon collection attributed to King Ælfric and the writings of the Venerable Bede (c. 672-735).[142] Authorities like Alcuin, a widely respected educator, scholar and theologian in his own time, and Gregory the Great are both represented in the *Humiliúbók*. Bede and Gregory are each represented with a homily on the Nativity according to Lucas (Homily 2 and Homily 4, respectively), presumably copied from Paul the Deacon's (c. 720-799) *Homiliarium* (Knudsen 1952).[143] This was a collection of 176 homilies, one for every Sunday and holiday in the Church calendar. It functioned as a central sourcebook throughout the Middle Ages (Knudsen 1952, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Gregory's *Homilia* XXXII is also the likely source for both Homily 30 and 32 of the *Humiliúbók*, dealing with the archangel Michael, whereas the *Messuskýringar* in Homily 31 (the inserted leaves) can be traced back to Honorius of Autun's *Gemma animae* (Knudsen 1952),[144] a treatise on the Divine Office (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).[145]

---

[141] The manuscript AM 619 4º consisted originally of 80 folios, of which four are missing today. The textual *lacunae* have been reconstructed using material from other manuscripts, such as the *Legend of Saint Olaf* and a manuscript listed as AM 237 a fol. The extant manuscript is partly defective. In many places, the color has eaten its way through the parchment, but the text is still quite legible all the way through (Knudsen 1952).

[142] The first translation of the Bible into the vernacular in England was reputedly produced by Bede; however, this early vernacular translation has not survived (Kirby 1986).

[143] *Homiliarium hoc est conciones populares sanctissimorum ecclesie doctorum Hieronymi* (et. al.) published in Basle in 1528 (OLIS), has been preserved in *Patrologia Latina* Vol. 94, pp: 34-38. Paul the Deacon worked for some time at the court of Charlemagne where Alcuin was the palace schoolmaster and advisor to the emperor (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[144] "The Jewel of the Soul"—*Gemma animae*—could also be used when referring to the Eucharist.

[145] Honorius also wrote *In inventione sancte crucis* (cf. Sermon No. 24 in the Old Norse *Book of Homilies*) which has been preserved in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 172: 947-948

Many of the texts in *Humiliúbók* are very old, whereas others originate from the main scholastic centers of Western Europe. Several people could have been the initiators of the translation of the religious and devotional texts. Cultural exchanges with France and the schools in Paris have been demonstrated in previous chapters, especially the presence of Norse students at Saint Victor. Norwegian clergy were instrumental in importing and translating some of the more important texts produced in Paris in the 12th and 13th centuries. Eiríkr Ivarsson, Archbishop of Nidaros from 1189 to 1205, was *religiosus S. Victoris* (Kolsrud 1913), his predecessor Eystein Erlendsson also studied there (Øverås 1952),[146] and his successor Þorir Guðmundarsson (r. 1206-1214) was *canonicus congregationis S. Victoris* (Kolsrud 1913). He was a contemporary of both Peter Comestor and the anonymous compiler of the Norse *Humiliúbók*.

The book seems to have had a long and prosperous existence. The extant manuscript contains notes in the margin dating from the 16th century; translations, explanations and corrections of Latin terms in the Danish vernacular, a witness to the collection's longevity (Knudsen 1952), as well as a to the general lack of not only reformed clergy but also of reformed text books (Ellingsen 1997).

Vitae Sanctorum Patrum or *Heilagra manna sögur*

Humiliúbók, along with individual hagiographic material, was of utmost importance for the indoctrination of the Christian faith,. The biographies and legends of the saints had contributed to the dissemination and maintenance of the new faith from the time of the earliest missionaries. Many of these stories circulated as established collections and were popular devotional reading throughout Christianity, especially in the monastic orders, where the meals in many cases were taken while listening to a *lector*. The *Sancti Benedicti regula monachorum* recommended reading, and as pointed out earlier, the Benedictine Order held a prominent position in Norwegian medieval life and probably commissioned the translation of many of the texts used in Norwegian monasteries and churches (Tveitane 1968). The historical material of the Bible, in particular, seems to have captured the Norse people's imagination early on. The first translations of the Old Testament's historical material into the vernacular probably pre-date the texts included in the Old Norse homilies, i.e. they presumably already existed in the 12th century, or even before, in the missionary period. Moreover, there is evidence that a Norse version of the *Psalms* and a Gospel harmony existed in the first half of the 12th century or earlier (Kirby 1986).

The compilation of Latin hagiographic texts generally referred to as *Vitae Patrum*, a collection of lives of the early saints and the Church Fathers, derived from *Historia monachorum in Ægypto* and *Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum*. All extant Latin source texts are translations of (partly lost) Greek originals. For a long time *Vitae Patrum* was attributed to Saint Jerome; however, the Latin version of *Historia monachorum* is now positively attributed to Tyrannius Rufinus Aquileiensis (c. 345-c. 410) (Tveitane 1968). Rufinus was a contemporary and friend of Saint Jerome (*Britannica* 2000) and is believed to be the translator of the

[146] See also Johnsen 1939.

Latin versions upon which the Norse translator of *Vitae Patrum* worked (Tveitane 1968).

The Old Norse *Heilagra manna sögur* contains selected legends of *Vitae Patrum*. The translator remains anonymous, but scholars believe that the Old Norse translation may be a hundred years older than the extant manuscripts, meaning that it may date back to the second half or the end of the 13th century. The first section of the Old Norse collection of hagiographies derives partly from *Historia monachorum in Ægypto* (also known as *Historia eremitica*), partly from a collection of 4th-century Latin texts referred to as *Verba seniorum* (by an unidentified translator/compiler). In addition to the material stemming from these two main sources, the Norse version also contains texts from a smaller compilation of hagiographic texts translated from the Greek around 550 by Pope Pelagius I (d. 561) (Tveitane 1968).

In 1877, Unger published the *Heilagra manna sögur* after four Old Norse manuscripts organized in two books with the Latin texts in parallel. The Latin source text used by Unger in order to provide a point of comparison was published by Heribert Rosweyd (1569-1629) in Antwerp in 1615 (Tveitane 1968, *Britannca* 2000).[147]

The lives of the saints became popular reading throughout Christianity and probably more than one copy of the Old Norse text must have existed. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Heilagra manna sögur* dates from the beginning of the 14th century and the time of Håkon Magnusson (Halvorsen 1959).[148] In addition, the text is found as part of a large Icelandic codex of medieval manuscripts known as *Stærri Stjórn* (AM 226 fol.).[149] In addition to the the biblical *Stjórn* material and the hagiographic texts of *Vitae Patrum,* the codex contains *Romverja saga* (The Defense of Rome), *Alexanders saga,* and *Gyðinga saga* (the history of the Jews), apparently collected as a comprehensive world history. The survival of numerous fragments strongly suggests that *Stærri Stjórn* must have been one of Iceland's most exquisite and voluminous medieval codices (Tveitane 1968), parts or copies of which must have circulated in Norway, too.

The history of the translation and collection of the many manuscripts associated with *Vitae Patrum* texts into an Old Norse version is highly complex. Arni Magnusson discovered and collected the manuscripts, some of which had by then been partially destroyed after the Reformation. He set about restoring the codex to its former size, tracking down lost folios and adding them to the collection. However, he did not always succeed in inserting them into the right sections, so that the *Heilagra manna sögur* as presented in Unger's edition—largely in accordance with Magnusson's textual arrangement—derives from several individual manuscripts, explaining why the order of the texts in the Norse version in some instances deviates from the traditional text sequence of *Vitae Patrum* (Tveitane 1968).

---

[147] In OLIS, the date given for the first publication is 1617.

[148] The Norse text has been preserved in four manuscripts and a fragment. Only one manuscript can be considered complete: AM 225 fol. (Tveitane 1968). For a detailed account of the various manuscript sources to *Heilagra manna søgur*, see Tveitane 1968: 13-25.

[149] AM 226 fol. (*Stærri Stjórn* – The Great Stern) is one of the main manuscript sources to *Stjórn*, a major compilation of historical material from the Bible (Tveitane 1968).

The various parts of the Old Norse codex were probably translated separately and assembled at a later point. Some texts have been attributed to an Icelandic hand, but with signs of definite Norwegian influence. The orthographic variations are possibly an indication that the anonymous Icelandic translator was working in Norway; on the other hand, the linguistic irregularities may simply result from the corrections of successive Icelandic copyists. Judging by the generally homogenous and steady cursive calligraphy of the extant manuscript material—all dating back to the beginning of the 15th century—the major parts of the preserved *Heilagra manna sögur* seem to have been the work of one single scribe (Tveitane 1968).

The constant movement of Church scholars between Iceland and Norway and the inevitable literary and linguistic influence between the two geographical entities must not be underestimated. Texts of religious or theological origin were written, compiled, translated, and disseminated in the two countries almost simultaneously (Tveitane 1968). In addition, the secular and ecclesiastic administrations were closely cooperating in the 12th and 13th centuries, when the establishment of the Archdiocese in Nidaros assured Norwegian ecclesiastical control of the northern-most regions as well as the Atlantic Islands, such as Greenland, the Faeroes, and Iceland (Øverås 1952).

The cultural influence between the two countries was reciprocal and sustained, and has made the question of geographical and linguistic origin of translations all the more complicated. Jón Halldórson (d.1322), Norwegian born Icelandic bishop at Skálaholt from 1322 (Kolsrud 1913), was instrumental in the copying and subsequently the preservation of many medieval Norwegian texts. The codex containing Heilagra manna sögur is an example of the typical example of the typical literary cooperation that had existed between Iceland and Norway throughout the Middle Ages. The question of translative origin continues to preoccupy modern scholars, who, nevertheless, generally agree on the fact that the translation of *Vitae Patrum* was an entirely Norwegian enterprise, commissioned by Håkon Magnusson (r. 1299-1319). The texts have been preserved, however, in a number of Icelandic manuscripts, often in conjunction with the contemporaneous historical Old Testament material of *Stjórn*, or along with the much older *Barlaams oc Josaphats saga* (Tveitane 1968).[150]

In some instances, the Norse translator of *Vitae Patrum* failed to grasp the meaning of the Latin source text. This may be due to errors that already existed in the Latin translation of the original Greek version—misunderstandings perpetuated by generations of medieval copyists—or errors due to scribal inattention when copying the Latin text. The Norse translation of *Vitae Patrum* introduced a number of loanwords and syntactical structures originating not only in the source text itself, but in the Latin *glosses* they reflected and conveyed. The extensive use of loanwords in *Heilagra manna sögur* comprises both Latin and Greek terms, suggesting that the translator must have been a man of some erudition and culture. This is certainly the case where the loanwords do not stem from the source text at all, but have been

[150] Many Icelandic folk tales have their origin in the legends contained in *Heilagra Manna søgur* (Tveitane 1986. See also Hugo von Gering (1882-83) *Izlendzk æventyri*). The author of these tales was Bishop Jon Halldorsson (d.1339), a Norwegian born Icelander who also translated *Clarus saga* around 1300, presumably from a French source text. He was possibly one of the principal brains behind the voluminous *Stjórn* texts (Halvorsen 1959, Kalinke 1985, Tveitane 1968, Venå s 1962).

inserted into the vernacular text as pure stylistic embellishment. The result of the translator's work was the learned vernacular style characteristic of many Old Norse scholars, a style marked by the constructions and conventions borrowed from the contemporaneous scholastic Latin (Tveitane 1968).

The Latin text used by Unger, edited by Rosweyd in 1615, contains some rather unusual and rare terms, mainly Greek expressions. The precise Latin texts behind the Norse translation have not been positively identified; however, different versions of *Vitae Patrum* circulated throughout the Christian world. Early established collections the Christian hagiographic texts (both a *Series Graeca* and a *Series Latina* of *Vitae Patrum*) enjoyed enormous popularity. As mentioned above, medieval scholars commonly believed that Saint Jerome was the author of the Latin series, when in fact he was only *one* of its many translators. The Norse text also includes quotations and insertions from works of respected classical *auctores*, amongst others Gregory's *Dialogi* (Tveitane 1968), a collection of edifying texts in honor of the Saints of the Latin Church, another favored source of information for compilers and scholars throughout medieval times (Chavy 1988b).

The Norse translator made a selection of texts to include in the Norse compilation, carefully editing his work, rearranging some of the material, and generally adapting it to the needs of the native audience. Some of the texts were augmented with quotations, commentaries and reflections upon the subject matter, as well as general advice and exhortations in matters pertaining to good Christian conduct. The Norse version does not always follow the Latin sequence; the selection of texts in *Heilagra manna sögur* reflects the translator's own preference and to a large extent supplements the biblical texts commented on in *Konungs skuggsjá* (Tveitane 1968), a princely mirror written in an attempt to gain acceptance for and strengthen the perception of proper Christian behavioral ideals (Bagge 1998). *Konungs skuggsjá* sought to clarify the relation between Church and monarchy, and in many ways reflects the moral values and courteous ideals of the imported court literature (Venås 1962). *Konungs skuggsjá* and the texts in *Heilagra manna sögur* are highly didactical in both tone and textual organization. Evidently the main Christian principles were yet not perceived to be instilled. In fact, *Heilagra manna sögur* makes use of a *wider range* of metaphors than *Vitae Patrum* to explain fundamental concepts, emphasizing the collection's pedagogical goals and revealing the Church's preoccupation with the constant need for further religious and cultural instruction (Astås 1987).

Stjórn: Old Norse Bible Translation

Stjórn, a collection of historical texts deriving from the Old Testament, was produced in Old Norse at the request of Håkon Magnusson early in the 14th century, and thus was one of the later works of translation in medieval Norway. Jerome's Latin translation and revision of the *Scriptures—Vulgata*, which had replaced the Septuagint and the *Old Latin Bible*[151]—is the main source for most of the biblical material in Norse translation (Kirby 1986). *Stjórn* is not a translation of the complete Old Testament, but rather contains a selection of texts from Genesis and the main historical material (Tveitane 1968).[152] The Norse text was translated partly from the *Vulgata* text, but also contains material deriving from Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*,[153] to which the Norse translator often refers directly in the text (Unger 1862). He also inserted proverbial material from Augustine's *De genesis ad literam* (Astås 1985a). In addition, some parts of *Stjórn* may derive from material in the *Paris Bible* (Astås 1987d).[154] Honorius of Autun has also been used, with and without acknowledgement, especially passages from *Imago mundi* and *Speculum ecclesiae* (c. 1090). Other frequently cited sources are writings by Jerome and Augustine, whose names along with those of Isidore and Gregorius repeatedly surface in the compiler's *interlinea* commentary (Unger 1862). The Norse translator seems to have had a penchant for Augustinian exegesis, a fact that marks his redaction of *Stjórn* (Astås 1993).

The compilation of biblical texts in Old Norse translation has been preserved in AM 227 fol., another of Arni Magnusson's manuscript acquisitions. No text has survived in full, and the dating of the manuscripts has been based mainly on various linguistic features. However, enough has survived to maintain that the extant fragments are re-workings of older versions. Indeed, the numerous relatively unchanging biblical quotations in the Icelandic sagas of the bishops, for example, as well as in *Heilagra manna sögur* and *Humiliúbók*, suggest that the Old Testament—or parts of it—were translated at quite an early stage (Kirby 1986).

---

[151] The earliest extant Greek translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew is known as *Septuagint*. There also existed an early, not standardized, *Old Latin Bible* in circulation in North Africa and southern Gaul as early as the second half of the 2nd century, and in Rome at the beginning of the following century (*Britannica* 2000). The *Old Latin Bible* can be regarded as *Vulgata*'s immediate predecessor, and apparently was in use in some countries, for instance England, well into the late Middle Ages (Kirby 1986). The possible origins of the *Old Latin Bible* may be the adoption by early Christians of biblical texts composed by Jews in the Roman province of Africa, where the vernacular remained predominantly Latin into the first centuries of the Middle Ages. Only quotations from the *Old Latin Bible* have been preserved, but from these it can be postulated that the *Old Latin Bible* derived not from Hebrew texts but from the Greek material, i.e. *Septuagint*. The *Old Latin Bible* is thus especially valuable as it reflects the state of *Septuagint* before Origen's (c.185-254) revision. The text of *Septuagint* could vary greatly from copy to copy and Origen's revision was the first serious attempt at rectifying the many scribal errors. The textual confusion and the vulgar and colloquial nature of the (non-authorized) *Old Latin Bible* had become intolerable to the Church authorities by the last decade of the 4th century. In 382, Pope Damasus decided to remedy the situation. He put his secretary, Saint Jerome, on the project. The result of Jerome's work was the authorized version known as *Vulgata*, based on the original Greek and Hebrew texts rather than on *Septuagint* which continued to be the authorized version of the Eastern Church (*Britannica* 2000). A trilingual scholar, Jerome advocated a literal translation of the Scriptures (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

[152] Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy); Book of Joshua; Book of Judgment; Book of Ruth; Book of Samuel (I); Book of Samuel (II); Kings (I); and Kings (II) (including Chapter 24 about Nebuchadnezzar) (Unger 1862).

[153] In turn, *Speculum historiale* (c.1250) contains material from Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (c.1164) (Kirby 1986, Chavy 1988b, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999), or at least used many of its sources.

[154] Probably the *Codex parisiensis* from the 9th century whereof only fragments have survived (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

The standardization of the Scriptures continued to preoccupy Church scholars throughout the Middle Ages (Kirby 1986, Le Goff 1985). In fact, the Middle Ages saw several attempts at revising the Bible and at standardizing the interpretation of the Scriptures; however, *Vulgata* was reconfirmed in 1546 and remained the authorized version within the Roman Catholic Church well into the 20th century. The textual purity and universal acceptance medieval exegetes were looking for was not achieved; they never arrived at a common consensus as to the final interpretation of the Holy Scripture. However, their assiduous work is reflected in numerous revisions, commentaries, and biblical paraphrasing that intersperse medieval writing of all genres. This explanatory material and translation itself had their roots in the extensive exegetical effort of the Scholastics, who continued to work towards greater comprehension and harmony. In England, vernacular glossing and translation of parts of the Bible seem to have been quite common from the 7th century on, meaning that the first missionary bishops who came to Norway from the British Isles would have been accustomed to reading the Holy Scripture in the vernacular. It is difficult to perceive of any missionary work without the translation of at least the Gospels[155] and the articles of faith. This was the case in Germany, where the Church produced a vernacular version of the Gospels as early as the 8th century, primarily based on Tatian's *Diatessarion*.[156] Only fragments of this translation have survived (Kirby 1986).[157]

A fairly considerable body of religious literature in the vernacular existed probably in both Iceland and in Norway by the middle of the 12th century, the extant material has survived in mainly 13th-century manuscript and younger copies. The collection commonly referred to as *Stjórn* was edited by C. R. Unger in 1862. It was based on a composite work containing a selection of texts by miscellaneous translators, rather than on a homogenous, established compilation. The name *Stjórn* was first used by Arne Magnusson and is not of medieval origin. *Stjórn* is a title used by modern scholars to designate the texts edited and published by Unger in 1862, and is thus not the translation of title of an already existing manuscript collection. The series of translated texts comprises what in medieval times was perceived as history of the Jews from the Creation to the Exile.

---

[155] The missionary monks must have had brought books in both Latin and Old English. The early service books were of course in Latin, but may have contained English glosses (Kirby 1986).

[156] The Germans were also amongst the first to produce a complete vernacular Bible around 1300 (the time of *Stjórn*'s composition). This Bible was the first Bible printed in Germany (Kirby 1986). Indeed, by the 14th century, in both France and Germany parts of the Bible were translated. In France, we particularly note the contribution of Jean de Vignay (1282/85-1350) and Nicolas Oresme (1320-1382) (Lusignan 1986, Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). In the 14th century, England experienced a revival of the English vernacular after centuries of French domination. John Wycliffe (1320-1384) translated the entire Bible from *Vulgata* in 1382 (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995) at a time when the Roman Church experienced grave difficulties. His work anticipated the Reformation (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[157] Tatian (120-173), Syrian compiler of the *Diatessaron*, a composite text based on four separate canonical versions of the life of Christ that led to a Gospel arranged in a single continuous narrative. Such a continuous version of the Gospels is called harmonization or synopsis (*Britannica* 2000, Quispel 1978: 214-215).

The material related to *Stjórn* has been preserved in a number of manuscripts, only three of which are relatively complete (AM folios 226, 227, and 228). The earliest dates back to the first quarter of the 14th century (*Stjórn* III only). *Stjórn* also contains a number of inserted quotations from the Book of Proverbs, primarily used as *exempla*. The biblical proverbs were ideal because of their short and concise form. They found their equivalence in old native proverbial literature, such as *Hávamál*. In a number of cases, native pagan proverbs were used alongside Latin *dicta*, and sometimes proverbs from the two traditions were combined into one (Astås 1985a).[158] The Norse biblical texts have been considerably augmented with interlinear commentaries and some extraneous material—mostly borrowed from Comestor and Beauvais—which was included to elucidate the text for the members of the court who were unfamiliar with Latin. At least, this is the reason offered by the translator in the introduction.[159] The *Stjórn* texts were originally meant for use on those days of the Church that were not dedicated to specific saints. The Old Norse translation of the Old Testament material—presented as the oldest history of the world—remains simple and straightforward, in short, suitable for an uneducated audience (Astås 1993).

Stjórn normally has been divided into three parts by modern scholars, based on biblical chronology. *Stjórn* I contains Genesis to Exodus; *Stjórn* II the rest of Pentateuch;[160] and *Stjórn* III offers the continued history of the Jews from Joshua to the Exile. The texts were not translated simultaneously, but date from different periods and were collected at a later stage. The earliest translations of the biblical material generally seem to have followed more closely the letter of the originals (Kirby 1986), undertaken in the spirit of Saint Jerome (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). Later translators appear to have adopted a much more liberal approach (Kirby 1986). The earliest possible date of the oldest parts of the compilation may be the late 12th century (Astås 1993), although not earlier than around 1170 in view of the frequent references to Peter Comestor (d. c. 1178) (Unger 1862, Chavy 1988b).

---

[158] Indeed, it seems to have been common practice to insert proverbs or proverbial paraphrase in translations, normally as an interlinear gloss (Astås 1985b).

[159] "Nu sua sem virduligr herra Hacon Noregs konungr hinn coronadi son Magnusar konungs leet snara þ a bok upp i norenu sem heitir heilagra manna *blomstr*. Þeim skynsomum til skemtanar sem eigi skilia edr vndirstanda latinu…" ("Now, in the same way, the wonderful sire Håkon, crowned King of Norway, son of Magnus, ordered the translation of the book called "Flowers of the Saints" into Old Norse, [for the] pleasure of those who do not understand Latin" (The medieval compiler's "Prologum" in Unger 1862: 2. My translation and italics). The perception of the work as a "florilegium biblicum" cannot be mistaken.

[160] A close translation of the *Vulgata* text, this part of *Stjórn* is the oldest material and represents the earliest surviving translation into Old Norse of the historical literature of the Old Testament (Kirby 1986).

The last part of *Stjórn III* was probably one of the sources of numerous biblical references in *Konungs skuggsjá* (composed around 1260 in the same circles as the *Barlaams saga*) usually attributed to Hákon Hákonson the younger (Astås 1993). It is also believed to contain some of the same material as *Gyðinga saga*. In *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae*, Finnur Jonsson (1704-1789) claims that Brandr Jonsson[161] was responsible for the whole of *Stjórn*. However, in the introduction to *Stjórn* I, the compiler clearly states that the work was performed at the request of Håkon Magnusson, i.e. long after Brandr's death (Unger 1862, Togeby 1975). The older material of *Stjórn* II definitely dates back to the early 13th century, and derives mainly from *Vulgata,* with definite correspondence to Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* which may have served as a support text. Brandr may, however, have been the hand behind certain sections of *Stjórn* III, composed some time towards the middle of the 13th century (Kirby 1986).

The translation of the Old Testament's historical material, whether based on *Vulgata* or the compilations of Comestor and Vincent of Beauvais, was an ambitious enterprise. *Stjórn* belongs to a series of central religious and biblical texts imported and adapted by the Church whose clergy worked relentlessly to improve the moral standard and religious fervor of the Norse parishioners. The texts are part of a continuous didactical program that started with the first missionaries. They reflect the medieval Church's growing concern for the common people, not only in the North, but throughout Christianity. The Church increasingly emphasized each individual's responsibility for his or her own salvation. What the priest had hitherto performed on behalf of the individual during Mass, now increasingly became the individual's own responsibility, hence the importance of some rudimentary understanding of the faith and knowledge of the Scriptures.

Gyðinga saga or the History of the Jews

Gyðinga saga,[162] biblical material independent of *Stjórn,* corresponds essentially to the two historical books of *Vulgata* entitled The Maccabees (I and II), which tell the story of a legendary Jewish family of priests who rebelled against Anthiocus IV in the Jewish wars of independence (168-164 BC) and the rebels' re-consecration of the defiled Temple of Jerusalem. The Old Norse Maccabees text, attributed to Brandr Jónsson (d.1264), also contained material deriving from Comestor's *Historia scholastica* (Wolf 1995, Kirby 1986, *Britannica* 2000). The Council of Trent (1548) concluded that the First Book of the Maccabees would become part of the Roman Catholic canon. The Council in this way recognized the value of the First Book of the Maccabees as sourcebook to the early Jewish history.
Gyðinga saga can be divided into three parts in concordance with the probable source material. Brandr Jónsson probably translated only the first part, the Maccabee

[161] Brandr Jónsson (d.1264) stayed in Norway in 1262-63, when he translated *Alexanders saga* from a Latin text by Gautier de Chatillon (12th century) (Togeby 1975) during the reign of Magnus The Law Mender (1263-1280) (Halvorsen 1959). *Alexanders saga* was included in the Icelandic codex known as *Stœrri Stjórn* along with the Stjórn texts, *Romverja saga, Gyðinge saga* and the Old Norse *Vitae Patrum* (Tveitane 1968).

[162] Preserved in five more or less complete manuscripts: AM 226 fol. AM 225 fol., AM 655, 4º, XXV, AM 238 fol. XVII, and AM 229 fol. IV. The title is not original; Arni Magnusson called it in one catalogue (AM 435a, 4º, *Historia Judaica*, and in AM 654, 4º, *Historia Maccabaeorum* (Wolf 1995).

material deriving from *Vulgata*—commonly attributed to Saint Jerome—as hinted to in the epilogue:

> ”Þessa bok færdi hínn heilagra Jeronimus prestr or ebresku mæli ok í latínu. Enn or latínu. ok í norrænu sneri Brandrprestr ions son. er sidan var byskup at Holum”
>
> (Wolf 1995:219).[163]

The second part, based primarily on Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* was translated by someone else, as was the part deriving from the anonymous *Historia apocrypha*. In addition, the History of the Jews seems to contain a few minor passages deriving from other sources, notably Josephus Flavius' *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae,* although only indirectly through unidentified, intermediary sources.

There are also a certain number of passages for which no known exact sources have been identified. For instance, *Historia scholastica* in many cases follows the *Vulgata* texts so closely that it becomes difficult to distinguish between the two in the Old Norse text. *Gyðinga saga* also has been considerably abridged and shortened in relation to likely Latin sources. The rather methodical and consistent practice of selecting and abridging strongly suggests that the history existed as an established text when the abridgment was performed by some unknown redactor (Wolf 1995).[164]

Elucidarius

Honorius of Autun's (c. 1080-1150/56) writing was widely disseminated throughout medieval Western Christianity. The geographic origin of this influential medieval compiler remains a puzzle, however. Some scholars believe that he was either an Englishman working at Canterbury or an Irish monk residing in Regensburg in what is now Southern Germany. Others contend that he was native of Autun in Burgundy, where he for some time worked as *presbyter et scholasticus* as stated by himself in *De luminaribus ecclesiae,* one of his many didactical works (Firchow 1992). Some maintain that he may have been born in a small place called Augst(burg) near Basel and that his Latin name Augustodunensis derived from this town (Chavy 1988b, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). His anonymity was largely a self-imposed precaution owing to the ecclesiastical and political climate of his day, and probably allowed him to become one of the more prolific medieval encyclopedists, with a substantial readership amongst his contemporaries (Firchow 1992).

[163] This book, translated by Pater Hieronimus from Hebrew into Latin, was translated from Latin into Old Norse by Pater Brandr Jonsson, who later became bishop of Holar (my translation).

[164] For a more detailed presentation of possible sources and adaptation of the *Gyðinga saga* for a Norse audience, see Wolf 1995: lxxxviii-c.

A theologian with connections to the Benedictine order, Honorius had studied under Anselm (1033-1109), the Italian-born Archbishop of Canterbury (Flint 1985a, Chavy 1988b).[165] Motivated by an insatiable desire for knowledge and enlightenment, he became a celebrated compiler and vulgarizer in his own time, earning respect and admiration from his peers (Le Goff 1985). His educational ideas had been influenced by the rationalism of university scholars such as Abélard (1079-1142/4), Lanfranc (c. 1005-1089), Hugh of Saint Victor (1096-1141), and Bernard of Chartres, who advocated the study of philosophy and science based on reason (Le Goff 1985, *Britannica* 2000).[166] Throughout his life, Honorius' intellectual activity stayed focused on teaching within the structures of the cathedral school, and it is precisely within this framework that *Elucidarius* must be considered (Flint 1975a, Firchow 1992).

In his two main works, *Imago mundi* and *Elucidarius*, Honorius provided a comprehensive synopsis of the available scientific knowledge and philosophy (Chavy 1988b). The *Imago mundi* dealt with science, and included chapters on cosmology, astronomy, meteorology and chronology (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). *Elucidarius* was presented as a *summa totius theologia* and became an instant success, if judged by its translation into a number of vernaculars in the 13th century (Chavy 1988b). Both works reflect the essentials of medieval knowledge and teaching (Flint 1975a). *Elucidarius*, in particular, acquired a privileged status as an authoritative reference book, along with Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum maior*, and had immense influence in Western countries where it was used in schools to teach the elementary articles of the faith (Firchow 1992). In Norway, too, the book was in demand (Berggrav 1953).

[165] Astås in *Collegium medievale* 1993:2 points to the Augustinian terminology used by Honorius of Autun.

[166] Evidence of an Old Norse translation of Lanfranc's *Decreta* have been preserved in Norwegian manuscript fragments (Harðarson 1995).

Honorius's sources included the exegetical works of many of his contemporaries. He consulted *Glossa ordinaria* extensively. This was a commentary on the entire Bible by Anselm of Laon (d.1117)—a theologian who like Honorius had studied at the Abbey of Bec in Normandy when Anselm of Canterbury taught there (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).[167] Although borrowing from the exegetical treatises of his peers, Honorius' work is not in itself an exegetical work, but a typical medieval *summa* firmly anchored in the contemporaneous discussions of the *divina pagina*. Medieval knowledge was indeed considered common property, written and read, commented on and re-written, in a vortex of exegetical activity. Honorius drew not only on the works of contemporary scholars but also on the writings of the Church Fathers and earlier *auctores*, such as Ambrose (339-397), Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Boethius, Macrobius,[168] and John Scot Erigena (810-877).[169] However, amongst the numerous writings consulted, he relied the most on Anselm of Canterbury's *Cur deus homo* and *Monologion* (Flint 1975a). In the first, Anselm expounded on the new idea of redemption and atonement that was emerging in the 11th century; in the second, he attempted to prove the existence of God by rational thinking alone rather than referring to the writings of the *auctores* consulted by most contemporaneous scholars (*Britannica* 2000). *Elucidarius* nevertheless draws on a number of medieval authorities.[170] Yet, despite the rather difficult source material and the complexity of the subjects discussed, *Elucidarius* remained a text that is simple to read and became an instant success. Its immense popularity explains why so many copies of the text have survived: more than 41 almost complete Latin manuscripts have been preserved (Flint 1975a).

---

[167] Anselm of Laon's work can be found in *Patrologia Latina*, Vol. 162.

[168] Fifth-century Latin grammarian and philosopher whose most important work is *Saturnalia* (*Britannica* 2000).

[169] To whom Honorius refers as Chrysostomus, the "golden-mouthed," maybe as a reference to the eloquent Saint John Chrysostomus (c.347-407), doctor of the Greek Church and contemporary of Augustine. John Chrysostomus composed a book of homilies on the Genesis, and wrote extensive commentaries on both the Psalter and the Evangelium according to Matthew (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). His *Homilia super Matthaeum* was amongst the first printed books in 1466 (Stilwell 1972).

[170] Sources to Elucidarius: Ambrose: *Hexaemeron*; *De paradisio*; *De sacramentis* – Anselm of Canterbury: *Monologion*; *De Humanis Moribus per Similitudines*; *Cur deus Homo*; *De casu Diaboli*; *Proslogion*; *De conceptu virginali*; *De beatitudine* – Augustine: *De symbolo*; *De genesi ad litteram*; *Confessiones*; *Sermones*; *De civitate Dei*; *De trinitate*; *In Joannis Evangelium*; *Enchiridion*; *Ennarratio in Psalmum*; *De consensu Evangelistarum*; *Contra epistolam Parmeniani* – Bede: *In Matthaei Evangelium Expositio* – Boethius: *De consolatione philosophiae*; *De fide Catholica* – Cyprianus: *Liber de lapsis* – Gregory: *Homilia*; *Moralia*; *Homilia in Evangelium*; – Jerome: *Liber Hebraic. Quaest. In Gen*. – Isidorus: *Questiones in vetus testamentum* – John Scotus Erigina (Chrysostomus): *De divisione naturae*; *De divinis nominibus*; *Caelestis Ierarchia* – Macrobius: *In Somnium Scipionis* (a commentary of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*) – Orosius: *Historiarum adversus Paganos* – Paschasius: *Liber de corpore et sanguine Domini* – Peter Comestor: *Historia Scholastica* – Virgil: *The Aneïd* (Flint 1975b) (See also Oddmund Hjelde (1990) Norsk Preken i det 12. århundre. Oslo: Hjelde).

Elucidarius was written in England around the year 1100 not long after the Norman Conquest, and is marked by the dispute over lay investiture in the wake of the reform initiated by Pope Gregory VII (Flint 1975a). The efforts of the reformers of the 11th and 12th centuries to make the Church independent of lay control centered upon the appointment of bishops by the ruler of the country or region. In the beginning, election of bishops had been carried out jointly by clergy and people, followed by lawful consecration. Feudal and royal claims had transformed the election of Church officials into a royal appointment,[171] and admission to office was confirmed by the investiture by the local lord, of the ring and staff (Flint 1975a, Le Goff 1985, *Britannica* 2000).[172]

The Gregorian reform sought, amongst other things, *libertas et puritas ecclesiae* from secular powers embodied in an extensive system of private churches, the Pope's dependence upon the Roman nobility and emperor, the village priest's subjection to the control of his senior, and the growing practice of simony. The reform aimed at reinforcing the requirements of celibacy, which was rapidly declining, as evidenced by the practice of *hereditary* parishes and bishoprics.[173] In short, the recommended amendments aimed at reforming the clergy and establishing a common rule for clerics and monks and remove the care of the soul from laymen (*Britannica* 2000). In this struggle over lay investiture, the ecclesiastical clergy stood against the secular pastoral, and the monastic orders stood against the non-monastic clergy (Flint 1975a). The Investiture Controversy exemplified the opposition between *sacerdotium* and *imperium*, one of the issues that the proponents of canon law—as developed by Gratian in *Concordia discordantium canonum*—tried to resolve (*Britannica* 2000, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967).[174]

---

[171] Gregory aimed at purifying the Church, starting with a reform of the clergy. At his first Lenten Synod (March, 1074) he enacted the following decrees: That clerics who had obtained any grade or office of sacred orders by payment should cease to minister in the Church. That no one who had purchased any church should retain it, and that no one should be permitted to buy or sell ecclesiastical rights. That all those who were guilty of incontinence should cease to exercise their sacred ministry, and that people should reject the ministrations of clerics who failed to obey these injunctions (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[172] Reformers such as Lanfranc (c.1005-1089) and Pope Gregory VI believed that the Roman Church was in grave danger of becoming a proprietary Church whose royal or aristocratic owners regarded, in accordance with age-old custom, as their own private property to be disposed of at will. Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarius* was part of the Church's effort to settle the many disputes that divided it (Flint 1975a)

[173] The Second Lateran Council in 1139 declared invalid all marriages of those in major orders and of professed monks, canons, lay brothers, and nuns (*Britannica* 2000). This decree shows that marriage or concubinage was indeed common amongst the lower clergy.

[174] As we have seen, the issue of the power relation between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities was raised a century later in *Konungs skuggsjá* (c.1260), where the ideal of cooperation between the two power structures was promoted (Astå s 1993, Astå s 1987, Barnes 1987, Kirby 1986).

Honorius took the Gregorian reform to heart, and composed *Elucidarius* when the crisis in England was at its height. In some instances, even monks were barred from pastoral and teaching duties. Later, Honorius converted to monasticism, and composed an essay in defense of the orders within the educational system (Flint 1975a).[175] At the Synod of Westminster in 1107, the dispute over investiture was finally settled, and King Henry I (r. 1100-1135) renounced the right to appoint bishops and abbots. He did demand, however, that they do homage to him prior to their consecration (*Britannica* 2000). This somewhat special situation may explain, despite the superiority of the French vernacular in England, why the book was quickly translated into the native Old English, probably as early as 1125 (Flint 1975a, Lusignan 1986).

The text found its way to the North, and was translated into the vernacular some time at the beginning of the 13th century. The controversy over investiture so central to Honorius' work (Flint 1975a) was present in Norway, too. Despite the centralizing efforts of the Church, powerful chieftains and landlords maintained their traditional dominance over local politics, as in the pre-Christian era, and many of them influenced and controlled regional churches by appointing the clergy (Bagge 1998). The Old Norse *Elucidarius* thus had much of the same relevance in Norway as it had had in England.

Elucidarius is divided into three books. The first, *De divinis rebus,* deals with the Trinity Genesis, the Fall of Adam, the Incarnation and the Redemption. The second, *De rebus ecclesiasticis,* presents questions of ecclesiastical concern, such as Man's salvation through the Church and the Sacraments. The third, *De futura vita,* discusses the various aspects of life after death and the Last Judgment. The book addresses these issues in the form of a questionnaire, i.e. questions and answers between a *disciplus* and a master (Flint 1975a, Firchow 1992). This form was typical of medieval didactical material and derived from the platonic dialogue (Berggrav 1953).

The Norse translator has not been identified, and may have been of either Norwegian or Icelandic origin. The linguistic features of the text apparently have not given any clues as to the geographic origin of the translation, of which four more or less complete manuscripts have been collected and preserved by Arni Magnusson. AM 674a 4º is the oldest; AM 675 4º—originally part of *Hauksbók* by Haukr Erlendsson (d.1334)[176]—AM 544; and AM 238 fol. xviii. A diplomatic Old Norse version has been created using all four manuscripts, representing an estimated 80% of the Norse *Elucidarium,* using Lefevre's critical Latin edition as a reference guide, although this text was not the one used by the Norse translator (Firchow 1992). The Old Norse *Elucidarium* constituted an unparalleled introduction to contemporaneous European scholastic thinking. It summarizes and illustrates medieval Christian doctrinal theory as developed by the Church's main *auctoritates,* who are extensively quoted in conjunction with quotations from the Scriptures, both the New and the Old Testament (Flint 1975a).

[175] *Quod monachis liceat predicare,* written in the late 1090s (Flint 1975a).

[176] A large codex of miscellaneous texts compiled by the Icelandic lawyer Haukr Erlendsson (d.1334), containing, amongst others, an extensive Arabic treatise on and guide to advanced mathematics as developed in *Algoritmi de numero Indorum,* written in Baghdad by the mathematician Muhammad Al-Khwarizimi and translated in Toledo around 1130. The Arabs always referred to their mathematical systems as Indian numbers, and indeed the Indians were the first to develop a calculation system

Elucidarium is thus one of the few examples of scholastic writing in Old Norse translation. It is not merely another didactical work; it clearly takes side in an ongoing theological dilemma with ramifications for the secular as well as the ecclesiastic organization of society. A century after it was originally written, the book was translated into Old Norse, probably because the translator believed that its content still had relevance in a country struggling to define the boundaries between the Church and the monarchy (Firchow 1992).

Soliloquium de arrha animae

Another philosophical-theological text translated into Old Norse was *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, one of Hugh of Saint Victor's mystical writings.[177] An Old Norse text entitled *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* or "Dialogue between the body and the soul" has been preserved in the large composite codex known as *Hauksbók*.[178] The Old Norse *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* consists of two dialogues of which *Soliloquium De arrha animae* is the second.[179] The first dialogue—*Viðræða æðru ok hugrekki* ("Dialogue between fright and courage"—can be traced back to a pseudo-Seneca text, *De Remediis*, which appears in an abridged form in *De fiducia et securitate*, the 26th chapter of *Moralium dogma philosophorum*, often attributed to Gautier de Châtillon, but written by William of Conches (c.1080-1153). The Norse translator also thought the author was *meistari Valtírr* (master Gautier), as stated in the prologue.[180] The epilogue, which in general has been attributed to the translator himself as an orginal work, in reality contains, in the form of interlinear commentaries, excerpts from Hugh's pedagogical work *Didascalion*, which had been translated some time between between 1240 and 1260 (Harðarson 1995).

The Old Norse translation of *Soliloquium de arrha animae* became a text that was different from the Latin original in many aspects. Although the Old Norse translation in many ways follows the original text quite closely, the text was modified to accommodate the Old Norse audience, an audience anchored in a very different literary and religious tradition. The Old Norse text has been augmented in some places and shortened in others, and reveals extensive paraphrasing of central themes and sporadic interpolations which testify to the translator's will to clarify and explain Hugh's philosophy (Harðarson 1995).[181]

---

based on decimal position in the 4th century (Bekken 1995, Harðarson 1995). At least fifteen different scribes worked on *Hauksbók* (Harðarson 1995).

[177] The others being: *De Arca Noe Morali et Mystica* and *De vanitate mundi* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The name of Hugh is absent from the Old Norse translation. No mention of him is made in the text itself or in the Prologue (Harðarson 1995). Hugh of Saint Victor (c.1096-1141) was an influential medieval philosopher and mystical writer, one of the founders of Scholasticism, and the first to synthezise and systemize the teaching of the Church fathers and outline them in a coherent body of doctrine (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[178] *Hauksbók* has been preserved in two main manuscripts. The first, AM 371, 4º, contains primarily *Landnamabók* (about the settling of Iceland) and *Kristnissaga* (about the Christianization of Iceland). AM 544, 4º comprises a variety of texts, amongst others *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögu*, *Merlinúspá*, the Icelandic *Fóstbræðrasaga* and *Eríks saga rauða*, as well as the mystical pagan *Voluspá*. In addition we find *Algoritmus* and *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* (Harðarson 1995).

[179] Preserved in three Icelandic manuscripts from the 14th and 15th centuries: AM 544, 4º from the beginning of the 14th century, and part of *Hauksbók*, and the fragments AM 696 XXXII, 4º and AM 696 XXXIII, 4º from the second half of the 15th century. Harðarson sets the various versions up against each other (Harðarson 1995).

[180] Harðarson 1995: 43.

[181] Another text by Hugh of Saint Victor—one chapter of *De quinque septenis* ("On the five numbers")—was also translated into Old Norse. This text has been preserved in a 15th century Icelandic manuscript (Harðarson 1995).

In *Didascalion*, partly represented in the epilogue to the Old Norse *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, Hugh defends the new scientific techniques of the universitarians, especially Abélard's idea of a *logica ingredientibus* and the existence of a rational soul, upon which Honorius would further elaborate (Le Goff 1985).[182] The prologue, the *Viðræða æðru ok hugrekki*, the *Soliloquium*, and the epiloque form one unit in *Hauksbók*. The Norse version of *Soliloquium de arrha animae* and its accompanying texts demonstrate both the Old Norse translator's theological discernment and compiling skills (Harðarson 1995).

Devotional Texts and Christian Poetry

In addition to the voluminous biblical and texts found in *Stjórn* and the hagiographic legends compiled in *Vitae Patrum*, seven Christian didactical poems—composed in the Old Norse vernacular at the beginning of the 14th century—have also been preserved, as well as a number of devotional texts recorded in the 13th century. The composition of the extant Christian poems was probably undertaken in a monastic environment. It is not certain whether or not the poems are translations or original composition inspired by contemporaneous Latin poetry, but one may conjecture that they were a combination of both.

The seven poems are *Geisli* (ray of light); *Plácítúsdrápa* (In praise of Placidus);[183] *Leiðarvísan* (the Guide); *Harmsól* (Consolation of the sun); *Sólarljóð* Song to the sun); *Líknarbraut* (Road to mercy); and *Lilja*, an adoration of the Virgin (Astås 1970, Heggstad et. al. 1993).[184] The Augustine monastery at Þykkvabær in Iceland, established in 1168, was renowned for its Christian poetry, and some of the material may have been written there. The four first poems were produced towards the end of the 12th century, whereas *Sólarljóð* and *Líknarbraut* date from the 13th century. *Lilja* is a later composition from the beginning of the 14th century (Astås 1970). The story of Placidus—Saint Eustachius before his conversion—was one of the best known legends of the Middle Ages, and the Latin text has been preserved in a number of collections of saints' lives, including Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (Tucker & Louis-Jensen 1998, Ryan 1993). The story of Placidus served as a model for the Old Norse *Leiðarvísan*. Translated from Latin into Old Norse in the 12th century, *Placidusdrápa* figures amongst the earliest legends in Norse translation (Tucker & Louis-Jensen 1998).

---

[182] In *Didascalion*, Hugh of Saint Victor proposes a new division of knowledge: «Philosophia dividitur in theoreticam, practicam, mechanicam et logicam. Haec quatuor omnem continent scientiam» (*Eruditiones Didascaliæ*, II, 2). "Philosophy is divided into the theoretical, the practical, the mechanical, and the logical. These four comprise all knowledge" (my translation). His theory led to the perception of knowledge as speculative *science*. Man, by using reason, could and must arrive at the rational knowledge of the Divine essence (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[183] Preserved in the following manuscripts: AM 655, 4º IX and AM 644 4º X, and the fragmentary AM 673b, 4º from c.1200 (Tucker 1998).

[184] "The Lily" was a term commonly used in the Middle Ages to designate the Virgin Mary.

The Christian vernacular poetry reveals significant aspects of the way the Norse people interpreted and practised the Christian faith. Especially in the *Leiðarvísan*,[185] which narrates the relationship between the New and the Old Pact, i.e. between the New and the Old Testament, the idea of submission, loyalty, and *service* to Christ once again seems to be at the fore.[186] The didactical overtones are strong and suggestive of a certain need to clarify and reiterate some of the main obligations of Christian men. *Leiðarvísan*, a *drápa* composed by a hitherto unidentified (maybe Icelandic) author, was composed as a celestial letter, inspired by a long medieval tradition of "God's gift of hope" (Astås 1970: 259). Celestial letters transmitted a written message directly from God, the supreme *auctor*, not only of the Scriptures but of the entire creation (Minnis 1988).[187] The poem may have been recited during the inauguration and consecration of a new church, although this cannot be confirmed. A guide to Christianity and a praise of God and Christ, *Leiðarvísan* exhorts the audience to lead a good Christian life, reminds them of the need for baptism and attending Mass on Sundays, and venerate Christ. The symbolism of the seventh day permeates the poem. The celestial letter expounds briefly on how God has always intervened to the benefit of his People, with examples from the Old and the New Testament. *Leiðarvísan* contains no devotion to Mary or to the saints, but instead strongly emphasizes the dual origin and essence of Christ—*vere homo, vere deus*. The focus is entirely on Christ as King and leader: he is *drott*, wise and strong—in short a dignified model for appropriate male behavior. The theme of the celestial letter seems to have been known in Iceland before 1150. There is no mention of the Virgin in *Leiðarvísan*, although the Old Norse *Mariú saga* also refers to a celestial letter, albeit not from God, but from the Holy Virgin herself (Astås 1970).[188]

[185] Preserved in two manuscripts from the last part of the 15th century, AM 757, 4º and AM 624, 4º (Astås 1970)

[186] These were fundamental Christian virtues, reflecting the ideals of medieval feudalism and its system of interpersonal relations, expressed in the vernacular chivalric romances, and in Anselm's scholarly treatise on the theory of redemption. Christian virtues and vices were also outlined, as we have seen, in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók*, which opens with Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*.

[187] Such letters find their parallel in the Books of Genesis: 2. Mos. 31, 18; 2.Mos. 32, 16; and 5. Mos. 5. 22. According to legend, the first of the celestial letters was supposedly preserved in Constantinople (Astås 1970).

[188] It is difficult to assess to what point Marial devotion was common in Norway in the 13th century. The cult of the Virgin started in southern Europe in the 12th century, and received much attention in the poetry of the troubadours and in the rites of the Cathars who, although strongly condemned by the Church, did much to spread the cult of Mary in other regions (Borst 1974). Nevertheless, many Old Norse Mary legends have been documented.

Apocryphal Texts

From the Greek word for "hidden," Saint Jerome was the first to use the term "apocrypha" in reference to the non-canonical texts in the Jewish Bible. The *Septuagint*, the Greek translation of the original Hebrew texts, contained texts of uncertain Jewish origin. Despite Jerome's reserve, most of these texts were included in *Vulgata*, and thus enjoyed a wide dissemination throughout Christianity.[189] In addition to the Old Testament non-authorized material of Hebraic and Greek origin, the term "apocryphal" has come to designate textual material from the early Christian tradition, too, such as the non-canonical versions of the *Gospels*, the *Acts of the Apostles*, *Apocalypse* (*Britannica* 2000) and *Visio sancti Pauli* (Knudsen 1952).[190] Some of the apocryphal material surfaces in Old Norse texts as quotes and references. Material from *Ecclesiasticus*[191] and the *Wisdom of Solomon* seems to have been particularly popular. Passages from these books were frequently cited in Old Norse literature, and traces have been found in *Konungs skuggsjá* as well (Astås 1987c). The material was not transferred in its original form, but derived from an intermediate Latin source, probably Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*. Peter Comestor was one of Saint Victor's greatest scholars, representing the Abbey's mystical tradition (Kirby 1986).

Some of the apocryphal texts became more popular than others, such as the ever-present legend of Virgin Mary. It probably existed in many variants, but the Old Norse version that has been preserved is commonly known as *Mariú saga*, translated by the Icelandic Kygri-Bjørn Hjaltason of Hólar (d.1237/38) in the first half of the 13th century.[192] The text, in its extant form, contains parts of a *Planctus ante nescia*, a pseudo-Bernardian Complaint of Mary by Godefroy de Saint Victor (Astås 1985a), preserved in a 15th century manuscript.[193] The author of the Latin legend at the base of the Norse *Mariú saga* has not been positively identified, but it may well have been extracted from the ubiquitous *Historia scholastica* (Astås 1993).

Of the early Christian apocryphal tradition, only a few texts found their way into the North (Kirby 1986), such as *Transitus Mariae*, the visionary legend about the death and burial of Mary (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963), regularly attributed by some medieval scholars to John the Apostle (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999), by others to Joseph of Arimathea (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963). This legend related to the tradition of Mary's Assumption remained very popular throughout the Middle Ages and circulated in a number of Latin manuscripts (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The only extant Old Norse version of *Transitus Mariae* is found in an Icelandic manuscript and belongs to the same visionary tradition about

[189] In 1546, the Council of Trent finally declared the canonicity of almost the entire *Vulgata*, excluding only the 3rd and 4th Book of the Maccabees, Prayer of Manasseh, Psalm 151, and Second Book of Esdras. The Eastern Church, in comparison, accepted only a few of the Old Testament apocrypha, notably *Tobit*, *Judith*, the *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Ecclesiasticus*, and discarded the rest (*Britannica* 2000).

[190] This vision, contained in *Hómilíubók* (AM 619, 4º), has been linked to the Old Norse translation of *Soliloquium de arrha animae* by Hugh of Saint Victor (Harðarson 1995).

[191] Also known as the *Book of Sirach*, a collection of old Hebrew proverbs and dicta, the last of the Old Testament's sapiential writings (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[192] Edited and published by C. R. Unger in 1871.

[193] Godefroy de Saint Victor's (d.1196) main works are *Microcosmus* and *Fons Philosophia* (OLIS). Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) composed a *Tractatus planctu Mariae* (Collijn 1904).

the Assumption of the Virgin as *Mariú saga* and the Old Norse Homily on the Assumption, both associated with a *Letter on the Assumption* by Saint Jerome. The author of *Mariú saga* seems to have relied on Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum Historiale,* to which the anonymous Icelandic compiler of *Transitus Mariae* also refers. However, the exact Latin source texts of these Marial legends have not yet been identified (Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963). Furthermore, *Hauksbók* contains one apocryphal text, the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, probably the Old Norse translation of an Old English version included in King Ælfric's Book of Homilies (Kirby 1986).

The first of the two apocryphal *Books of the Maccabees* was translated into Old Norse in the 13th century.[194] The Norse version was preserved as part *Gyðinga saga,* compiled some time around 1260 at the request of King Magnus Håkonsson.[195] This version of the Jewish history includes material from both the Old and the New Testament and derives primarily from *Vulgata*. Nevertheles, the translator frequently draws upon intermediary sources such as the omnipresent *Historia scholastica*, as well as on an anonymous *Life of Pontius Pilate* (Kirby 1986, Ryan 1993).[196] The Norse translator of the Book of Maccabees significantly simplified the biblical text, and contains distinct Norwegian terms as well as a number of Latin and even a few French loanwords. No complete manuscript containing the Norse texts has survived, and the mid 14th-century manuscript AM 226 fol., the most complete extant version, seems to have been modified. An unknown revisor or copist seems to have further abridged the material some time before the outbreak of the Great Plague in 1349 (Kirby 1986).

The Legend of Barlaam and Josaphat

The history of Barlaam and Josaphat was probably translated into Old Norse some time around 1200 by someone associated with the court of Håkon Sverresson (r. 1202-1204) (Kirby 1986, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). Like most medieval Norse translators, the composer of the Norse text remains unidentified. The text was considered a devotional *romance* in medieval times, but in fact derives from the monastic hagiographic tradition (Astås 1993, Tveitane 1968). The probable source of the Norse version is the younger of two 12th-century Latin translations of the Greek original. The story in its extant form includes letters, speeches, and prayers, as well as a number of inserted stories not related to the main theme. The story of

[194] Priestly family of Jews in 2nd century BC Palestine who under Mattathias organized a successful rebellion against the Seleucid ruler Antiochus IV Epiphanes, King of Syria, and re-consecrated the defiled Temple of Jerusalem. The name "Maccabee" was originally the surname of Mattathias' third son Judas, but was later extended to all his descendants, and even to all those who participated in the rebellion. The family patronymic of the Maccabees was (H)Asmoneans from Matathias' ancestor "Hashmon." (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The story of the Maccabees was also recorded in Voragine's *Legenda aurea* (Halshall 1997). Josephus (37/38-100), a Jewish priest, scholar and historian, was amongst the first non-biblical historians of the Jewish people, the author of *Antiquitates Judaicae* (c. 93) an extensive twenty-volume history, and *Bellum Judaicum*, a seven-volume commentary on the Jewish wars of 66-70 (c. 75-79) (*Britannica* 2000).

[195] The Norse text is found in full in only one manuscript, the AM 226 fol. from the middle of the 14th century. Fragments of the history are extant in three manuscripts, one younger and two older (AM 229 fol. c.1400; AM 238 fol. XVII c.1300, and AM 655, 4º XXV c.1300) (Kirby 1986). The First and Second Book of the Maccabees are canonical to the Roman Catholic Church only, as is *Bel and the Dragon* (*Britannica* 2000).

[196] See also Kirsten Wolf (1987-88) "Lífssaga Pilati" in Lbs. 4270, 4º " in Proceedings of the PMR Conference 12/13: 239-262.

Barlaam and Josaphat recounts the story of the early Cristianization of India, and its didactical purpose is strongly underlined by a number of quotations from the Bible and the frequent repetition of the main articles of the faith. The saga was probably used in the continual work of strengthening the position of the Christian faith in Norway (Astås 1990a).

The Norse text is a rather free adaptation of the Latin source text and the compiler has made major adjustments and suppressed certain passages. Both the original and the Norse versions are interesting texts, primarily in view of the narrative's composite structure. The story is interspersed with passages from other medieval devotional texts. For instance, the legend contains the oldest extant example of early Christian apologetic literature: Aristides' *Apology*, long believed to have been lost, disguised as the wise man Nachor's speech.[197] *Apologeticum* has been moved up in the Old Norse text, to the first part as a substitute for the original version's description of the early Christianization of India. The text emphasizes the importance of monastic life and mission. Yet, curiously, the part about the monastic history of Egypt has also been suppressed in the Norse version, just like the tale of Thomas the Apostle and his missions in Asia. In contrast, the Norse text was augmented with material pertaining to the power of the King and his relation to the Church authorities (Astås 1990a), a recurrent theme in Old Norse translations. The education of the King seemed paramount and essential; it was a task the various Norse translators obviously took to heart (Danielsen et.al. 1992, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998, Ebbestad Hansen 1998).

[197] The 2nd century Athenian philosopher Aristides was one of the earliest Christian apologists. The Christians were persecuted in 2nd-century Greece. Two apologies were written: one by Quadratus, the other by Aristides, who presented the text to Emperor Adrian. Aristide's *Apologeticum* is (one of) the oldest extant apologist documents. It was highly thought of by contemporaneous Christian scholars, and Saint Jerome refers to it. The text was lost some time during the 9th century, but resurfaced in the late 19th century in fragmentary Armenian and Syriac versions. With the subsequent identification of a complete Greek version contained in a medieval Christian legend of Barlaam and Josaphat (attributed to Saint John Damascene c. 676-c. 754), the reconstruction of Aristides' original text finally was achieved. *Apologeticum* gives a brief summary of the Christian faith, and aims at demonstrating that only Christians hold a true conception of God. It points out the errors of Greek, Egyptian, Chaldean, and Jewish writings and beliefs concerning the nature of the Deity (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999, *Britannica* 2000).

The 12th and 13th centuries were marked by the Roman Church's continued efforts to establish an optimal relationship between *sacerdotium* and *imperium* (Flint 1975a, *Britannica* 2000, Grendler 1987, Lawson 1967). This work is also echoed in *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*, although not as a major theme. The most striking feature of the Norse version is the many augmentations in relation to the Latin source text, in addition to the strong didactical tone it carries. Elucidation and explanation were apparently considered a necessity when writing for a Norse audience and readership, which had less training in the finer aspects of theology and Christian exegesis. The beginning of the *Apology* in *Barlaaams ok Josaphats saga*, in particular, has been extensively modified and augmented. One single Latin term is often rendered by a series of almost synonymous Old Norse words,[198] so that very little indeed remains of Aristides' rather simple Latin vocabulary. Moreover, the idea of *providentia divinae*—inherited from Saint Augustine—dominates the narrative. In the Norse text, the notion of Augustinian predetermination—*per ipsum vero omnia sunt constituta*—takes precedence over Aristotle's principle of the necessity of motion inherent to all elements—*secundum necessitatem motum*—so omnipresent in Aristides' Greek apology (Astås 1990a).

Again we see major adaptation of foreign material to a native audience. The idea of providence was perceived as directly related to and dependent upon the conscious will of God, and the divine force operating on the universe and its inhabitants (Astås 1990a).[199] Aristides' simple language and general apology inspired later apologists who developed a more personal and literary style (*Britannica* 2000). In fact, the simple Latin of the original appears quite unsophisticated compared with the flourishing style of the Norse translation. In addition to material from Aristide's *Apologeticum*, *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* contains elements from the regular Old Norse *Credo*—translated primarily from the *Symbolum Apostolicum*—especially with regard to the vocabulary.[200] The double status of Christ as Man and God: *vere deus, vere homo*—the formula used by the orthodox Church—is emphasized. "*Hann do sem maðr. Oc reis upp sem Guð*" (Astås 1990a: 142, "He died as man and resuscitated as God," My translation). This formula is very close to the Old Norse *Credo*, but can be traced to other Norse religious works as well, amongst others *Humiliúbók*, and in particular the Old Norse version of *Apostolicum*[201] included into both the 12th century Icelandic and Norwegian law revisions (Astås 1990a and 1987e). What we see, then, is some degree of translational coherence amongst the different Old Norse translations.

---

[198] *Contumeliam* (insult) is translated as "vannsi, vilsinni, erfiði ok valkan" (i.e. shame, want, vexation, and offense); *Deum creatorum colere* becomes "æ lska ok dyrrka. tigna ok þ iona" (love, cherish, honor and serve) in the Old Norse text (Astås 1990a: 131. My translation).

[199] "Secundum praeceptum dei; per quem omnia nihilo facta sunt, per quem continentur omnia et gubernantur et providentia illius regentur" (Astås 1990a: 135).

[200] The two variants are:

a) *Symbolum Apostolorum* (before A. D. 390):
Credo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem caeli et terrae.
Et in Iesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, natus ex Maria Virgine, passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus, descendit ad infernos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos.
Credo in Spiritum Sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam Evangelicam (catholicam), sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam aeternam. Amen.

The translator of *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* was evidently well acquainted with the theology upon which the Latin source text was founded, and managed to adapt the story to the educational level of his native audience. This text of monastic origin from Christian antiquity has, by the astute manipulation of the Norse adaptor, been turned into an instructive text for the Norwegian King and his people, with less emphasis on mysticism of early Christian writings and more on the elements of rationalism and the ability of man to make decisions based on independent individual judgment (Astås 1990a). This was more in tune with the ideology promoted by Abélard, Bernard of Chartres and the Victorines. The Norse author of *Barlaam ok Josaphats saga* probably belonged to the same doctrinal tradition as the author of *Konungs skuggsjá* (Astås 1993), and was representative of 12th century scholasticism in Norway.

---

b) *Forma Recepta Ecclesiae Orientalis*. (A.D. 381):
Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem; factorem coeli et terrae, visibilium.
Et in unum Dominum Jesum Christum, Filium Dei [unigenitum], natum ex Patre ante omnia saecula [Lumen de Lumine], Deum verum de Deo vero, natum [genitum], non factum, consubstantialem Patri; per quem omni facta sunt; qui propter nos homines et [propter] salutem nostram descendit de coelis et incarnatus est de Spiritu Sancto ex Maria virginine et humanatus [homo factus] est; et crucifixus est pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato [passus] et sepultus est; et resurrexit tertia die [secundum scripturas]; ascendit in coelum [coelos], sedet ad dexteram Patris; interum venturus, cum gloria, judicare vivos et mortuos; cujus regni non erit finis.

Et in Spritum Sanctam, Dominum et vivificantem [vivificatorem], ex Patre procedentem, cum Patre et Filio adorandum et conglorificandum, qui locutus est per sanctos prophetas. Et unam, sanctam, catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam. Confitemur unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum. Expectamus resurrectionem mortuorum et vitam futuri saeculi. Amen (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999 & www.creeds.net/ancient).

[201] *Symbolum Apostolicum*—also known as the *Apostles' Creed*—became the commonly used statement of faith in the Roman Catholic Church in the Middle Ages. The *Credo* was, according to legend, attributed to the 12 apostles themselves, composed on the Day of Pentecost. The creed in fact builds on a series of questions and answers used when baptizing people in the early days of Christianity, and is a baptismal creed, standardized in France some time in the 6th or 7th century. In the 12th century, it was confirmed as the official statement of faith for the Roman Church by Pope Innocent III (r.1198-1216) (*Britannica* 2000, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The *Apostolic Credo* represented the minimum required knowledge of the Christian doctrine in order to become a member of the Christian community. The nucleus of the Old Norse *Credo* derives from the *Symbolum romanum*, an earlier version used in the first centuries of Christianity (Astås 1987e). During this time, the creed was often referred to as *Regula fidei*, *Doctrina*, or *Traditio*. Tyrannus Rufinus, as one of the first, explains the composition of the Apostolic Creed, and refers to it as a joint composition by the twelve apostles (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). The various Old Norse texts derive mainly from *Symbolum Apostolicum*, but also contain articulations from *Symbolum Romanum* (Astås 1987e).

Miscellaneous religious material

In addition to the various religious texts mentioned above, such as the apocryphal material, and the examples of Christian poetry, a few fragments of translated texts have survived in the form of Old Norse glosses to the Book of Psalms,[202] indicative of translation activity in relation to the non-historical material in the Jewish Bible, too. The Psalms were popular material throughout Christianity, and Latin Psalters became common reading-material amongst the literate. Kristin, Håkon Håkonsson's daughter, for instance, had her own personal psalter, which has been preserved (Kirby 1986). A vernacular Norse version of the Psalms probably existed well before 1150, most likely used when teaching the articles of the faith and for devotional purposes. The Latin Psalter seems to have been reserved for liturgical use. Quotations in the Norse vernacular from the Book of Psalms are found in the *Vienna Psalter*, accompanied by German commentaries.[203] Moreover, a number of interlinear vernacular quotations from the Psalms of David are also found in an Icelandic Latin Psalter, suggesting the possibility of an independent Norse version of the Psalms. However, the preserved material is too limited to give a clear answer as to whether a comprehensive Old Norse translation of this part of the Old Testament existed (Kirby 1986).

Biblical and moralizing material in Norse expression was, as we have seen, often worked into other texts, both religious and profane, such as the *Lai of Equitan* by Marie de France (Tveitane & Cook 1979) and *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* by Theodoricus (Faulkes & Perkings 1998). Longer and shorter passages can be found throughout secular literature, interspersed with quotational material notably from *Vitae Patrum*, the Gregorian homilies, smaller condensed passages from the Bible, and extractions of various liturgical texts. Most of the biblical material derived not from *Vulgata* itself, but from different intermediary sources in accordance with common medieval scholarly practice (Kirby 1986). The manuscript context of Latin sources of vernacular translations, not only the Old Norse vernacular, but other national languages as well, should not be ignored. Medieval vernacular translators typically consulted a number of Latin sources when commenting and glossing. Some of these were non-biblical sources that were considered as authoritative as the original text itself (Minnis 1988). *Glossa ordinaria* by Anselm of Laon and Peter Lombard's *Book of Sentences* were considered authoritative (Kirby 1986, *Britannica* 2000), as were many of the compilations and *summa* that circulated. These texts were all consulted and copied as if they were original material. Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* and Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum maius* were particularly successful as intermediary sources for medieval writers. Like many medieval texts, many Old Norse texts are interspersed with numerous quotations, paraphrases, and interlinear commentaries on non-historical material from both the Old and the New Testament. Yet, nothing in the extant material suggests that these passages were quoted from an already translated Norse Bible (Kirby 1986).

[202] Preserved in manuscript AM 241a fol. (Kirby 1986)

[203] Cod.Viund. 2713 (BIBSYS).

The biblical material in Old Norse translation belonged predominantly to the historical genre and derived in essence from the Old Testament, with the exception of the Acts of the Apostles and the Gospels. An Old Norse Acts of the Apostles *(Heilagra manna sögur*) appeared in the early 13th century.[204] Scholars have not yet determined whether these texts were translated directly from a Latin source text or whether they are the re-workings of earlier Norse (or English?) translations. The exact source material has not been identified. The preserved material, *Postola sögur*, is very fragmentary and contains texts by different translators, including two different versions of the *Saga of Peter* that may have built on previously translated material or on the usual intermediate Latin corpus of authoritative writing. A certain Grimr Holmsteinsson (13th century) produced a second *Saga of Peter*, commissioned by an Abbot Rúnólfr. *Postola sögur* contains glossing material from Gregory's *Homilies*, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and other reputed medieval *auctores* (Kirby 1986)[205] and thus follows the medieval custom of commenting translations of religious and thelogical material. Furthermore, the Norse Acts of the Apostles includes a *Saga of Paul* and a *Saga of Stephen* (the first martyr), probably the same versions as the ones found in the *Heilagra manna sögur* (Kirby 1986). The *Saga of Stephen* also figures in *Humiliúbók* (Indrebø 1931), presented as a combination of *vita*, *passio*, and *miracula*, seemingly based on both the Bible and *Historia scholastica*, although some of the material has been positively attributed to Lucianus (Kirby 1986).[206]

Readings about the saints were popular all through the Middle Ages, and different hagiographical legends circulated in a great number of manuscripts. Voragine's *Legenda aurea* include a substantial number of lives of apostles (Ryan 1993). *Humiliúbók* also includes an apocalyptic vision of Saint Paul (Seip 1952b, Indrebø 1931). The *Golden Legend* has survived in more than one thousand Latin manuscripts (Ryan 1993),[207] which confirms the immense popularity of the genre.

---

[204] *Postola sögur*, edited by Unger in 1874.

[205] "Þers truir ek yðr minninga vera, at þ er baðut mik saman lesa or likama heilagra gudspialla lif hins sæ la Johannis baptiste ok setia þ ar yfir tilheyriligar glosur lesnar af undirdiupi omeliarium hins mikla Gregorij, Augustini, Ambrosij, ok Jeromini ok annarra kennifedra…" (Kirby 1986: 87). "I believe it was your intention, to ask me to collect from the Holy Gospel the bodily life of John the Baptist and thereto adjoin the accompanying glosses extracted from the wonderful homilies of the great Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome and other learned [i.e. church] fathers…" (my translation).

[206] Maybe Lucian of Anthioch (d.312), *revisor* of the *Septuagint* (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[207] The only existing modern Latin edition is Grässe, Johann Georg Theodor (1846) *Legenda aurea: vulgo historia lombardica dicta*. Dresden: Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae. The reference to the history of the Lombards derives from the second last chapter on Pope Pelagius's *History of the Lombards*. The *Legenda aurea* was mainly a compilation of already available material (Ryan 1993).

The preoccupation with religion and moral conduct was omnipresent in medieval times, and marks not only devotional material, but also secular writing in both Latin and the vernacular. Biblical quotations appeared frequently in secular literature. This holds true for the North, too, where biblical quotations in Norse secular texts were numerous. The *Lai of Equitan*, for example, provides a good example of biblical quotational material in Old Norse non-religious writing (Cook & Tveitane 1979). However, despite the many paraphrases and quotations in the vernacular, there exists no evidence of a comprehensive translation of the whole Bible into Old Norse, neither fragments of manuscripts nor scribal references to such a comprehensive common source. While the absence of conclusive physical material does not necessarily mean that no such material existed, it does make the existence of a Norse translation of the entire Bible from which the authors of vernacular religious material could extract ready translations and quotes very improbable. Most of the biblical excerpts have been traced back to common Latin sources, although seldom to the Bible itself (Kirby 1986).[208]

The milieu in which the Norse translators worked was indeed modest in terms of scholarly training and ambition (Kirby 1986). The translators probably belonged to the same ecclesiastic or monastic orders (Halvorsen 1959, Astås 1987 & 1993). Indeed, 12th- and 13th-century Norway could only muster a handful of scholars able to perform this type of work. They must have coordinated their work to some extent or at least used much of the same reference material. There are observable links and parallels between the different Norse translations and compositions, especially the work performed during the reign of Håkon Håkonsson, explaining why *Konungs skuggsjá* has material in common with *Stjórn* III (Bagge 1973), as well as with *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga* (Astås 1993).

What we see reflected in the translated religious material—and echoed in much of the secular writing—is a sustained effort at outlining and instilling good moral values and modes of behavior. The repeated admonitions and commentaries suggest that the new moral principles must initially have been perceived of as rather foreign, and that some of them must have been regarded as largely dishonorable and utterly unmanly to the mentality of medieval Norwegians. The structure of pagan society remained present in the Norse language and mentality and in its linguistic idioms and metaphors. The fundamental notion of submission, humility and service so central to the Christian doctrine (Cf. Augustine's *Confessiones*) probably met with suspicion and even with derision by the Norse people, moulded in a society strongly sceptical and disapproving of human weakness and external signs of emotion (Bagge 1998). *Hávamál*, the old collection of proverbs and sayings, promoted forethought and prudence, not submission or forgiveness (Mortensson-Egnund 1996). A major reshaping of the Norse mentality was needed before people could truly embrace the new religion, reflected in the continual reiteration of the main articles of the Christian faith—in particular the virtues of repentance, confession, and penitance, as presented in Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* in the Old

[208] The Old Testament: Book of Psalms (best represented), Isaiah, Proverbs and Genesis. Apocrypha: *Ecclesiasticus* and the *Wisdom of Solomon* (the same intermediate source). The New Testament: The Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles. The Epistles: only infrequently represented. Quantitatively, according to Kirby, the material is unassuming. The quotations seem to be extracted from various intermediate sources (Kirby 1986).

Norse *Humiliúbók* (Indrebø 1931, Seip 1952b). It must have been difficult indeed for the missionaries to gain acceptance for these extraverted expressions of Christian devotion and meekness in the North.

Not only did Christianity convey a completely foreign culture, it centered on the history of a hitherto altogether unknown people, bringing with it the Roman Church's vision of power-sharing between the various secular power foci and itself (Bagge 1998). Throughout the entire Middle Ages, the Church was preoccupied with determining the obligations and privileges of both secular and ecclesiastical authorities, and in particular with limiting the political powers of the monarchy by placing it under its own supervision (Flint 1975a). Many Norwegian kings opposed the idea of authoritative submission to the Church, especially King Sverre Sigurdsson. An ordained priest himself (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998), he wrote *En tale mot biskopene* ("Speech against the Bishops" in defense of the powers of the monarchy (Bagge 1998).[209] Perceived as a possible threat to the Church's authority, Sverre was excommunicated (Kirby 1986).[210]

King Sverre's behavior was anchored in a society of relatively social equals, in an Old Norse mentality in which personal strength, wisdom and prowess were dominant features, clashing with the controlling ambitions of the Church. In pagan times, the leader was elected from amongst peers. In fact, the tenure of a Viking leader was a *temporary* position subject to revision on a yearly basis at the annual †ing, at least in theory. The system made political life a tumultuous and dangerous affair, both for individual candidates and their supporters. Sverre's claim to the throne initiated almost one hundred years of civil war between rivalling factions, ending only with the reign of Håkon Håkonson, under whom the Church finally enjoyed the advantages of a stable and supportive monarchy (Bagge 1998).

With the introduction of Christianity, the horizontal power structures of pre-Christian Norse society were substituted for a vertical system based on the individual's submission and loyalty to the Church and its appointed secular leader. The Roman Church imposed a highly hierarchical and centralized societal model that the secular powers could not ignore. Once Christianity was accepted, the social structures had to be revised. In fact, the structure of the Church served as archetype for the rearrangement of civil society, and the Church pushed for a social order more in tune with its own organization. The adoption of the new faith therefore entailed substantive modifications of the social structure, its cognitive and linguistic baggage, and of its inherent power conventions (Bagge 1998).

The Norse religion had not been an intellectual phenomenon based on philosophy and bookly knowledge as the Christian faith. The *Åsatro* was first and foremost the expression of communal belonging, and primarily mirrored life on the farm. The old religion was season-bound, born of rural needs. It focused on the welfare of the community as a whole rather than on the individual. In contrast, the Christian faith, of urban origin, far removed from the pagan rites of fertility, had

[209] Sverre's accession to the throne in 1177 marked the beginning of a period of conflict between the King and the Church, leading to a more defined and strengthened monarchy in the 13th century. For more details about King Sverre's role in shaping the Norwegian political scene, see Gunnes 1971 and Gundersen 1984.

[210] Sverre stood against the Church in the question of investiture. In 1194, King Sverre ordains Martin, his chaplain, as Bishop of Bergen and lets the new Bishop officiate at his own coronation in the end of June. Sverre and the bishops who supported him were all excommunicated (Thuesen 1997).

much less concern for the immediate and concrete, since man's fate in the Afterlife was more important than his existence on earth. Christianity focused on the metaphysical aspects of existence and appealed to the human spirituality. The Church, as we have seen, encouraged the very un-Norse notions of self-sacrifice and service, using the *exempla* of the Church's holy men and women, who, according to the Norse mentality, had in essence lived quite miserable lives and died terrible deaths. The veneration of the various saints must, indeed, have seemed a bizarre demand in the eyes of people raised as autonomous and proud peasant-warriors, loathing any external signs of human weakness (Grønbech 1913, Bagge 1998).

Understandably, the working conditions of the Norwegian clergy must have been very difficult. Their isolation, the geographical distance to the rich European intellectual scene, the fact that schools were late in organizing (Øverås 1952, Berggrav 1953) so that the general level of education and literacy was modest indeed (Edwards 1994), made the enteprise of the early Norwegian schoolmen all the more difficult (Bagge 1998).

Medieval literacy was essentially an *urban* phenomenon (Edwards 1994), and translation an activity that required not only qualified people but also specific tools and materials, some of which were in short supply in medieval Norway (Knudsen 1952). Nevertheless, quite a substantial number of texts were translated in an effort to remedy the devotional and doctrinal shortcomings of the Norse public, right from the start.

The special needs of the Roman Church in Norway—such as the training of a competent native pastoral clergy and the continual instilling of Christian values and strengthening of the Church's position in all aspects of social life—required didactical material in the vernacular. The constant preoccupation with teaching and preaching left little room for original intellectual debate or native literary production. Yet, the extensive body of religious and theological texts translated into Old Norse suggests a sincere wish to introduce the writings of the main medieval authors to the native audience, principally people associated with the hierarchy of the Church or the royal court. It is also an expression of a desire to belong to and participate in the larger community of European Christianity. The learned, mainly people of the cloth, were instrumental in importing and adapting the texts necessary for the cultural inclusion of the Nordic people into this larger community. The moulding of the native mentality was contingent upon the transfer and translation of the founding texts and the liturgical material used during the celebration of Mass. The translation of the court literature became part of the same didactical scheme, and helped illustrate the new ideals that were promoted.

Conclusion: Medieval Translation and the Shaping of a Nation

Translation in a medieval European context must be understood as transfer of knowledge, the crossing of linguistic and cultural borders, including adaptation, paraphrase, imitation, re-writing, summary, and compiling. Translation moves a text away from its original version. In medieval times, translation meant migration of texts, the physical displacement of both people and manuscripts, a movement which opened up for appropriation of foreign culture and its literary expression.

Medieval scholars started studying the authors of Antiquity and became aware of the almost migratory passage of knowledge not only in their own time but throughout history. Their preoccupation with the concept of *translatio studii* led to a gradual recognition of the former vernacular status of Latin and the passage of the Greek letter into the Latin vernacular. This perception of *translatio* as a vernacular phenomenon—a conscious transition from secular to sacred between vernaculars in ancient times—was at the root of the proto-renaissance of the 12th century. The Scholastics' systematic scrutiny of the three sacred languages of Scripture in search of a universal grammar applicable to all languages in the end opened up for the vernacular as a scientific language. What had been perceived as eternally static emerged as dynamic and changeable. The study of history added to this awareness of change as a natural and inevitable phenomenon.

The medieval notion of translation as *translatio studii*, defined as a mise-en-évidence of the *auctoritates*, including knowledge transfer between vernaculars, therefore seems appropriate when examining the cultural impact of Christianity in the North where the new faith was initiated and sustained by a substantial translation activity. Representative samples of both ancient and contemporaneous literatures were imported, interpreted and adapted for a native Norse audience. As manuscripts and learning flowed in, the focus gradually turned outwards, away from the local to the foreign, guided by a body of knowledge based on centuries of accumulated cognitive and philosophical experience.

Towards the end of the 13th century the scope widened and a few treatises dealing with natural science and medieval medicine were imported. One such text, *Algoritmus*, an Arabic treatise on advanced mathematics originally written in Baghdad and translated in Toledo around 1130, has been preserved in *Hauksbok*, a voluminous 14th century Icelandic codex containing first of all the early sagas of the settling and Christening of Iceland, but also historical texts such as *Trójumanna saga*, *Breta sögu*, *Merlinúspá* and the mystical *Voluspá*.

The first Old Norse translators turned to the writings of both earlier and contemporaneous European authors, opening up for new impressions and foreign literary models. The essentially extraverted literary activity was to a large extent commissioned with the specific purpose of reducing the cultural gap between the northern and central European traditions, of bringing the country and its people more in tune with contemporary intellectual currents. For almost two centuries, the royal Norwegian court yearned to be part of a broader cultural and literary tradition.

Translators in Norway were typically associated with the archdiocese or the royal court and catered to a mixed audience of scholars, clergy and educated lay people. The language of their literary productions was the native vernacular. Some of their work was commissioned by the Church, for example the Latin and vernacular chronicles of the 12th century; however, most of the translations were undertaken in the 13th century and the beginning of the 14th, commissioned and encouraged especially by Håkon Håkonsson (r. 1217-1263) and his grandsson Håkon Magnusson (r.1299-1319), two men of learning and considerable cultural ambitions. Håkon Håkonsson commissioned the translation of famous court romances from the French-speaking territories, whereas Håkon Magnusson ordered the historical material of the Old Testament in vernacular dress.

The introduction of the Christian faith represented a major break with traditional religious life. It was a significant paradigm shift. Greatly promoted by the early conversion of the Icelanders, Norwegian society fairly rapidly changed into a society controlled by the Roman Church, an institution steeped in rites and liturgical traditions molded by centuries of intellectual and contemplative reflection. The transformation from an oral to a book-centered culture, from a geographically remote society of smaller communities to a nation controlled by the universal apparatus of the Church was in itself no little feat.

The early missionaries depended on the successful translation and rapid indoctrination of the main liturgical texts. The missionary offensive necessitated the translation of liturgical texts and manuals—the main articles of the faith and the *Pater Noster* in particular—so as to be able to explain the Holy Mass and combat the practice of old pagan rites and what the Roman Church considered superstition. In their work, the first English missionary monks and bishops may have used Old English homilies and liturgical books from the beginning of the 9th century, given the linguistic proximity of the two vernaculars. Some of the first Old Norse versions of liturgical material may indeed have been translated from Old English in the early days of Norwegian Christendom. Unfortunately, the earliest versions of the major didactical texts used by the missionaries have not survived in their initial form, but only partially in later manipulated and "corrected" copies. As a result, the exact source material for the oldest surviving Old Norse religious and theological texts—such as for example some of the material recorded in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók* (c.1200)—remain obscure, and an attempt to fix a specific time for the translation of the earliest texts boils down to mere conjecture.

By the time it reached Norway, the Roman Church was firmly established throughout Western Europe and had become a highly sophisticated, hierarchical and centralized (and centralizing) institution demanding compliance with a vast body of rather complicated rules and precepts, wanting to regulate not only religious life and practice but also political life and secular society in general. However, the geographical characteristics of the country in conjunction with an already established and commonly respected legal system (which in many instance was not compatible with canon law) and the particular Norse mentality made the conversion process a long one.

Christianity brought with it a great number of hagiographic legends and stories, describing the lives of martyrs, holy men and women as well as wondrous

and miraculous events. These stories were narrated in much the same way and ran parallel to heroic stories of valiant kings and warriors. The historical, hagiographic, and heroic blended and complemented each other as the Church looked for new religious and social role models.

The models of behavior and social conventions promoted by the Church were not of course accepted over night. The changes brought on by the collective conversion to Christianity were radical in any sense of the word and demanded much work, devotion and persuasion on the part of the clergy, both the first missionaries and their successors. The conversion, as we have stated, signified a greater individual participation in religious life. Every human being became, to a large extent, responsible for his or her own fate, as Christianity introduced the notion of *personal will* and *choice* (this had indeed been a central element in Saint Augustine's conversion for instance), not to forget *obligation* and *duty*. A radical change of mentality was called for to ensure general compliance with the new social and religious conventions. The Old Norse people had been staunch individualist, true, but firmly believed in *fate* as a *ruling force* in life. The concept of personal will in a religious perspective was indeed very new. There was an urgent need for guidance and advice.

The Christening of Norway coincided with the Church's increased emphasis on the importance of the individual effort in the process of salvation. The preoccupation with the condition of the individual represented a major shift in the Church's focus: a step away from the victorious, immovable and often distant God towards the *passio* of the suffering Christ. New emphasis was put on the notions of charity and redemption by good actions. The Church found itself in the middle of a major theological reorientation, enshrining its final recommendations in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. The reform aimed primarily at settling the question of secular investiture and teaching privileges, and the Norwegian chapters had to take Vatican's new directives into consideration when addressing the parishioners. Many Old Norse texts from this period—both religious and secular—testify to the dual mission of the Church in Norway: instilling and strengthening faith locally and at the same time implementing the Church's doctrinal reform universally. Participation in the rites of the Church, attending Mass once a week, for instance, now became compulsory and increasingly obscured the initial concept of individual free will and choice in relation to God. From now on the focus was on the urgent need for personal confession, repentance, and final redemption. The obligation of the Church to care for the individual soul in view of eternal salvation became the overruling principle throughout Christianity.

Christianity upset the established social order in Norway to an extent that must not be ignored. As parishes were established around the country, the lives of ordinary people were affected by the direct and concrete interference of the clergy, incessantly promoting the learning and culture of Christianity. However, in order not to antagonize the natives too much, the Church permitted certain pagan feasts and rites that were considered essential to the functioning of society to be celebrated, especially the rites associated with winter solstice, which continued to be celebrated, slightly concealed as the Christian holiday of the Nativity.

The Church organized schools at the dioceses and sent the more promising students—those destined for service in the Church—abroad in search of higher education, generally to the universities of France and England, but sometimes to institutions as far away as Italy, often at the expense of the Church. Bishop Eystein, for instance, had been at the monastery of Saint Victor, whereas other clerics studied in England, and a few in Germany. Before leaving, the Norwegian students probably received some basic training in the *Trivium* at home. The number of Norwegian students abroad was never great, but on the Continent they became acquainted with alternative social structures, and an established educational system, as well as a flourishing literary activity. They brought home both their newly acquired learning as well as manuscripts of various genres.

Medieval elementary schools could vary somewhat in their make-up, but the universities were true *international* and *universal* institutions, offering the same corpus, following the same scholastic traditions, and promoting the same Latin culture and language. Medieval universities mixed the ecclesiastic and secular in a unique way. The fact that in many places university scholars enjoyed the protection of secular courts helped promote independent studies and allowed scholars to study material that would otherwise have been unheard of. Especially the universities in the French-speaking territories fostered many (mainly) anonymous, relatively *free-thinking* and *rationalistic* medieval scholars, the Goliards, of which Abélard and Rutebœuf were highly sympathetic. A few centuries later, the European humanism of the Renaissance and the German Protestant movement based much of their arguments on the work and commentaries written by great scholars of the early universities and monastic schools.

The channels of exchange between the Norwegian clergy and the principal English and French centers of learning were present from the beginning. However, very little of the issues debated in the emerging universities and monastic centers of learning seems to have been transmitted to the North, with the exception perhaps of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarium* (c. 1200), composed in response to the embarrassing controversy over lay investiture in the 11th century, and Hugh of Saint Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, translated into Old Norse as *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* sometime between 1200 and 1220. The almost simultaneous translation of Honorius' and Hugh's texts can be seen as the Norwegian clergy's need for further clarification and teaching material in matters pertaining to theology and faith in general and power sharing between Crown and Church in particular.

Honorius was above all a rational thinker and a man with a sense for what was practical. This can be said about Hugh of Saint Victor as well. Many of the problems debated in *Elucidarium* and *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, such as the appropriate relations between the ecclesiastical and secular authorities, are also discussed by the author of the Old Norse *King's Mirror*, who again and again reiterates the notion of the King's *subordination* to Christ, meaning of course the monarch's formal submission to the Church and its institutions.

Traditionally, religion and politics had largely been considered two distinct but separate spheres in Old Norse society. This distinction was blurred as the Church sought to regulate every aspect of human life. In pagan times, the religious locus had been within the confines of the local community, supervised by the local chieftain

who officiated during rites and sacrifices. Under Christianity, the distant Holy See in Rome became the new spiritual center. Religion no longer focused on life on earth, on the seasons and rites of fertility, but rather on redemption in Afterlife, dependent entirely on God's forgiveness of one's sins. The notions of sin and humble repentance—so central to the Christian theory of sacrifice and redemption—were indeed unfamiliar concepts in the North, and very difficult to accept for a people who admired personal strength, leadership, and heroic actions, and who emphatically disapproved of external expressions of weakness, sorrow or remorse.

Many of the "Christian principles" had been incorporated into the secular laws already in the 11th century, but found their final written expression two centuries later when Magnus the Law Mender had the legal texts recorded and revised in 1274. By then, the Church, with its love for order and rule, had succeeded in creating a *nation* of a people traditionally bound together by loose alliances and political relationships. The notion of *nobility,* and consequently of *leadership,* had traditionally been associated with personal valiancy, skills and performance. In the new order, however, the original perception of nobility as a mental and physical disposition ceded to the idea of nobility as a *birthright*, an inherited distinction (initially) granted by God. The perception of nobility as a condition granted by the "grace of God" was promoted in the popular chivalric and romance literature translated in the 13th century.

The Church introduced the principle of clerical hierarchy based on a well-defined hierarchy of knowledge, as evidenced by the content of the *Trivium* and the *Quadrivium,* two distinct curricula leading to very different functions within the Church. In medieval Norway, however, the hierarchical categorizing of clerics was less prominent than on the Continent. The clergy soon became an elite and its members produced most of the translation material throughout the entire period studied: religious and devotional texts, chronicles as well as chivalric and romance literature. This of course was due to the fact that the native clergy were the only people with the education and language skills required to read, compose, and translate secular and religious literature in Latin or in French. In the French-speaking territories, on the other hand, *professional* secular authors produced much of the non-religious literature, both Latin and vernacular.

The early Icelandic saga writers wrote exclusively in the vernacular. They were champions of the historical genre. In contrast, the chroniclers working at the diocese of Trondheim wrote first in Latin, but soon turned to the national tongue used by their Icelandic predecessors, whose work they indeed consulted. Both clerics and secular lawyers wrote some of the first histories. Hence, two very distinct professions and two different judicial traditions recorded the first histories of the nation. The existence of two parallel legal systems after the introduction of Christianity—with the secular system in many instances the stronger—was in itself rather a unique phenomenon in a medieval Christian context.

The first national historians were inspired by contemporaneous European Latin chroniclers, especially English authors such as the Venerable Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth, but also by the earlier Icelandic saga writers. Only a century after the official establishment of the Church, the first national chronicles were written. Theodoricus Monachus' *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium*

(c.1170), the anonymous *Historia Norwegie* (c.1177), and the vernacular *Ágrip af Noregs konunga sógum* (c.1190) relied to some extent on the anonymous *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Monmouth's (d.1154) *Historia regum Britannicae*, Adam of Bremen's (d.c.1076) *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, and Hugh of Saint Victor's (1096-1141) *Chronicon*. The foreign Latin chronicles inspired histories in the vernacular, and the subsequent saga genre enjoyed a privileged status in both Norway and Iceland, where the historical saga tradition was kept alive for centuries to come.

Significantly, the vernacular expression gained in esteem and impetus and became the dominant and omnipresent literary expression well into the Reformation century, suggesting that the Church may have had less control over literary production and secular life in Norway than elsewhere in Europe, probably because the secular law collections continued to be enforced. The Church, when laying down its foundation, had not substituted the old laws, rather it had sought to amend, correct, and adapt them to the new spiritual and social order. Consequently, the old laws, recorded in the 11th century, were never put aside or overruled. Rather than being rejected by the Church, they were constantly revised and perfected. The question of their legitimacy does not seem to have been an issue.

The need for *exemplification* was of course greatest in the first centuries of Christianity but continued to be felt throughout medieval times. In order to become satisfactory members of the "universal" community of Christians, the Norse people needed a fundamental mental reorienting. In order to reach people and touch their souls, the Church needed didactical material in the vernacular, it needed new behavioral models.

The earliest translations therefore consisted of predominantly religious and didactical material, prayers and sermons, including quite a number of *exempla* from the Gospels, as well as from apocryphal texts of both Jewish and Christian origin, such as *Barlaams oc Josaphats saga* (c.1260), *Visio sancti Pauli apostoli*, and *Heilagra manna sögur* (*Vitae Patrum*, c.1250-1300). The overriding instructional purpose of the imported texts explains why the material contained in *Stjórn* (c. 1300) is not a direct translation of the biblical texts, but instead leans rather heavily on already established compilations such as *Historia scholastica* and *Speculum maius*, compilations full of ready-to-use glosses and examples. *Stjórn* was commissioned by Håkon Magnusson, and was the last of the major translation projects at the royal Norwegian court, and marked the end of a prolific and extraverted intellectual period during which translators had imported the more prominent texts of contemporaneous European culture. Using intermediate sources when presenting biblical material was an altogether common and accepted medieval practice.

However, the new models for appropriate behavior were not only found in various religious and devotional texts, but also in the French court literature narrating the exploits of legendary Arthurian and Carolingian heroes and expounding on the notion of *fin'amor* in chivalric tales of Breton origin. By the 13th century, the position of the Church had been affirmed, and the country experienced a period of relative peace and prosperity. The political elite associated with the court now had time for recreation and entertainment. Håkon Håkonsson (r.1217-1263) commissioned the translation of the works of Marie de France and Chrétien de

Troyes, in particular, but also of other medieval tales, such as *Tristan and Isolde* (1170-73) by Thomas (1170-73), translated into Old Norse in 1226, and various legends associated with Charlemagne, especially the *Chanson de Roland*—the oldest of the French *chansons de geste*—recorded in Old Norse before or around 1250, but which probably had circulated in oral form for centuries. Both heroic epic and chivalric romance literature enjoyed great popularity in Norway, as it combined action and chivalry with good Christian values.

The foreign material in Old Norse translation, including religious (often hagiographic) and chivalric texts, was invariably referred to as *historical* texts, as *sagas*, and borrowed many features from the almost epigrammatic and condensed Old Norse secular historical style. The native courteous style mixed literary features from both traditions; however, a distinctly didactical tone permeates the translations of the popular court literature from the French-speaking territories where Christian conventions had been firmly established for centuries. The finer psychological aspects of the chivalric romances usually were ignored or compressed by the Norse translators in view of a public who preferred action to philosophy. The concrete took precedence over the abstract, direct speech in many instances replaced indirect narrative. Still, the Old Norse court literature managed to reflect the essence of contemporaneous European mentality.

The selected texts did not merely seek to amuse as we have stated, contrary to what often was claimed in the prefaces, but also to instruct people in appropriate Christian behavior and conventions. The translator's *interlinea* comments illustrated and explained the behavior of the hero. In good medieval tradition, court romances were considered sources of learning as much as sources of entertainment. Any text could convey fundamental *truth*. Old Norse court literature therefore can be understood as a *supplement* to the religious and devotional material that preceded it, as it, too, aimed at instilling in the native population a new way of thinking about themselves and their place in society. The selected texts, both the purely devotional and the more "entertaining" court romances, can be seen as parts of a larger educational scheme. The voice of the translators, heard in the *interlinea* commentaries of historical, chivalric and romance texts, reveal to what extent translators looked upon themselves as social educators, too. Yet, to what degree translation of foreign secular literature was part of a *conscious* missionary scheme remains of course uncertain. In any case, the many translations of secular literature—and their constant emphasis on good Christian principles—must have had an impact.

When we look at the history of translation in medieval Norway, the overall impression is that of a nation of neophytes not only struggling to keep up with the European intellectual currents but relentlessly working to fully introduce, nourish and maintain the Christian faith. Nonetheless, the many evidences of continual missionary efforts in many Old Norse texts—both religious and profane—should not lead us to conclude that the Norwegians were not properly christened during the Middle Ages, they were, and they were like most converts quite fervent. Rather, the many exhortations and commentaries are indicative of the clergy's concern about religious practices in general and testify to a perceived need for continuous religious instruction, as well as for some social and political reform. In view of the estimated

medieval literacy rates, the admonitions of the Church were without a doubt directed at the governing elite, in particular the monarch and his immediate entourage, and ultimately aimed at consolidating the Church's position and jurisdiction in relation to the monarchy.

The transition between the pagan era and the Christian Middle Ages in Norway illustrates how—through translation—the Church systematically and concertedly introduced, disseminated and sustained a foreign culture. The Old Norse society had traditionally been organized in function of a religion with relatively few rites primarily linked to seasonal fertility and the beginning and end of life. In pagan times, religion had not influenced political decisions and secular life to a great extent. The Roman Church on the other hand wanted control over most aspects of civil life, and the introduction of Christianity signified rather pervasive transformations of both social and political structures.

The systematic use of the vernacular by Norwegian clergy stands in sharp contrast to the practice of European clerics who mainly (if at all) reserved the vernacular for sermons. Norse translators were in a special position compared with their continental colleagues, who in most instances were rather restricted in their relationship with the vernacular. The omnipresence of the national language in almost all aspects of civil and religious life testifies to the vernacular's strong position in Old Norse medieval society, and to the apparent *confidence* of the native intellectuals working with the foreign material.

The emergence in the North of a Christian vernacular society was indeed particular in a European Christian context, and of course had an impact on the literary expression. The Old Norse vernacular appropriated and adapted many features and conventions of the imported literature while preserving many of its original characteristics. The tendency was generally to conform less with the original form than with its content, typically rendering original verse literature into prose narrative, and converting descriptive writing and indirect speech into direct speech and dramatic narrative. Hagiographic material, Christian chivalric and heroic ideas blended with the ideals and literary conventions of the Old Norse pagan society. The material was adapted to the native taste and presented almost invariably as *sögur*—stories to be told and retold, slowly taking root, gradually becoming familiar parts of the literary tradition.

Translation of foreign material demanded creativity and inventiveness on the part of the translators. The foreign did not suppress the national, but contributed to its evolution. The encounter between *self* and *other* engendered the specific courteous prose style in which the traditional declamatory style mixed with European literary conventions. Due to political and demographic circumstances in the 14th century, literary activity all but ceased; however, some of the court literature entered the oral tradition and lived on in the form of ballads and folksongs. The vernacular continued to dominate the scene until Latin reappeared in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Part III: Intermezzo

The Devastation of the Black Plague and the End of Autonomy: 1350-1500

The Black Death hit first in Bergen in 1349, followed by rapid outbreaks in other ports. The plague swiftly spread to the inland and for almost a century returned with more or less regular intervals. As a result, an estimated 2/3 of the population died, including most of the literate clergy and the nobility. Indeed, most of the people in charge of civil and ecclesiastic administration perished. People were desperate, and isolated instances of human offerings were reported (Mørkhagen 1994). In Trondheim, the Chapter was all but decimated, and a certain Brother Lodin (Danielsen et.al. 1992) was mandated by Pope Clementius VI in Avignon to the difficult task of selecting an archbishop and appointing new members to the Chapter. Lodin obtained a papal dispense allowing him to nominate candidates without the required qualifications, people who would otherwise not have been eligible for the positions in question. Lodin chose a new Archbishop, Olav (d.1370), in 1349. Olav received his pallium in Avignon in November 1350 and returned home to Trondheim during the spring of 1351 (Kolsrud 1913, Danielsen et.al. 1992). Combined with an agrarian crisis due to a dramatic cooling of the climate, the Black Death weakened the country economically, religiously, and politically to a much greater extent than neighboring Sweden and Denmark. The country lost most of its institutions and ruling class. A series of political events and informal alliances ended in an agreement of union in Kalmar in 1397. The Norwegian court—or rather what was left of it—had moved to Sweden already in 1319. This move marked the beginning of the end of autonomous self-rule (Danielsen et. al. 1992).

The heavy tolls of the Black Death seriously damaged the country's ability to foster and maintain intellectual activity in the manner of the neighboring Sweden or Denmark. Both these countries had more or less recovered from the crisis of the 1349 pestilence by the year 1400, whereas Norway had not yet fully recovered even at the onset of the 16th century.[211] As a result of the sharp demographic decline, Norway lost its cultural viability and the initial *au pair* union with Denmark evolved into a *de facto* subordination. The political authority, confirmed by King Christian I (r. 1450-1481) in the *Håndfestning* of 1449,[212] in many ways seemed inevitable. The country had suffered greatly, both politically and economically, and the educational system had been reduced to five dioceses with responsibility for the obligatory cathedral schools. This does not mean that there was no one in the country with education or intellectual aspirations in the 15th century; however, there was no milieu in which native intellectual talent could evolve and express itself (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

[211] In 1550, Bergen, for example, had only c. 7 000 inhabitants, i.e. the equivalent of the estimated pre-plague population two centuries before (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

[212] He had been elected King of Denmark in 1448 and was crowned King of Norway in 1450. Christian I was of German descent and enjoyed close relations with the Hanseatic merchants in Norway who helped the Danish administrators collect taxes and dues. During his reign the influence and clout of the Norwegian National Council diminished further and in practice Norway was ruled from Copenhagen (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). A *håndfestning* was a royal charter stipulating the rights and duties of both administration and citizens, guaranteeing the right to property and fair legal process in case of contention. The

The absence of a strong political and prosperous cultural elite in Norway in the wake of the first incursion of the Black Death in Bergen effectively put a stop to the cultural exchange between Norway and the French-speaking territories of Western Europe. The German-speaking territories, closer to the Danish administration, would from now on dominate the political and economic scene and determine the outcome of the religious strife that marked the beginning of the 16th century. The impoverished and weakened native aristocracy no longer had the financial means to send their children to foster care and studies abroad. The rich literary production of the 13th and 14th century French-speaking territories, notably the *Roman de la Rose* by Guillaume de Lorris (c. 1215-c. 1278) and Jean de Meung (1250-1305), which stirred so much debate on the Continent and which was translated into old English by Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343-1400),[213] apparently never reached the people of the North. At least there are no traces of it, nor of the first Renaissance writers such as Petrarch (1304-1374), who wrote in both Latin and the vernacular. The chivalric court literature and the Celtic themes of the romances, which had been so popular, lost both their readers and audience, and only survived in a mutated form in popular folk songs and ballads. As for other types of texts in translation, especially Latin religious works, scholars believe that such texts may have existed, but that many of them were destroyed during and after the Reformation (Halvorsen 1959, Abrams 1974, Brunel 1972).[214]

Archbishop Aslak Bolt (d.1450) is a good example of the intellectual solitude and isolation endured by the Norwegian clergy in the century before the Reformation. Bishop of Oslo in 1407, then of Bergen the year after, he was eventually elected Archbishop of Norway and moved to Trondheim in 1430 (Kolsrud 1913, Øverås 1952). Aslak was a learned man, and is thought to have possessed quite a substantial collection of books. His library contained no less than 19 theological treatises and two *brevaria*. This must have represented quite a respectable collection in Norway at the time. The Archbishop seems to have appreciated the works of authors from the productive 12th and 13th centuries and his collection comprised works like *Compendium theologice veritatis* by Albert the Great (c. 1190-1280), Thomas Aquinas' mentor, as well as a compilation of texts by Boethius entitled *Textus Boecii de consolacione*. Aslak also owned a copy of the *Sermones dominicales* by Jacobus Voragine and the *Liber revelacionum Birgitt(a)e* by Saint Brigit of Vadstena (1303-1373). These compilations were probably consulted when he wrote his sermons (Martinsen 1996, *OLIS*, Chavy 1988b).

1449 *Håndfestning* was the first such charter to be issued by a Norwegian king, but the practice had started in Denmark in the 13th century (Edvard Bull (1977) *Normenn før oss*. Oslo: Tano).

[213] Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose* represents a further refinement of the theme of courtly love (Gillie 1977). It also established the authority of the human author and human sources of knowledge, in this case the knowledge of love (Minnis 1988).

[214] The 14th and 15th centuries were difficult on the Continent as well, marked by the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), explaining the increased interest for history (Jean le Bel, Froissart and Philippe de Commynes) and the near abandonment of literary genres such as romances and *lais* (Brunel 1972).

The 15th century saw the beginning of rationalism throughout Europe: it was a time when national identities surfaced as a result of the consolidation of vernacular expression and a time when some of the main Church doctrines were questioned.[215] Many national histories were written during this period and many medieval historical compilations were translated. In Norway, however, the clergy had other more immediate and urgent preoccupations than discussing the appropriateness of the national tongue or debating the finer aspects of scholastic theology. They struggled to find qualified priests for their parishes and worked hard to collect tithes in a country whose economy had been devastated by almost a century of bad crops (Danielsen et. al. 1992).

The devastation of recurrent pestilence had made it possible for the Hanseatic League to succeed in putting up strong commercial offices in Bergen, filling the gap left by dead Norwegian merchants (Danielsen et. al. 1992). They had been sporadically present from the 13th century. A permanent *Comptoir*— "de *contoriske* paa Bryggen" as Absalon Beyer (1528-1575) put it (Beyer 1928)—was established already in 1360, only ten years after the onslought of the Black Death (Bagge & Mykland 1987), and rapidly dominated fishing and grain trade along the Norwegian coast.

The Hanseatic merchants formed a strong economic alliance and represented an indisputable commercial force in the whole of what is now commonly referred to as Scandinavia. They established a huge market in Skåne,[216] which yielded substantial tax revenues. Both Swedish and Danish crowns were therefore eager to gain control over this province and the lucrative market. The political and economic activities of the Hanseatic League gave rise to a series of armed conflicts throughout most of the 14th and 15th centuries (Albrectsen 1997).[217]

By the time of the Reformation, Norway had come to a cultural and economic standstill, placed under Danish political guardianship and subject to the economic dominance of the Hanse. The native vernacular had changed radically as schools had been allowed to decay and few scholars were left to control and direct the evolution of the national language. In approximately a century and a half, the vernacular had evolved from Old Norse into the modern dialects we know today (Bagge & Mykland 1987). The old vernacular was used in legal and administrative documents till around 1370. From then on, Danish was adopted and in 1450 became the Norwegian administration's official language, coinciding with the accession of Christian I (r. 1450-1481) to the Norwegian crown (Bø 1982, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). The evolution of the vernacular had been influenced by the increased use of Danish after the signing of the Kalmar Union of 1397 and the presence of a large

[215] John Wycliffe (c. 1324-1384), doctor of theology at Oxford, was one of the first to translate the entire Bible (1382) into English from *Vulgata*. He introduced many Latin words into vernacular English. He insisted on being guided by the Bible alone in matters pertaining to faith and advocated the poverty of the clergy. His followers formed an anti-papal movement. For this he was accused of heresy (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[216] The southernmost region of modern-time Sweden. Then part of Denmark.

[217] The "Tyske Kontor" had been established in 1360. The Hanseatic League established four offices with permanent settlement: Brügge (c. 1347-1547), London (before 1282-1598, Novgorod (c. 1250-1494) and Bergen. At the time of the Reformation and the emergence of national states the dominion of the Hanseatic traders diminished in the Baltic regions and the Low Countries. In Bergen, however, the German trade continued to dominate commerce for yet some time. From 1630 on, Norwegian traders started taking over, buying offices from the Hanse. The last German Office in Bergen closed in 1754 (www.hanseatisk.museum.no).

number of Danish officials in key positions throughout the country. Furthermore, the country experienced a series of crop failures as a result of cooler temperatures that would last for almost one hundred years. The population's general economy and ability to pay taxes and duties were significantly reduced (Bagge & Mykland 1987). The union with Denmark in 1536 was therefore in many respects indispensable for a country that could no longer muster an elite capable of running and financing the administration of the country. The historical and political framework of the two countries from this point on became identical, although the joint rule was perceived very differently by the Norwegians than by the Danes (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

Abroad, the 15th and 16th centuries witnessed many new discoveries and inventions that changed the way people perceived life and their place in the universe. Engineering techniques were improved and new methods of production were discovered. Learned men like Leonardo Da Vinci (1452-1519) dared venture into the long forbidden territory of dissection and organized study of anatomy. New continents were discovered and a sense of nationhood and national identity increased and influenced both linguistic and religious debate. The enquiring scholars of the Renaissance for the first time openly questioned the received idea of a finite universe. The Scholastics had almost unknowingly prepared the way by elaborating and debating the notion of *translatio studii*, implicitly undermining the static and eternal order of things. The translation of the ancient classical and pagan *auctores* of the *quadrivium* at Toledo and Italy in the 12th century had led to a new perception of knowledge and history as cultural phenomena *in progress*.[218]

Mathematics was one of the rare subjects of which pagan Antiquity had possessed exact and precise knowledge in a form that could be used and applied, but which had largely escaped the Latin scholars of the Christian era who had been more preoccupied with calculating the Church calendar and determining religious holidays. Nicolas de Cues (1401-1464) was the first to maintain the importance of mathematics in the study of astronomy and to affirm that the universe was unlimited (Larousse 1993). Later, Copernicus (1473-1543) developed similar theories in his *De revolutionibus orbum coelestium* (1543), claiming that the earth was not at the center of the universe (Drake 1970). Nevertheless, his heliocentric theories were in no way more accurate than the medieval theories that they replaced, since he had no new physics with which to replace them. He nevertheless challenged the perceived notions of physics and by doing so encouraged others to investigate further (Brown 1979).

By the Reformation century, scientists had gained some academic independence. In Denmark, the astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), who had studied at several universities in the German territories, installed an observatory on the small island of Hveen. His precise observations later allowed his student Kepler (1571-1630) to develop an exact theory of the planetary movement (Helk 1987).

[218] The 12th-century English scholar Daniel de Merlai (of Morley), author of *Philosophia,* explained that he went to Toledo «…since it is at Toledo that Arabic teachings, almost all in the quadrivium, are widely celebrated. I hurry there to listen to the world's wisest philosophers…" (Pym 1998: 12, Le Goff 1985: 23. See also Pym 2000: 39-41). However, Toledo was not the only place where translators worked on Arabic texts: in Padua, too, translators were busy working on Arabic texts (Pym 2000).

Only a minute segment of the Norwegian population up-to-date with the scientific work and theological debate that marked European intellectual life towards the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th (Bagge & Mykland 1987). Nevertheless, those who had studied abroad, or came from abroad, must have been aware of the standard of education in other countries. Master Geble (1490-1557), the last Catholic bishop and the first Protestant superintendent of Bergen,[219] worked relentlessly towards a better educated clergy with improved Latin skills, yet never wrote a single theological treatise. Despite the apparent academic silence, Geble was instrumental in directing his proteges towards intellectual curosity and financed the studies of his adopted students. Like the other Norwegian bishops, Geble kept a low profile in relation to the political and religious turmoil in Denmark in the years leading up to the Reformation, the outcome of which would mean the beginning of yet another long process of change (Ellingsen 1997).

[219] Elected as successor to Olav Torkjellsson (r.1523-1535), he had not yet received his *pallium* when the Reformation became a reality (Beyer 1963, Ellingsen 1997).

Part IV: A New Beginning: Translation in the Reformation Century

Introduction

The Reformation century brought about major changes to the Norwegian society once again. Formally, Norway became a Danish province in 1536, a political dependency with little authority in political and cultural matters. Danish administrators were put in key positions, and the few remaining members of the old Norwegian aristocracy found themselves pushed aside and barred from the National Council, which was abolished shortly afterwards. From now on, Danish politics and religious and cultural activities determined the development of Norwegian society, language and literature. The University of Copenhagen, along with the reformed universities in the German-speaking territories, set the tone for intellectual activity and literary production.

The Lutheran Reformation and vernacular were complementary and reciprocal phenomena, the one could not be without the other. As with the first introduction of Christianity in the North, the use of the vernacular was pivotal to the success of the religious reformers of the 16th century. A growing awareness of the vernacular and its emergent status as national language in the European Renaissance had engendered a substantial translation activity, paving the way for and accompanying the Protestant reform movement. Humanism—despite its intellectual attachment to and unequivocal promotion of the Latin language and culture—inevitably led to an increased use of the vernacular.[220] In Norway, Latin as an intellectual language was consolidated and strenghthened after the Reformation, and the national vernacular had been supplanted by Danish.

Man as an individual came into focus. The Church increasingly had various devotional material translated for the benefit of the uneducated. The use of the vernacular can in itself be seen as an expression of a growing interest in the individual. For centuries, the vernacular had been the unofficial companion to the official Latin expression, slowly consolidating its position amongst Church scholars and secular authors. The many translations into the vernacular resulted in a subtle readjustment of the perception of the self. The notion of nationhood based on linguistic unity and geographical location gradually replaced the identification of the individual based on adherence to the international community of the Catholic Church. In Europe, the translation activity of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century was contributory to the mental and intellectual transformation that paved the way for the Reformation.

In medieval times, Denmark had fostered intellectuals of international reputation such as Martinus de Dacia (d.1304), Johannes Dacus (13th century), as well as Boethius de Dacia (13th century) (Grane & Hørby 1993, Brandt 1882). Perhaps as a result of the papal schism, King Erik of Pomerania (c. 1382-1459), had wanted to found a *studium generale* in Denmark at the cathedral school in Copenhagen. The *studium* was to be administered and organized in the same way as the University of Paris. As early as 1419 a papal bull authorized the Danish

[220] The term "humanism" derives from *studia humanitatis*, a university course of classical studies offered in the 15th century, encompassing grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history and moral philosophy. The Renaissance signified a shift of focus from the purely divine and universal to the more human and individual, from the revelatory to the scientific (*Britannica* 2000, Grane & Hørby 1991).

Archbishop to establish such a *studium* in which all four faculties would be present. This was of some significance as the Holy See had put severe restrictions on theology teaching and very few universities were authorized to open a faculty of theology. Even though a few universities had been established without a papal bull, any *studium generale* needed the Church's authorization for the education dispensed to be universally accepted and for the teachers and students to enjoy the much needed protection of the *libertas scholastica* (Grane 1993).[221]

Erik of Pomerania never saw the completion of this dream. The constituting documents were not signed until 1475 and the University of Copenhagen officially opened in 1479. The establishment of the university signified a big step forward for intellectual life in the North. Magister Peder Albertsen (d.1517) was set to hire teachers and professors and organize the new institution. He had received his degree from the university of Cologne (Dal 1979), and this is where he went looking for suitable *lectores*. He brought back Peter Davidson Scot, *magister* of philosophy and *baccalaureat* in theology; Tilemand Slecht from the Netherlands, *magister* of philosophy and *baccalaureat* of law; Johannes Sartoris from Lingen, Germany; and *magister* Balthasar Wortwin from Mainz, *baccalaureat* of medicine. Bishop Oluf Mogensen of Roskilde became the university's first chancellor. Albertsen himself remained vice-chancellor until his death in 1517 (Grane & Hørby 1993) and initiated a long association between the University and the printer Gottfried of Ghemen (d.1510) (Dal 1979).

After the Reformation, German universities became destinations of choice for many Scandinavian students who had completed their initial studies in Copenhagen. Rostock (1419) and Wittenberg (1503) attracted the highest numbers of Norwegian and Danish students. The majority of the clergy who helped implement the Reformation in Norway had studied at one of these universities, although a few had been to other German universities (Thormodsæter 1912), and some to one of the Catholic seminaries (Helk 1987).

Education abroad was costly and unavailable to most. Some received royal bursaries or were supported by their chapter or a mentor; others found alternative ways to finance their studies, usually by taking on a preceptor's position or being a servant to travelling clergy. Very few Scandinavian students pursued higher degrees (Helk 1987). Most Norwegian students who were enrolled at the University of Copenhagen studied theology. Although the University offered all four faculties, students who wanted to study other subjects usually went abroad in search of specialized institutions with longer traditions and greater scholars, such as canon law at the University of Padova (1222) and medicine at the University of Montpellier (1289). However, whenever they ventured into Catholic territories, Scandinavian students had to tread very carefully. Many students enrolled in a recognized Protestant institution towards the end of their studies in order not to offend the Reformed authorities upon their return (Helk 1987).

As we have stated, the success of the Reformation depended on the use of the vernacular. In Denmark, translation activities began early, and preceded the

[221] In North-Western Europe, only Oxford University had all the faculties: arts, medicine, theology and law (Canon and Roman). Paris lacked Roman law. Medieval universities generally tended to be specialized. Montpellier, for example, offered only medicine (Schwartz Lausten in Grane & Hørby 1979).

Reformation. The Danish Reformation stands out as a concerted national project, a result of coordinated intellectual debate and participation. In Norway, there was no preparation of the clergy or the public. Intellectual life was in practice restricted to a few dedicated men who had been educated on the continent. Certainly, the higher clergy in pre-Reformation Norway must have followed keenly the evolution in Denmark and in the German-speaking territories, but never took an active part in the process, or commented in writing on the events that were to radically change religious life in the North. At least, no evidence of such polemics has been detected.

Whereas Danish translation activities in the 16th century were essentially outwardly oriented, capturing the contemporaneous European intellectual trends and debates, humanists in post-Reformation Norway basically focused on the nation's history, on the work of the Old Norse historians. During the Reformation century, translation in Denmark was predominantly an *inter-lingual* exercise between Latin and Danish or between contemporary vernaculars, especially between Danish and German.

In Norway, however, intellectual activity in the first half of the Reformation century was mainly an *intra-lingual* exercise, an inward looking examination of the former *self*, a quest for identity at a time when so much of the past had been set aside. The European Renaissance ideal of returning to the sources, to the texts that had not been tampered with, free of commentaries and glosses, evidenced by the new Latin revisions of the Bible, found its expression in Norway in a return to old national historical sources.

The main actors on the Norwegian literary scene were reformed clergy at the five dioceses, especially the ones in Oslo and Bergen. The Norwegian humanists were first and foremost educators, responsible for the instilling of the reformed faith, primarily through the Latin schools that they ran. Nevertheless, they were attracted to the nation's past. The Norwegian clergy must have been inspired by the historical work of Danish scholars—especially Christiern Pedersen's work on Saxo's Danish history. Danish translators and intellectuals had greatly benefited from the establishment of the University of Copenhagen and the many printing presses that opened after the incunabula period (Berggrav 1953, Øverås 1952, Grane & Hørby 1979, Ellingsen 1997).

The doctrinal changes to religious life and the ensuing transformation of Norwegian society spurred an interest in the past, in how life had been in both the Viking Era and in Catholic times. The nation's medieval history was brought to the fore. The literary activity and history writing emerged from the Latin schools and the clergy in charge of them. Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (1528-1575), one of the first to compose a Norwegian history, worked almost alone in Bergen, and his main helpers were legal experts working for the administration of the Chapter who had an interest in the Old Norse historical manuscripts. Required to read the old law collections, legal administrators needed skills in the old language.[222] The lawyers Jon Simenssøn (1512-1575) and Laurents Hanssøn were amongst the first to study the Old Norse saga material. Although they do not seem to have published any writings of their own, they were able to lend precious assistance to the clergy and teachers who wanted to write the nation's history, such as Absalon Pederssøn Beyer and Peder Claussøn Friis (1545-1614).

Humanists in Western Norway wrote mainly in the vernacular whereas those of Oslo were pure Latinists. Halvard Gunnarssøn (1545-1608), for instance, translated Norwegian history from Old Norse into Latin. He was the only Norwegian intellectual with the financial means to have most of his writings published, mainly in Rostock (Ekrem 1992, Næss 1993, Bø 1982, Berggrav 1953, Øverås 1952). Despite the efforts of the Lutheran clergy, the humanist ideas that marked European debate were late in reaching Norway, where both the Latin and the vernacular readership remained limited (Næss 1993).

The administrative center of Norway moved from Trondheim to Oslo soon after the Reformation. The geographic proximity to the Danish administration and universities in the northern German regions would somewhat change the orientation of Norwegian humanists. The population of Oslo grew towards the end of the century, and the intellectuals there became more productive than those in Trondheim and Bergen. Nevertheless, the historical work undertaken by the humanists in Bergen figures amongst the earlier Norwegian humanist enterprises. However, Beyer's writings remained unpublished and circulated amongst a rather restricted circle of colleagues and friends. A text in the vernacular had little chance of being printed. Beyer regretted the fact that there was no national printing press and expressed the hope that one day his work would be printed by his descendants. Four centuries later, his wish came true (Beyer 1928).

Beyer was indeed the first native Norwegian in almost three centuries to write a history of the nation. The fact that he did so in the vernacular puts him in a category of his own and makes him stand out as almost "modern" at a time when Latin was gaining ground in the North (on the Continent the vernacular had started replacing Latin). He probably allowed himself to use the vernacular because he had no intention of publishing his work, but rather wrote for the enlightenment of a restricted group of friends and colleagues. Only the proposed history of the diocese, *Liber capituli bergensis*—intended for his students at the school—was composed in

[222] Christian IV (r. 1588-1648) translated and revised the Norwegian laws in 1587 and published them in 1604. This was the first revision since Magnus Håkonsson had the old laws recorded and amended in 1274 (Bagge & Mykland 1993, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

Latin. However, the Latin history of the city was soon abandoned, and the *Liber* continued as Beyer's personal vernacular diary (Beyer 1928).

European Humanism and the Reformation in Denmark-Norway

In order to contextualize the literary experience in 16th-century Norway, we need to survey the development in Denmark, upon which Norwegian humanism depended. Danish scholars and Church officials had direct contact with German theologians and disseminated their writings in Danish vernacular translation. Many Danish students enrolled at the University of Wittenberg once it was established in 1502. The geographic proximity to the northern German universities made direct contact easy. From the very beginning, The Danish clerics were significantly in tune with the German Protestant movement, and it was no coincidence that the German theologian and reformer Johannes Bugenhagen (d.1558) ordained the first Norwegian superintendent, master Geble Pederssøn (1490-1557), in 1537 (Ellingsen 1997, Tormodsæter 1912, Beyer 1928).[223]

The personal relationships between Danish intellectuals and the struggling clergy in post-Reformation Norway seem to have been quite strong. Close relations flourished between Danish Church administrators and the many Danish-born Norwegian clergy. Friendships developed, so that when Absalon Beyer was sent by his mentor and step-father to study in Copenhagen in 1544, he lodged in Bishop Peder Palladius' (1503-1560) household for four years. Palladius and Geble were great friends and allies. Later, when Beyer progressed to the University of Wittenberg, where he studied between 1549 and 1552, it was with a personal letter of recommendation from the famous Danish Bishop (Ellingsen 1987, Helk 1987).

European humanism stands out as a Latin movement, one which promoted correct and elegant Latin, yet it was marked by the pervasive presence of the vernacular (Grendler 1989). As a rule, the humanists' were rather in favor of translation (Brunel 1972). The humanist ideology of the Renaissance began in Italy, where schools were much more independent of the Church than in other European countries, and where most Church-run schools had disappeared by 1300. In Italy, the Catholic Church withdrew from the education of lay children and concentrated solely on the recruitment and education of its aspiring clergy (Grendler 1989). Medieval Italian schools and universities—run and financed locally—enjoyed relative freedom from Papal intervention. The communes had both the ability and the financial means to create and administer universities, and their independence led to a fresh view of grammar and the study of philosophy and the natural sciences (Dal 1979). Because of their relative doctrinal freedom, Italian renaissance scholars became mediators for the vernacular in a way that could not have been accepted elsewhere. Their work paved the way for other national languages (Pym 1998).

In *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (1303-1304) Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) defended the use of the vernacular as a literary language. He used it himself in *Il Convivio* (1303-1307) (Dante 1981), the first scholarly treatise in the vernacular

[223] *Master* Geble had himself studied in the Netherlands, first at Alckmar, then in Leuven, where he obtained a degree of *Magister Philosophiae*. Greatly influenced by Dutch Humanism, in particular by the writings of Erasmus, he returned to Bergen in 1506 and worked as lector at the school before he was elected canon. He repeatedly pleaded with Peder Palladius for qualified people and more financial resources, but it was difficult to find Danes who wanted to settle in Norway (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

(*Britannica* 2000), and later in *La Divina Commedia*, completed right before his death. *De Vulgari Eloquentia* provides a definition of the Italian language and its literary merits (Dante 1981, *Britannica* 2000), and debates the relationship between Latin and the vernacular. Dante wanted to break the irreconcilable opposition between grammar and the mother tongue. The "nobler [language] is the vernacular," he states, "first because it was the first type to be used by the human race; secondly because the whole world employs it. […] It is natural to use [whereas the Latin] is an artificial creation" (Dante 1981: 15).

Indeed, the study of Latin grammar was the pillar of medieval scholarly activity and the basis for both philosophical as well as scientific inquiry (Léon 1967, Grendler 1989, Favier 1999). To medieval scholars there had existed a natural hierarchy of languages. The three languages of revelation (i.e. Latin, Greek and Hebrew) were placed at the top and the various vernaculars at the bottom. Medieval scholars were aware of the many differences between the national vernaculars, yet they believed that all languages were somehow governed by the same rules, and therefore relentlessly worked towards a universal definition of grammar (Lusignan 1986).

Humanism brought new subjects to the university curriculum: Greek and Hebrew. The classical authors of Antiquity were once again read in their initial form, free of glossing (Grane & Hørby 1991). Along with the study of the original texts came an increasing awareness of evolution and change. In the texts of Antiquity, scholars discovered the vernacular character of the classical languages and began to question the static nature of grammar and the appropriateness of universally applicable rules of grammar. The speculative grammar of the Middle Ages eventually—however not intentionally—paved the way for the empirical study of science and the recognition of vernaculars as scholarly languages in the Renaissance (Lusignan 1986).

By the dawn of the 16th century, European humanism movement had reached Denmark. With its concern for purified editions of the *auctores*, the time had come for a revision of the didactical material used in the schools and at the University of Copenhagen. The first humanist grammar, *Regulae grammaticales*, had been written by Guarino Veronese (c. 1374-1460) around 1418 (Grendler 1989). New "humanist" grammars were written or the old ones revised. The first chancellor of the University of Copenhagen, in collaboration with the printer Gottfried of Ghemen, published *Regulae fundamentalis artis grammaticae* along with two other revised and improved Latin grammars: *Donatus* and *Fundamentum in grammatica* in 1493 for use in grammar courses (Dal 1979, Nielsen 1996). *Regulae* and *Fundamentum* were partially based on Remigius' *Fundamentum scolarium*.[224] From the early 16th century on, these three grammars replaced the Latin manuals used in Danish schools (Dal 1979, *OLIS*).

[224] Remigius (d. c. 908) was a Benedictine monk and teacher at the Monastery of Saint-Germain. He wrote numerous glossaries and commentaries on the Bible, on Priscian's grammar, and on Boethius' *Opuscula sacra* (Kelly 1969, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). In 1486, Stephan Arndes published a grammar entitled *Remigius* that would become very popular in Danish schools (Nielsen 1996, Dal 1979).

The gradual move away from the grammar-based hermeneutics of the scholastic tradition culminated at the beginning of the 16th century. In Denmark, the school curriculum was revised. The traditional teaching had centered on Donatus' (4th century) *Ars minor*[225] and Alexander of Villedieu's (c. 1150-c. 1240) *Doctrinale opus Alexandri grammatici pro eruditione puerorum,* i.e. the customary Latin manuals for elementary classes (Dal 1979, Grendler 1989, Lawson 1967). Throughout the Middle Ages, *Ars minor* had been used as an introductory manual to Latin grammar (Lusignan 1986) and *Doctrinale* had been the grammar of more advanced students of syntax and style (Dal 1979). These grammars had been used in Norway for centuries, too. In 1522, however, Christian II (r. 1513-1523) banned *Doctrinale* from the school curriculum along with other medieval didactical classics (Dal 1979, Grane & Hørby 1993) and amended the educational legislation so as to comply more with humanist ideals. In Germany, Martin Luther (1483-1546)—staunchly anti-Aristotelian—also proscribed Peter Lombard's (c. 1100-1160) *Liber sententiarum* (Grane & Hørby 1993), on which much of the scholastic ideals were based (Chavy 1988).[226]

Humanist ideas and questions had been introduced in Denmark along with the founding of the University of Copenhagen in 1479, and were supported by the printing presses established soon afterwards (Grane & Hørby 1993). The mainly Catholic humanists spoke and wrote in Latin until the 1530s, when most intellectuals began expressing themselves in the vernacular.[227] Notwithstanding its Latin appearance, European humanism in essence constituted an *arbitration* between Latin and the vernaculars in which the latter gradually won both recognition and status (Pym 1998). At a time marked by religious dispute and ecclesiastic insubordination, a time when new national entities based on ethnic and linguistic features rather than on adherence to the Catholic Church emerged, humanist scholars such as Didier Erasmus (1466-1536), who published *Institutio principis christiani* in 1516 and *Querela pacis* in 1517 (Ellingsen 1997),[228] increasingly came forth as mediators for peace and reconciliation. Erasmus also published the Greek New Testament accompanied by a Latin translation in 1516 in an attempt to provide a starting point for greater unity within a Church torn apart by doctrinal dissension.

---

[225] Printed in 1458. One of the first dated printed texts (Stilwell 1972).

[226] Thomas Aquinas's first major work was a commentary of Peter Lombard's *Scripta super libros sententiarium* c.1256 (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996).

[227] The vernacular rapidly gained ground throughout Europe. Rabelais (1494-1553), a great admirer and friend of Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), translated both Greek and Latin classical authors (Horguelin 1996), published in *Les lettres antiques profanes*. In the early 16th century, vernacular didactical prose emerged with force and was with much success adopted by both Luther and Jean Calvin who mixed the vernacular and theological debate (Brunel 1976). In Italy, where the new humanist ideas first surfaced, the scholastic movement had never dominated intellectual debate to the same extent as in other parts of Europe (Grendler 1989, Dal 1979). During the 14th century, the vernacular had continued to gain ground amongst the intellectual and literary elite throughout Europe. Many scholars started using the vernacular in parallel with Latin: Jacques Bauchant (d. 1396), Jean Golein (1320-1403), Nicole Oresme (1320-1382), Raoul de Presles (c. 1315-1382), and Simon de Hesdin (14th century). All of them translated from both English and Latin into French. In England, the vernacular—usually meaning Norman French—was currently used in most administrative and literary documents, and was taught in the schools alongside Latin. Consequently, by the 15th century, Latin secular literature was experiencing serious competition in the French-speaking territories (Lusignan 1986, Chavy 1988).

[228] This treatise was translated into Danish in 1534 by Paul Helias as *Een kortt Vndervisning til een christelig Foreening och Forligilse emod huess wchristelig Twyst oc Twedrackt, som nw haffuer i wor Tiid skiørdet then menige Christen Kirckis eendrektige Samfwnn* (Bruun 1877).

The Reformation that inevitably sprang out of the humanist movement changed the way people thought about school and education. Both humanist and Protestants authorities were in favor of more public schools. Even Erasmus questioned the authority of the Church in matters pertaining to schooling and education. In this he first supported the reformers; however, Erasmus staunchly believed in a reformed *Catholic* school, and accepted translations of biblical texts into the vernacular only in as much as they could support and maintain the Catholic doctrine (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

The transition from medieval to modern ideas in the Reformation century is not always tangible and clear. The new thinking was absorbed and adopted in fragments and parts over a considerable period of time (Drake 1970), and the transformation was less a continuum of intellectual activity than a series of both successive and contemporaneous disruptions (cf. Foucault 1970). And the new ideas were the preoccupation of the few and privileged. Few countries, except for Italy, had an organized school system open to the lower classes (Grendler 1989). The general literacy rate was indeed low, and in Norway probably inferior to other European countries. Nevertheless, the Lutheran church promoted education for all and the use of the vernacular in both schools and the church (Rust 1989). Phillipp Melanchthon (1497-1560), Luther's close collaborator, was continually preoccupied with the content of schooling from his early years as a professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg. He had published a treatise on teaching, *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis* in 1518, and *De loci communes* in 1521, expounding on the main articles of the reformed faith. The first superintendent of Zealand, Peder Palladius, translated Melanchthon's theological treatise into Danish in 1549 (Grane & Hørby 1993, Bruun 1877, Ellingsen 1997).

The invention of the printing press and the reduced cost of book production certainly made the dissemination of new Protestant ideas easier. Books rapidly became commercial products that the printers could earn money from, and as the use of the vernacular gained acceptance, they were able to address a hitherto excluded readership. An increased readership also meant a step away from the predominantly *oral* aspects of medieval teaching and learning (Edwards 1994, Eisenstein 1983). Reading became an individual activity: people started to read to learn instead of simply learning to read as had been the usual way of doing things. As an individual undertaking, reading increasingly made knowledge more available for women, who could now read in the quiet of their home. After the Reformation, women were actually encouraged to read for themselves and instruct their children in the articles of the faith. Many ministers' wives assisted their husbands in the parish and in this way became instrumental in the maintenance of the faith amongst parishioners (Eisenstein 1983, Willen 1989, Hannay 1985, Krontiris 1992).

The massive production of books by the first presses primarily reached a small, literate, Latin-mastering, elite. In Germany, at the time of the Reformation, only an estimated 5 per cent of the general population could read, and much fewer could write.[229] The literacy rate could be as high as 30 per cent for men in the larger cities; however, only 10 per cent of people actually lived in urban areas (Edwards 1994). In Norway, where the population was predominantly rural and scattered, the numbers were probably even lower. The many 16th-century Evangelist publications specifically encouraging people to read for the illiterate are indeed an indication that many were still unable to read, and that reading aloud remained an important way of disseminating the reformed faith: a collective manner of reading inherited from earlier days (Edwards 1994, Eisenstein 1983).[230]

Considering the general reading skills of ordinary people, there was never a question of a *popular* reaction to the controversial literature of the period leading up to the Reformation. The religious and literary changes that occurred towards the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century never preoccupied the common people (Edwards 1994). Nevertheless, the vast output of vernacular texts and the reduced cost of books gradually improved literacy levels in all walks of life. The acceptance of the vernacular, combined with increased literacy rates and an embryonic notion of nationhood, emerged as a result of the humanists' sustained work (Eisenstein 1983). The effects upon common people's lives were slow yet significant, and the transformation of people's perception of their place in society and of the individual's role in relation to the Church were more extensive than any of the evangelical scholars of the time could have foreseen (Edwards 1994).

Despite the growing presence of the vernacular in Europe during the Middle Ages, there was no organized and structured effort to translate and comment on the Classics in the national tongues until the Renaissance. This work was greatly accelerated by the advent and efficiency of the printing press. In the early decades of the printing revolution, the physical changes to book production were seemingly insignificant as the first printed books generally tried to emulate manuscripts and continued to be illuminated by hand. As a result, it is often difficult to distinguish between manuscripts and early printed texts (Eisenstein 1983). Furthermore, many of the medieval writings and translations were re-published and re-translated, as scholars were still preoccupied with much of the same debates and discussions as their scholastic predecessors (Eisenstein 1983, Bruun 1877, Chavy 1988).[231] Naturally, most of the books printed during the *incunabula* period were of a religious nature (Painter 1976, Stillwell 1972).[232]

---

[229] Traditionally, the skills of reading and writing had been separate. Writing was regarded as useful for professionals only (Larrington 1995). Girls were often taught to read the vernacular, seldom Latin, so that more women than men were "illiterate" (Lawson 1967). The advent of the printing press made learning more available to all, both men and women (Eisenstein 1983).

[230] Saint Augustine—in *Confessiones*—wonders at Saint Ambrose's reading method: "When he read, his eyes scanned the page and his heart explored the meaning, but his voice was silent and his tongue was still… he never read aloud… But whatever the reason, we may be sure it was a good one" (Augustine 1961: 114).

[231] During the first decades of the printing era (the *incunabula* period), the more popular works were various editions of Donatus' *Ars minor* and Aesop's *Fables* (translated by Christiern Pedersen towards the end of his life and printed posthumously in 1556), Saint Augustine's writings, texts by Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) and Torquemada, as well as the writings of Vincent de Beauvais (d. 1264) (Eisenstein 1983, Bruun 1877, Chavy 1988). The number of books published increased rapidly during the *incunabula* period, although most titles were printed in relatively small editions. Of the approximately 40 000 paleotypes printed in Europe by the year 1500, only 9 had been published in Denmark and 15 in Sweden (Painter 1976, Nielsen 1996, Collijn 1904). Most books produced in Denmark in the early years—both in Latin and in the

The first book in the Danish vernacular was printed by Gottfried of Ghemen in 1495—the Danish *Rimkrøniken*—an anonymous verse chronicle in which the various Danish kings tell the story of their lives. Each tale is introduced by a proverb or a rule of governance. *Rimkrøniken*, seen by many as the extention of the preceding manuscript tradition, ends with the narrative of King Christian I who died in 1481 (Bruun 1877, Nielsen 1996).

After the first wave of publications of ancient and medieval Latin authors, publishers started printing more contemporary authors about the newly discovered continents, science, religion, and medicine, mostly in Latin and some in the vernacular. The subject matter of the books varied from falconry, to beekeeping, tobacco, and witchcraft (Beattie 1969).

In the early days of the Reformation the German printers were champions of vernacular texts. The Evangelists made effective use of the new medium, and more or less dominated the presses in central Europe for at least a decade or so before the Catholic counter-attacks were organized. Martin Luther and his supporters out-published the Catholic opponents five to three during the crucial first years. Many evangelist texts were reprinted more than once, indicating their growing popularity. The extensive use of the vernacular in the religious debate was in itself an expression of disapproval of the papal authorities who repeatedly claimed that all matters dealing with religion and theology should not be debated in front of the "ignorant", meaning for the most part the *literate* non-Latin speaking lay people, i.e. the vernacular readership of the books published (Edwards 1994).

The correlation between printing, translation and Reformation grew steadily in the first decades of the 16th century. The vernacular readership and the earning potential of the printers led to an increased output. By the 1520s, the European vernaculars dominated the scene, causing an increased awareness of national languages. Many Danish printers and scholars were preoccupied with both language and language theory (Bruun 1877). The great number of dictionaries and vocabularies printed throughout Europe are indicative of the new status of the vernacular in many countries (Lusignan 1986).[233]

---

vernacular—were printed abroad for lack of presses and competent printers. Danish authors or publicists turned predominantly to the fast developing northern European centers of Rostock and Lübeck where there were a number of printers. From the end of the 15th century, a small number of books were printed in Denmark by foreign, mainly German, printers who set up temporary facilities in order to print special books and train local craftsmen in the new art (Nielsen 1996).

[232] The first dated book was *Indulgentia* by Pope Nicolaus V (1398-1455), probably printed in Mainz, although this cannot be ascertained. In 1462, *Biblia Pauperum*, also known as the "Poor Man's Bible", was printed in Bamberg. The Bamberg press also printed the first illustrated book in 1460 (author unknown and no title). The first Bible in the German language came out in 1466 along with a small manual for confession (Stillwell 1972). The first book printed in English was *The Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, printed in Brügge in 1473 by William Caxton (1422-1491) three years before he set up his own press at Westminster (Painter 1976). The first book in Swedish, *Aff dyäfwlsens frästilse* (the Devil's temptations) by Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363-1429), was printed in 1484 (Collijn 1904). Gerson was chancellor of the University of Paris from 1395 (Chavy 1988). The first book printed in Sweden was *Vita Katharinae* in 1482, a biography about Saint Birgitta's daughter. Both books were printed in Stockholm (Collijn 1904).

[233] In post-Conquest England, Norman-French had enjoyed a privileged status to the detriment of the native vernacular. In France, the vernacular did not gain control over the judicial system until 1539 (Lusignan 1986). Many Western European printers doubled as translators and were vibrant defenders of the vernacular. As we have seen, William Caxton printed the first book in the English vernacular in Bruges in 1473-4 (Painter 1976). Many saw the usefulness of manuals and books in the national tongues (and certainly the earning potential). Étienne Dolet (1508-1546), who was a printer at Lyon, defended the use of the vernacular in *La Manière de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre*. The increased use of the vernacular created a need for manuals and vocabularies. Robert Estienne (1503-1559) edited and published *Dictionarium Latinogallicum* in 1538 (Eisenstein 1979, Chavy 1988), and one of the earliest printed German books was a *Vocabularius*, published in 1469, an abridged Latin-German dictionary (Stilwell 1972).

In medieval Norway, the national language had never been subordinate to Latin in the same way as the various European vernaculars. Old Norse had been taught in the cathedral schools from the end of the 11th century (Øverås 1952).[234] The law books had been recorded in the Norse vernacular and had never been translated into Latin, not even when Church privileges and Christian principles were adopted at the beginning of the Christian Middle Ages. Both religious material and secular literature had been composed in and translated into the native tongue as a matter of course. Latin was the language of science and theology, however, and would remain so until the 19th century. Thus, when the Danish vernacular was officially introduced as the administrative language along with the reformed doctrine in 1536, it did not oppose Latin as a scientific language, it primarily confirmed its own status as the administrative language. The written standard influence the spoken idiom. The upper classes, mostly rich city dwellers, landed gentry, and members of the clergy, would speak (or attempt to speak) Danish, and a specific Danish-influenced towns-vernacular developed. After the annexation of Norway into the Danish kingdom, the Norwegian vernacular was removed from the public arena for good and would remain the expression of the uneducated (Tveitane 1968, Danielsen et. al. 1991), creating a greater distance between the different social groups.

The major cities in Europe had printing presses by the end of the 15th century. The art of book printing spread f rom Germany to Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, the Netherlands, England, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Sicily, Portugal, and Austria. All of these countries had a printing press operating before or around 1480 (Strømholm 1993). Of the Nordic countries, Denmark was the first to set up a press in 1482—not in Copenhagen where the university was located—but in the small town of Odense on the Island of Fyn. A German printer by the name of Johann Snell (d. c. 1519) set up his equipment, and the year after another German, Bartolomaeus of Lübeck, set up a press in Stockholm at the request of the Swedish Archbishop (Collijn 1904). Norway only got its printing press in 1643, almost two centuries after Gutenberg (1400-1468) set up his in Mainz. The first Norwegian press was constructed in Christiania (later Oslo) by Tyge Nielssøn, a Danish printer who published the first Norwegian book, a small almanac of 47 pages, in 1644 (Strømholm 1993).

The very late arrival of the printing press in Norway is a strong indication of the country's economic, political, demographic and intellectual inferiority in relation to Denmark. The Norwegian readership was indeed limited. Books had to be imported from abroad and were expensive. Towards the middle of the 16th century, however, a new bourgeoisie springing from the Lutheran clergy and state administrators emerged, a mixture of Norwegian and Danish families. The Latin schools in Bergen and Oslo became the new intellectual centers where a handful of Norwegian intellectuals started collecting and examining medieval manuscripts. Most of the humanists wrote for their local readership, and their texts circulated primarily in manuscript form as no local printers were available. Curiously enough, the writing elite did not complain about the situation or try to change it. Rather, they accepted their predicament with much stoicism (Strømholm 1993).

[234] Indeed, Bishop Eystein used both the Norse vernacular and Latin in his correspondence (Øverås 1952).

The Catholic clergy of the 15th and 16th centuries soon realized the convenience of the printing press, and the possibilities it offered in terms of revision and correction of the Church's fundamental texts. The new invention offered a more permanent means of correction and an easier future revision. Many dioceses ordered new editions of their mass books and *brevaria*. Johan Snell (d. c. 1519), Denmark's first printer, published a new edition of *Brevarium othiense* in 1482. This was the first book to be printed in Denmark. Almost 40 years later, Denmark's first native printer, Poul Ræff (Paul Rev)(d. c. 1533), printed *Missale nidrosiense* in 1519 for the archdiocese of Trondheim (Nilsen 1996). Ræff, originally a canon—not of a diocese strangely enough, but of a local Church in Copenhagen—was elected *rector* of the University of Copenhagen in 1508. He had close connections within the Norwegian Church through his brother, Hans Ræff (d.1545), the last Catholic bishop of Oslo and the Chapter's first Lutheran superintendent after the Reformation (Ellingsen 1997).

The diversity of books translated into Danish towards the end of the 15th century and in the Reformation century confirms the existence of a vernacular readership with varied taste and curiosity. To what extent these translations were known and read in Norway too is uncertain, but the possibility must not be ignored. The Norwegian readership lived far from where books could be purchased. It was also costly to find a printer abroad for Norwegian production. Consequently, the manuscript tradition was kept alive in Norway (and also in Iceland) well into the 18th century for lack of printing facilities. The dissemination of national literature indeed remained restricted.[235] Oslo humanists with the personal means to finance printing had their books printed in Copenhagen and Rostock. They also bought books when traveling abroad. By the end of the 16th century, a printed book was no longer a rarity in Norway, although the country still had no press of its own (Berggrav 1953, Bekker-Nielsen & Widding 1972, Næss 1993).

In Denmark, the Reformation was the result of a concerted intellectual effort and political instability. Numerous translations of evangelical material had for decades prepared the Danish public for the new doctrine which, when it was introduced, was welcomed by people. In Norway on the other hand, the Reformation resulted from political circumstances over which the Norwegians had no control, and the new doctrine was met with a certain amount of scepticism and resistance (Bø 1982). There was no preliminary preparation of the public for what happened in 1536, and apart from Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson, no one in the Church seems to have publicly opposed the Danish political and religious offensives.

[235] This was the case for the literary production of both Peter Dass (1647-1707) and Dorothe Engelbretsdatter (1634-1716). Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), a Norwegian-born Danish satirist and social critic in the spirit of the French comedies, lived for most of his adult life in Copenhagen. He would not have been able to live as a playwright had he remained in his native Bergen.

Sixteenth-Century Danish Translators: A Brief Survey

From the beginning of the 16th century, quite a number of Danish translators were instrumental in making Latin and vernacular texts, especially evangelical pamphlets from the German-speaking territories, available to a broader lay readership.[236] Unlike Norway, Denmark had the obvious advantage of a full university and several printing presses from the late 15th century on. As in most Western European countries, printers encouraged the work of both reformed and Catholic authors. Danish scholars were geographically closer to the learned centers on the Continent than their Norwegian counterparts.

The invention of the printing press allowed for a host of new professions and promising earning possibilities. Printers, editors and translators could now expect to make a living from book production as the readership expanded rapidly due to lower production costs. Like elsewhere, both professional and semi-professional scholars in Denmark translated, commented on, and "improved" the texts that they published. In addition to the new texts published, many old manuscripts and cherished medieval classics were revised and re-edited. The medieval tradition of compilations and mirrors persisted well into the 17th century, only slightly modified during the Reformation century. Popular medieval *specula* were gradually replaced by vernacular "house rules" or *hustavler* (Bruun 1877).[237]

In the decades leading up to the Reformation, both Reformers and Catholic humanists felt an increasing need for re-examining and correcting the Holy Scripture. The printing presses facilitated this work. Copying errors were frequent in manuscript copies and had led to disputes over interpretation and correct reading. Erasmus' new Latin version of the *New Testament* (1516) therefore had been undertaken in an attempt to provide a starting point for increased unity within the Church (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). Erasmus remained resolutely convinced of the superiority of the Latin (Baune 1995), but tolerated the translation of Biblical texts into the vernacular in as much as it could support and maintain the Catholic doctrine. The Scriptures had not been officially revised since Jerome's *Vulgata* had been proclaimed the authorized Latin version within the Roman Church some eleven centuries earlier.[238] The Council of Trent in 1546 reiterated this stance, and *Vulgata* remained the authorized version of the Roman Catholic Church until 1943 (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

---

[236] In 1623, a royal decree ordered that a copy of every book printed by the university press should be submitted to the Royal Library, and in 1697, this decision was expanded to include every book printed in Denmark. The collection also contained books from foreign literatures. Unfortunately, a fire in 1729 destroyed much of the building and many early Danish books and Protestant pamphlets perished. As a gesture of solidarity, a number of private collectors then either donated or sold books and manuscripts to the library and in this way helped reconstitute much of the original content. The first full-time librarian was employed in 1781 to organize the rather chaotic book collection. He started cataloguing Scandinavian literature in a separate department so as to facilitate consultation (Bruun 1877). For a detailed list of Danish 16th-century translators and their achievments, see Appendix 4 .

[237] Johannes Pedersen (Jo Petræ ius) published*Menniskens Leffnitz Spegel* (The Mirror of Man's Life) in Rostock in 1541. *Egteskabs Order Speyl oc Regel* (1601)—a short treatise on the rules and obligations of marriage (probably by Luther)—was translated and published by Jo Spangenberg. In 1626, *Unge Karles oc Drenges Speyl*, a mirror for young men, was produced by Rasmus Hanssø n (Bruun 1877).

[238] The question of originality and divine expression had caused dissension even then. Saint Augustine (354-430) had staunchly opposed the translation of Greek or Hebrew canonical texts into Latin (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

Erasmus' Latin re-translation soon led to vernacular translations of various parts of the Scriptures. Martin Luther (1483-1546) was one of the first to publish the *New Testament* in German in 1522 (Edwards 1994). Jacques Lefèvre d'Estaples (c. 1455-1536) translated the *Old Testament* into French in 1528 and published the complete Bible in 1530. Clément Marot (1494-1544) followed suit and published the *Book of Psalms* in 1542 (Cary 1963, Horguelin 1996). In England, John Wycliffe (c. 1320-1384) had translated the whole Bible as early as in 1382, based on the Latin *Vulgata.*[239] In 1525, William Tyndale (c. 1494-1536) rendered the Bible into English from the original Greek and Hebrew texts (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995). The Swedes got their vernacular Bible in 1541, and Christiern Pedersen's Danish translation was printed and distributed in 1550. By the middle of the 16th century, the different European vernaculars had been successfully introduced as languages capable of adequately conveying religious thought and theory, and Pedersen's Bible greatly influenced the evolution of the Danish vernacular (Brandt 1882, Bruun 1877).[240]

Despite the fact that the vernacular was used relatively commonly in the Renaissance, most books printed towards the end of the 15th century were in Latin. Some texts needed papal permission to be printed; others could be published with some form of royal privilege and consent (Stilwell 1972, Vellev 1986). Danish printers were no exception to this rule. Before the Reformation, anyone wishing to print a book on any topic would need permission from the Church authorities; later they also needed royal consent. When Christiern Pedersen decided to examine and publish Grammaticus Saxo's (d.1204) epic *Gesta Danorum,* he needed a royal permit to start working on the manuscripts.

---

[239] Wycliffe met with the condemnation of the Church, but staved it off under the protection of the Duke of Lancaster John of Gaunt (1340-1399). Tyndale was not as fortunate. His work was resolutely condemned by Church authorities who sentenced him to burn at the stake. Despite this fact, the authorized Saint James version of 1611 was largely based upon his work (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

[240] Like much of Christiern Pedersen's biblical translation projects, the Danish Bible leaned heavily not only on *Vulgata,* but also on previous German translations, notably Luther's Bible of 1534, and was published along with Luther's preface and introduction to the German Bible (Brandt 1882).

Christiern Pedersen was one of Denmark's main historians in the 16th century, and in his modest way, probably the scholar with the broadest range of interest, a European humanist in the best sense of the term. Danish contemporary scholars were primarily preoccupied with religious and theological debates, preparing the terrain for the Reformation. Various parts of the Bible were translated. Several versions of the *New Testament* were published in the three first decades of the 16th century, not only the one produced by Pedersen in 1529. Indeed, a number of translators were working on parallel projects. In 1524, Christiern Vinter published a *New Testament* based on Erasmus' 1516 Latin edition (Brandt 1882). The same year, Hans Mikkelsen published another vernacular version based on Luther's German translation of 1522 (Vellev 1986). Similarly, when Christiern Pedersen published the *Psalms of David* in 1531, these had already been translated and published in 1528 by both Klaus Mortensen, a priest at the Chapter of Lund, and Frands Vormordsen (Brandt 1882, Grane 1991 & Hørby, *REX*), a former Carmelite working as a *lector* at the *gymnasium* in Malmö (Grane & Hørby 1996). In 1533, Georgio Smalting also published the *Psalms*. Frands Vormordsen became the first Lutheran superintendent in Lund under the new Danish Church Ordinance in 1537 (Grane & Hørby 1989).[241] Although a Dutchman by birth, he had been raised in Denmark and early on became involved with the Protestant Movement and its advocates (Brandt 1882).

A man born and raised under the Catholic regime and solidly anchored in the curriculum and traditions of the old order, Christiern Pedersen had only slowly become persuaded of the new religious message. He was essentially a humble and pious man with deep roots in the Latin culture and elaborate rites of the Catholic Church. Throughout his life, he continued to cherish the traditional, to which his great interest for the past and for the Scriptures bear witness. He probably could have been a successful Catholic reformer if the political atmosphere had allowed him to be so.

It is in light of the long transition from a Catholic to a Protestant doctrine and a state-controlled church in Denmark that one must assess the life and work of Christiern Pedersen. His sincere religious devotion and sustained concern for the school and the quality of teaching led him to a lifelong career as a translator of school manuals and religious treatises. The pupils and their welfare was at the center of his attention, Excessive corporal punishment, in his opinion, had a negative effect on the pupils' ability to learn (Brandt 1882, Øverås 1952).[242]

---

[241] The Danish Church Ordinance was in essence a translation and an adaptation of Luther's and Melanchthon's ordinance for the German church (Øverås 1952). The Danish text was the work of prominent Danish theologians, amongst others, Peder Palladius (Ellingsen 1997). The Ordinance recommended religious education in the school and anticipated the School Ordinance of 1739, which made primary school compulsory, at least in principle (Larsen 1989). The Church Ordinance contained a special section on Norway, and in many ways shows that the Danish Church administration was aware of the particular Norwegian situation (Ellingsen 1997).

[242] He was resolutely opposed to "den ubarmhjertige hudstrygelse og slag av ferler og store bøddelris som man pleide før å bruke i våre danske, svenske og norske skoler, med hvilke skammelige og umenneskelige slag og hugg de umilde skolemestre fordrev mange gode unge peblinger og degner fra skolen og god lærdom" (Øverås 1952: 61; Brandt 1882: 1516). "… the merciless flogging, the shameless use of the ferule and spanking twigs […] in our Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian schools [… and] the shameful and inhuman strokes and raps with which schoolmasters chase many talented young pupils and clerics away from education and good knowledge" (my translation).

Through his work and printing excursions to Paris, Pedersen came into contact with many of his contemporaneous humanist scholars, such as Erasmus (Grane & Hørby 1993) and José Badé (1462-1535) (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997), who, like himself, were concerned with the quality of education and the pedagogical methods used in the schools.[243] Christiern Pedersen, amidst all his religious and historical writings, prepared a *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum: ordine literario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione*, a Latin-Danish dictionary to be used in the teaching of Latin and grammar (Ellingsen 1997). This dictionary depended extensively on foreign sources and medieval grammars and dictionaries, especially the *Catholicon seu Summa prosodiae* by Giovanni Balbi (d.1298)—an established medieval manual for teachers of the *Trivium*—and the *Dictionarium latinum* by Ambrogio of Calepio (1435-c. 1511) (Brandt 1882).[244] The *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum* (1510), like most of Pedersen's early works, was printed in Paris by José Badé (1462-1535) (Ellingsen 1997), motivated by a sincere desire to provide the young pupils at the Chapter of Lund with a Latin manual that would actually teach them something, and give them some respite from *Doctrinale*, which Pedersen considered too obscure and difficult (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988).[245]

The traditional medieval preoccupation with correct and "proper" Latin as the main goal of schooling was gradually replaced with a greater concern for proper religious indoctrination. Part of this effort is reflected in the many Latin-vernacular dictionaries in the reformed territories. The mastering of Latin remained one of the main preoccupations, at least formally. However, the vernacular steadily gained ground and increasingly served as an *auxiliary tool* in the appropriation of the content of the texts. Eventually, it entirely replaced Latin in school manuals (Brandt 1882, Lusignan 1986). As in Norway, the vernacular had been taught in Danish schools both before and after the Reformation, as evidenced by Pedersen's remark that the schools no longer managed to teach the students "proper Latin or good Danish in their own tongue" (Brandt 1882).[246] He was a staunch advocate of the vernacular, and his defence of using the national tongue early on actually preceded Luther's debate about the appropriateness of translating treatises dealing with theology and religion into the vernacular for the "illiterate," i.e. the non-Latin readership (Brandt 1882, Edwards 1994, Garstein 1998).

During his years of study at Copenhagen in his youth, Christiern Pedersen developed an amicable and lasting friendship with Anders Christensen, *lector* at the new University of Copenhagen from 1497. On more than one occasion, Christensen would assist him in his search for historical source material and rare manuscripts (Brandt 1882, Grane & Hørby 1993).[247]

---

[243] Erasmus (1466-1536), in collaboration with William Lily (1468-1522), published a new grammar (1515) for the pupils of Saint Paul's School in Cambridge (Lawson 1976), while in Denmark, Henrik Smith (d.1563) wrote and published a dictionary of synonyms, *Hortulus synonymorum*, in 1519 (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988, Grane & Hørby 1993). This work was adopted by Danish schools and became so successful that a second and third edition were printed in 1514 and 1518 (Brandt 1882). In 1563, Smith published yet another vocabulary: *Libellus vocum Latinarum* (REX).

[244] This book became a reference book for many scholars (Chavy 1988).

[245] Giovanni Balbi's grammar had been printed by Gutenberg as early as in 1460 (Stillwell 1972).

[246] "… at tale ret Latin eller skrive god Danske på deris eget Tungemaal" (Brandt 1882: 14).

[247] The historical sources of the Viking past of both Danes and Norsemen were, amongst others, Robert Gangvinus's (French, d.c. 1501) *Compendium supra Francorum gesta* (1491), Paulus Emilius' (Italian, d. 1529) *De rebus gestis Francorum*, and

Pedersen was eventually assigned to the Chapter of Lund in 1505, and in 1510 he was sent to Paris where he worked and studied for the next five years. This journey abroad was probably a result of the archdiocese's recommendation that the chapters always keep one or two of their clergy at the University of Paris which, despite a certain decline, still enjoyed a solid reputation as a center of learning. The leading humanists that he befriended there certainly influenced his work and interests (Brandt 1882).

While in Paris, Pedersen became acquainted with many contemporaneous chronicles. His interest for the past was aroused, so that when he returned to Denmark he started trying to get hold of a copy of Saxo's Danish history and other medieval chronicles, traveling from monastery to monastery in search of manuscripts (Brandt 1882).[248] The ancient history books by various monastic and ancient historians were not readily available, however, and Pedersen had to seek help from prominent Church officials in order to get hold of a Saxo manuscript that he could copy.[249] The Danish Archbishop Byrge and the Norwegian Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (r. 1510-1522) in Nidaros helped secure the King's permission to start the work. Pedersen was even promised a small stipend while working on the original (Brandt 1882).[250] Archbishop Byrge helped him acquire a copy of the text from a monastic library, probably that of Sorø where Saxo had worked (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997).

As a canon at the Chapter at Lund—an important ecclesiastical center with long traditions in schooling and the training of clergy—Pedersen was automatically involved in the life and work of the cathedral school. He soon became concerned about the quality of the teaching dispensed there and in other centers of learning, and much of his writings and translations were intended for use in the schools (Brandt 1882, Øverås 1952), such as the *Proverbs of Laale*, which he revised and "augmented" in 1515. Most of the lay proverbs in this collection are believed to have derived from Latin sources and were not original Danish maxims (Brandt 1882).[251]

Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*. Gangvinus had been teaching in Paris, and was a friend of Erasmus. Pedersen met Emilius while he was in Paris (Brandt 1882, BNF, OLIS).

[248] In the early Christian Scandinavian period, the Church and monasteries had dispensed most of the teaching, but as the universities and studia emerged, the monasteries ceased to play any significant role in education. However, they continued to house significant libraries: treasures of rare manuscripts such as bibles, service books, patristic theology, canon law, and standard books used in the arts courses as well as a wide rang of Latin Classics (Lawson 1967).

[249] Not only were the monasteries reluctant to let anybody borrow their books, the books were stored and classified according to an intricate library system which indeed made them difficult to locate (Eisenstein 1979).

[250] Erik Valkendorf was a Dane who had studied in both Cologne and Greifswald. He was deeply rooted in Danish culture and intellectual life. His library supposedly contained quite a number of books, both classical and humanist texts as well as theological works (www.katolsk.no). He was instrumental in the revision and printing of *Missale Nidrosiense*, assisted Christiern Pedersen in his search for Saxo manuscripts, and supported the printing of *Gesta Danorum* (Nielsen 1996). His brother, Hans, befriended Pedersen at the University of Leuven (Brandt 1882).

[251] *Peder Laales Ordsprog* had previously been printed in 1506 by Gottfried of Ghemen, who also was motivated by an honest desire to enlighten his times and improve the organization of schools and how knowledge was dispensed (Brandt 1882).

Pedersen's early productions were predominantly Latin texts compliant with the Catholic doctrine and scholarly tradition. Nevertheless, he was among the first Danish clergy to start translating and editing Protestant devotional literature in the Danish language. In the spirit of many reform-friendly Catholics, he appreciated the immense dynamic force of vernacular expression. His first book in Danish was a small devotional book of hours, *Vor frue Tider*, published in 1514, followed by a *Postillae* in 1515. A devout Christian, and genuinely concerned with giving the common people a personal experience of the Mass, Christiern Pedersen warmly defended and justified the translation of Holy Scripture and miscellaneous devotional material in the Preface to his Danish translation of the *Postillae*. This devotional book contains a selection of Epistles and sermons, essentially a text for every day of the Church calendar explained and illustrated by a miracle (*jærtegn*) or an *exemplum* (Brandt 1882).[252] Elements of Jacobus of Voragine's (1229-1298) famous *Legenda aurea* and the ever-present *Vitae Patrum* have been detected amongst the *exempla* used by Pedersen in the *Postillae* (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988, Tveitane 1968).[253] The *Postillae* from Pedersen's Catholic days also comprised material from the writings of Ludolphe of Saxony (c. 1300-1378) (Brandt 1822), a Dominican theologian and prior of Chartreux (1343-1348). Ludolphe had written a *Vita Christ*, a well-known medieval text that had been printed in Cologne around 1474 (Collijn 1904).[254] Another direct source is believed to be Johannes Herolt's *Postillae* (Nielsen 1996, Bruun 1877).[255]

Christiern Pedersen, a man of humble ambitions, a pious Christian and a devoted teacher and cleric, was steeped in traditional Catholic pedagogy and doctrine, and sincerely preoccupied with the wellbeing and education of his pupils. When he was obliged to resign from his canonship at the beginning of the 1530s, it was with a great deal of nostalgia and regret, as witnessed by the "once a canon at Lund" with which he signed almost all of his work, both original texts and translations. He did however continue to receive the income or *prebend* from "his" altar of Saint Christopher, primarily as compensation for the ongoing translation of the entire Bible, a project he had taken on in 1532 and which took him seven years to complete (Brandt 1882).

Although the Church had tolerated sermons in the vernacular long before the Reformation (Lusignan 1986), the precept had not always been followed in practice. In his appeal for more vernacular preaching, Pedersen was therefore entirely in accord with his time and era. He wanted to write in a vernacular that was

---

[252] "Alle Epistler oc Euangelia som lessis alle Sø ndage om Aaret, sammeledis Juledag, Paaskedagh, Pingetzdag, meth deris Vdtydning oc Glose oc eth Jertegn til huer dag (Jæ rtegnpostillen)." Printed in Paris.

[253] The full title of which was "All Epistles and Evangelia read in the Church every Sunday the whole year through, including Christmas Day and Easter Day and Pentecost with their explanation and glosses and a miracle and articles which are useful to every human being." He would later, as a Reformed man, regret that he ever wrote this book (Brandt 1882).

[254] Ludolphe's *Vita Christi* had been translated into French and published by David Auvert around 1461 (Chavy 1988). An apocryphal text with the same title had circulated in medieval times and been translated into French in 1380. A second French translation of Ludolphe's text by a certain Vérard was published in 1490 (Chavy 1988).

[255] A German Dominican monk, Herolt (d. 1462) was the author of *Sermones … exemplorum et de beate Virgine* and *Liber discipli et eruditione Christi fidelium*, a collection of sermons by the Church Fathers and medieval preachers, as well as a *Postillae* (Viller et. al. 1932-1995).

comprehensible to the greater lay readership and actively used and shaped the Danish language in his evangelical effort (Brandt 1882).

The sources of Pedersen's writings were numerous and reveal his many scholarly interests. In the section of the *Jærtegnspostillen* dealing with the *Psalms of David*, for example, Pedersen leaned heavily on Saxo's comments and explanations of the Bible as well as on Jacques Lefevre's (c. 1455-1537) exegetical writings and Bible translations (Brandt 1882). Pedersen was also familiar with the main medieval authorities, such as Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), Saint Augustin (354-430), Hugo de St-Victor (c. 1096-1141), and Saint Bernard (1090-1153), and used excerpts of their writings when expounding on his personal interpretation of the Holy Scripture. Christiern Pedersen's translations are indeed full of comments and glosses that in the process have become part of the integral text, revealing the extent to which he was marked by traditional literary conventions and the heritage of medieval times (Brandt 1882, Chavy 1988, Minnis 1988).

Christiern Pedersen was interested in many subjects, and wrote and translated treatises about medicine[256] and religion, as well as schooling and education. However, as time went on, he became increasingly absorbed with the nation's medieval and Norse past as narrated by Saxo Grammaticus, Adam of Bremen, and the saga writers (Brandt 1882, Brøndstedt 1972). In this he was in tune with his Norwegian colleagues. Gottfried of Ghemen's first book in the Danish vernacular, the *Rimkrøniken*, had been published as early as in 1495 (Bruun 1877) and the *Karl Magnus Krønike* was printed in 1509. Three decades later, Christiern Pedersen re-edited and published the chronicle of Charlemagne along with the story of the legendary exploits of Holger the Dane (Nielsen 1996).[257] He had come across the manuscripts of these chronicles, which he regarded as complementary to Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*, in Paris in 1527 (Brandt 1882).

By the 1530s, Pedersen had started his Bible project, an enterprise that was to accompany his other works and translations until his crippling illness in 1544. He received financial compensation for the Bible project. He based his translation on both Erasmus' revised Latin version of the New Testament (1516) and Luther's German translation of 1522, in addition to the vernacular works of both Christiern Vinter and Hans Mikkelsen (Brandt 1882). Pedersen's translation of the Bible, completed some time around 1539, remained unpublished until 1550, when it was proclaimed the authorized version of the Danish Church (Brandt 1882). The Danish Bible of 1550 greatly influenced the development of both the Danish language and the Norwegian vernacular (Brøndsted 1972).

In view of his varied production and the precarious times he lived in, Pedersen emerges as a remarkable 16th century Danish scholar. After he had been stripped of his clerical duties at the Chapter of Lund and consequently removed from his teaching obligations, he worked as a professional translator for the rest of his life. He was both persevering and patient. While he gradually came to an acceptance of the reformed doctrine, he always seems to have felt a certain regret for some of his former ecclesiastical functions. His pious temperament prevented him

[256] Henrik Harpestreng (d. 1244) *Liber herbarium* (Brandt 1882, Bruun 1877).

[257] One of Charlemagne's valorous knights in the battle of Roncevaux (Brandt 1882).

from becoming a militant Protestant and he hardly ever mentions Luther in his pre-Reformation writings. In the Preface to the *New Testament* translation of 1529 he only refers to Erasmus. This cautious approach was also adopted by several of his contemporaries, although the majority of Danish scholars, on the whole, seem to have been predominantly and openly in favor of the Reformation.

Translation was not, however, an activity without dangers and pitfalls in the turbulent first four decades of the Reformation century. The religious persuasion of the ruling monarch of course determined to a large extent what kind of texts scholars would study, translate, and publish. The question of royal succession evolved into a conflict between the Catholic and the Protestant camps. Christian II stood first against Frederik I and later against the reformer Christian III (r. 1537-1559) (Brandt 1882, Ellingsen 1997, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). The years leading up to the formal introduction of the reformed faith were indeed dangerous and tumultuous years in Denmark.

As a place where some of the main battles were fought, the University of Copenhagen was at the center of the conflict. Progressively, the Catholic Church lost its doctrinal control of the teachers and the curriculum (Grane & Hørby 1991). However, the members of the Danish National Council remained predominantly Catholic (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). One of the immediate consequences of the Danish Civil War (1533-1537) and the ensuing hostility between the Catholic and Protestant parties was that the university closed in 1531 and did not re-open until the New Church Ordinance had been adopted and implemented in 1537.[258]

During the years of turmoil and contention both Danish and Norwegian students had to seek education elsewhere, and immatriculated at universities in the German-speaking territories, in particular the new northern universities of Rostock and Wittenberg where Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon were the leading authorities (Grane & Hørby 1993, Helk 1987), but also elsewhere, marking the beginning of a new tradition of student-traveling (Grane & Hørby 1993).[259]

Pedersen's personal friendship with King Christian II, who was overthrown in 1523, was to dictate the conditions of his professional life. Pedersen joined the King in his exile in 1526 (Brandt 1882, Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998), not to return until 1532 when Christian II had been captured after a final failed coup attempt (Brandt 1882). While in exile, Pedersen had continued his work on the Saxo manuscript and the *Chronicle of Holger the Dane*, which he published in 1534. The original Holger the Dane text was written in Old French, and as Pedersen did not master the French language he had the text translated into Latin (probably by one of his French connections), and worked from this intermediary text (Brandt 1882).[260]

When gathering the historical material he needed, Pedersen consulted a number of French, English and European chronicles, in addition to parts of the

[258] The Church Ordinance of 1537 was composed entirely in Latin by some of Denmark's leading theologians, in particular Peder Palladius (Helk 1987). The Ordinance was translated into Danish in 1539 (Ellingsen 1997) and printed in Roskilde by Hans Barth. Palladius may possibly have translated the Ordinance himself; the translator is not named in Barth's edition (Nielsen 1996).

[259] The universities of Ingolstadt (1472), Leipzig (1409), Orléans (1444), Tübingen (1477), and Wittenberg (1502) had some of their first Danish-Norwegian students during this instable period (Helk 1987).

[260] The story of Holger the Dane would become one of the most popular Danish books of all times. Hans Christian Andersen also wrote his own version of it, showing the enduring popularity of the story (REX).

Norse Sagas. However, Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* remained his main source to the history of Denmark, in conjunction with the anonymous vernacular *Rimkrøniken* that Ghemen had printed. *Rimkrøniken* is believed to have been originally composed in Latin by an unknown medieval author, probably someone connected with the monastery of Sorø (Helk 1987, *REX*) and later translated into the Danish vernacular. That it is a translation of an earlier work and not an original vernacular composition is clear from the introduction which states that "Hær begynner th(e)n danskæ Kronicke well offuerseet oc ræth …" (Nielsen 1996: 109).[261]

In order to complete and supplement Saxo's Danish history, Christiern Pedersen consulted translated excerpts of Snorri's *Heimskringla*, which he obtained from Jon Simonssøn (1512-1575)—a legal expert with knowledge of the Old Norse language and a special interest in the old saga manuscripts—who for some time was master Geble's deputy administrator in Bergen in the 1530s. Christiern Pedersen got to know about the documents that Simonssøn was working on, probably through Bishop Palladius who was great friend of Geble, and asked for copies of the translated excerpts, which he got some time in the beginning of the 1530s (Jørgensen 1993).[262] Unfortunately, Christiern Pedersen's main project and his life's passion—the continuation of Saxo *Gesta Danorum*—was never completed, partly because he had been assigned to the translation of the Bible, partly because his health failed him in 1544. The Saxo project came to an abrupt halt (Brandt 1882), and the saga excerpts that he consulted have been lost (Jørgensen 1993).

When Pedersen had Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* printed (in a slightly abreviated form) as *Historia danicae* in 1514 by José Badé in Paris, he actually saved the book for posterity. The original Saxo manuscript perished when the Royal Library in Copenhagen burnt in 1729 (Bruun 1877).[263] As a translator, Christiern Pedersen was profoundly inspired by his medieval predecessors both in style and content. He had, as many of them did, a varied intellectual appetite, although probably not a very critical mind. He never, it seems, questioned the accuracy of his sources, and was rather liberal when it came to respecting the letter of the original text. His adaptive, rather explanatory style must be seen in relation to the floating status of the vernacular and the lack of orthographic norms. He admired Saxo's elegant Latin, and tried to elevate the Danish vernacular to Saxo's perceived level of perfection (Brandt 1882). In this effort, he can be compared with the "belles infidèles" who were to have such great influence on the French orthography and literary standard (Zuber 1968). Set up as a professional printer in Malmö from 1531, Pedersen, like other European printers, played the multiple roles of both printer and translator. Some printers, such as William Caxton (1422-1491) and Étienne Dolet (1508-1546) also doubled as patrons (Zuber 1968, Painter 1976, Eisenstein 1979).[264] In both style and spirit, Christiern Pedersen was indeed a true European scholar.

---

[261] "Here begins the Danish Chronicle, well and justly translated" (my translation).

[262] Or maybe through Bishop Hans Gås in Trondheim (c.1500-1578) who had undertaken to translate (or have translated) parts of the old laws and Church privileges into Danish, and who relied on Simenssøn's material (Ellingsen 1997). The original saga excerpts used by Christiern Pedersen were lost when the Royal Library in Copenhagen burnt in 1728, but are partially preserved in copies made by Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542-1616) and Stephan Hansen Stephanius. Pedersen presumably consulted translated extracts of *Kringla*, a large Icelandic codex containing the whole of *Heimskringla* and a catalogue of Norwegian and Icelandic skalds (Jørgensen 1993).

[263] Very few of his other sources have been printed (Brandt 1882). Anders Sørensen Vedel (1542-1616), a prominent Danish historian and translator, published a new Danish version of Saxo's *Gesta Danorum* in 1575, leaning heavily on Pedersen's

Notwithstanding Pedersen's extensive translation activities, loyal support of the Lutheran doctrine, and enduring popularity into modern times, other contemporary scholars were at the forefront of the Protestant movement in Denmark. Pedersen was never an initiator of propaganda material. He was never one to excite the masses. One of the major forces behind the Danish Reformation—and consequently the Reformation of Norway—and the instigator of much of the translating activity and polemics it fostered was Hans Tausen (1494-1561), often referred to as the "Danish Luther" (Brandt 1882, *REX*, Vellev 1986). He was elected Lutheran superintendent of the Viborg Chapter in 1542. Viborg was by then established as a significant intellectual Protestant center from which Vingaard's printing press turned out numerous evangelical essays and treatises (Nielsen 1996). In comparison, the presses in Copenhagen and Malmö continued to print predominantly Catholic material for yet some time (Vellev 1986).

Tausen had initially been a member of a Johannite monastery in Zealand. He had studied in Germany and increasingly fell in with Luther's condemnation of the Catholic Church's practice of sale and attribution of indulgencies. Because of his Lutheran sermons, he was forced to leave the Johannite congregation in 1525, and soon after entered the services of the reform-friendly Frederik I (reign 1524-1533). He became the King's protégé and personal chaplain. Seeking the cooperation of Hans Vingaard, Tausen worked relentlessly to promote the Lutheran doctrine (Nielsen 1996, Brandt 1882, Vellev 1986). He wrote extensively and published a series of smaller pamphlets in addition to a vernacular hymnbook. He also translated the five *Books of Genesis*, which were published in 1535. Christiern Pedersen relied heavily on Tausen's translation of the *Psalms* when preparing his own Danish *Hymnbook* of 1533. These vernacular hymn books generally were intended to accompany the liturgy of the Mass and make it more accessible for common parishioners (Brandt 1882).

---

earlier translation (Brandt 1882, Skafte-Jensen 1996). Vedel had studied at Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Rostock, and served as preceptor from 1561 to 1565 to the later scientist and astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546-1601), whose observations would allow his student Kepler (1571-1630) to develop the theory of planetary movement (Helk 1987). Vedel's translation of *Gesta Danorum* seems to have gone mainly unheeded by the broader reading public, yet he was well enough known to contemporary scholars (Næ ss 1993). He became the King's official historiographer and produced a history of the Roman popes entitled *Antichristus romanus* printed in 1571 (REX). Vedel, like Pedersen, was fascinated with the past, and edited and published the complete works of Adam of Bremen (d. c. 1076) around 1579. Adam had been one of Christiern Pedersen's main historical sources after Saxo (Brandt 1882). In addition, Vedel collected and published a series of medieval Danish ballads, *Hundredvisebogen*, in 1591 (REX).

[264] The first French translators of the 16th century prepared the way for the vernacular classical style of the 17th century. Encouraged by the work of Clément Marot (1496-1544) and Guillaume Budé (1467-1540), Jacques Amyot (1513-1593) was amongst the first of the free adaptors of classical works, developing a new style in accordance with the humanist principles of literary imitation. He was a professional translator who worked on Plutarch. The printer Étienne Dolet (1509-1546) published *De la manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* in 1540, for the first time setting out guidelines for literary translation. Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582) translated *L'art Poétique* by Horatius in 1555, and thereby laid the ground for a reform of French poetry. The French Humanists also expressed an interest in history; Claude Fauchet (1530-1602) translated the work of Tacitus (Zuber 1968, Horguelin 1996).

Hans Tausen quickly realized the importance of education as a way of indoctrinating the reformed faith and was instrumental in the reopening of the University of Copenhagen in 1537 (Grane & Hørby 1993). Towards the middle of the century, he was joined in his cause by a number of people, amongst others, Jørgen Jensen Sadolin (d.1583), who in 1530 had translated Luther's treatise on the institution (and not the sacrament) of marriage (Bruun 1877).[265] In 1531, Knud Gyldenstierne, Bishop of Fyn, summoned this Lutheran preacher and let him assist in the "church choir". In reality, Sadolin served as a *lector* for both the Catholic clergy and the students at the Chapter and expounded on both Luther's *Short catechism* and *Confessio Augustana,* showing the confusion (or maybe shrewdness) of some Protestant reformers (Ellingsen 1997). Sadolin later became the first Lutheran superintendent of the Chapter of Fyn (Helk 1987).

Originally from Stuttgart, Hans Vingaard (d.1559),[266] published most of Tausen's and Sadolin's polemic writings (Vellev 1986). A contemporary of Christiern Pedersen, he re-printed Ghemen's *Rimkrønike* in Copenhagen in 1533 (Brandt 1882) where he had set up his own printing press in 1531. The first known book to have been produced on his presses was Sadolin's translation of Luther's *Short catechism* in 1532 (Nielsen 1996). Many of the Danish reformed clergy used Vingaard's printing press, notably Bishop Peder Palladius, who actively encouraged the introduction and maintenance of the evangelical Church not only in Denmark, but also in Norway (Helk 1987), where he encouraged and supported his loyal friend Geble Pederssøn at the newly Reformed Chapter of Bergen (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).[267] As we shall see, the ties between the two were crucial for the vocation and work of Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (Nielsen 1996). Palladius became a vital direct link between Danish and Norwegian scholars and clergy, especially between the pioneer historians and Old-Norse-reading lawyers in Bergen and historians in Denmark such as Christiern Pedersen.

All through the first half of the Reformation century, the relations between the Danish and Norwegian scholars were strong, although of an almost private nature. The vernacular work of the Norwegian humanists in Bergen, in particular, seems to have been noticed in Denmark, and Peder Palladius was able to connect people from the two countries. Although none of the first historians in Bergen had any of their work published, they still contributed to and supplemented work undertaken by Danish colleagues, especially Christiern Pedersen's work on Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*. Master Geble, through his personal friendship with Palladius, had access to a web of people in Denmark, connecting the Chapter of Bergen directly to the events and transformations of Danish society.[268]

---

[265] *Twende Beslutninger met nogen Christelige Raade aff Guds Ærdt, om Egteschabff…* printed in Viborg 1530 (Bruun 1877). In Norway, marriage had traditionally been regarded as a civil matter between the concerned families, a contract signed and witnessed by civil administrators. This practice was continued well into the Reformation century, and a church ceremony was not required until 1589 (Bagge 2000). This non-sacral perception of marriage may be one of the reasons why many seemed to turn their backs on the Church in matters pertaining to matrimony (cf. Mørkhagen 1995).

[266] Hans Weingartener.

[267] He wrote *Expositio catechismi pro parochis Norvegianis* (1547) for the benefit of the Norwegian chapters (Nielsen 1996).

[268] For an overview of translation in Denmark in the 15th century, see Appendix 4.

The End of Catholicism in Norway

From the end of the 14th century, education in Norway became arbitrary due to the precarious situation in the wake of the Black Death. Native priests, including those who had studied abroad, on average seem to have been less educated than Continental clergy (Bagge & Mykland 1987).[269] Medieval European schools were basically an urban phenomenon, and remained so well into the 18th century. Here again Norway stands out as different with few cities and a scattered population. In the predominantly rural Norway, only a handful of communities enjoyed the status of a town or city, and consequently schools were in practice scarce and the number of students rather small (Øverås 1952).[270] Nevertheless, schools may have been organized sporadically, depending on the demand for people with reading and writing skills and on the availability of qualified masters (Lawson 1967).

In the 15th and 16th centuries, the Norwegian literate elite consisted primarily of people with a theological background and a politically impotent national aristocracy who had received their schooling either at home by private tutors, abroad in foster homes, or in one of the few schools run by the Church. Norwegian medieval schools had been organized exclusively by the Church and were financially supported by revenues from the Church's numerous estates around the country. The Church holdings accounted for more than 40% of all land properties in medieval times (Bagge & Mykland 1987). However, the Great Plague and the accompanying agrarian crisis seriously affected the revenues.[271] Both land revenues and regular tithings diminished to such an extent that the Church started having problems financing and organizing the schools (Rust 1989). Sending students abroad for higher education became increasingly difficult as funding became scarce. In 1436, a *consilium* presided over by Archbishop Aslak Bolts nevertheless determined that the Archbishopric should keep one or two students at the University of Paris, and that the students be supported with money from the alms. The intention was honorable; however, few students actually went abroad for lack of money (Øverås 1952, Danielsen et. al. 1992).[272] Furthermore, the devastating toll of the pestilence on the clergy and the elite in conjunction with people's inability to pay taxes and duties lead to a rapid disintegration of the *state* that had emerged in medieval times (Bagge & Mykland 1987).

---

[269] However, even on the Continent, ignorance was omnipresent amongst men of the cloth, and the lower ranks were barely literate themselves, having been trained only in the mechanical functions of the liturgy and the performance of the sacraments (Lawson 1967), as it was not necessary for the lower clergy to hold a university degree till the end of the 16th century (Berggrav 1953).

[270] At the time of independence in 1814, Norway had four Latin high-schools with less than 200 students, a number roughly equal to the number of students in the 12th century (Rust 1989).

[271] The Black Death in 1349 eliminated an estimated 2/3 of the population in recurring outbreaks of the pestilence, a situation aggravated by a series of failed crops due to an agrarian crisis caused by almost a century of climatic cooling (Danielsen et. al. 1992, Bagge & Mykland 1987).

[272] The rapid degeneration of the Norwegian society in the 14th and 15th centuries led to a radical reduction in the number of students sent abroad for higher education. Between 1367 and 1536, for example, only 219 Norwegian students were registered at the newly established German and East-European universities, in comparison with 2146 students from the more urban Denmark and 821 from Sweden (Bagge & Mykland 1987). The exile of the papacy to Avignon between 1309 to 1373, and the ensuing papal schism between 1378 and 1417 (Larrington 1995), resulted in the defection of both students and university

The institutionalized teaching of the late Middle Ages had focused primarily on religious instruction and recruitment to Church positions (Rust 1989). Schools were second-language institutions in most countries (Lusignan 1986). In Norway, where the Latin traditions were less entrenched than on the Continent, the literate elite and members of the ordinary clergy were to a greater extent than elsewhere recruited from the general population (Øverås 1952).

After the Reformation, most of the Church's properties were confiscated by the Crown, making the financing of the cathedral schools precarious (Ellingsen 1997). Indeed, some schools actually had to close for lack of financial support, such as the cathedral school at Hamar, which closed in 1602 (Rust 1989). The majority of Norwegian students now received their advanced education at the University of Copenhagen, although a few sought the reformed universities in the German-speaking territories. The ties that had bound Norway to Denmark for almost two centuries were decisive for the way in which the Reformation was introduced in Norway (Helk 1987, Grane & Hørby 1993). Some will argue that the nation's economic and political dependence upon Denmark was as real as it was necessary, and that the Reformation, as it was presented and introduced, was the inevitable outcome of Norway's dissolving autonomy.

In the first three decades of the century, Denmark had been through a deep political crisis with substantial ramifications for itself as well as for Norway. King Christian II (reign 1513-1523) had fled to the Netherlands in 1523 when the noblemen of Western Denmark turned on the King and nominated his uncle, Duke Frederik I (reign 1524-1533), to the throne (Ellingsen 1997). Fredrik I had been acclaimed King of Norway in Bergen by the National Council (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998). Archbishop Olav Engelbrektson, who in the capacity of Archbishop was supposed to have presided over the National Council, refused to see him, so that although Frederik I technically became King of Norway at the Council's meeting in Bergen, he never obtained the Church's approval and was never *crowned King* of Norway. By his refusal to see the King, Archbishop Olav attempted to delay Frederik's access to the Norwegian kingdom. The King's Protestant beliefs were at the root of the Archbishop's unwillingness to bless what he considered an altogether undesirable monarch (Ellingsen 1997).

---

teachers from the French-speaking territories. Consequently, by the time Christiern Pedersen (1480-1554) arrived in 1510, the University of Paris had seen better days (Brandt 1882, Le Goff 1985). Other central and northern European universities started attracting foreign students, especially those of Leuven (1426), Cologne (1388), Prague (1348), Leipzig (1409), Greifswald (1456) (Grane & Hørby 1993). The universities of Rostock (1419) and Wittenberg (1502) were to become the new "Scandinavian" centers of learning where most of the post-Reformation Norwegian students enrolled (Tormodsæter 1912, Helk 1987, Grane & Hørby 1993). Of the people who worked to introduce the reformed theology in Norway, 40 had studied at Wittenberg, amongst others Hans Gås and his son Kjell, Torbjørn Olavsson Bratt, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer, Klaus Frandsen Berg, and Halvard Gunnarssøn (Tormodsæter 1912).

King Frederik I remained a staunch supporter of the Reformation, possibly because he quickly realized that a transfer of the Church's properties to the Royal Treasury would strengthen both his personal finances and political authority (Ellingsen 1997). A number of Church properties were transferred to Archbishop Olav's most virulent enemy, Vincents Lunge (c. 1485-1536), governor of Norway from 1523 to 1535, in a scheme aimed at deepening the conflict between the Archbishop and the National Council (Ellingssen 1997).[273] Olav Engelbrektsson wanted a Catholic king. In principle, Norwegians and Danes still elected their monarch, as in the old days. The conflict became intolerable within the Council, and when Vincent Lunge was assassinated by the Archbishop's men just before Christmas 1536, the Archbishop was forced to surrender. He fled to Lier in the Netherlands, carrying with him much of the archdiocese's archives (Ellingsen 1997). The Norwegian National Council was dissolved.

Archbishop Olav Engelbrektsson had been unsuccessful in stemming the Protestant tide. The impoverished Norwegian dioceses were not powerful enough to assist him in his dispute with the mainly Danish-born aristocracy. They had more immediate and pressing concerns. Olav's friend and contemporary, Geble Pederssøn at the Chapter of Bergen, never attempted to revise the content of the teaching dispensed at the Chapter's school and there was not much pressure upon him to do so either. He simply implemented the new directives to the best of his ability, adding the curriculum imposed by the Lutheran authorities in Denmark to what was already offered (Ellingsen 1997).

In many ways, Geble was representative of the late medieval Norwegian clergy. He lacked monastic experience (meaning that he had gone from school to university to his clerical position directly), and, although he had obtained a degree of *magister philosophiae* from the University of Leuven (1517), he never revealed any academic ambitions or delved into the polemics raised by the reforming forces. His priorities lay elsewhere (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963, Ellingsen 1997). Geble was destined to become the last Catholic bishop of Bergen and the first Lutheran superintendent of Norway—and actually the *only* superintendent for almost four years—after the Reformation. Indicative of the close connections between the Chapter of Bergen and Danish and German reformers, it was the German theologian and reformer Johannes Bugenhagen (d.1558) who ordained master Geble as the first Norwegian superintendent in 1537 (Ellingsen 1997).

Due to the particular political and religious situation of Norway and the obvious lack of reformed teachers, the chapters and the cathedral schools they were in charge of essentially survived the Reformation unscathed, and were not properly "reformed" until the second half of the century, when a generation of Lutheran-born clergy and teachers were ready to step in and take control. The schools had been reorganized according to the new Danish educational system, based primarily on the

[273] In 1528, Vincents Lunge had burnt the Monastery of Munkeliv to the ground, supposedly after having taken all the precious objects it contained (Beyer 1928). Lunge was a violent man and the Archbishop's only real opponent. In the conflict over royal succession, Vincents Lunge stood against the King along with a group of Danish governors: Mogens and Erik Gyldenstjerne, Eske (Bergenhus) and Claus Bille (Akershus) (Ellingsen 1997). Vincents Lunge (virulent Protestant) and the Bille brothers (staunch Catholics) were all personal friends of master Geble. Vincents Lunge had studied with him at Leuven (Beyer 1928). Geble was also on friendly terms with the Archbishop. Eske Bille was a friend of Christiern Pedersen. These rather complicated friendships may explain Geble's reluctance to enter the conflict.

school curriculum established by Philipp Melanchthon. In 1541, Melanchthon's short catechism and explanation of Luther's doctrine had been translated into Danish by Nicolaus Palladius (maybe Peter's brother) for use in Danish and Norwegian schools (Bruun 1877). Despite the effort, it took almost thirty years before the manuals used in Norwegian schools were replaced with new, more suitable ones (Dal 1979, Grane & Hørby 1993, Bruun 1877, Ellingsen 1997). Bishop Palladius also prepared a new Latin grammar, *Grammatica latina in usum Danica* (1557), which was adopted by most schools (Bruun 1877). The main emphasis remained that of religious instruction, but subjects like Hebrew, logic, metaphysics and rhetorics were added to the common curriculum. The Danish Church Ordinance of 1539 established that every autonomous commercial city should have at least one Latin public school, to assure recruitment of officers for the Church and encourage general Protestant instruction. This policy worked well in Denmark, where people lived clustered in small towns. It became apparent that the system had no viability in Norway where people lived decentralized on separate farm-units, where there were few free-towns and where the shortage of teachers limited the implementation of the Ordinance (Rust 1989).

The Danish administrators and Church officials generally seem to have understood the rather different Norwegian situation, and allowed for special directives when it came to the implementation of the new Church Ordinance in Norway.[274] Although the Reformers had depended significantly upon the use of the national tongues, illustrated by the numerous vernacular pamphlets published in the first half of the 16th century, the renaming of the Norwegian Cathedral schools in reality signified the start of a new era in which Latin would gain new importance and would almost suppress the vernacular as a form of scholarly expression. Not long after the Reformation, both the ecclesiastic and secular administration was moved to Oslo, which offered easier access to the Danish administration in Copenhagen. In contrast to the humanists in Bergen during the 30s, 40s and 50s, for whom the vernacular had been a natural choice, the humanists in Oslo almost exclusively wrote in and translated into Latin (Grane & Hørby1993, Ellingsen 1997, Ekrem 1992). The move away from Bergen was a move away from the vernacular, which would take some time to recover its former status.

The introduction of the Lutheran doctrine had a significant impact on the evolution of the school system, which increasingly catered to the general public (Baune 1995). The institutional Reformation was carried out by members of the elite (Jacobson 1989) but necessarily aimed at including everyone. The Reformed church used the schools as a tool in the conversion process. From being an exclusive

[274] "Wy wille med det fø rste besø rge Superattendender wdy Norge til huer stict, huilcke wy oc willw giffue befalinge, at de saa mø get som mogeligt er, skulle giø re deris fliid, at huer Sogen maa haffue gode predickere oc det sande Guds ord, at der oc intet maa forsø mmes, huad der hø rer til Guds ords predicken oc menniskens salighed, Oc skicke huad dennom tilstaar wdi andre sager, de wid denne vor Ordinantx begrebene ere, Ind til wy sielff komme wdy Norge, huilcket wy med Guds hielp snarlig forhobe, Da wille wy effter Superattendenternis raad besø nderlig wdi huer sted beskicke oc stadfeste huad effter denne Ordinanze der icke holdis kand, di der wil wdi mange sticter holdes en anden Ordinantze.» (Ellingsen 1997: 90. "We will shortly appoint superintendents to every diocese, whom we will instruct, so that they will, to the best of their ability, send good preachers and the true word of God to every parish, so that nothing be forsaken, neither God's sermons nor the salvation of people. And [we will] give what these [superintendents] need for the performance of other tasks covered by the present Ordinance, until such time as we will be able to come to Norway ourselves, which will, God willing, be soon, we hope. At such a time we will, upon the advice of the superintendents, assess what measures according to the present Ordinance cannot be implemented, since many parishes will need an alternative Ordinance" (my translation).

institution for the few, schools now opened up to the entire population, at least in principle. Despite its manifest Latin ambitions, a notion of universality was formally introduced by the School Law of 1739, which recommended that every child attend school. The new law was, of course, easier to enforce in the urban communities of Denmark from where it originated than in rural Norway (Larsen 1989). As a result, the new faith took a long time to take root. Indeed, religious instruction after the Reformation in many cases remained as superficial as in medieval times, a fact that caused some real concern amongst the higher clergy and master Geble in particular (Ellingsen 1997).

Due to the combined shortage of both reformed clergy and qualified teachers in Norway, only four people were removed by force from their clerical positions in 1537, namely the bishops of Trondheim, Hamar, Oslo and Stavanger. The Archbishop fled, but only a few clerics resigned. Indeed, the majority of the Norwegian clergy—raised and trained in the Catholic tradition—to a large extent continued in their pre-Reformation functions, and in doing so contributed to a smoother and less turbulent transition to the Protestant doctrine than in other reformed countries (Ellingsen 1997). Master Geble in Bergen was one of the most outstanding transitional figures, a Dutch-trained European humanist, relentlessly working towards the improvement of the school as well as the recruitment and education of future reformed clergy.

The smooth transition ensured continuity. The ties to Rome were abruptly severed, but there was no dramatic interruption or re-shuffling of functions at the chapters. Life in many ways continued as before. "The rather gentle conversion process explains the apparent absence of friction as the new faith was introduced." Because the common clergy and parish priests were never coerced by the new church administration, at least not in the beginning, it must have been relatively easy to accept the *fait accompli*: it was easier to continue than to put up resistance. Consequently, the Reformation never met with any concerted counter-effort from Norwegian Church officials (Ellingsen 1997).

However—despite the continuation of most of the clergy—the break with the Catholic Church led to a certain degree of uncertainty and even religious indolence amongst the common people, as well as sporadic refusals to participate in obligatory rites (Bø 1982). Master Geble often complained about the lack of religious fervor and education in the general population (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963). However, one should not forget that old habits are difficult to break, especially for the uneducated who were more steeped in tradition and rites than in learned polemics and theological debate. Catholic rites and beliefs therefore continued to exist for quite some time, often clandestinely (Garstein 1998).[275]

Within the new church the role of women changed radically. The wives of the first generation reformers, for the most part former priests and monks, were indeed instrumental in the dissemination and indoctrination of the new ideas. The pastor's wife got a role as educator. Not only did she need to be educated enough to instruct her own children, she also had to help in the instruction of the parishioners. Through the pastor's wife and her motherly role vis-à-vis the congregation, marriage

[275] Echoing the transition from pagan religion to Christianity in the early Middle Ages.

as an institution was idealized, and the marriage of priests gained acceptance (Jacobson 1989).

On the Continent, the counter-reformatory actors were slow in organizing and their work virtually drowned in the massive output of evangelist vernacular publications during the first three decades of the 16th century. In Norway, apart from the Archbishop's desperate attempt at obstructing the election of a Protestant king, the counter-Reformation never organized. From the middle of the century, however, the Jesuit Order took on the organization and implementation of counter-reformatory measures in central and northern Europe. The Jesuits actively recruited protestant students at their theological seminaries—notably Braunberg, Ingolstadt, Leuven, La Flèche, Praha, and Olmütz—where many promising reformed students were encouraged to study and where the Catholic Church would even finance their studies. After the Reformation, Scandinavian students who had studied at any of these institutions, would be obliged to study some time at an "acceptable" Protestant university before returning home, so as to make sure that they were not tainted with popish ideas (Helk 1987, Garstein 1998).

The Roman Church seems not to have realized the impetus and appeal of the Reform movement. In addition, there was an entrenched reluctance and even hostility in Catholic circles towards addressing the laity on religious issues, and particularly in addressing these matters in the vernacular. So, the counter-reformatory initiatives were organized too late, especially with regard to Denmark-Norway. The fact that the first treatises written in an attempt to stem the tide were composed in Latin further lessened their effect. The Catholic Church seriously underestimated the persuasiveness and attractiveness of the Lutheran message and gravely misjudged both the popular receptiveness to the vernacular message and the resolve of its disseminators (Edwards 1994). Despite relentless efforts and secret missions of Jesuit *pater* Laurentius Nielsen (c. 1540-1622)[276] to both Norway and Sweden from the end of the century on, the cause was forfeited. Laurentius had been attracted to Catholicism during his student days at the University of Leuven, and was the only Scandinavian counter-reformer.

Originally from Tønsberg, *pater* Norvegus spent most of his adult life abroad as Catholics (and especially Jesuits) soon were barred from the kingdom. Because Catholics risked the death penalty in Norway, Laurentius concentrated his efforts on Sweden, where the Polish Queen had been given permission to practice her Catholicism in the privacy of the royal chapel. His attempts to infiltrate the Swedish clergy through the theological seminary at Stockholm did not succeed, and towards the end of the century it became clear that the Catholic Church had lost its grip on the whole of Scandinavia (Garstein 1998, Ellingsen 1997, Helk 1987).

In Denmark, a few loyal Catholic oppositional voices were heard in the decades leading up to the Reformation. Resolutely trying to stave off the tidal waves of evangelical writings, Poul Helgesen (1480-1534) was the Roman Church's most adamant defender in Denmark during the critical period between 1520 and 1530. He riposted personally to many of Luther's pamphlets (Brandt 1882, Helk 1987, Vellev 1986). Despite his inflexible opposition to the reformed doctrine (and illustrative of

[276] Commonly referred to as *pater Norvegicus*.

many contemporary scholars' obvious confusion with regard to the polemic between the two religious camps) Helgesen translated and published a small Lutheran prayer book in 1526 (Nielsen 1996, Vellev 1986).[277] In 1534, however, he reverted to less controversial material and translated Erasmus' *Institutio principis christiani* (1516) as well as a short treatise calling for the reconciliation and re-unification of the Catholic Church, also by Erasmus (Bruun 1877, Chavy 1988).

Poul Helgesen had been in charge of the Carmelite College at the University of Copenhagen between 1519 and 1522. Like Erasmus, he was in favor of some sort of reform of the Church; however, he could only accept an amendment in full agreement with the Holy See (Grane & Hørby 1993). The majority of Helgesen's translations and treatises were printed by Poul Ræff, who also remained faithful to the Roman Church (Nielsen 1996).[278] In the end, of course, Helgesen too had to give in. He withdrew from public debate and not much is known about his activities after the Reformation, other than that he seems to have turned to the more neutral field of history. *Historia compendiosa ac svccincta serenissimorum Daniæ Regvm* was printed posthumously in Lyon in 1595 (*REX*).

The Catholic counter-measures arose from the Council of Trent (1545-63), where the Church discussed the questions of doctrine and discipline raised by the Protestant revolt (Weaver 1989). The need for some kind of reform was obvious, but the Counter-Reform brought changes to the *organization* of education in Catholic areas rather than to the school curriculum as such. Nevertheless, an increased awareness of the popular appeal of the vernacular resulted in more attention on the poorer classes, which for a long time had been neglected by the Church (Grendler 1989).

Except for the failed missions of pater Norvegus, the Counter-Reform never reached the Scandinavian countries. Catholicism was quickly banned by royal decree, and the Danish King effectively kept all Roman emissaries at bay by not allowing them into the country (Garstein 1998, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). During the second half of the century, the Lutheran doctrine had been considerably strengthened by the relentless work of a generation of clergy and teachers with an appropriate and unfaltering Protestant education (Ellingsen 1997). Catholicism in Norway had come to an end.

---

[277] In the same way as Thomas Murner—Luther's «poisonous» friend—Franciscan jurist, theologian, and satirist, had translated Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* from Latin into German (Edwards 1994).

[278] Poul Ræ ff (Paul Rev), although a man of the cloth, functioned primarily as a printer. He translated a treatise against the Jews: *Judæorum secreta* by Johannes Phefferkorn (Nielsen 1996).

The First Norwegian Humanists: Bergen

> Dog haver det ganske Norgis rige af nogen fremmed konge aldri verit overvundet med herreskjold, endog at Saxo Grammaticus skriver at Norge haver mange gange verit undertvunget… Thi at naar nogen kange af Danmarck eller Sverrig havde feyde med nogen nessekonge, oc han besøgte hannom med nogen krig, oc vant hannom over da skriver Saxo ligervis, som den konge havde vunnit det ganske Norgis rige, endog han havde icke den 20. part…[279]
>
> (Beyer 1928: 118)

History writing in the Middle Ages was initially an almost exclusively monastic activity of which Adam of Bremen, Hugh of Saint Victor, Theodoricus Monachus, and Saxo Grammaticus are convincing examples. The monasteries, however, were hermetic centers of learning, and the manuscripts in their libraries were not easily accessible for people outside the orders. Some monasteries had acquired quite large libraries indeed (Lawson 1967).

The universities that grew out of the various *studia generalia* in central Europe never considered including history in their formal curriculum (Grendler 1989), yet scholars from both monasteries and universities continued to record history. Just as the crusades and pilgrimages had inspired many historians and hagiographers, the years of wars between France and England in the late Middle Ages also rekindled an interest in history and the analysis of political events. Towards the second half of the 14th century, Jean Le Bel (1290-c. 1370) reported on the first half of the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453). Jean Froissart (1337-a.1400), in his *Chronique,* set out to cover the events of contemporary France. Towards the end of the 15th century, Philippe de Commynes (c. 1447-1511) recorded the memoirs of Louis XI (1423-1483) and the reign of Charles VIII (1470-1498). His books were published posthumously in 1524 and 1528 (Paris 1927, Brunel 1972, *Medieval Source Book*, *Catholic Encyclopedia 1996*). The French chroniclers of the 15th century attested to a growing interest in more recent historical events (Brunel 1972) and must have been an inspiration to both Danish and Norwegian humanists (Steen 1935). At the turn of the 16th century, Gottfried of Ghemen printed the anonymous *Rimkrøniken* (1495) and later Christiern Pedersen, as we have seen, published Saxo's Chronicle as *Historia Danicae* in Paris in 1514 (Bruun 1877).

[279] "Norway has never been conquered by the sword of foreign kings, although Saxo Grammaticus writes that Norway has been subjected many times… If a Danish or Swedish king visited a Norwegian coastal lord engaged in battle with him and defeated him, Saxa unjustly claims that such a king won the whole of Norway, when in fact he never conquered but one twenthieth of it" (my translation).

The marked interest for history in the beginning of the 16th century amongst Danish intellectuals initiated a trend in Scandinavia. Intellectuals sought inspiration and solace in the past. This began in Norway with Oluf Torkellson, Bishop of Bergen from 1523 to 1533. He was described by Absalon Beyer as a man possessing some knowledge of the old language and the sagas (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).[280] In Bergen, a description and analysis of the past emerged as a way to find solutions to urgent contemporary issues. The political and economic situation in pre-Reformation Norway led to a first re-examination of the old saga manuscripts and law texts in search of arguments against the Hanseatic trade monopoly and abusive presence in the city. The work would continue after the Reformation, too.

The emergence of the concept of national identities in Renaissance Europe coincided with the increased use of the vernacular and the recording of the history of different nations. The subtle and oftentimes elusive redefinition of both the State and the Church in the wake of the Reformation—in conjunction with the new Protestant focus on the individual—is reflected in the Norwegian intellectuals' growing interest in the history of the nation and in the efforts put into the recovery of the nation's identity.

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer

In contrast to the life and work of Christiern Pedersen and the prolific Danish humanists and reformers, that of Absalon Pederssøn Beyer (1528-1575) seems quite modest in both scope and influence. However, his life and work were indicative of a new beginning. Where Geble reconciles the old and the new order, Beyer is representative of the first generation of scholars brought up in the Lutheran faith. Born at the time of the Reformation, he had not been exposed to the school curriculum that had formed the mentality of his Catholic predecessors. He became a staunch defender of the new order, working for an impoverished reformed church, stripped of its former sources of revenues (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

The particular political and economic situation of 16th-century Norway determined the orientation of the Norwegian humanists' intellectual enterprise. History preoccupied European scholars. But in contrast to the extraverted experience of European humanists who recorded current events, historians in Norway engaged in the recovery of the past, in the introverted search for a long-lost national identity. Encouraged by his adoptive father, master Geble, who was a keen botanist, Beyer developed an interest for both the history and geography of his country. The retrieval of the old laws and the saga material signified the beginning of the end of the Hanseatic domination, as present events were examined in light of the past. Largely as a result of the examination of the old laws and the saga material by legal experts, and civil and church administrators, the German merchants were obliged, by the middle of the Reformation century, to abide by Norwegian and Danish laws. From this point on, they started blending into Norwegian society (Beyer 1928, Eckblad 1998).

[280] This was the only positive thing Beyer ever wrote about the man, who in his opinion was devoid of learning and intelligence. "… der vaar ingen besyndelig Læ rdom i hannem…" (He had no learning) (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963: 26).

For a long time, members of the Norwegian clergy had had less access to education than their colleagues on the Continent. The Norwegian chapters and monasteries had not been actively involved in the major disputes and reforms which had been enforced in medieval times (Ellingsen 1987), nor had the exegetical work on the Scriptures and the scholastic teaching been a subject of debate in Norwegian ecclesiastical circles.[281] And an intellectual critic of the scholastic values and methods was precisely what Luther's dissension was all about (Ellingsen 1997). In 1517, he had published *Disputatio contra scholasticam theologicam*, just months before he posted his 95 articles on the Church door at Wittenberg (Grane & Hørby 1993).

The Norwegian clergy, decidedly less educated than their Continental counterparts, had no means to dabble in the dispute over the scholastic heritage that agitated the scholars of the Continent in the decades leading up to the Reformation. Master Geble, the *only* superintendent for almost four years after the Reformation, seems to have been more disturbed by what he perceived as moral decay and the general lack of respect for the Church. The monastery of Munkeliv had been set on fire twice in his time, the first time in 1528 by Vincents Lunge and his acolytes who shared the loot between them, the second time in 1534 (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963, Ellingsen 1997).[282] The political uncertainty and the diminished authority of the Norwegian Church made master Geble accept the new order without expressing either doubt or hesitancy (Ellingsen 1997). Like Christiern Pedersen, he embraced the new teaching in a discrete manner (Brandt 1882). Geble, although not militant in his personal convictions, had to adjust enough to organize and supervise the introduction of the reformed doctrine in his diocese. This was a job which he seems to have taken on and accomplished with great care.

The Black Death had decimated the country to a far greater extent in Norway than what it had in Sweden and Denmark. Both these countries had more or less recovered finacially and demographically from the crisis of the 1349 pestilence by the year 1400 (Bagge & Mykland 1987). In Norway, all the cathedral schools continued to struggle with recruitment and the lack of qualified teachers. Higher education was not available nationally. The financial situation was not much better in the 16th century, after the throne had confiscated the Catholic Church's revenue-yielding properties. Only towards the middle of the century did the situation start to improve (Beyer 1963). Hence, in order to benefit from better teachers, Absalon Pederssøn Beyer was sent at Geble's expense to study in Copenhagen in 1544, where he lodged in Peder Palladius' (1503-1560) household for four years. Bishop Palladius was a personal friend and ally of master Geble (Grane & Hørby 1993, Helk 1987), and when Beyer continued his education at the University of

[281] The opposition between the "mystics" at the Monastery of Saint Victor and the rationalists at the University of Paris—initiated by Abélard (c.1079-1142/4) and St. Bernard (1090-1153) (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1996)—left few marks in the North, with the exception of Honorius of Autun's *Elucidarius* (Flint 1975a, Firchow 1992) and *Soliloquium de arrha animae* by Hugh of Saint Victor (Harðarson 1995). However, some of the key texts must have been known to people who had studied abroad.

[282] Munkeliv had originally been dedicated to St. Nicolaus, St. Benedict, and finally to St. Birgitta. The monastery was in use until 1534. The relation between the monastery and the Hanseatic merchants was never smooth. In 1455, the monastery was set ablaze the first time by members of the German commercial league who refused to pay tithes to the diocese. Bishop Torleif claimed the right to collect this levy from the foreign merchants and so did his secular administrator, Oluf Nilssø n. The bishop and the administrator were both killed by an angry mob of League members, in an attack which left the local authorities infuriated and humiliated (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

Wittenberg (1549-1552) it was with a personal letter of recommendation from the Danish Bishop (Ellingsen 1987, Helk 1987).

In Wittenberg, Absalon Beyer attended the lectures of Phillipp Melanchthon (1497-1560)—then professor of Greek and an associate of Luther. The years in Wittenberg would be decisive for his devotion to the students at the Latin school in Bergen (Ellingsen 1993). Melanchthon was continually concerned with the content of the schooling from his early years as a teacher at the university. He had published a treatise, *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis,* in 1518 as well as a school grammar (Grane & Hørby 1993). Beyer soon adopted Melanchthon's concern for the schools and the quality of the teaching. He remained devoted to the Latin school his whole life. The Latin school was an important institution since it also functioned as the theological seminary of the diocese, training pastors for the reformed church (Ellingsen 1997). Like in medieval times, many members of the lower clergy, i.e. parish priests in rural communities, had received just elementary education at one of the Latin schools; only towards the end of the century did the Church require university training of its regular clergymen (Berggrav 1953).

Beyer entered the school at Bergen as *lector* in 1552 when he returned home from his studies abroad. He was by then married to a woman he had met at Palladius' household.[283] His mentor and adoptive father, Bishop Geble, died in 1557 (Beyer 1928). The replacement was the Danish Jens Skjelderup (c. 1510-1582), a professor of physics and a *doctor* of medicine who had studied both at Rostock and Wittenberg (Helk 1987). In other words, quite a learned man who had gravitated around Niels Hemmingsen (1513-1600), one of Denmark's leading humanists. Melanchthon's *Loci communes* (1543 and 1555)[284] and Hemmingsen's *De methodis et ratione conscionandi* were among Beyer's favorite books, which he frequently referred to and expounded on in his lectures (Beyer 1963, Ellingsen 1997).

The school and the well-being of its students remained Absalon Beyer's main preoccupation. According to Luther's recommendation, he used Latin school plays in order to enliven the Latin lessons (Næss 1993, Ellingsen 1997). The Latin authors most cherished after the Reformation were Terence, Plautus, Cicero and Ovid (Berggrav 1953) as well as traditional medieval morality plays (Brøndsted 1963). Beyer supposedly often staged a play about the fall of Adam (Ellingsen 1997), perhaps an adaptation of a medieval Anglo-Norman mystery from the 12th century, a *Jeu d'Adam*, describing the fall of Adam and the story of Cain and Abel (*OLIS*, Favier 1999).

---

[283] Anna Pedersdotter was burned at the stake for heresy in 1590 (Cf. Åse-Ragna Hangeland (1985) *Hekse-jakt: om trolldomsprosessene i Norge og Europa forøvrig*. Bodø : Å. Hangeland).

[284] Palladius also published a *Loci communes* by a certain Albert Giø e (?) in 1549 (Nielsen 1996).

In the small humanist circle in Bergen, Beyer of course had his natural place. Yet of his work and life we only have limited information, mainly what little he reveals about himself in his diary, covering the years between 1552 and 1572. He mainly wrote about the town and its inhabitants. The diary—initially undertaken as a Latin history of the town of Bergen, *Liber capituli Bergensis*—gives a poignant picture of daily life in the city. In 1567, he finished the work *Om Norgis Rige*,[285] the first history of Norway since the Old Norse sagas.[286] *Om Norgis Rige* is less a biographical history of Norwegian kings in the manner of the kings' sagas than Beyer's personal *story* of the Norwegian nation, his personal commentaries on the evolution of the country. What Beyer clearly intended to be a regular history of the nation became his own subjective examination of both the present and the past, a highly personal interpretation of the status of the nation. His interest in the past was spurred largely by the growing exasperation vis-à-vis the Hanseatic merchants' monopolistic trade practices. The Hanseatic merchants were extremely unpopular, referred contemptuously to as "en hob grove nesevise kompaner, som komme hid i riget, laste Norge oc sige at her haver hverken verit konger eller adel" (Beyer 1963).[287]

[285] It was printed only in 1780.

[286] In addition, Beyer wrote a speech for his students about master Geble, *Oration om mester Geble*, fourteen years after Geble's death. This text constitutes the sole source to knowledge about Geble's life. The original text has been lost, but it has been reconstructed from Edvard Edvardsen's (d.1695) book about Bergen published in 1674 (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963)—*Dend viitberømte i viide Verden Navnkundige, fordum Kongelige residentz- kiøb- og handel-Stad Bergen udi Norge hendes fuldkommelige Beskrivelses eller Histories første Part* (Bruun 1877)—in essence a transcript of *Oration* (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963). Absalon Beyer's manuscripts circulated among his humanist colleagues and friends and became popular reading (Beyer 1928). Edvardsen's book was published in 1674, but the printed edition has not survived. The text has been preserved via manuscript copies from the 1750s (Kolsrud & Valkner 1963).

[287] A "hoard of coarse and ill-mannered companions who settled here declaring that Norway had never had neither King nor nobility" (Beyer 1928: 40). My translation.

The Hanseatic merchants had controlled trade and commerce in Bergen since the middle of the 14th century. In the 16th century, lawyers returned to the saga manuscripts and the old law collections primarily to demonstrate and reclaim the native population's right to commerce and trade (Beyer 1963). Many clergymen and administrators, such as Beyer, strongly disapproved of the presence of the Hanseatic merchants and maintained that the Germans' trading privileges had been obtained in a fraudulent and dishonest manner. The Hanseatic trading rights had been defended by King Christopher of Bavaria (r. 1442-1448),[288] who needed the support of the German merchants when the Kalmar Union fell apart and Erik of Pomerania (r. 1389-1442) was forced to resign.[289] Under Christopher's rule, the Hanseatic merchants consolidated their monopolistic position, sustained by the systematic and often violent suppression of local competitors. By the 16th century, Denmark-Norway had seen a succession of Danish monarchs with strong ties to Germany, in general favorable to the foreign trade guilds. In Bergen, the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants represented a constant source of discontent and conflict (Albrectsen 1997). In light of the political and economic situation, the nation's history and the old law collections were seen by 16th century administrators as containing the keys to a solution to the many problems (Beyer 1928).

Mattis Størssøn (d.1569)

A lawyer in Agder from 1533, Mattis Størssøn (d.1569) was assigned to Bergen in 1540 and started the retrospective examination of the political situation. He produced a small history of the Hanseatic merchants in Bergen from the reign of Erik Magnusson (r. 1280-1299) to Christopher of Bavaria (r. 1442-1448): *Om de Tydske Købmænd i Bergen* (c. 1560-1569) (Beyer 1963, Ellingsen 1997). Størssøn's critique of the Hanseatic League was based on Old Norse law texts, punitive records, and diplomas (Beyer 1963). How and where he got his education is uncertain, but he must have been able to read and write Latin and of course was familiar with Old Norse, the language of the old law texts.

The intolerable presence of the Germans was one of the motivating forces behind the first re-examination of the past. This initial scrutiny of the old legal documents spawned a renewed interest in the nation's history and political past (Sørlie 1962). Størssøn studied not only the legal texts but the sagas as well, and is supposed to have translated *Sverres saga* (Jørgensen 1993). In addition to his description of the German merchants, he also composed a chronicle, *Den norske kronike* (c. 1560), an abridged history of the Norwegian kings, a summary based

[288] He was married to Erik's sister Katarina of Pommerania, and became King of Denmark in 1440, of Sweden in 1441, and Norway in 1442 (Skaadel & Skarsbø 1998).

[289] After twenty years of unsuccessful warfare over Holstein and growing discontent amongst the Swedish aristocracy over heavy taxation and the fact that they were increasingly by-passed in the decision-making process, the union signed at Kalmar was crumbling. When in addition King Erik insisted upon his right to appoint bishops and higher clergy, the Church was also drawn into the conflict. The archdiocese in Uppsala elected a new archbishop, Olof Laurentsson, in 1432 without Erik's participation. Erik riposted by appointing Arend Klementsen, bishop in Bergen, to the position. The Holy See sided with the Chapter of Uppsala. The conflict had thus been taken one step further, and the Swedish prelats declared the King enemy of the State in 1434. As the Archbishop normally presided the National Council (in Denmark and Sweden as in Norway) the situation became intolerable. The revolt developed into a general uprising against the King. The discontent spread to Norway, too, where the heavy taxes were condemned in particular. Erik was forced to resign in 1442 (Albrectsen 1997).

mainly on *Heimskringla* and *Bergsbok*. Størssøn's Norwegian history was published posthumously in Copenhagen in 1594 (Sørlie 1962, Ellingsen 1997, Jørgensen 1993, *BIBSYS*). The original manuscript has been lost, but the text has survived in copies (Ekrem 1992). The history was read in both Norway and Denmark. One of the preserved manuscripts, AM 97 fol., may have been brought to Copenhagen as early as 1569 (Sørlie 1962). This meant that Absalon Beyer and Mattis Størssøn for some years worked almost simultaneously, Beyer commenting on the Norwegian history, Størssøn translating and contracting the main saga texts.

Jon Simenssøn (1512-1575)

Norwegian lawyers, the only people familiar with the Old Norse language of the law collections, provided valuable assistance to the reformed humanists at the various dioceses. Jon Simenssøn had been working on *Bergsbok*[290] and *Fagrskinna*.[291] These manuscripts were kept at the diocese of Bergen in the 1530s (Jørgensen 1993), and Beyer must also have had access to them since he was *notarius* for the Chapter (Ellingsen 1997). Simonssøn had come as the Archbishop's deputy administrator from Nidaros in 1532. He probably translated parts of *Bergsbok* and *Fagrskinna*; however, it is not established who translated the excerpts which Christiern Pedersen asked for some time between 1540 and 1544. The existence of the translated excerpts may have been suggested to Pedersen by Erik Valkendorf who had befriended Pedersen when he was a cleric at Roskilde and Pedersen a canon at Lund (Jørgensen 1993). Valkendorf, the civil administrator, must have followed Simonssøn's and Størssøn's translation work with interest as did superintendent Geble.

---

290 Containing the stories of Olav Tryggvason and Saint Olav (Schreiner 1972).

291 Dealing with the history of Norway from Halvdan Svarte (9th century) to c.1177. In the Middle Ages, this book was wrongfully referred to as *Noregs konungatál* (Schreiner 1972). It has been established that the *Noregs Konungatál* by Sæmundur Sigfússon has been lost. *Fagrskinna*—the work of an anonymous Icelandic scribe in Norway—is believed to contain material from several source texts: *Morkinskinna*, *Ágrip*, *Hlaðajarla Saga* (lost), and a lost version of the *Jomsvíkinga saga* (Anderson 1985). Simenssøn also taught Peder Claussøn Friis (1545–1614) Old Norse, enabling him to make an extensive translation of the old sagas, *Norske Kongers Kronika*, published and printed posthumously in 1633 (Næss 1993, Jørgensen 1993).

Laurents Hanssøn

Towards the middle of the century, Laurents Hanssøn translated Snorri's *Heimskringla*. He worked in Bergen about the same time as Jon Simenssøn and Mattis Størssøn, i.e. in the 1540s. In the preface to his translation of the sagas, Hanssøn tells the reader that the work was commissioned by Hans Svaning and Christiern Morsing, another influential friend of master Geble (Jørgensen 1993), professor and *rector* at the University of Copenhagen,[292] and as such colleague of the prominent Peder Palladius (Grane & Hørby 1993), Beyer's mentor and landlord during his student days at the University of Copenhagen (Beyer 1928). Hanssøn worked on various saga manuscripts between 1548 and 1551, mainly the *Codex Frisianus*—a manuscript collection containing Snorri's Prologue to and large parts of *Heimskringla*, in addition to the *Saga of Håkon Håkonsson*. Hanssøn claims that he got hold of yet another manuscript that he used as a control document, maybe *Jofraskinna* (Jørgensen 1993), a *Heimskringla*-related manuscript which Jens Nilssøn (1538-1600) had found and copied during his exile to Telemark at the time of the war with Sweden (Berggrav 1953, Ellingsen 1997). Hanssøn was amongst the first to positively attribute *Heimskringla* to Snorri Sturlason. However, the information about the initial compiler of the Old Norse history remained obscured until it was discovered that he had composed the introduction to Hanssøn's history of the Norwegian kings, which was published together with his own Norske Kongers Kronika in 1633 of the Norwegian kings together with his own *Norske Kongers kronika* in 1633 (Jørgensen 1993, Andersson 1985).

Both Geble Pederssøn and Absalon Beyer knew about Laurents Hanssøn's Old Norse skills. Hanssøn had been in Bergen in the 1540s and worked a few years with Jon Simenssøn. Master Geble had Hanssøn examine and translate parts of the Christian principles in the Old Norse law collections (Jørgensen 1993).[293] The study of the legal framework of the past and the translation of the law texts and saga material served two purposes. On the one hand, they could be used by the theology students at the Latin school, on the other they provided the necessary arguments against the Crown's confiscation of Church's property in the wake of the Reformation. Later in the century, Bishop Hans Gås (r. 1549-1578) of Trondheim ordered the old laws and Church privileges as they appeared in *Grágás* retranslated for similar purposes (Ellingsen 1997). The translation was carried out by *lector* Anders of Trondenes (Øverås 1952).[294]

---

[292] The first reformed rector (Grane & Hørby 1993)

[293] The Christian principles date back to Bishop Grimkjell and Olav Haraldson (Saint) (995-1030), who incorporated the new Christian ideals and Church privileges into the existing *Gulatingslov* (Kvæerness 1995).

[294] The Christian privileges recorded in *Grágás* have been preserved in two vellum manuscripts from c.1250 (Øverås 1952, Kvæerness 1995, Arnamagnæan Institute). Trondenes was Bishop Gås' personal parish, and was important as both a commercial point and as one of the Church's most northern seats. Bishop Gås acquired the manuscript during a visitas of Trondenes in 1560 (Ellingsen 1997).

Thus, there were a handful of people in Bergen during the first two decades of the Reformation (i.e. 1530-1550) with the appropriate legal and linguistic skills necessary to assist Beyer in his historical research for *Om Norgis Rige* , and whose annotations of Old Norse manuscripts he could have consulted.[295] In addition to the newly discovered Old Norse sources, Beyer consulted a number of foreign chroniclers, to which he often refers directly or indirectly in the text, such as John Maior, Sebastian Münster (1489-1552), Albert Crantzius (d. 1517) and Guillaume Paradin (d.1590), as well as medieval historians such as Saxo Grammaticus (c. 1128-1204) and Flavius Blondus (1392-1464) (Beyer 1928).[296]

Peder Claussøn Friis (1545-1614)

Another Norwegian humanist, Peder Claussøn Friis from Agder, a minister and self-taught humanist who never left the country, was also interested in both history and geography (Bø 1982). In 1599, he wrote a history of the country including a geographical description of Norway and its surrounding islands, *Norriges oc omliggende øers sandfærdige Bescriffuelse*. The book was published only after his death in 1633 (Næss 1993). Friis had learnt the Old Norse language from Jon Simenssøn, who after his assignment in Bergen was appointed judge in Agder, Friis' county, from 1546 (Bø 1982, Jørgensen 1993). Friis had read *Konungs skuggsjá* in the original and may also have been familiar with and inspired by Olaus Magnus' (1490-1558) geography book of the northern regions, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* of 1555 (Bø 1982, *Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999). Friis' *Norske Kongers Kronika* (1633) had been commissioned by the Danish governor in Norway, Axel Gyldenstjerne (Næss 1993), and is predominantly a translation of Snorri's *Heimskringla* (Anderson 1985, Bø 1982, Næss 1993). When writing the Norwegian history, Friis probably had access to Simenssøn's many notes and saga copies, but seems to have been unaware of Laurents Hanssøn's work (Jørgensen 1993). At least, he makes no reference to Hanssøn in his saga translations.

---

295 I have not been able to establish whether or not Beyer himself was able to read Old Norse or if he, like Christiern Pedersen, used the excerpts translated by the chapter's legal experts.

296 Possible sources for Beyers historical analysis: John Maior (1469-1550) *Historia maioris Britanniae, tam Anglia quam Scotiae* (1521); Curtius Rufus Quintus (d.1545) *De gestis Alexandri Magni Macedonis libri*; Sebastian Münster (1489-1552) *Cosmologia universalis* (posthumously printed in 1554); Albert Crantzius (d.1517) *Rerum Germanicarum historici clariss. Regnorum Aquilinarium. Danicae, Sueciae, Noruagiae chronica: Quibus genttium origo vetustissima & Ostrogothorum* (1548); Guillaume Paradin (d.1590) *Continuation de l'histoire de nostre temps iusque à l'an mille cinq-cent cinquante-six*; Saxo Grammaticus (c.1128-1204) *Gesta Danorum*; Flavius Blondus (1392-1464) *De Roma instaurata* (1444-46); *De Roma triumphante* (1459); *Italia illustrata* (1448-49); *Historia ad inclinatrione Romanorum imperii decades* (1439-53); Olaus Magnus (1490-1558) *Carta marina et descriptio septentrionalium terrarum ad mirabilium rerum* (1539); and *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) (Beyer 1928, OLIS).

The Second Generation of Humanists: Oslo

> Hactenus Assyreios cecini Persasque Monarchos, Græcos, Romanos Teutonicosque simul, at nunc fert animus præconia dicere regum, Norwagiam valida qui tenuere manu.
>
> (Ekrem 1992: 118)

In Oslo, too, the humanist circle centered around the Latin school. The old cathedral school had been the diocese's educational institution from the early Middle Ages. In medieval times, most of the students had been boarders and in theory the financial responsibility of the Chapter. After the Reformation, the school in Oslo, in contrast to the schools in other dioceses, retained many of its land properties and consequently continued to collect revenues from these. The last Catholic bishop of Oslo, Hans Ræff (c. 1490-1545),[297] donated his land properties to the monarch at the time of the Reformation. Martin Luther promptly intervened and urged the King to separate church properties from the rest of the assets transferred in order to ensure a certain financial security for the school. Nevertheless, the revenues from the school's properties were not enough to provide adequate support of the students, who—mainly from poor families—were often reduced to begging for both fees and subsistence (Berggrav 1953).

In Oslo, like at the other chapters, most of the Catholic clergy remained in their positions, and the school curriculum and pedagogical methods were slow to change during the first decades of the Reformation. But as the century passed and the reformed faith gained ground in the general population, the Reformed Church—initially an anti-authoritarian movement—developed into an public institution with a firm hold on most aspects of both secular and ecclesiastic life, including education. The now married clergy formed an elite apart from the others and became a mostly self-recruiting class, wielding power not only in clerical circles but in secular life as well. The Oslo humanists' perception of German culture differed from that of the Chapter in Bergen (Berggrav 1953). Bergen had been subjected to the control of Lübeck and the Hanseatic League, whereas Oslo had entertained somewhat different relations with Rostock (Ellingsen 1997). The translation activities undertaken in Oslo were therefore of another scope, and more often into Latin than into the vernacular. The status of Latin was heightened and Latin would dominate the cultural and intellectual production of Norwegian authors for centuries. In comparison, literature in the vernacular had become the norm on the continent.

---

[297] Originally Danish, and known in Norway as Hans Rev. Like Geble he was bishop both before and after the Reformation. His brother Poul (d.c.1533) was one of Denmark's first printers. Poul was appointed rector at the University of Copenhagen in 1508 and bought Mattheus Brandiss' printing press when the printer retired. Poul remained a staunch Catholic and withdrew from public debate after the Reformation (Nielsen 1996). Hans Ræ ff was on friendly terms with the last archbishop, Olav Engelbriktsson, and had been Erik Valkendorf's secretary for some years (Ellingsen 1997, Bull et.al. 1923-1983).

Jacob Jacobsen Wolf (1554-1635)

In Oslo, in the second half of the 16th century, as the town became the seat of the Governor—the King's representative in Norway—a vital humanistic milieu of reformed schoolmen and clerics born and raised in the Lutheran doctrine emerged in the milieu around the Latin school. Jacob Jacobsen Wolf, a Danish humanist scholar who had studied in Copenhagen as well as at the University of Leiden, was appointed rector of the school in 1584 and worked there until 1594. He married Jens Nilssøn's daughter,[298] and was, like his father-in-law, interested in Latin poetry. He composed two tragedies for his students based on the Greek and Roman legends of *Dido* and *Turnus*, and produced an abridged version of Virgil's *Æneid*, from which the theme of his two tragedies had derived (Berggrav 1953).[299]

Like other Norwegian humanists before him, Wolf used drama to enliven the teaching. The two pieces drawn from *Ænide* helped him teach passages from Virgil (Ekrem 1992, Bull et. al. 1923-1983). In 1594, Wolf returned to his native Denmark, and the University of Copenhagen, where he obtained a master's degree. Between 1616 and 1623, he worked as professor of theology and Hebrew language at Odense *gymnasium*, and published a history of the Jews in verse[300]—*Jødekrønike, tilsammenskreffuen aff den Hellige Scrifft oc Josepho oc udi Rim kortligen befattit* in 1603 (Bull et. al. 1923-1983)—based on the Scriptures and the historical works of Josephus Flavius (c. 37/8-100),[301] especially the seven-book *Bellum Judaicum* and the voluminous *Antiquitates Judaicae*.[302]

Wolf's epic *Jødekrønike* was composed in much the same way as the anonymous *Danish Chronicle* of 1495. In the Chronicle Wolf lets each important biblical persona tell his own story. The chronicle on the Jewish people is the oldest epic poetry in the Danish vernacular by an identified translator (Bull et. al. 1923-1983).

---

298 In 1585, he married Anna Jensdatter (1566-1600). After her death he remarried three more times (Bull et. al. 1923-1983).

299 Like Latin poetry, school drama was regularly used in the teaching. Works by classical authors such as Terence (190-159 BC) and Plautus (254-184 BC) were popular (Berggrav 1953). Cicero's (106-43 av. J.C.) *Epistolae* and *De Officii*; Virgil's (70-19 BC) *Bucolicorum*, *Aeneid*; and Ovid's (43 BC—J.C.-17 AD) *Ars amandi* and *Metamorphosis* were on the curriculum.

300 Verse histories and epic poems seem to have been in vogue in Norway in the second half of the century, in translation and original creation, as illustrated by Gunnarssøn's *Chronicon regum Norwegiae* and Jens Nilssøn's *Elegidion* and *Idyllion*.

301 The Old Norse *Gyðinga saga* also contained material from *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* (Wolf 1995). In 1742, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) published, in Copenhagen, a Jewish history entitled *Jødisk historie fra verdens begynnelse fortsatt til disse tider* in 2 volumes (Bruun 1877).

302 A Jewish priest, scholar and historian, Josephus Flavius wrote extensively about the Jewish revolt in 66-70 AD when the Jews of Judea ousted the Roman procurator and formed a revolutionary government in Jerusalem. Josephus had been drawn into the conflict and was imprisoned. The Romans, under the command of Vespasian, the future emperor, vanquished the rebels. Josephus was released and joined the Roman cause. Other than *Bellum Judaicum* and *Antiquitates Judaicae* (20 volumes), he wrote *Contra Apion* (*Britannica* 2000, OLIS).

Jens Nilssøn (1538-1600)

Jens Nilssøn was one of Norway's most prominent members of the 16th century clergy. He was *rector* of the Latin school from 1563, when Denmark engaged in war with Sweden, and later bishop of the diocese (1580), and remained deeply involved in the daily activities and supervision of the students in years marked by disorder and instability. Half Danish and half Norwegian, he had been to school in both Roskilde and Copenhagen as a small child and acquired valuable personal connections in both countries. Jens Nilssøn was a man of many interests who dabbled in botany, physics, geology, medicine, astronomy, history and theology. He had studied under Rasmus Hjort (d. c. 1602), the Latin school's first reformed *rector* and one of the first humanists in Oslo. Jens Nilssøn functioned as *auditor* at the school during the years 1558 to 1562. For the benefit of his students he wrote a commentary on the first book of Genesis and translated Luther's catechism into Danish (Berggrav 1953).[303] He obtained a master's degree from the University of Copenhagen in 1571. Soon after, he was ordained priest in the Norwegian Lutheran Church (Ellingsen 1997, Berggrav 1953).[304] While in Copenhagen, he met Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) and developed a life-long friendship with the distinguished astronomer (Ellingsen 1997).

Jens Nilssøn's diocese was indeed a large one, as the diocese of Hamar had been amalgamated with that of Oslo after the Reformation. It comprised large parts of central Norway (Ellingsen 1997). During the seven-year war with Sweden (1563-1570) the town of Oslo was set ablaze. Life at the school seems to have been disrupted for a certain period, and Jens Nilssøn, like many others, took refuge from the war in remoter regions. During the winter of 1567-68, he withdrew to the district of Telemark—part of his diocese—and there came across and copied a medieval collection of texts entitled *Jofraskinna*, a supplement to the Old Norse sagas (Ellingsen 1997) containing mainly material from the *Heimskringla* (Jørgensen 1993). His personal copy is the only extant manuscript of this source text. The original was sent to the Royal Library in Copenhagen and perished in the 1728 fire. Bishop Jens appears to have nurtured a especial interested in books and old manuscripts and acquired quite a respectable private collection during his lifetime. His love of books prompted him to open Norway's first bookstore (Berggrav 1953). In addition to writing didactical manuals for the school and sermons for his services, Jens Nilssøn enjoyed composing Latin poetry, using themes from classical mythology.[305] The first—*Elegidion in obitum filiolae suae Catharinae*—was composed in 1581 when he lost his three-year old daughter, and *Idyllion de cordis humani pressura et anxietate* in 1586 when he was about to re-marry three years after the death of his first wife (Ellingsen 1997).[306]

---

303 Printed in 1605 (Bruun 1877).

304 A certain Jens Nielsen was immatriculated at the Catholic University of Leuven in 1552, and proceeded to study at Wittenberg in 1554 and Rostock in 1556. This may have been Jens Nilssøn (Helk 1987).

305 His visitation records and sermons were first printed in 1885 (Ellingsen 1997)

306 Both poems have been translated into modern Norwegian in 1929 by Charles Kent (new edition in 1959).

From the very beginning, Norwegian schools emphasized the importance of Latin rhetoric and poetic expression. The linguistic exercises imitated the classical Latin poets (Kvalbein 1970), and Latin poetry was fashionable. For the benefit of the students at the school, Nilssøn translated Luther's expanded catechism into Danish (Næss 1993, Bruun 1877) and produced *Historia regum Norvegiae*, published posthumously in 1606 (Bruun 1877). These two works, the vernacular catechism and the Latin verse history of Norway are his only known translations. His work is clearly indicative of the somewhat different humanism expressed by the schoolmen in Oslo. His translations reveal the evolution of humanism in Norway, from an initial vernacular undertaking in Bergen in the first half of the century to a Latin scholarly enterprise in Oslo towards the end of the Reformation century.

Halvard Gunnarssøn (1545-1608)

Lector at the Latin school in Oslo, Halvard Gunnarssøn became one of Norway's most prolific Latin writers, the author of no less than thirteen didactical manuals, scientific treatises, religious books and Latin poems. Most of his works were written for the students at the school, explaining the constant use of the Latin. Only a short question and answer book, *En liden Aandelig Spørgsmaalsbog* (Rostock 1602), was composed in the Danish vernacular. Gunnarssøn was continually preoccupied with the school's curriculum, and worked incessantly for the improvement of the students' welfare and motivation (Berggrav 1953). His Latin books were probably meant to remedy the insufficiencies of the school library. Both the school and the chapter were short on books (Ekrem 1992).

Life at the Latin school determined Halvard Gunnarssøn's mission and authorship. He had himself been a student there in the 1560s and knew the strengths and weaknesses of the institution well. He married *rector* Rasmus Hjort's daughter (Berggrav 1953). Rasmus Hjort (d. c. 1602), first *auctor* then *rector* of the school, and by many considered the first humanist in Oslo, and Jens Nilssøn were brothers-in-law (Ekrem 1992). Halvard Gunnarssøn had studied at Rostock (1566) at the same time as Tycho Brahe—Kepler's Danish teacher and Nilssøn's friend from the days in Copenhagen—and had spent time at the University of Copenhagen (1560) as well as in Wittenberg (1576) (Helk 1987). The friendship with Tycho Brahe was maintained throughout Gunnarssøn's life, and towards the end of his life he even published a treatise about the natural and physical sciences entitles *Physica* (Ekrem 1992).

Like many of his contemporaries, Gunnarssøn developed an interest in the nation's past and composed *Chronicon regum Norwegiae*, published in 1606. This chronicle was in essence an Latin abridgement of Mattis Størssøn's *Den Norske Kronike* from the 1560s, itself a summary of original Old Norse sources (Ekrem 1992), mainly *Heimskringla* and *Bergsbok* (Jørgensen 1993).[307] Gunnarssøn's Latin history of the Norwegian kings—by its verse expression and classical style—differs considerably from the colloquial vernacular prose of the Old Norse sagas (Ekrem 1992).

[307] He also published John Carion's world history in 1596 (Ekrem 1993).

In Oslo, the emphasis on Latin seems to have been omnipresent, indeed, and the saga material was translated into Latin rather than Danish, maybe with a broader dissemination in mind. This was perhaps the underlying motivation for Halvard Gunnarssøn, who had all his works printed in Rostock. What the humanists in Olso had in common with the first generation of humanists in Bergen was the preoccupation with and awareness of the historical past. By the end of the century the conditions under which the schoolmen worked had changed radically. Their expression was different. In Bergen, the national language had been at the fore as the texts were prepared for the civil administration of the Chapter at a time of great political and religious uncertainty, whereas in Oslo the medieval saga texts were translated primarily for the benefit of the students at the Latin school at a time when the Reformation was generally accepted and enforced in the entire country.

The Return to European Authors: Trondheim

> …Thi det er os alt for vitterligt, at (…) det Danske spraak efter Reformationen oc hen imod halfandet hundret Aars tiid, er meget blefvet forsømt, ja af mange foract.[308]
>
> (Christen Andersen Aarebo in Aarebo 1965: 6)

The school in Trondheim was Norway's oldest, established at the time of the creation of the archdiocese itself. As long as the royal court and the archdiocese both had their seats in the town in the 12th century, the town had been a busy religious and cultural center, the hub of the country. The cathedral housed the diocese's main educational institution, and this is where the best teachers worked. Many of the smaller churches in town did, however, dispense schooling from very early on, some as early as the middle of the 11th century. According to the legend, Olav Tryggvason (968-1000) built the first church in Trondheim. In medieval times, the town was Norway's richest and remained a vibrant center of cultural and religious life and commerce until the royal court settled in Bergen in the 13th century. The cathedral school dispensed teaching in the *Trivium* and probably parts of the *Quadrivium*, too (Øverås 1952).

The school in Trondheim, like most schools, managed to survive the reformation of the religious order in 1536 as well as the revision of the new school law in 1539, although the cathdedral had been ravaged by fire in 1531 and was partly in ruins as was the Bishop's residence. However, the Chapter was allowed to exist as in Catholic times, and the canons were granted the revenues of their altars as had been the practice earlier (Müller 1997).[309] The school did not have a separate building and up until 1500, the school was held in the church itself for lack of adequate accommodations. Nonetheless, the cathedral school in Trondheim was important as it had been the school not only of the Chapter but of the archdiocese itself. The Chapter of Nidaros survived but was not unscathed. The Archbishop had fled to the Netherlands and the bishop had been removed. However, most of the teachers remained and a certain magister Bernard was still in his old position in 1540. In Catholic times he had been *lector* at both the school and a nearby monastery (Østerås 1952).

The reformers in Denmark apparently understood the importance of maintaining the existing educational institutions and of disturbing the activities at the Norwegian schools as little as possible. As a result, until the middle of the 16th century, the number of students remained higher in the former archdiocese of Nidaros (Trondheim) than in Oslo. As in the other schools, Latin remained the principal language of teaching in the lower classes, and the only language allowed from the second *lectio*. As a sign of improving conditions, the cathedral school in Trondheim got its first *lector theologiae* in 1552 (Øverås 1952).

---

308 The author's son who re-published the *Hexameron* in 1661: "It is rather obvious that (…) the Danish language has been neglected, even held in contempt, during the one and a half century that has past since the Reformation" (my translation).

309 In this arrangement, the Chapter of Trondheim differed from that of Oslo, where the *Chapter* and not its clergy was granted the revenues of the former church properties.

When a new Lutheran superintendent was appointed in 1546, Trondheim had been without an ecclesiastical principal for almost a decade. This of, course, must have affected the school, as the bishop functioned as the main supervisor of the school (Øverås 1952). Torbjørn Olavssøn Bratt (d. 1548), the first Lutheran superintendent, came from the Northern regions, but was a learned man who had studied in Copenhagen, Cologne and Wittenberg, and held a master's degree from the latter (Helk 1987). The newly appointed superintendent traveled to Copenhagen in 1547 in order to obtain the necessary funds for the reconstruction of the cathedral and for the construction of a separate school building. His mission was only partially successful (Øverås 1952).

Although documentation is incomplete—much of the archives were destroyed in the wake of the Reformation—it is commonly believed that the school in Trondheim had five permanent teachers, a *rector*, one *lector* and three *auditores*, i.e. five levels of teaching in five classes or *lecties*. Magister Anders of Trondenes had been rector of the school in the 1520s. He probably assisted Hans Gås (c. 1500-1578) in the translation of the old Church privileges in the 1540s. Kjell Gås (d. c. 1564/67), the Bishop's son, became rector of the school in 1560. He had been to both the universities of Copenhagen and Wittenberg. During the seven-year war with Sweden (1563-1570), many of the young people in the district were forced into the Swedish occupation army and the activities at the school decreased. A royal decree of 1573 ordered the King's administrator, Ludvig Munk, to build a school house, implying that a separate building still had not been constructed. The county was to finance half the costs of the project (Øverås 1952).

Most students were poor and recruited from the peasant population. From 1568, twelve children received their meals at the King's residence. The duty to provide for a certain number of poor students was later transferred to the county administration, so that the county administrator became responsible for the general upkeep of twelve students. The intentions were good, but not really realistic as the revenues from church properties were insufficient and people's ability to pay tithes, taxes and duties was inadequate. Many students were reduced to begging during their time of leisure, known as "sognegang." The plight of poverty marked the school days of students in Oslo and Bergen as well, where begging was common, too. Nevertheless, a small number of Trondheim families were able to send their promising sons to study in Copenhagen. Peder Palladius mentions a Niels Mikkelssøn who was in his custody in 1558. By then, Niels had lodged with the Danish bishop for almost two years, showing Palladius' concern for the Norwegian students and the importance of supporting the recruitment and training of Lutheran clergy for service in Norway (Øverås 1952).

Little is known about the school and its masters during the Reformation century. However, there are indications that some of the people involved worked hard to improve the standard of the physical facilities and the qualification of teachers. Bishop Hans Gås wanted to support poor but talented students and recruit future clergy for the diocese (Øverås 1952). Like masterGeble in Bergen, Bishop Gås continued to work towards the recovery of the Church properties that had been confiscated by the Crown in 1536 in an effort to raise the necessary funds to support the school and its students (Bull et. al. 1923-1983). Probably inspired by Geble's

initiative, Gås had the old Christian privileges from early medieval times translated by *lector* Anders, looking for legal arguments for the return of revenue-yielding estates in the diocese (Ellingsen 1997).

The school struggled not only with poor finances but also with a general lack of qualified teachers, as did most Norwegian schools. Many parishes had to make do with clergy trained at the local Latin school, people with only rudimentary Latin skills and theological understanding. The first Lutheran *lector* at the cathedral school in Trondheim was Kornelius Klaussøn (d.1566), hired some time around 1552-53 (Øverås 1952). Absabn Pederssøn Beyer was offered the same position, but declined as he was emotionally attached to the school in Bergen, and by then had been appointed the King's personal pastor (Beyer 1928). In 1595, the Danish Peder Olufssøn Richter from Haderslev became the school's new *lector*. He had studied in Rostock and Wittenberg and was acquainted with Tycho Brahe, whom he had visited on the Island of Hveen in 1586-87. His appointment to the school signified a substantial improvement of its teaching capacity (Øverås 1952).

The schools in Bergen and Oslo boasted the greatest names of the Reformation-century Norwegian humanists. Nevertheless, the school in Trondheim gained significantly in quality as the century came to a close. Although not a humanistic center of the same scope and proportions as Bergen and Oslo, Trondheim still fostered people with the necessary education and intellectual curiosity to produce work in the spirit of the European humanist movement (Øverås 1952). In Bergen, the first humanists had concentrated entirely on the translation of the old legal texts and the sagas. Both the Old Norse and the Danish vernacular had enjoyed a strong position. In Oslo, as we have seen, Latin dominated literary production and the humanists associated with the school produced quite a number of works of poetry and treatises in Latin, as well as Latin translations and adaptations of various Old Norse saga material.

In Trondheim, humanists such as Anders Christensen Aarebo and Hans Mogensen returned to inter-vernacular translation and looked for inspiration abroad in the writings of French intellectuals. Despite their scope and interest in foreign literature, the diocese of Trondheim and the humanists associated with it never acquired the same status and recognition as their colleagues in Bergen and later Oslo. The Chapter nevertheless hosted two remarkable men with a special interest in European culture and religious trends. The Danish clergy in Trondheim worked in the vernacular and had their work printed in Denmark. Little is known of the dissemination of their translations at the time.

Hans Mogensen (1525-1596)

Hans Mogensen had become interested in authors on the Continent, especially the French historians. He had studied in both Germany and France and developed an interest in the literary and religious trends of these territories. Before being appointed Bishop of Trondheim in 1578, he had been professor of Greek and pedagogy at the University of Copenhagen and also worked as a parish priest in Denmark. His pastoral life was marked by his translations (Bull et. al. 1923-1983). His first translation, Philippe de Commynes' *Mémoires,* was completed in 1574. The

translation was not published then; it circulated in manuscript copies during the translator's time and was only published posthumously in 1605 by Arild Huitfeldt.[310] Four years later, Mogensen published *Den christelige trois Hoffuet Artickle*, a treatise on the main articles of the faith according to Luther (Bruun 1877, Helk 1987).

Philippe de Commynes' history was cherished reading in the 16th century, witnessed by its many reprints: more than thirty French editions have been identified. The first part of the history, containing the life of Louis XI, was published posthumously in 1524. The second part, about the deeds of Charles VIII, was released in 1528 (Nørlund 1913). The *Mémoires* were translated twice into Danish. The second translation was produced towards the end of the 17th century with Johannes Sleidanus' Latin translation as intermediary text. Sleidanus (1506-1556) had been one of Germany's leading reformed historians (Nørlund 1913).[311] Mogensen's translation of the *Mémoires*, the first Danish translation, was undertaken on the encouragement of a certain Bjørn Andersen (Nørlund 1913, Bull et. al. 1923-1983), and derived from an early French edition published by Jean de Selve.[312] Arild Huitfeldt (1546-1609)—royal chancellor, historian and occasional translator—wrote the preface to Mogensen's translation of Commynes that he published in 1605 (Nørlund 1913, Helk 1987, Bull et. al. 1923-1983).[313]

Mogensen, maybe as a result of his friendship with the widely traveled and knowledgeable Arild Huitfeldt, became truly attracted to the work and philosophy of the major medieval scholars and translated the *Testament of the twelve patriarchs* by Richard of Saint Victor (d.1173) in 1579 and had it printed in 1580 (*BIBSYS*, Bruun 1877).[314] The *Testament* was extracted from Richard's third book of the six-volume *De trinitate* which had been printed in Nüremberg in 1518 (Bull et. al 1923-1983, OLIS). Richard of Saint Victor was one of the first truly "humanist" theologians of the 12th century, and was William of Auxerre's (c. 1150-1231) teacher in Paris. He had studied under Hugh of Saint Victor, whom he succeded at the abbey school. Throughout his life, he maintained close relations to people of the Goliard movement.[315]

---

310 The reconstructed edition builds on three manuscripts, none of which are Mogensen's original, which has been lost (Nørlund 1913).

311 The Swedish translation in 1624 and the German version from 1551 by Caspar Haedio were both based on Sleidanus' Latin translation (Nørlund 1913).

312 An improved edition, revised by Denis Sauvage was published in 1551 and again in 1559 (Nørlund 1913).

313 Huitfeldt had translated, from Old Norse, in 1594, *Den Norske Hird-Skraa, eller Gaards Ræt, huor aff forfaris, huorledis Rigit vdi fordums Dage vaar Skickit, oc huorledis Kongerne vdi de Dage haffue huldit Hoff, etc*., i.e. the Old Norse law pertaining to property and ownership (Nielsen 1996). Huitfeldt (1546-1609) was a learned man with a good knowledge of European culture. He had studied at several foreign universities and traveled extensively with his brother Jacob and preceptor Hans Mikkelsen: Strasbourg 1562, Tübingen 1564, Strasbourg 1565, Orleans 1566, Bourges 1566, Copenhagen1568, Strasbourg 1568, Antvorskov 1585, Copenhagen 1595 (Helk 1987).

314 *De Tollf Patriarchers Jacobs Sønners Testamenter: huorledis de før deris Endeligt haffue lært, huer sine Børn Guds fryct, oc formanet dennem til it Gudeligt Leffnet* (BIBSYS).

315 Informal movement of young intellectuals, clerics and students, of which Pierre Abélard (1079-1142/3) and later Rutebeuf (c.1230-c.1280) were part (Favier 1999). The Goliards were quite a substantial group of predominantly anonymous thinkers connected with the University of Paris. They were the precursors of the Humanists of the Renaissance, and professed a secular, almost laic disposition, and were staunchly opposed to the abuses of the Church hierarchy, especially to the many transgressions of the monastic orders (Le Goff 1985). Richard developed a new speculative theory of the nature of divine love and the concept of free will, and saw no reason to avoid a rational examination of the Christian revelation, nor any reason to

Mogensen's work also includes *Assenaths (Josephs) historia*, a story of biblical origin. His translation of Philippe de Commynes' history acquired quite a readership once it was published (Bull et. al. 1923-1983).

Anders Christensen Aarebo (1587-1637)

Apart from some of the historians, the intellectuals were predominantly writing in Latin as the 16th century came to a close. Anders Christensen Aarebo (or Arrebo), Danish Bishop of Trondheim, returned to the vernacular, greatly inspired by contemporaneous European literature, and introduced vernacular verse to Norway (Næss 1993).He translated the Biblical epic *La première sepmaine ou La création du monde* written in 1578 by Guillaume du Bartas (1544-1590).[316] The Sepmaine was a commentary on the Book of Genesis. Aarebo's translation was completed but published only posthumously as *Hexaëmeron ou Les six jours de la création* in 1661. The text circulated widely in manuscript form and influenced significantly the poetic language of the 17th century (Næss 1993).[317] Du Bartas, a lawyer by profession, was a staunch Calvinist in the service of Henry of Navarre (1553-1610) and believed in a revision of the religious doctrine. *La première sepmaine ou La création* was composed in 1578. No manuscript of the original text has survived, but a series of printed editions are available.[318] The sequel—*La seconde sepmaine ou Les enfances du monde*, pertaining to the adventures of the descendants of Adam—was composed in 1584 (Bellenger 1981, Brunel 1972, Næss 1993).

---

ban Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics*. He expounded on his philosophy in *Summa super quattuor libros sententiarium*, as well as on *De quattuor gradibus charitatis* and *De Trinitate* (BIB.SYS, OLIS, *Britannica* 2000, Chavy 1988b).

316 This poem had also been amongst the Dutch translator Vondel's first translations shortly after 1610 (Delisle & Woodsworth 1995).

317 He also translated the *Psalms of David* into Danish (Ekrem 1992).

318 In 1581, Du Bartas published in Geneva a re-edited version of *La Première Sepmaine* including Simon Goulart's commentaries. 1578: Michel Gadoulleau (Paris), 1578: Jean Février (Paris), 1584: L'Angelier (Paris), 1584: D. Cotinet (Paris), 1581: Jacques Chouet (Genève) (Arsenal 8º BL 8898), 1611: Claude Rigaud (Paris) (Bellenger 1981).

Du Bartas was associated with the Protestant court of Nérac, where Marguerite of Navarre (1492-1549), herself interested in literature and translation, protector of humanists and translators, held court (Bellenger 1981, Prescott 1985).[319] The work of Du Bartas was well received by his contemporaries,[320] and for a while, after the publication of *La Seconde Sepmaine ou Les enfances du monde*, he enjoyed even more attention than Pierre de Ronsard (1524-1585). His didactical epic poem, marked by his religious conviction, was appreciated as an encyclopedic *summa*. His work was both instructional and scholarly and greatly influenced contemporary European writers such as Milton (1608-1674) in England and Vondel (1587-1679) in the Low Countries.

Contemporary French writers and philosophers also seem to have appreciated the value of his authorship. Diderot, for example, considered him one of the creators of modern French poetry,[321] almost on the same footing as Ronsard and Théophile (1590-1626) (Bellenger 1981).[322] Ronsard had undertaken *La Franciade* in 1572, an epic history of the French nation, four books written in deca-syllables, essentially a vernacular imitation of Virgil's *Aeneid* (Brunel 1972). Ronsard dreamed of creating a national epic in the spirit of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* of 1516, which had earned a considerable reputation in France during the 16th century. The project was, however, never completed, and Ronsard pursued other themes after the death of Charles IX (*Britannica* 2000, Bellenger 1981).

---

[319] Marguerite de Navarre wrote *Le miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, a pious Erasmian meditation, in 1533 (Prescott 1985). In 1544, Elizabeth I (1558-1603) gave her stepmother, Catherine Parr, her own translation of Marguerite de Navarre's mirror—*The glasse of the synneful soule* (King 1985). Elizabeth I read and spoke several languages and translated Boethius' *Consolatio Philosophiae* as a young girl. It is generally agreed that although she was fairly polyglot, she was not a great translator (Stevenson 1985). The 16th century was a century in which quite a number of (mainly noble) women with a humanist education gained access to the pen. Marguerite de Navarre, for example, wrote *Heptameron*, an imitation of Boccaccio's work (Brunel 1972).

[320] His work was printed in more than 42 editions (Bellenger 1981)

[321] Diderot (1971) *Oeuvres Complètes*, Édition Club Français du livre, Vol. VIII: 555.

[322] Other works by Du Bartas: *Judith*, *l'Uranie*, *Le triomphe de la foy*, *Poème pour la reine de Navarre* (Bellenger 1981).

By choosing Du Bartas' epic poem, Aarebo signaled a change of literary and religious focus, away from the hitherto purely Lutheran devotional literature, and onto the poetic pursuits of contemporaneous European poets and writers. The 16th century saw a flourishing of vernacular literature in both France and England, and Aarebo by his choice of author, showed a will to belong to a distinct European tradition. Through Du Bartas, Aarebo was instrumental in introducing not only vernacular poetry but also an exegetical tradition which had received little attention, if any, in medieval Norway. Exegetical works on Genesis had accompanied Christianity from the early days of the Church Fathers. The works on the creation most consulted by medieval exegetes were the Bible and the writings of the Venerable Bede.[323] Du Bartas revived the hexameral tradition and turned it into a vehicle for Calvinist cosmology. Religion was the focus of his exercise, and the choice of genre reflects Du Bartas's didactic intentions. Mixing the hexameron and the epic gave a voice to both the author and to the heroic characters. The vision of the universe and its creation reflects the commonly accepted geocentric view of the world, still valid 35 years after Copernicus (1473-1543).

The Protestant theologians in particular came to cherish the hexameral theme and developed it according to prevailing humanist ideas (Bellenger 1981). In Du Bartas, Aarebo saw the successor to an older *heroic* tradition in the manner of Homer and Virgil.[324] Aarebo has been considered by some one of the predecessors to the first truly great Danish-Norwegian author, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754), by turning to French contemporary literature after almost a century period of relatively exclusively religious influence from the German Protestant territories (Rossel 1994, Brandt 1882, Kvalbein 1970, Bruun 1877). The fact that this new literary and vernacular orientation occurred in the by then delapidated and culturally peripheral town of Trondheim, far away from the close-knit humanist circles of Oslo, is indeed remarkable, but highly illustrative of how intellectual life and production in Norway to a large extent depended upon the Danish-educated intellectual elite, almost a century after the Reformation.

---

323 From the time of Saint Ambroise (339-397) and Saint Basil (c.329-379), who elucidated the Book of Genesis (Giet 1950, Way 1963), a series of exegetical poems entitled "Hexaëmeron" had been written. In fact, Saint Ambroise was one of the first Church scholars to expound on the six days of creation (Grane & Hørby 1993). In England, both the Venerable Bede (c.672-735) and later King Ælfric (c.995-1020) delved into the subject-matter, as did the well-known Chancellor of Oxford, Robert Grosseteste (1168-1253) (Crawford 1968, Martin 1996, Dale 1982). In Scandinavia, the Danish Archbishop and medieval scholar, Anders Sunesen (c.1180-1223), a contemporary of both Robert Grosseteste and Hugh of Saint Victor, had studied at all the three most important universities, Paris, Bologna, and Oxford, and composed a handbook of Christian dogma in verse poetry with the same title (Grane & Hørby 1993). The oldest extant manuscript dealing with the hexameral theme dates from the 6th century (BNF).

324 "Dedicatio" in Bellenger 1981: 7-8.

Conclusion: Translation as a Quest for the Self

The Norwegian court moved to Sweden in 1319 when Magnus VII Eriksson, still a child, was acclaimed King of both countries. The two National Councils were to rule their respective countries until the King came of age. This union was the first in a series of alliances which would weaken the authority of the Norwegian National Council. The signing of the Kalmar Treaty in 1397 marked the *de facto* beginning of the end of national sovereignty, formally concluded in 1536.

The intellectual elite and the nobility had been decimated by the Black Death, which kept breaking out intermittently well into the 15th century, to a point where the country's leaders were no longer able to resist the political pressure from the neighboring countries. The Church was unable to ensure adequate schooling outside the main chapters. The cathedral schools lacked qualified teachers and tithes were hard to collect now that many farms were abandoned. The clergy, and what was left of the aristocracy, struggled to cope with degenerating social structures. Hence, the prescriptive and normative influence of schools in matters of orthography and correct language was significantly diminished, causing the rapid mutation of the national vernacular, which essentially was left on its own. The country lacked both people and money to continue literary projects. Original Norwegian productions and translation came to a halt, and by the 16th century, the national vernacular had roughly developed into the modern Norwegian dialects that we know today.

Whereas the channels to the continent had been *direct* in medieval times on both a political and religious level, the dependence upon Denmark increased in the 14th and 15th centuries. By the end of the 15th century, Denmark had become the gateway to the rest of Europe. Most Norwegian students passed through the University of Copenhagen—established in 1479—before enrolling at other European universities. The majority of Norwegian students studied theology, as there were few career options available for returning graduates. Most were destined for service in the Church and schools.

The inability to act independently made the country extremely vulnerable when the political climate in Denmark deteriorated during the decades leading up to the Reformation. The power struggle between the heirs to the Danish throne divided the Norwegian National Council. Archbishop Olav Engelbriktsson wanted a Catholic king, but met fierce opposition from mainly Danish-born civil administrators, such as the powerful Vincents Lunge who supported the Protestant faction.

The impoverished Norwegian dioceses lacked the means to effectively assist the Archbishop in his efforts. In Denmark, extensive translations of German Protestant literature had contributed substantially to broad popular support for the reformed message. In Norway, the situation was very different, and official reaction to the religious and theological questions that polarized Christianity in Europe was indeed scant. Many may have shared the Archbishops concerns, but few actually joined him in the struggle. In Norway, the clergy clearly had other, more immediate preoccupations.

The process that transformed medieval Norwegian society into the Lutheran construction of the early 17th century was the result of a series of smaller disruptions that continually weakened the authority of the National Council, culminating in two final events: the Reformation on the one hand and the formal annexation of the country by Denmark on the other. The National Council was dissolved. Both the Reformation and the subordination of the country were imposed upon the people and its leaders. It had not been prepared locally, but was the natural and inevitable outcome of the growing politico-theological conflict in Denmark. The introduction of the reformed doctrine necessitated a revision of the school curriculum and a gradual replacement of the old clergy by priests trained in the new doctrine. Yet again, Norwegian mentality had to be remolded. A re-charting of the course was called for.

In Denmark, the Protestant and Catholic factions each had their advocates, and theological pamphlets were written, translated, published and distributed. Massive translation of religious pamphlets into the vernacular from both Latin and German played a key role. The originally *theological* questions debated by Danish scholars grew into a conflict about *royal* succession, with three contenders fighting for access to the throne. The ancient principle of royal *election* still valid in Denmark made the process delicate and the decades leading up to the official introduction of the Reformation were particularly tumultuous. The University of Copenhagen closed in 1531 not to reopen until the New Church Ordinance had been adopted and firmly ratified in 1537. Consequently, a growing number of Danish (and a few Norwegian) students sought higher education at universities in the northern German regions, especially those of Rostock and Wittenberg where Melanchthon and Luther were the dominant authorities. This of course, further encouraged the reforming trends.

European humanism must be understood as a scholarly Latin phenomenon. Nevertheless, it engendered a parallel vernacular movement, and many texts, both philosophical and theological, were now being translated into national languages. The humanist movement was a truly international movement, bringing scholars together across the continent. For instance, there was direct contact between Danish scholars and Erasmus. Erasmus wanted a liberal yet Catholic reform in which faith and reason could be reconciled. He was to mark his times profoundly and both Geble Pederssøn and Christiern Pedersen were influenced by his work. Master Geble in Bergen was strongly inspired by Dutch humanism from his years in Leuven and Alckmar. Christiern Pedersen in Denmark was indirectly involved through his friendship with José Badé in Paris, who was a great friend of both Guillaume Budé and Thomas More, leading humanists and close friends of Erasmus. In Catholic times, Badé had been Pedersen's entry to the European intellectuals who most marked their time.

After the Reformation, the bonds to the Western centers of learning were severed as Catholics were barred from the country and Danish scholars turned collectively to the universities of the German territories. The indirect link between master Geble and Christiern Pedersen was the Danish reformer and first Lutheran superintendent, Peder Palladius, who assisted Pedersen in his historical research, procuring for him not only a manuscript copy of Saxo's Gesta Danorum, but also

excerpts of saga translations performed in Bergen. Knowledge and cultural influence operated in a true web of acquaintances on a number of levels.

The Reformation led to radical changes of Norwegian society. After the dismantling of the Archdiocese of Nidaros, the ecclesiastical administration and the National Council moved to Bergen, where shortly after, it was dissolved. Many pressing issues had to be addressed. All the dioceses were in dire financial straits. Revenues were inadequate because the King had profited from the turmoil surrounding the Reformation to confiscate most of the church's properties, further reducing tithes and taxes. Another issue was the abusive presence of the Hanseatic merchants who controlled trade and commerce along the coast. The Hanseatic League had set up a permanent *comptoir* in Bergen in the middle of the 14th century. German merchants dominated commercial life in Bergen, often by violent means, beatings and killings. It was widely believed that they were responsible for the general moral decay. The major concern therefore was to find ways to increase church revenues first of all in order to strengthen the religious and moral education of parishioners, and subsequently limit the humiliating privileges of the Hanse. In a context of growing frustration with the *status quo*, a handful of persons started reexamining the past in search of solutions to the most pressing social, political and economic problems.

A thorough examination of the ancient laws was undertaken by legal experts in Bergen's civil administration, by then the only people with the skills required to read and interpret the Old Norse texts. Their study of *Grágás* and other legal documents led to an astute awareness of the sovereign past and the inherited rights and privileges of the church. The rediscovery of the past was tinged with a certain amount of sadness and nostalgia, and fostered an interest in and a yearning for a national identity.

The translation of the legal texts led to a renewed interest in the Old Norse historical material and was the first enterprise of a budding humanist network. The translation activity in Bergen did not go unheeded by Danish historians. Through the city administration in Bergen, the Old Norse material in vernacular translation was made available to Danish historians, such as Christiern Pedersen and Anders Sørensen Vedel. Pedersen worked on the revision and continuation of Saxo's Danish history until he fell ill in 1544. He consulted excerpts from *Bergsbok*, *Fagrskinna* and *Heimskringla* when working on his supplements to *Gesta Danorum*. The saga texts must have been provided by either master Geble or Archbishop Erik Valkendorf (r. 1510-1522) whom Christiern Pedersen knew personally. When Christiern Morsing, professor at the University of Copenhagen, heard about the work performed in Bergen—probably from Christiern Pedersen or from Geble's friend, superintendent Peder Palladius—he became interested and commissioned Laurents Hanssøn to translate the Kings' sagas, a task he performed between 1548 and 1551.

Essentially a product of Dutch Catholic humanism, truly more inspired by Erasmus than by Luther, master Geble in Bergen represented both the old and the new order. He stands out as a transitional figure bridging the gap between the past and the future. He fostered a greater intellectual awareness in his students and worked relentlessly to improve the quality of the Latin school. He sent many of his

students to the University of Copenhagen or elsewhere, often paying himself for their upkeep and tuition, and arranging for their lodging with friends and acquaintances. Geble's personal involvement and financial support was indeed necessary, as the dispossessed diocese could not afford the expense of keeping students abroad.

Master Geble was a pragmatic man who worked to reconcile the ecclesiastic and secular authorities. He accepted the Reformation as a *fait accompli* and embraced it insofar as it promoted increased education of all classes. He was resilient and flexible and able to appreciate the real needs of his parishioners. Bergen was the only church administration that survived the Reformation reasonably unscathed. As head of the Chapter, Geble—for a while the only working superintendent in the country—sought the help of legal experts in an effort to establish and clarify the rights and obligations of the diocese in relation to the civil authorities. Jon Simenssøn, Mattis Størssøn, and Laurents Hanssøn worked in Bergen during the 1540s and 50s as *lagmenn*. They were professional lawyers, skilled in the old vernacular, and with a marked interest in Old Norse manuscripts. Geble had them translate the laws in search of arguments against the commercial rights of the Hanse first of all, but also of ways to recover some of the properties that had been expropriated by the Crown in 1536. He tried to find ways to finance, maintain, and improve the teaching dispensed at the Latin school.

Jon Simenssøn was the first to systematically study the Old Norse manuscript material. Oluf Torkellson, head of the diocese between 1523-1533, had also been familiar with certain Old Norse manuscripts, especially the historical sagas, but he had never attempted to translate any of the material in his possession. Simenssøn's work, on the other hand, helped those who wanted to study the nation's history and those who wished to find a solution to the monopoly of the Hanseatic merchants.

Absalon Pederssøn Beyer, master Geble's devoted stepson and protégé, the first reformed Norwegian humanist, never translated any saga material himself—in fact it has not been established whether or not he was able to read the old vernacular. He must, however, have read the material that was translated at the Chapter and used it as source material in his historical survey of the state of affairs in Norway, probably along with various Latin sources. In *Om Norgis Rige,* Beyer comments on contemporary political and economical issues. More than giving a chronological survey of historical events he tried to explain why things had evolved as they had. *Om Norgis Rige* is above all a very personal interpretation of the history of Norway, reflecting the mentality of educated people in the middle of the 16th century Norway. Beyer was certainly not the only one to feel nostalgic, although not of the old religious order as Christiern Pedersen seems to have been—he was always a staunch defender of the reformed faith. He was however the first Norwegian to put his feelings into writing, and in doing so he roused other people's interest in the past.

The fact that Beyer, a man of the cloth, wrote in the vernacular makes him stand out as almost "modern" compared to later Norwegian historians. He probably allowed himself to use the Danish vernacular as he had no plans to publish his writing, and may also have been influenced by the vernacular work of the translators. *Om Norgis Rige* was never printed but circulated amongst colleagues

and friends in manuscript form. The history of the diocese, *Liber capituli Bergensis*, presumably intended for use in the school, was his only Latin work. However, Beyer never finished the book and soon transformed it into his personal vernacular diary, recording daily events in Bergen. The diary is a precious source for understanding 16th-century Norwegian mentality.

Absalon Beyer's work was indeed modest in scope, but its personal, almost colloquial style nevertheless roused the curiosity of his readers and led to increased awareness of the past. The preoccupation with the past reflected the times and was not an exclusive Norwegian phenomenon. Many European scholars returned to the sources not only in order to re-establish "clean" authoritative Latin texts, but also to document and record the history of their respective countries. In Scandinavia, interest in the past had been kindled at the beginning of the century, when Gottfried of Ghemen published *Rimkrøniken* (1495) and Christiern Pedersen edited *Gesta Danorum* (1514). National history was once again brought to light.

Beyer was indeed the first to write a short history of Norway since the saga writers, and Bergen may have emerged as a new cultural center had the civil and church administrations remained in town. However, as things developed, no one seems to have been able to continue the work initiated there. Jon Simenssøn, like Beyer, died in 1575, and Mattis Størssøn had died previously, in 1569. As for Laurents Hanssøn, not much is known, but he seems to have been most active between 1548 and 1552.

Towards the middle of the century the Norwegian civil and ecclesiastical administration was moved to Oslo in order to be closer to Denmark and the king's administration in Copenhagen. This is where the Danish governor resided, and where the reformed humanism grew to maturity in all its Latin apparel. A humanist circle emerged around the Latin school, a small tightly knit circle of people with similar social background and scholarly training.

The intellectual milieu in Oslo had more people and was more productive than the one in Bergen from the middle of the century. The most prominent of the Oslo humanists was Jens Nilssøn, bishop of the diocese and *rector* of the Latin school in Oslo, a man of many interests: botany, physics, geology, medicine, astronomy, history and theology. Nilssøn wrote a *Historia regum Norvegiae* based on his manuscript collection. Luther's catechism and *Historia regum Norvegiae*, the first from Latin to the vernacular, the other from the vernacular to Latin, are his only known translations.

From the very beginning, Norwegian schools emphasized and trained students in poetic Latin and built their linguistic exercises on imitation of classical poets. During the seven-year war with Sweden (1563-1570) the town of Oslo was set ablaze. Life at the school was disrupted and many fled to safer regions.

Halvard Gunnarssøn, *lector* at the school form 1577, was the school's most prolific Latin writer who published all his work in Rostock. He, too, translated the kings' sagas into Latin as *Chronicon regum Norwegiae*. His use of Latin *verse* makes it hard to identify the prose source material of the *Chronicon*, but possible sources are plentiful.

The convergence of Norwegian humanists on the historical past in the Reformation century left little room for foreign literary material of any genre. The

study of history and the translation of Old Norse texts can be seen as a relatively safe intellectual activity in a time marked by theological and political uncertainty. The clergy had to convert, liturgical rites had to be adjusted, and the parishioners indoctrinated in the new faith. As most of the Roman Catholic clergy remained in their positions, the process of conversion was understandably slow. But because most of the clergy were allowed to continue in their pre-Reformation positions, the process was indeed a smooth one, with very few counter-reformatory efforts. Little resistance to the new doctrine has been recorded, and the opposition encountered seems to have been the initiative of individual clerics operating in isolation rather than as members of a strong united organization.

Almost the entire Reformation century had been dedicated to exploring the nation's not so distant yet sovereign and glorious past. Only towards the end of the century do we see a change of direction and a more extraverted attention. The Renaissance term of *ad fontes* found its own expression in the North. European humanism was rooted in a need to re-establish the authoritative texts of Christianity which had been corrupted by generations of commentaries, glossing and compilation. The concern was for the *auctoritas*, the quest was still universal *truth*.

Translation in Denmark had been a concerted intellectual effort which paved the way for the reformed faith in both countries: It embraced and assimilated the *other*. It signified the intentional reconciliation with the *other*. The situation was quite different in Norway where the historical texts dominated the scene. The sources were re-examined to restore ancestral civil and ecclesiastical rights. Translation in the first half of the 16th-century Norway must, to a large extent, be seen as a *reaction* to the privileges of the German merchants and the negative consequences of Danish rule.

Translating the old texts led to an awareness of past autonomy and a wish to reconstruct the national identity. As it were, Danish rule was accepted because it was needed. It was, in many ways, inevitable. However, the Norwegian national identity did not disappear in the union with Denmark. Instead, it was considerably strengthened during the Reformation century. Norwegian humanism examined the *present self* in view of the *former self*. *Translatio studii* in the first Norwegian Renaissance in Bergen, became an *intra-lingual* transfer of knowledge between different stages of *self* in an effort to limit the negative consequences of the presence of *other*. And to some extent the scheme worked. By the middle of the century, the Hanseatic merchants were obliged to respect Norwegian law, and clergy and administrators—a new class of people of mixed Norwegian and Danish descent—had started building a nation based on new doctrinal rules, in short staking out a common course in unmarked territory.

Towards the end of the century, the Lutheran doctrine had been effectively implemented in the whole of Scandinavia. The counter-reformation had failed and time was ripe for new influences from abroad. The Danish-born Hans Mogensen, Bishop of Trondheim towards the end of the century, translated Philippe de Commynes' *Mémoires*. This rather subjective history of Louis XI and Charles VIII represents the only foreign vernacular history translated into the vernacular during the Reformation century.

At the beginning of the next century, Mogensen's successor, Anders Christensen Aarebo, turned to contemporary reformed authors from the French territories, translating *La sepmaine* by Guillaume du Bartas. This translation marked the beginning of a new era for literature in the vernacular in Norway. It was the first timid incursion into French territory before Ludvig Holberg started composing satirical comedies in the spirit of Molière.

General Conclusion

Translation is the result of cross-cultural interrelation, and has existed for as long as people have sought trade partners or territory outside their own communities. Along ancient commercial and medieval pilgrim routes, people of different origins and linguistic groups met and interacted. Translation in the Middle Ages and Renaissance must be understood as knowledge transfer in a broad sense, with translators as cultural intermediaries at the interstice of linguistic and cultural borders.

Translators work between languages and cultures, they are intermediary cultural actors, the physical carriers of discursive knowledge and cultural traditions. Languages and cultures are static in the sense that they cannot move from one community to another on their own. *People* bring language, culture, and written texts when they move across cultural and linguistic borders. Translators make *translatio studii* happen. In medieval times, knowledge migrated with wandering scholars and students. In Norway, the first Christian texts were brought in by missionary bishops from the British Isles. The earliest Christian translations must have been parts of the liturgy and the main articles of faith.

Translation presupposes linguistic and cultural borders and the interaction of at least two cultures. Theoretically, translation presupposes boundaries that can be defined. However, linguistic borders are not always easy to establish. Boundaries between cultures can be unclear and shifting. Sometimes cultural and linguistic borders are clear-cut lines that physically and geographically separate communities, sometimes they exist within a given community. National borders have fluctuated as wars have moved frontiers back and forth, and many cities have been and still are home to more than one ethnic group. Moreover, linguistic borders may exist as social boundaries within a community.

Translation requires people who are able to move between different cultural groups, people who are able to understand other communities and communicate across linguistic borders. In many instances, models for interpersonal uni-lingual communication can be applied to the translation process.[325] The problem of inter-lingual communication lies in the existence of multiple realities, in the opposition between latent and manifest expression, between external and internal realities, not within one conceptual framework, but across conceptual borders. Translation defined as knowledge transfer across linguistic and cultural borders presumes a dissociation between language and knowledge. In medieval times, a dissociation between Latin and knowledge was a revolutionary (and dangerous) thought, an acknowledgement of linguistic evolution and historical change, a thought which challenged the established perception of the universe as an unchangeable and completed creation. The notion of *translatio studii* eventually opened up for the vernacular as a scholarly expression.

Some people move between languages and cultures on a daily basis. Like all medieval clergy, that of Norway shifted between their native vernacular and the

[325] "En communiquant par le langage, on associe toujours une formulation à une idée: en traduisant on fait de même. C'est pourquoi la langue étrangère est plus un obstacle à surmonter qu'un objet à traduire" (Marianne Lederer in Delisle 1980: 95).

Latin expression of their occupation for which they had been trained and conditioned. The ecclesiastic orders were exclusive societies within popular society. They occupied an inter-lingual but intra-cultural *space*, and, in many ways, can be considered representatives of the *other* within the *self*.

Historically, translators have been people from a variety of professions. Very few indeed were full-time translators. However, their professional training as clerics (brother Robert), mathematicians, economists, physicists and philosophers (Nicolas Oresme) tradesmen (William Caxton), teachers (Jacques Lefevre d'Estaples) or diplomats (John Hookham Frere) made them move between cultures. Translation and interpretation was a natural part of their daily activities. They were bilingual or polyglot conveyors of culture.

To look at translation in a historical perspective allows us to go beyond the individual translator and examine how different cultures interrelate and how new ideas and paradigms are imported, accepted, and assimilated by a target audience and readership. In a medieval context, the degree of cultural interrelation and assimilation depended to a great extent on the level of education of the main actors. It is probably correct to assume that the educated elite absorbed imported abstract notions to a greater degree than the lower classes. People connected with the Norwegian medieval royal court or the Church were more influenced by the cultural and social models introduced in literature imported from the French-speaking territories than the general population, because they had more opportunity to hear it read, or could read it themselves, and because they wished to emulate the courteous ideals conveyed by the texts.

Medieval translators have frequently been eclipsed from the process of knowledge transfer and are often impossible to identify. The conviction in medieval times that the *inherent truth* was what really mattered—not the text in itself or the human author—often obscured the people who wrote, compiled, translated, or conveyed texts. The *purpose* of a given text/story mattered more than its actual degree of factual veracity. Once a story had been written down or translated, it could (and usually did) start a life of its own: it was copied and recopied, and disseminated as an original piece of writing. The translator was often lost in the process. As the translator disappeared, the subjective element of the translation was lost, too. Without information about the translator, we will never know for certain what moved him to translate in the first place. We can only see the translated text and its influence and status in a defined context, and speculate. Was the translator given the task, did he take the initiative himself, was he a man of the cloth or a secular person? The unanswered questions are many; nevertheless, anonymous translators leave their mark, and their anonymity does not diminish the importance of their work.

Translation in medieval Norway marked and supported societal changes. Knowledge transfer occurred on different levels, at different intervals, and with varying speed. Change means disruption and discontinuity, not necessarily simultaneous at all levels. Some segments of the population assimilated the new ideas faster than others. The introduction of Christianity was a major disruption, a break with the past, radically altering the organization of religious life and civil order. A new mentality was called for, and translation of texts from Christian European traditions was undertaken in order to achieve the change of direction. The

importation of foreign court literature and devotional texts influenced Norwegian literary production, style, and language in an unprecedented way, and produced a unique literary style, the Old Norse courteous style that reached maturity in the 13th century. The translations produced under Håkon Håkonsson and his grandson Magnus were performed with determination and skill by people who had a good knowledge of the major European *auctores*, both secular and ecclesiastic. These people, for the most part associated with the ecclesiastical orders, operated at the interstice of three cultures, working hard to inform and manipulate a target audience and readership of non Latin- and non-French-speaking lay people.

The demographic devastation of the Black Death meant the disappearance of a whole class of intercultural people who had been able to reduce and bridge the cultural gap between Norway and other European countries. The pestilence reduced the population to a degree that was unequalled in a European context, and put an effective stop to whatever intellectual life had survived the royal court's move to Sweden. Increasingly, the country became dependent upon the political, economic and intellectual events of Denmark, and the translation activity there.

Sustained contact with foreign social and literary models in medieval times had greatly influenced the national vernacular and native literary production. The subsequent lack thereof in the 14th and 15th centuries had as much influence on the evolution of the national language. A growing number of Danish administrators became the concrete link between Norway and European culture. In the 16th century, the enforcement of the Lutheran doctrine signified the final break with the old order and formalized the economic and political dependence upon Denmark. Norway ceased to exist as a sovereign state and became part of the Danish kingdom. Certainly on an official level, the two cultures were being brought together. The Norwegian upper classes emulated the Danish upper classes and frequently married into them. The degree of assimilation depended, however, on social adherence and status. The language of the upper classes increasingly distanced itself from the vernacular of the general population.

In the Reformation century, two cultural borders needed negotiation. In Denmark, the focus was on the writings of the neighboring reformed German territories. In Norway, the attention was first and foremost on the Old Norse heritage. In both cases, cultures met, either coexistent expressions, or expressions of the same society but at two different stages of evolution. The intra-lingual translation performed in Norway in the first half of the Reformation century shared many characteristics with inter-lingual translation, inasmuch as the old language no longer was understood by the general population and conveyed values, notions, and knowledge that had been lost. The phenomenon can be compared with the translation from Latin into the vernacular that took part in Italy, Spain, and France in the Renaissance.

Both inter-lingual and intra-lingual translation mean the systematic encounter with *other*. The encounter with the foreign in Norwegian medieval times helped create a new mentality, a new perception of *self*, it helped forge a national identity. As part of the Christian world, medieval Norway had wanted to assimilate the *other*. In the Reformation century, on the other hand, the introduction of *other* made people think of how things had been before. The rediscovery and translation of

Old Norse material, especially the historical sagas and law collections, resulted from a concerted effort to resist and protect *self* from *other*. This introverted focus of attention was to mark the century. The imposition of *other*, the formal annexation of Norway by Denmark in 1536 and the abolition of the Norwegian National Council, marked the beginning of a new political era and renewed interest in the preservation of *self*.

Translation in Denmark in the 16th century served a clear religious and political purpose; the introduction and implementation of the reformed doctrine and the settling of the dispute over royal succession. In Norway, translation was primarily initiated in response to political events in the decades leading up to and immediately following the Reformation, the events over which the Norwegian clergy had little control. The abusive presence of the Hanseatic League in Bergen and the problems caused by Danish administrators who sided in the ongoing political conflict in Denmark influenced the translation activities initiated at the Chapter. An initial examination of Old Norse legal and historical texts was performed not at the request of a patron or a readership, but because the civil and ecclesiastical administrators sought solutions to a number of social and economic problems disturbing daily life in the city.

By the end of the 16th century, translation no longer served a political or religious agenda, and the interest in Old Norse decreased somewhat. History was still a popular subject, but the urgency had disappeared now that most of the material existed in modern vernacular. The Lutheran doctrine had been successfully implemented throughout the country, the counter-reform had failed, and translation as an activity had mutated into an intellectual exercise and tool used in the acquisition of good Latin. It had become an almost exclusively academic occupation, defined and performed by people associated with the Latin schools, whose ideals were the eloquence and refinement of the Classical authors.

In the beginning of the 17th century, time had finally come to resume contact with the literary production of linguistic and cultural territories beyond the Protestant sphere. Once again, the experience of *other* came into focus; the attention turned outwards. Aarebo's adaptation of Du Bartas' *Sepmaine* represents a first incursion into French contemporary literature, an emulation of the French author's epic *Hexaëmeron*. Literature from the French-speaking territories increasingly influenced the (scant) native literary production in the coming centuries. In the 18th century, Ludvig Holberg (1684-1754) produced a series of comedies in the spirit of Molière (1622-1673), caricaturizing and castigating contemporary society, playing on the ambitions and aspirations of a growing middle class.

Originally from Bergen, Holberg spent most of his adult life in Copenhagen. As a Norwegian post-Reformation author he stands alone, a solitary creator of witty comedy in the spirit of the best French playwrights, unequalled in Denmark as well as in Norway. Only in the 19th century does Norwegian literature emerge with renewed energy, echoing and emulating European Romanticism, yet developing its own brand in which the national once again competes with the universal, a romantic literature in which *other* is measured in terms of *self* rather than the opposite.

The history of translation in Medieval and Renaissance Norway illustrates the relationships with the foreign and external as well as important internal factors

and the perception of *self* in relation to *other*. The definite extraverted activities of the Middle Ages highlights the national as much as the introverted rumination over tha past in the 16th century. The *self* evolved as a result of sustained contact with the foreign in medieval times and reasserted itself through self-examination in the 16th century. In both periods, translation was a key to this evolution of the national.

Part V: Appendices

Appendix 1: Norse-Icelandic Historical Sagas

Texts by known authors:

Priest **Sæmundr**Sigfússon (1056-1133): **Noregs Konungstál*
Priest **Ari Þorgilsson** (c.1067-1148): *Íslendingabók* (c.1122-32) and **Konunga ævi*
Eiríkr Oddsson: **Hryggjarstykki* (c.1160). This text is referred to and adapted in both *Morkinskinna* and *Heimskringla*.
Abbot **Karl Jónsson**: *Sverris saga* and **Skjoldunga saga*, the earliest parts of *Orkneyinga saga*.
Oddr Snorrason: *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar* (between 1190-1220)
Gunnlaugr Leifsson: *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar* (between 1190-1220)
Styrmir Kárason: **Óláfs saga helga* in *Flateyarbók* (c.1210-25)
Snorri Sturlason (c.1178/9-1241): *Heimskringla* and *Olafs saga helga* (1225-35)
Sturla Þórðarson (Snorri's nephew): **Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*
Theodoricus Monachus: *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* (c.1170)

Sagas by unidentified or presumed authors:
Ágrip (*af Noregs konunga sógum*) (c.1190)
Historie Norwegie (maybe 1152/3), possibly by Eystein Erlendsson (d.1177) who came to Nidaros in 1150 as King Inge's personal chaplain, bishop 1161-1188 (*Diplomataroum Norvegicum XVIIb*)
**Catalogus regum norvagiensium*
**Middle saga* (c.1200)
**Hlaðajarla saga*
Morkinskinna (c.1220)
Orkneyinga saga
Færeyinga saga
Jómsvíkinga saga
Fóstbræðra saga
Fagrskinna

(Texts marked with an (*) have been lost.)

The list is based on:
Andersson 1985, Arnamagnæan Institute's website, Benediktsson 1968, Driscoll 1995, Einarsson 1985, Ekrem 1999, Faulkes & Perkings 1998, Holtsmark 1978, Indrebø 1936, Jonsson 1932, Koht 1950, Kolsrud 1913, Steinnes 1965, Unger 1847 & 1867.

Appendix 2: Latin and French Chivalric and Romance Literature in Old Norse Translation

A) Translations of various Latin source texts, including *Matière de Rome*:

Alexanders saga – About Alexander the Great. Translated after the death of Håkon from a Latin text by Gautier de Chatillon (12th), the style is "Latinized." Translated under Magnus the Law Mender (1263-1280). The text was included in the Norse version of *Vitae Patrum* (Halvorsen 1959, Tveitane 1968, Togeby 1975).

Amícus saga ok Amilíus. Translated from a Latin text after the reign of Håkon (Togeby 1975).

Breta sögur – A translation of Monmouth's *Historia regum britanniae* (Venås 1962, Gravier 1972, Barnes 1987).

Clarú saga – Translated into Old Norse by the Icelandic bishop Jon Halldorsson (d.1339) in Bergen around 1300 (Venås 1962, Kalinke 1985, Tveitane 1968).

Pamphilius ok Galathea – 2nd half of the 13th century. A translation of the Latin *Pamphilius de amore*, narrating the seduction of Galathea by Pamphilius. The story is written as a dialogue and was included in the Norse manuscript containing *Strengleikar* along with *Elis saga*. Marks a return to Latin sources after almost 30 years of translating French texts (Togeby 1975, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Samsons saga fagra (The Story of "Fair" Samson).

Trójumanna saga (The History of Troy). Translated from a Latin manuscript (Togeby 1975).

B) Arthurian material:

Erex Saga (*Erec et Eneide*). Written by Chrétien de Troyes around 1170. One of four romances by Chrétien that were translated into Old Norse. The emphasis is on the *mirror* aspects of Chrétien's poem, and the translation conveys a concern with regal and chivalric propriety. In Old Norse it became almost a *prince's mirror*. A rather voluminous poem (Zinc 1975, Barnes 1987, Kalinke 1981 & 1991).

Geitarlauf (*Chèvrefeuille*). Part of *Strengleikar*. One of the only two *lais* that are, strictly speaking, of Arthurian origin, the other being *Januals saga* (*Lanval*) (Kalinke 1981).

Ívens saga (*Yvain, ou le chevalier au lion*). The original French text was composed by Chrétien de Troyes between 1170 and 1180 and translated into Old Norse at the request of Håkon Håkonson sometime around 125057 (Halvorsen 1959, Togeby 1975, Zinc 1975, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Janual (*Lanval*). Part of *Strengleikar*. Quite a risqué tale about a queen who attempts to seduce one of Arthur's knights (Kalinke 1981).

Möttuls saga (*Le mantel mautaillé*). The tale of the disconcerting consequences of a chastity test at the not so "courteous" court of King Arthur. This anonymous story, by some attributed to Marie de France, belongs in part to the tradition commonly referred to as the *matière de Bretagne*. The text was translated for amusement and laughter and was the only Old French *fabliau* to be translated into Old Norse (Halvorsen 1959, Zinc 1975, Kalinke 1981 &1991).

Parcevals saga. Translated from Chrétien de Troyes' romance.

Tristrams saga ok Ísönder – Translated by Brother Robert in 1226 (Kalinke 1985a, Marchello-Nizia1995).

Valvens Þattr (The Story of Gawain). This saga derives from Chrétien de Troyes' romance, and was probably translated during the reign of Håkon Håkonsson (*†attr* means part of book").

C) Matière de Bretagne*:*

Möttuls saga (*Le mantel mautaillé*). A *fabliau* of Breton origin. See above.

Strengleikar (The *Lais* usually attributed to Marie de France) composed sometime between 1160 and 1170 (Laurion 1997). The sequence of the Old Norse *lais* differs somewhat from that of Marie's collection in the Harley manuscript. *Strengleikar* contains 21 stories with a Prologue:

Forræða (Prologue). The translator's intention to use the collection of *lais* as a *mirror* is quite explicit (Barnes 1987).

Guiamar. In 1979, a new manuscript of the *Guiamars saga* came to light, older than the manuscript preserved in the De La Gardie collection (Uppsala). This new text reveals a more faithful translation of the original French *lai* and helps clarify hitherto problematic passages in the extant Norwegian text (Kalinke 1991).

Eskia (*Fresne*). The text has survived in two French manuscripts.

Equitan. This *lai* has an explicit exemplary function. The rather lengthy epilogue condemns the vices of cupidity and injustice. Latin quotes and reference to biblical stories echo the style of the *King's Mirror*, promoting the virtues of fidelity and humility (Barnes 1987). This *Lai* presents many features of the *fabliau* (Cook & Tveitane 1979).

*Bisclaret***.** The story known as *Tiodels saga* is believed to be a variation on the same theme (Kalinke 1991). The word "Bisclaret" is a loanword, one of the few Celtic words in *Strengleikar*, and means "werewolf" (Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Laüstik. "Laüstic" is a Celtic loanword meaning "nightinggale."

Desire

*Tiodel***.** An Icelandic adaptation of *Bisclaret* (Kalinke 1991).

Chevotel (*Chaitivel*).

Doun (*Doon*). Preserved in French only in the Paris manuscript (Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Tveggia elskande lioð (*Deus amanz*).

Gurun [326]

Milun (*Melion*).

Geitarlauf (*Chèvrefeuille*). One of the only two *lais* that are, strictly speaking, of the Arthurian tradition, the other being the *Januals saga* (Kalinke 1981). See above.

*Strandar strengleikar******

Leikara lioð (*Le lai du Lecheor*). Old French sources tell of Norwegian jongleurs (leikarar) who performed *lais* to musical accompaniment. The French manuscript of Marie's *lais* depicts on the first page a jongleur with a vielle—or a "fele = violin" called *gigja* in Old Norse—playing before a king (Cook & Tveitane 1979). The Old French word *iugleur* is translated *Leikarar*, showing that the jongleur or jester was a known figure in the North. Saint Pantelion was the jongleurs' patron saint (Venås1962, Cook & Tveitane 1979).

Janual (*Lanval*). Quite a risqué tale about a queen who attempts to seduce one of Arthur's knights (Kalinke 1981).

Jonet (*Yonec*).

Naboreis

*Ricar hinn gamli****** (King Richard the Old = Richard II)

*Tveggia elskande strengleikar**-

Grelent **(***Graelent*).

---

[326] Four of the 21 *lais* in the Old Norse *Strengleikar* have no known French originals: *Gurun*; *Stranda strengeleikr*; *Ricar hinn gamli*, and the second *Tveggia elskande strengeleikr* (Cook & Tveitane 1979, Kalinke 1985).

D) The Cycle of Charlemagne and *Chansons de Geste*

Karlamagnús saga. Translated around 1250. In this Old Norse *saga* the *Chanson de Roland* and *Le pélérinage de Charlemagne* were combined in one story. The story of Charlemagne was translated in several stages. The first stages are prior to Håkon Håkonsson, i.e. early in the 13th century. There are several parallels between the earliest Norse Charlemagne tradition and the first *Konungesögur*. The book contains 10 *chansons de geste*, of which the *Chanson de Roland* became the more popular (Venås 1962, Togeby 1975, Lönnroth 1975, Kalinke 1981).

Runzivals Þattr –Translated just before 1100, this saga is the earliest Old Norse *Chanson de geste*. A prose translation of the verse original, it recounts the most famous story of the adventures of Charlemagne (Halvorsen 1959, Lönnroth 1975).

Elis saga ok Rósamunde (The story of Elie de Saint-Gille). *Chanson de geste* of non-Arthurian origin. An good example of the true Old Norse "court style" (Halvorsen 1959). The preserved manuscript dates from c.1270. Translated from Old French (Togeby 1975, Cook & Tveitane 1979, Kalinke 1981 & 1991).

Flóvent saga – Translated around 1250 – *Chanson de Geste* from the Anglo-Norman English court literature (Togeby 1975).

E) Others:

Bevis saga – Beuve de Hantone. A later style (Togeby 1975).

Dínus saga drambláta (Dinus the overly confident).

Þiðreks saga. Translated c.1259. A compilation of the legendary tales about Dietrich von Bern. One of the few inputs from German literature (Togeby 1975, Kalinke 1981).

Flóres saga ok Blankiflúr (*Flores et Blanchefleur*). Of the later romances, from a Mediterranean tradition, and not of Celtic origin. This romance became extremely popular. The Old Norse text dates from the end of the 13th century or the beginning of the 14th century. Its popularity persisted throughout Europe, and Gottfried of Ghemen published it in 1509. One of the two last Old French texts (the other is *Partalopa*) to be translated at the Norwegian court in Bergen (Bruun 1877, Halvorsen 1959, Togeby 1975, Kalinke 1981, Barnes 1987).

Jóns saga leikara (John the *jongleur*'s saga).

Olíf ok Landres. Translated after Håkon (d. 1263) from an Anglo-Norman text (Togeby 1975).

Partalopa saga – Translated c.1250 (Togeby 1975).

Valdimars saga – Epic poem about the Danish King Valdemar Sejer (1131-1182).

Information extracted from:

Barnes 1987, Bruun 1877, Cooke & Tveitane 1979, Halvorsen 1959, Kalinke 1981, 1985a & 1985b, 1991, Laurion 1997, Lönnroth 1975, Marchello-Nizia 1995, Togeby 1975, Tveitane 1968, Venås 1962, Zinc 1975, and Koldsrud 1913.

Appendix 3: Biblical, Religious and Devotional Texts in Old Norse Translation: The Main Texts

The selection presented is not exhaustive, but lists the main texts in Old Norse translation. This short list aims at illustrating the scope of translation of religious and devotional texts in medieval Norway. Parts of the liturgical texts used during Mass, especially the *Credo* and *Pater noster*, must have existed in Old Norse from quite early on, probably as early as the 11th century, as they were amongst the first to be translated by the missionary bishops. When identified, the translator is given.

Barlaams saga ok Josaphats (first half of 13th century). Preserved in Manuscript No. 6 Fol. in the Royal Library, Stockholm (Rindal 1980, Halvorsen 1959, Astås 1990a).

*Book of Psalms***.** Quotations in Old Norse from the *Book of Psalms* are found in the Vienna Psalter, Cod. Viund. 2713, AM 241a fol. (Uecker 1980).

Elucidarius (c.1200). This text has survived in four more or less complete manuscripts: AM 674a 4º is the oldest; AM 675 4º, originally part of *Hauksbók* (AM 675, 4º) by Haukr Erlendsson (d.1334); AM 544; and AM 238 fol. XVIII. Honorius' work was popular medieval reading along with the Vincent of Beauvais *Speculum maior* (Firchow 1992).

Gyðinga saga (c.1257-63) by Brandr Jónsson (c.1200-1263). Preserved in five more or less complete manuscripts: AM 226 fol., the more complete manuscript from the middle of the 14th century; AM 225 fol.; AM 655, 4º, XXV; AM 238 fol. XVII, and AM 229 fol. IV (Wolf 1995). The original titles used were *Historia Judaica* in AM 435a, 4º, and *Historia Macchabeorum* in AM 654, 4º. As these titles outline, the Old Norse story of the Jews was based on the Books of Machabees (Kirby 1986, Wolf 1995).

Heilagra manna sögur (c. 1250-1300) based on *Vitae patrum*: AM 225 fol. (Unger 1877, Tveitane 1968).

Humiliúbók (c.1200) AM 619, 4º. This manuscript is a copy of an earlier collection (maybe even a copy of a copy), and some of the mistakes and omissions are the result of the copyists' oversight or misunderstandings. It is interesting to note that the translator has kept the original Latin titles for most of the entries, and that only two chapters have Old Norse titles (27 og 31) (See Indrebø 1931, Seip 1952b, Salvesen 1971).

- Cveðiu-sending Alcuni diaconi (Greetings from Alcuin (735-804)
- De nativitate domini sermo (Sermon on the Birth of the Lord)
- Sermo ad populum (Sermon for the people)
- In nativitate domini nostri Jesu Christi sermo. Omelia Gregorij (Sermon on the Birth of our Lord Jesus Christ)

- Sermo de sancto Stephano martire (Sermon on Saint Stephen, the first martyr)
- Sermo de euuangelistis. In die sanct Johannis (Sermon on the evangelists. On Saint John the Baptist's Day)
- In die sanctorum innocentium secundum Matheum. Omilia (On the Innocent Children's Day According to Matthew) (28th december)
- In circumcisione domini nostri Jesu Christi sermo (Sermon on the Circumcision of our Lord Jesus Christ)
- In epiphania domini sermo necessaria (Indispensable Sermon on the Epiphany of the Lord)
- Secundum Matheum. In epiphania. Omilia (According to Matthew. On the Epiphany. Homily)
- De ammonitione bona (On good advice)
- Purificatio sancta Mari(a)e sermo (Sermon on the Purification of Saint Mary)
- Euuangelium (About the Sow-Man)
- Sermo ad populum (Sermon for the people)
- In capite ieiunij sermo (Sermon on the Beginning of Lent, i.e. Ash Wednesday)
- Dominica palmarum sermo (Sermon on Palm Sunday)
- De die sancto pasce sermo ad populum (Sermon for the people on Holy Easter)
- Sermo necessaria (Indispensable Sermon)
- In ascensione domini nostri Jesu Christi. Sermo ualde necessaria (Very important Sermon on the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ)
- In die pentecostén sermo (Sermon on Pentecostal Day)
- In dedicatione tempeli sermo (Sermon on the Consecration of the Temple)
- In dedicatione ecclesie sermo ad populum (Sermon to the people on the Consecration of the Church)
- Admonitio ualde necessaria (Very important advice)
- In inventione sancte crucis sermo (Sermon on the Discovery of the Holy Cross)
- In die sancti Johannis baptiste (On the Day of Saint John the Baptist)
- In die sancti Olavi Regis et martiris (On the Day of Saint Olaf the Martyr)
- Her segir fra Jartæinum hins hælga Olafs konungs (On the Miracles of the King and Saint Olaf)
- Sermo de sancta Maria (Sermon on Saint Mary)
- In exaltatione sancte crucis (On the Glorification of the Holy Cross (14th September)
- Admonitio ualde necessaria. Sanctorum Angelorum. In die sancti Michaelis (Very important advice. The Holy Angel. On the Day of Saint Michael, First Part)
- Inserted leaves: Messuskýringar (Explanations of the Mass). Setningr um prefatior (Sentences about the smallest assistance admitted to

Mass). Sermo ad populum ualde necessaria. (Very important Sermon for the people)
- Admonitio ualde necessaria. Sanctorum Angelorum. In die Michaelis (Very important advice. On The Angel Saints. On the Day of Saint Michael, Second Part)
- In die omnium sanctorum sermo (Sermon on the All Saints' Day)
- Sermo de decimis (Sermon on the Tithes)
- Visio Sancto Pauli apostoli (The Vision of Saint Paul the Apostle)
- Oratio dominica (The Lord's Prayer)

Mariu saga (the life of the Blessed Virgin) c. 1250 or earlier. There existed many different Mary legends, also in Old Norse, amongst others *Transitus Mariae* (Unger 1871, Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963).

Placitusdrápa (early 14th century). One of the more popular medieval legends. Old Norse translations are preserved in AM 655, 4º and AM 644, 4º as well as in the fragmentary AM 673b, 4º from around 1200 (Tucker & Louis-Jensen 1998, Astås 1970).

Soliloquium de arrha animae (translated sometime in the second half of 13th century). The Old Norse text has been preserved in AM 544, 4º, as part of *Hauksbók* (AM 675, 4º), and in two fragmentary texts: the AM 696 XXXII, 4º and AM 696 XXXIII, 4º. The large composite *Hauksbók* has survived in two parts, the first containing *Landnamabók* (about the settling of Iceland) and *Kristnissaga* (about the Christianisation of Iceland). The second part, in which *Soliloquium de arrha animae* figures as *Viðræða líkams ok sálar* in ff. 60-68 also comprises *Trójumanna saga, Breta sögu, Merlinúspá, Fóstbræðrasaga, Eríks saga rauða* and *Voluspá* as well as a mathematical treatise called *Algoritmus* (Harðarson 1995).

Stjórn (c. 1300) contains historical passages of the Old Testament and the Proverbs used mainly as *exempla*. The texts were probably translated sometime in the beginning of the 14th century and have been handed down in the following manuscripts: AM 226 fol. and AM 227 fol. (Astås 1983, 1985a & 1985b, Kirby 1986, Wolf 1990). Much of the historical material in the Bible was translated into Old Norse (especially *Stjórn*) during the 13th century, in company with *Vitae Patrum* (*Heilage manna sögur* c.1250-1300), as well as many Latin church songs, and *Elucidarium* by Honorius Augustodunensis (Kirby 1986, Tveitane 1968, Firchow 1992). *Stjórn* contains translations from the following books of the Old Testament (heavily interspersed with interlinea commentaries): Pentateuch (Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy), Book of Joshua, Book of Judgment, Book of Ruth, Book of Samuel (I), Book of Samuel (II), The Kings (I), The Kings (II) (until Nebucchodonosor in Chapter 24). C. R. Unger (1862) *Stjórn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra verden skabelse til det Babylonske fangenskab*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmarks Forlag.

Visio sancti Pauli.. Two distinct Old Norse versions have been preserved—one in the Old Norse *Humiliúbók,* AM 619, 4º and the other in AM 624, 4°. The first version deviates considerable from the Latin standardized text, and in fact resembles more Hugh of Saint Victor's *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, meaning that it is more a debate between the body and the soul, than a traditional *Visio*. However, both texts belong to the same medieval visionary tradition (Tveitane 1968, Seip 1952b).

Information extracted from:

Astås 1970, 1983, 1985a & 1985b, 1990a, Firchow 1992, Halvorsen 1959, Harðarson 1995, Hope 1972, Indrebø 1931, Kirby 1986, Rindal 1980, Seip 1952b, Tucker & Louis-Jensen 1998, Tveitane 1968, Uecker 1980, Unger 1862, 1864, 1871, 1877, Widding & Bekker-Nielsen 1963 and Wolf 1995.

Appendix 4: Sixteenth-Century Danish Translators and Translations

The translators have been listed in alphabetic order. Orthography as in the sources and not according to standardized modern Danish. Only translations by known Danish translators are included. As a prolongation of medieval textual tradition, both the original author and the printer remains anonymous.

BARSBYL, Anders (..) – 1554: Jo Spangenberg's "En kort Vnderuisning om en Christen Ridder, med huilke Fiender hand skal stride," printed in Wittenberg.

BORGSMED, Peder – 1530: "En liiden Indgangh vdi Schriffthen som førsth bleeff udsadt aff Tydesk paa Swensk wedt mester Oluff," From German (Johan Toltz).

FLEMLOSIUM, Pet. Jac. (…) – 1575: Simon Musæus' "Nyttig Vnderuisning oc goode Raad, aff Guds Ord imot den melancholiske Dieffel," printed in Copenhagen.

FØERD, Claus (…) 1570: "Kannst Christelig oc vel at døe. Disputatio imellom et siugt Menniske oc Fristeren (Juone Barschampe)," printed in Copenhagen.

GRYDERUP, And. R. (…) – 1577: *Argumentum indubium* (Hemmingius) as "Et vist oc fast Tegen, huorpaa huer kand kiende sig selff, huad heller hand er Guds Barn eller ey."

HANSSØN, Rasmus (Reravius) – 1572: "Trøst oc Husualse aff Guds Ord for siugelige Dannequinder oc Berselquinder vdi deris Bedrøffuelse oc Fødselsnød. Vdtagen af C. Spangenbergi Brud Predicken oc vdsæt paa Danske ved Rasmus Hanssøn Reravirus (Cyriac Spangenberg). 1572: "Postilla eller Hustavle," printed in Copenhagen. 1574: *Passional* (Luther) as "Formaning til vor Herris Jhesu Christi Pines oc Døds Historie," printed in Copenhagen. Reprinted in 1575. 1581: "Nogle Vdvalgte Sententzer oc Trøstesprock aff Scriften huilke D. Mart. Lutherus brugte, oc derhos Forklaring paa en Text aff s.Povels Epist. Til de Thessal. Skreven hr. Peder Skram til Trøst (Luther)," printed in Copenhagen. 1585: "Postilla eller Forklaring offuer Euangelia, som almindelige om Søndage oc andre hellige Dage predickis i den Christne Kirke. Vdsæt aff Rasmus Hanssøn Reravirus (Niels Hemmingssøn)," printed in Copenhagen. 1597: "Sorgfulle oc bedrøffuede Hierters Vrtegaard etc… Vdsat paa Danske aff Rasmus Hanssøn Reravirus," printed in Copenhagen.

HELIE, Paul (Povl HELGESEN) (…) – 1526: Een Christelig Vnderuisning paa the thy Gudz Budord" by Luther, printed in Rostock. 1534: (1) "Een kortt Vnderuisning til een Christelig Foreening oc Forligilse amod huess wchristelig Twyst oc Twedrackt, som nw haffuer i wor Tiid skiørdet then menige Christen Kirckis eendrektige Samfwnd (Erasmus)," printed in Roskilde. (2) "En Christelig oc nyttelig Bog om Kongens, Furstens, Riigis, Landtz oc Stænders Regemente, kaldett en Christelig Furstis Wnderuisning oc Lære (Erasmus)," printed in Roskilde. 1530: "Brev imod Præsters Ægteskab," translated from Latin? Or German? Unknown author. Maybe himself.

HEMMINGSSØN, Niels (1513-1600) Danish theologian. Wrote in Latin, but was extensively translated by his contemporaries into Danish. See Niels Lauritzen and Jacob Ulfeldt.

H.J.W. (?) – 1529: "Forkortninger om de Begæringer, som staa i Pater Noster (Luther)."

HUITFELDT, Arild (..) – "Den norske Hird-Skraa, eller Gaards Ræt, huor aff forfaris, huorledis Rigit vdi fordums Dage vaar Skickit, oc huorledis Kongerne vdi de Dage haffue huldit Hoff, etc. Vdsat af gammel Norske paa Danske af Arild Hvidtfeldt (from Old Norse)." Printed in Copenha gen.

JØRGENSEN, Niels (15..) – 1581: Excerpts of *Lærde Mænds Scriffter*: "En nyttelig, kaart oc enfaaldig Trøstescrifft, med huilken Guds Børn kunde trøste sig, naar deris gode Venner døer fra dem." 1585: *Antidotum*: "Lægedom, Trøst oc gode Raad imot atskillige Fristelser. Scriffuet paa Latine; nu forbedret oc udset paa Danske ved Niels Jørgenssøn (Hieron Vellenus)." 1587: Translated an explanation of Luther's Catechism written in German by Jørgen Walter. 1597: "En vis oc ret Affregning oc Bescriffuelse om alle haande Mynt og Maade i den Hellige Scrifft," by Henrik Bynting.

LANGE, Margrete (…) – 1608: "En meget skøn Tractat om et Christeligt Liff oc Leffnet. Nu fordansket av franszøske ved f. Marg. L."

LAURENTSEN, Peder – 1536: *Profeti* by unknown author

LAURITZEN, Niels (15..) – 1595: "Den Lærdom om Guds Naade… (Niels Hemmingssøn) from Latin. An explanation of Saint Paul's Epistle to the Romans (Chs. 9-11). 1586: "Jesus Syriach's aandelige oc naturlige Lægedom oc Raad, huorledis it Christet Menniske skal skicke sig udi sin siugdom oc all annen Nød oc Modgang."

MATTZSØN, Jacob (…) – 1592: "Et rigtig Christelig Leffnitz Begyndelse, fordansket aff Jacob Mattzøn (Jo. Børner)." Printed in Copenhagen.

MIKKELSEN, HANS, 1524: *New Testament* based on Luther's translation of 1522.

MICHELSØN, Niels (Aalborg) (…) – 1519: "En Christelig Betænkning om Mænd maa flye for Døden (Luther)." Translated from German.

MOGENSSØN, Hans (…) – Bishop: 1578: Translated Luther's "den Christelige Trois Hoffuet Artickle." 1574: Philippe de Commynes' histories of Louis XI (1423-1483) and Charles VIII (1470-1498).

NILSSØN, Jens (1538-1600): *Catechismus* (Luther). Published posthumously in 1605.

NIELSSØN, Lauritz (c.1540-1622). 1602: "Det Bref som Studenter af Dannemarkis oc Norigis Riger, werende Vdenlands, haffuer till de Professorer i København skreffuet a.o. 1602, 1 oct. paa dansk udsat…" from latin, by himself (Pater Laurentius Norvegus). Printed in Brunsberg.

PALLADIUS, Niels – 1541: "En liden Bog, som indeholler den rette Skelsmysse mellom den rene Christelige Euangeliske Lerdom oc den vgudelige papisteske Lerdom (Melanchthon)." Printed in Wittenberg. 1546: "En almindelig Form som bruges i Wittembergs kircke effter alle Predicken." Printed in Wittenberg.

PALLADIUS, Peder (1503-1560): 1537: "Dend Lidle Danske Catechismus (Luther)." 1538: Luther's "Enchiridion".[327] 1539: "En Ordinantz hworledis Kirketienesten skal holdes udi Danmark oc Norges Riger." Printed in Roskilde by Hans Barth, and in Copenhagen by Vingaard in 1542. 1541/1542/1544: "Bedebog" av Luther. 1550: "Nogne deylige Sprock aff den Hellige Scrifft," by Vitus Theodorus.[328] Printed in Copenhagen. 1555: Melanchthon's "En merchelig Tractat, om de dødes Oppstandelse." 1557: Prefaced a publication of the Psalms of David. Printed in Wittenberg.

PARVUS, Petrus Rosæfontanus (…)[329] – 1539: "Postilla offuer de Søndagis Euangelia, som falde om alt Aaret. Vdsæt paa Danske aff Petro Parvo Rosæfontano (Ant.Corvinus)." Printed in Roskilde by Hans Barth. 1543: "Tractat om det ypperligste i den hellige Scrifft" (A summary of biblical texts by Robert Estienne).[330]

PARVUM, Matthiam Rosæfontanum– 1535: "Huorledis Loven oc Euangelium skulle adskilles." Printed in Copenhagen by H. Vingaard. 1544: "Siælens Lægedom for de Karske oc Sywge i disse farlige Tider oci dødz Nød." Printed in Copenhagen. Reprinted in 1641. 1543: "Denne Bog eller Tractat kortelig i een Sum befatter alt som det ypperligste oc, mæst besynderlige, som den Hellige Scrifftis Bøger indeholde." Translated from French Unknown author. Printed in Copenhagen. 1544: "Siælens Lægedom for de karske (Urbanus Rhegius 1489-1541).[331] Printed in Copenhagen by H. Vingaard. 1546: "En kort Cathecismi Wdleggelse screffuen aff doctore Petro Palladio for Norske Sogneprester." 1550: "Nogne deylige Sprock aff den Hellige Scrifft for en bedrøffuit Samwittighed beskickede alle Christne til Trøst (Vitus Theodorus)."

---

[327] Means "handbook". Also the title of one of St. Augustine's texts.

[328] Lutheran Pastor in Nuremberg c.1538 (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

[329] I have not been able to find the Danish name for the 2 Parvums (-or Parvus), Peder and Mathias, from Roskilde in the lists, but from their activity and parallel time spans (c.1530-1550) I believe that they may be brothers or otherwise related.

[330] Extracts from a *Summarium* by Robert Estienne (1503-1559), the imperial printer under François I (1494-1547) and Henri II (1519-1559). A staunch Protestant, Estienne had to take refuge in Geneva in 1551 (Grane 1979, Chavy 1988).

[331] German reformer and evangelical publicist. His "De 12 Artickle af vor christelige Troe med Forklaring" was translated and printed in Rostock in 1528.

PEDERSEN, Christiern (1480-1554) – 1510: Vocabularium ad usum Danorum," printed in Paris. 1514: "Historica Danica" by Saxo Grammaticus; "Vor froe Tider… Corrigeret af mester Christiern Pedersen;" 1515: Peder Laale's *Parabolæ:* "Peder Laales ordsprog." 1515: "Alle Epistler oc Euangelia som lessis alle Søndage om Aaret, sammeledis Juledag, Paaskedagh, Pingetzdag, meth deris Vdtydning oc Glose oc eth Jertegn til huer dag (*Jærtegnpostillen*)." Printed in Paris. 1517: "I denne Bog leris at høre Messe." Printed in Paris. 1529: The *New Testament*, reprinted in 1531. 1531: "Om Børn ath holde til Scole (Luther)." 1531: "Davids Psalmer." Printed in Antwerpen. 1531: "Huorledis et huert Christet Menniske skal bere sit Kaars met Jhesu Christo vaar Herre och Frelsere. Vdset paa Danske af Christiern Pedersen og prentet i Andorp (Luther)." Printed in Antwerpen. 1531: "Om vaar Herris Død oc Pine, oc om Billede." Printed in Antwerpen and "corrected" by C.P. 1531: "Den rette Vey til Himmerigs Rige (Luther & Urbanus 1523)."[332] 1531: Luther's "Huorledis huert Menniske skal betencke vor Herris Død oc Pine, oc hennis Kraft oc Mact, Fruct oc Godhed," printed in Antwerpen. 1531: "Om Ecteskaff oc Børn ath opføde Gud til Loff och Ere." 1533: "Hundrede och halvfierde Sindz Tiwe merkelige och ret Christelige Spørssmaall met deris Swar (Johann von Agricola's (1492-1566);" "En nøttelig legebog faar fattige oc rige Vnge oc Gamle om atskillige Siwgdomme…;"[333] "170 Spørgsmaal med Svar (Malmø)." 1534: "Karl Magnus Krønike." 1534: "Olger Danskes Krønike." 1534/1535: "Om den gamle Gud oc om den nye Gud, om den gamle Tro oc om den nye Tro, om den gamle Lerdom oc om den nye Lerdom, och huorledis alt Affguderi er først opkommet." Printed in Malmø by Jo Hoochstraten.

PEDERSSØN, Jo (..) – 1595: "Vaag op: om denne vor siste Tids syndige Leffnit oc Vilkaar, sampt nogle Vnderlige Ting oc Tegen, som sig her vdi Landet paa en kort Tid tildragit." Unknown author. Printed in Copenhagen.

PEERSEN, Jens (…) – 1531: "Disputats om Christelig Vnderuisning". Unknown author. Printed in Viborg by Hans Vingaard.

POVELSEN, Hans RESEN (1561-1638) – 1610: "Den gyldene Griff paa Bibelen, oc den gyldene Fader vor etc (Hieronimus de Ferraria (1452-1498)." Printed in Copenhagen.

SADOLIN, Jørgen (d.1583)– 1529; "Then Christelig Troes bekendelse (Luther)." 1529: "Summa paa al vor Saligheds Lærdom (Joh. Bugenhagen)." Printed in Viborg. 1530: "Twende Beslutninge met nogle Christelige Raade aff Gudz Ærdt, om Egteskabff…(Luther)." Printed in Viborg by H. Vingaard. 1532: "Lille Katekismus (Luther)." Printed in Copenhagen by H. Vingaard. 1533: "Then Christelige Troes oc Lærdoms Bekiendelsse som bleff indført føre høybornste Stoermechtig Keyser Karl (The Augsburghian Confession)." Printed in Copenhagen by Hans Vingaard.

---

[332] This text was translated into English by the Scottish John Gau (1493-c.1553) as *The richt way to the kingdom of heuine*. The text was probably one of the first Protestant writings in Scotland (Brandt 1882)

[333] A translation of the medieval Danish physician Henrik Harpestreng's (d. 1244) *Liber herbarium* (Brandt 1882).

SCHRIEK, Chr. (Chr. Skrok) – 1538: "En Sermon huorledis man skal berede sin Hw til Døden. Fordansket aff Chr. S. (Luther)." Printed in Copenhagen by Hans Vingaard.

SIUNESEN, Hans (15..) – 1552: *Tobiæ Bog* (*Book of Toby*).

SKRIVER, Niels – 1530: "Aandelig Almanak" (not preserved)

SMALTING, Georg (…) 1533: The *Psalms of David*. Printed in Magdeburg by Hans Walther.

SMITH, Henrik (15..) – Translated all of Luther's prefaces to the *Old* and *New Testament*

TAUSEN, Hans (1494-1561) – 1528: "Her haffue wij bodhae edt onkelight Klawaemooll… huorledes then Herre Jesus Christus beclawer… (Luther)." 1535/1536/1537: The *Old Testament* into Danish. 1538: "Oeconomia christiana… d.e. En Christelig Hwsholdning, hworledis hwer maa met Guds Frycht tage waare paa det hannem tilhør, effter sith Kaldt (Justus Menius)." Printet in Rostock. 1539: "Wor Herre Jesu Christi hellige Passies oc Pinsel." Printed in Magdeburg. 1552: "Pater Noster.. kortelig forklaret." Printed in Wittenberg.

TIDEMAND, Peder (15..) –1539: "Jerusalems Forstyrrelse." Printed in Magdeburg.[334] 1539: "Dommernes Bog" (*Book of Judgments*). 1541: "Salomonis Wiished till Tiranner" and "Jesus Sirach." 1543: "En liden Bog der det gantske Christelige Leffnet er kortelig befattet wdi nyttelig at haffue altid for Øyen at betracte (Melanchthon)." 1543: "Om Guds grumme Straf oc Vrede (Caspar Huberinus)." New edition in 1548. 1552: *Pater Noster* with explanations. Also translated *Hortulus animæ* by some attributed to Nicolas de Leuze (d.1589) of Leuven (Chavy 1988) as "Siælens Vrtegaard, med deylige, lystige Figurer, oc Kalendario." 1556: "Børnepræ diken om de besyndeligste Høytider (Vitus Theodorus). Reprinted in Magdeburg in 1569. 1560: "Vdleggelse paa Søndagis Epistler, som læsis fra Aduente indtil Paaske (Jo. Spangenberg)." 1564: "Huspostille offuer alle Søndagers oc de besyndeligste Høytiders Euangelium det gantske Aar igiennem, met xiij Predicken offuer Christi Pines Historie (Luther)." 1569: "Postilla. Vdleggelse paa Søndagis oc hellige Dagis Epistler oc Euangelier, som læris det gantske Aar igennem i den Christne Forsambling (Jo Spangenberg)." Printed in Lübeck.

TRUELSØN, Jens (…) – 1593: "Om de hellige Engle, om Dieffuelen, oc om Menniskens Siæl. Tre skiønne Predicken, med Ph. Melanchthonis Definition oc Forklaring. Fordansket af Jens Truelsøn Hæmnense." Printed in Copenhagen.

---

[334] Inspired by Torquato Tasso (1544-c.1595), Italian poet and author of *La Gerusalemme liberata* (c. 1575). Tasso's poem was widely translated throughout Europe (Chavy 1988) and derived from the story of Godfrey Bulloigne (1060-1100)—*5 cantos*— one of the first rulers of Jerusalem following the First Crusades in 1099 (*Catholic Encyclopedia* 1999).

TURZON, Joen (d.1577) – 1577: “En Aandelig Recept, Præservativa oc Lægedom, huorledis it Christet Menniske skal skicke sig imot Døden. Vddragen af den Hellige Scrifft, oc nu fordansket af Joen Turzøn. Met en Kaart Vnderuisning af D. Luthero, om mand maa fly for Døden (Hieronimus Veller).” Printed in Copenhagen.

ULFELDT, Jacob (1535-1593) – 1573: “Mange deylige Sententzer og Sprock aff den Hellige Scriffts Udlæggelse, huilke den værdige D. Martin Luther haffuer screffuet i sin Bibel… (Niels Hemmingssøn).”

VENUSIUS, Jonas Jacobus (15..) – 1599: “Om Christi Effterfølgelse, oc huorledis wi skulle forsage all Verdens Forfengelighed (*De imitatio Christi* by Thomas of Kempis).” Printed in Copenhagen.

VINTER, CHRISTIERN. 1524: *New Testament* based on Erasmus’ 1516 version.

WORMORDI, Francisco (Frands Vormordsen) (…) – 1528: “Davids Psalmer” printed in Rostock. 1534: “En oc Tiue de alder skøniste oc hugsualeligste Artickle… aff den hellige Scrifft.” 1537: “Lille Danske Catechismus, Huilken aff alle Sogneprester effter Predicken for Almuffwen fortellis scall (Luther).” 1537: “Aarsager, for huilke Protestanterne ikke vilde møte paa Konciliet i Mantova,” unknown author, maybe himself. Printed in Copenhagen by Hans Vingaard. 1537: “Lille Cathecismus (Luther).” 1552: “En skøn liden Bog, Vddragen aff den hellige Scrifft oc aff nogre Vdkorne Dauids Psalmer (A prayer book).” Printed in Lübeck.

Information extracted from:

Bruun (1877), Nielsen (1996) and Brandt (1850).

Appendix 5: Texts in Illustrations

Letters in brackets do not appear in the manuscript text and indicate space-saving abbreviations. Medieval writing and copying comprised a number of more or less standardized shorthand techniques used to save costly parchment or vellum. These space-saving techniques—which were quite elaborate when it came to the Latin—were transferred to the Old Norse, however in a much smaller scale.

Figure 2: From the *Lai of Desiré*, preserved in the De la Gardie Collection in Stockholm (DG 4-7 fol. 30r.), from capital Ð to capital Þ. The text has been extracted from Cook & Tveitane 1979: 114-116. The *Lai of Desiré* does not figure in the Harley manuscript, and therefore cannot be positively attributed to Marie de France. Quotation marks have been added for clarity.

Nu sem herra Desire heyrðe þessi orð hen(n)ar. Þa let h(ann) hana vera kyrra. En mæren ran(n) þingat sem frv hen(n)ar var i liosvm loftskala & halladezc hon at ein(n)i fagre reckiv. Hvitillin(n) er a la reckiv(n)ni. var gorr af tveim dyrvm pellvm. & iaðaren(n) umhv(er)ius laufv(m) saumaðr. En fir(ir) he(n)ni sat su hi(n)n friða mær. er Desire hafðe þangat leit(t). Sem han(n) stoð fiarre. Þ(a) kallaðe mæren a h(ann) & mællte: "Þu maðr, kvað hon, lit hingat & se þ(at) sem ec hét þér. Tac her un(n)dir laufo(m) þessum. Þa frov er þu satt alldre friðare an(n)lit. alldre sva fagrar hen(n)dr ne sva vel vaxne armleg(g)i ne sva friðan licam. í klæðom lagðan . ne friðare hár . ne hœgre at han(n)dla . ne betr saman(n)di kvenman(n)z hofði . með sva fogrvm harfletto(m) . alldre var on(n)vr istra frið alen ne fœdd. Nv hevi ec leyst mik," kvað hon, "af þui sem ec hét þér. Gac nu fram & óttazc ecki. ei skortir þec reysti ne drengskap." Sem h(ann) hafðe heyrt orð hen(n)ar þa gec h(ann) þangat & festi þan(n) goða hest sin(n). Þegar sem hin(n) rica mær leit h(ann) . þa flyðe hon brot(t) or laufskala sinv(m) & komz vn(n)dan þangat sem skogrin(n) var þiuckaztr. En herra Desire oflugr & diarfr & hin (n) skiotasti a fœti . gat þegar tekit hana i hœgre hond hen(n)ar . & mællti til hen(n)ar bliðvm orðvm & hogværo(m). "Þu hin friða," kvað h(ann), "rœð við mec. hui flyr þu un(n)dan mér með sva mikilli ras. Ec em ein(n) riddare fœddr í þessu fylki ec skal þin(n) vera un(n)aste. Ek skal astsamlega þiona þér at eignazc astar þocca þin(n). Eftir ollum mætti minv(m)." Mæren þegar hin kurteisasta laut h(onu)m & þaccaðe . & sagðe at ho(n) hafnaðe honu(m) ecki ne nitti þui er h(ann) hana bæðe & iattaðe h(onu)m með goðvilia & staðfestv astar sin(n)ar . & leco þau sem þeim licaðe. & var h(ann) þar mioc lengi með hen(n)i & fór nauðigr ifrá hen(n)i. En hon gaf honu(m) þa um siðir leyui. & sagðe h(onu)m & synde. hvar h(ann) skylldi mega rœða uið hana. "Unnasti goðe," sagðe hon, "Desire þu skallt nu fara til K(al)a(ti)r. en ec skal fa þér fin(n)gr gvll mit(t) . & gæt þess vel . er ec vil þer nu segia . at þu villizc ei af an(n)arra kven(n)a astom Un(n) vel & trvlega þ(eir)re sem þu villt kosit hafa. En ef þu gætir þess ei. Þa man(n)tu tyna fingr gvlleno. En ef sva ber(r) at. at þu tynir þui. Þa fær þu þ(at) alldre oftar. sacar enskis lutar er þu kan(n)t at gera. Ger nu vel, kvað" hon, "& lat ei falla

ferð þina & skun(n)da til Kalatirs. Þui at fyr(r) en þutoct at un(n)a mer. Þa vartu lofsæll af reysti þin(n)i & riddara skap & atgerðum. engvm riddara samir at fyr(ir)lata fegrð sina sacar kven(n)a asta." & fœrðe hon þa fingrgullit a fingr hans. Siðan kysti h(ann) hana. & hellt hen(n)i i faðm sinv(m). & skilduzc þau þa með mikilli astsemð.

(For an established English translation, see Cook & Tveitane 1979: 114-116).

Figure 3: The Sacrifice of Abraham in *Stjórn*. AM 227 fol. The text corresponds to *Genesis*, 22:1-19. The Old Norse text was edited by Unger in 1862 and can be found in Unger 1862: 130. Quotation marks for clarity:

ON: "Abraham. Abraham." Hann suaradi. "Ek er til reidu." "Tak þu sun þinn Ysaach. Þann sem þu elskar," sagði Gud. "Ok far til sionar landz. Ok offra mer hann þar a einu þi fialli sem ek mun þer syna…"

E: "Abraham. Abraham." He answered, "I am at your service." Take your son Isaac, the one that you love," said God, "and go to the mountains and sacrifice him there on the mount that I will show you…" My translation.)

Figure 4: The Fall of Jericho in *Stjórn*. AM 227 fol.

The text corresponds to the Book of Joshua, 2: 1-2. The Old Norse text was edited by Unger in 1962, and can be found in Unger 1862: 351. Quotation marks for clarity.

ON: H(er) send(er) Josue menN sina i Jiericho at skoða l(an)dzlegh. Þa er Josue var í þeim stað er Sathim heit(er), sende h(a)N .ii. men fra h(er)budum leynlega yfer Jordan at skynia ok skoða landzlegh ok niosna ef þeir neði borg Jericho er stoð a vollunum odru megin aarinnar…"

E: Here Josua sends his men to Jericho to spy. When Joshua was in the town called Sathim, he sent two men from his camp secretly over Jordan to reconnoiter and look at the terrain and determine if Jericho was supported by strong walls or other fortifications.

Figure 5. From *Elucidarium*. AM 674a, 4º: 8-9

The **Old Norse** text has been edited by Firchow in 1992: 6-8. Orthography with aspirated *Þ* in all positions. Standardized Old Norse uses þ in the beginning of words, ð within and at the end of words. Small capital N means double n. Sometimes the double N stands next to a single n. Starting in the second line:

… Alt g(er)þ(er) þu í speke G(uðs) (You made everything in God's wisdom).

D: Vas h(on)o(m) duol necq(ue)r at scapa eþa scapaþe h(ann) alt seN ? (Did it take him long to create everything or did he create all at once ?)

M: Aei-no avga b(ra)gþe scapaþe h(ann) alt seN sem ritet er. Saes eiliv(er) scapaþe alt seN. EN h(ann) scifste ollo íhlute á .vi. dogo(m) hofoþ scepno(m) .iii. daga en aþre .iii. Þei(m) hlutom es fvr iNnan hofoþ skepnorero. EN fvrsta dag scop h(ann) eilifs dag þ(at) es andlect lios & alla andlega skepno. Annandag scop h(ann) him(in) þa(nn) es skilr lica(m)lega scepno fra andlegre.EN en þ(ri)þia dag se & iorþ. EN .iii. dag scop h(ann) tiþlegan dag þ(at) es sol & tungl &stiornor á eNne ofsto hofoþ skepno. Þ(at) es áhi(m)ne. EN .v. dag sc(op) h(ann) fogla & fisca & sette fogla ílofste eN fisca í vatne. EN .vi. dag scop h(ann) dyr & maN or eNne neþsto hofoþ skepno. Þ(at) es or iorþo.

D: KeNna scepnor G(oþ) ?

M: Etke g(er)þe þ(at) es e(i)g(e) keNe h(ann). Þ(ui) at andlauser hlut(er) ero oss dauþ(er) & oscynsam(er) eN aller hlut(er)lifa G(oþe) & keNa scap(era) siN. Him(inn) keNn(a) h(ann) þ(ui) at h(ann) snvsc of valt efst(er) boþorþe h(an)s se(m) ritet es. G(oþ) g(er)þe hi(m)na ískilni(n)go. Sol & tun(n)gl & stiornor keNa G(oþ) þ(ui) at þau varþveita staþe rasar siNar at vilia h(an)s. iorþ keNn(ar) h(ann) þ(ui) ay hon gefr avoxt & g(ro)s ásiNne tiþ…

English translation

(D): Did it take him long to create everything or did He create everything at once ?

(M): He created everything in the twinkle of an eye, as is written: "He who lives eternally created all at once (Eccle. 18: 1)." And He divided everything in six days: the elements in three days, and in the next three days those things which are contained in the elements. On the first day He created eternal day, which is spiritual light, and all spiritual creatures. On the second day He created heaven, which separates the earthly from the spiritual creatures. On the third day He created the sea and the earth. On the fourth day He created temporal day, that is sun, moon and stars in the highest element which is heaven. On the fifth day He created the birds and the fish, and put the birds in the sky and the fish in the water. On the sixth day He created animals and Man out of the lowest element which is earth.

(D): Do all creatures know God ?

(M): God made nothing which does not know him. Although lifeless things seem dead and not rational to us, nevertheless all things live for God and know their Creator. Heaven knows Him and forever turns according to His command, as is written: “God made the heavens by wisdom (Ps. 135/136: 5).” The sun, moon, and stars know God because they stay in their tracks according to His will. The earth knows Him and produces vegetation and grass at the appropriate times. The rivers know God and they stop at His command. The dead know Him and they rise at His will. Hell knows Him and it returns those it devoured as He commands. All animals know God and they observe the laws which he gave them. (Firchow 1992: 7-9)

Figure 6: Page from the Old Norse *Humiliúbók*, AM 619,4º: 14v-15r

The page includes the last chapter of Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, the epilogue, and the first Sermon on the Birth of the Lord (*De nativitate domini sermo*). Old Norse text can be found in Indrebø 1931: 30-31.

Vmm hof-sæmi (on modesty)

HARÐA gofugr er craftr hofsæmi fyrir þa er saman stændr alr végr þessa lífs á meðal manna. at maðr hyggi. ok mæle. ok gere stillilega alla luti i hværri sem æinni som með ráðe hæilsu sinnar. En þesser ero létter ok søter ælscandum guð þann er sva mælte. Neme þer at mér. Þvi at ec em miuclyndr. ok lilitlátr í hiarta. ok munu þer finna hvild á sálum yðrum.(*Jugum enim meum suave est. et honus meum leve*). Þvi at oc mitt er høgt. ok søtt. ok byrðr mín lett. Bættra er ok sælégra at ælsca guð þann er ér æilífr sœlæicr. eilif fægrð. eilífr hílmr. eilíf scæmtan. eilíf végr. ok uþrotleg sæla. en at ælsca fágrar asióner þessa hæims. ok søta bergingk fogr líoð. ok dyrlegan hilm. scæmtileg átoc. vég. eða sælor þessa fram faranda lifs. Þesser aller luti fara á-brout. ok líða umb sem scuggi fogls. ok svicva þa er ælsca. ok sænda þ(a) i æi-lifa cvol. ok vesold. En sa er trvlega ælscar guð almatkan ok gofgar hann u-aflátelega. ok fyllir boðorð hans staðfastlega. maclegr man hann gerasc a(t) eignasc æilífa dyrð með ænglum guðs drottins vars Iesus Crist ei ok ei utan æn(d)a.

Epilogue

Þessa luti orta ec þer hinn kærste sonr Widoni með scommu male sva sem þu batt at tu hafer þat hværn dag í augliti þinu sva sem hann-bóc. J þæirri mát tu lita sialfan þic viðp hvi þu scalt sia. eða hvat þu scalt gera. ok fræmiasc sva fyri sem hværiar far-sælor eða úfarsælor þessa lífs at tu meger upp stiga til himin-rikis sælo.Lat æigi þu ræða þic umm buning veraldlegrar atfærðar sva sem þu meger æigi in ganga með þæim buningi í dyrð himnæsc lifs. Þvi at sva sem ollum er iamt boðat sæla rikis guðs. sva lycs ok upp inganga himin-rikis hiamt hværium á sinu ok aldre ok kyni æðtirtign værðlæics þar er æigi er græin hværr veret hæfir hær í hæimi. lærðr eða u lærð. auðigr eða aumr. vngr eða gamall.Þræl eða drotten. Hældr munu þar dyrcasc hværr sem æin æptir værðlæic gós værcs sins í æilifri dyrð faður ok sonar ok andans hælga.AMEN.

English translation:

On modesty (Vmm hof-sæmi)
Modesty is an especially commendable virtue because in every way it stands in the midst (of the community) of men: it causes Man to think and to speak and humbly perform every task with his salvation in mind. And this is easy and sweet for those who love God, who said: "Learn from me, because I am meek and lowly of heart,

and you shall find rest for your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light" (*Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve*. Matth. XI, 29.). Therefore, my task is easy and agreeable, and my burden is light. It is better and more beneficial to love God—who is eternal sweetness, beauty, fragrance, jubilation, worth and endless bliss—than to love pretty appearances and sweet tastes, or sweet sounds, lovely scents, joyful touches, or honors and happiness of this world. These are all things that disappear quickly, (they) evaporate like the shadow of a bird and fail those who love them and send them into eternal pain and misery. But whoever truly loves God almighty and always praises him and steadfastly complies with his commandments will appropriately be worthy of eternal bliss with the angels of Jesus Christ, our eternal Lord.

(Epilogue)

I have written about these things, my dear son Widonus—briefly, like you asked me to do—so that you can have them before your eyes in a handbook every day. In my writing you may see for yourself what you ought to say or do. This handbook may help you through the fortunes or misfortunes of this life so that you may ascend to bliss in heaven. Do not worry about the attires of this world, for they are garments that you cannot wear when you enter the glory of heavenly life. The bliss of God's kingdom is offered to everyone, and the door to heaven is open to people of every age and gender according to their degree of merit. (In God's kingdom) there is no consideration for what people have been in this world, learned or ignorant, rich or poor, young or old, slave or master. Instead, everyone will be rewarded on account of the good work that they performed, in eternal praise of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. AMEN. (My translation)

De nativitate dominini sermo

This Christmas sermon (Indrebø 1931: 31-32) was probably written (or translated) for the enlightenment and comfort of members of a monastic order. Hence the initial address. The Christianization of Norway depended heavily on the work of the religious orders, and especially monks from the British Isles were central to the missionary work. The text start thus:

Goðer brøðr lyðið til hvat hær sægir á þesse hinni helgu boc um(m) þenna drottens dag. Þvi at þesser dagr er hælgaðr hinu(m) hælga k(onun)ge til loff (ok) til dyrðar sva vít sem c(ri)stin dómr er. (ok) sva kømr guð til hværs b(ri)ost. (Ok) scalu(m) vér oss væl halda amot þessom dægi sva sem D(avid) mæler um(m) þenna dag. *H(a)ec e(st) dies q(uam) f(ecit) D(eus)e(xulte)m(us) (et) l(aete)m(ur) i(n) e(a)* (*Haec est dies quam fecit Deus, exultemus et laetemur in ea*).

English Translation

Good brothers, listen well to what the Holy Book says about this day of (our) Lord, for this day is consecrated the day of our Saint King (Christ), to be praised and honored throughout Christendom. Then God will come to every human breast (heart). We need to prepare for this day, as David said: *Haec est dies quam fecit Deus, exultemus et laetemur in ea…*

PART VI: Bibliography

The Texts

Old Norse Texts

Aebisher, Paul (1954) *Rolandiana Borealia. La "Saga af Runzivals bardaga" et ses dérivés scandinaves comparés à la "Chanson de Roland"* (Essai de restauration du manuscript français utilisé par le traducteur norrois). Lausanne: Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Lausanne.

Alcuin (1931) "Cveðiu-sending Aliquini diaconi," in *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok. Cod. 619 4º*, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad: 1-31 (*De virtutibus et vitiis*).

Ásgrimsson, Eysteinn (1858) *Lilia = Lilium: Poema Islandicum quod ad Matrem Dei celebrandam.* Icelandic and Latin texts in parallel. Copenhagen.

Audne, Kr.& Hallvard Magerøy (1979) *Soga om Håkon Håkonsson. & Soga om Magnus Lagabøte.* Vol. 4 of *Noregs Kongesoger*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget

Benediktsson, Jakob (1968) *Islendingabók; Landnamabók*. Islenzk Fornrit: 1b. 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Hið Islenzka fornritafélag.

Blaisdell, Foster Warren & Marianne Kalinke (Eds.) (1977) *Erex saga and Ivents saga: the Old Norse versions of Chrétien de Troyes's Erec and Yvain.* Translation and introduction by Blaisdell and Kalinke. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

Blaisdell, Foster Warren (Ed.) (1979) *Ivents saga*. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ. Series B. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel.

Brøgger, A. W. (1947) *Konungs Skuggsjá / Norsk Kongespeil*. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Codex Frisianus: En samling af Norske Konge-sagaer. Christiania (Riksantikvaren)

Cook, Robert & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: an Old Norse Translation of Twenty-one Old French Lais*. Norrøne Tekster 3. Edited from the manuscript Uppsala De La Gardie 4-7 – AM 666 b, 4º. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeinstitutt (XII-XIV, XVI-XVIII).

Driscoll, M. J. (Ed.) (1995) *Ágrip af Konungasögum: A twelfth-century synoptic history of the kings of Norway*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.

Edda, Codex Regius of Snorra Edda (GKS 2367 4º) consisting of 4 main manuscripts: *Codex Regius, Codex Uppsaliensis, Codex Wormianus*, and *Utrecht Codex.*

Einarsson, Bjarni (1985) *Ágríp af Nóregs Konunga sögum. Fagrskinna, Nóregs Konungatál.* Islenzk fornrit: 29. Reykjavik: Hið Islenzka fornritafélag.

Elucidarius (Honorius Augustodunensis' Old Norse version) (1957) *The Arnamagnaean Manuscript 674 a, 4º, Photolithographic print of the incomplete extant text in Old Norse/Icelandic*. Facsimile. Copenhagen.

Fidjestøl, Bjarne (1979) *Sólarljód: tyding og tolkningsgrunnlag*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Finnbogason, Gunnar (1988) *Lilja*. (Eysteinn Ásgrimsson). Reykjavik: Hörpuútg.

Firchow, Evelyn Scherabon (1992) *The Old Norse Elucidarius. Original Text and English Translation*. Columbia/SC: Camden House.

Flom, George Tobias (1929) *Codex AM 619 quarto: Old Norwegian Book of Homilies containing the Miracles of Saint Olaf and Alcuin's "De virtutibus et vitiis." Humiliúbók Codex Arnamagneana 619: 4º*. Facsimile Edition. Urbana: The University of Illinois.

Gregorius (1931) "De nativitate domini nostri Iesu Cristi sermo," in *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok. Cod. 619 4º*. Old Norse text. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad: 38-43.

Halvorsen, E.F. (1959) *The Norse version of the Chanson de Roland.* Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Harðarson, Gunnar (1995) *Littérature et spiritualité en Scandinavie médiévale: la traduction norroise du* De arrha animae *de Hugues de Saint-Victor: Étude historique et édition critique*. Paris: Brepols.

Helgason, Jon (1954-66) *Manuscripta Islandica* (Vol I: AM 551a 4º; *Barðar saga, Viglundar saga*; *Grettis saga*. Vol II: AM 2845 4º, in the Royal Collection of the Royal Library Copenhagen. Vol III: The Saga manuscript 9. 10. Aug 4º, in Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel. Vol IV: AM 674a 4º. Vol V: *Hauksbok*. AM 371 4º, AM 544 4º, and 675 4º. Vol VI: *Alexanders saga*. AM 519a 4º). Copenhagen: Manuscripta Islandica.

Helgason, Jon (1960) *Hauksbok: The Arnamagnæam manuscripts AM 371 4º, AM 544 4º, and AM 675 4º.* Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1940) *Den gammelnorske oversettelsen av Pamphilius*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad.

Holtsmark, Anne (Ed.) (1978) *Islendingabok/ Ari Þorgilsson hinn frodi* (AM 113 b fol.). Nordisk Filologi. A. Tekster, 5. Oslo Dreyer.

Indrebø, Gustav (1931) *Gamal norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619 4º* Oslo: Jacob Dybwad: "De vitutibus et vitiis" (Alcuin) pp. 1-31; "De nativitate domini nostri Iesu Cristi sermo" (Gregory) pp. 38-53; "Visio sancti Pauli apostoli," pp. 148-153. Reprinted 1966.

Indrebø, Gustav (1936) *Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sögum: Ei liti norsk kongesoge: gamalnorsk grunntekst og nynorsk umsetjing*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Johannesson, Jon (1956) *Islendingabok Ara Froda: AM 113a and 113b, fol.* Reykjavik: Islenzka Handrit, Series in Folio.

Jónsson, Brandr (1925) *Alexanders saga/ Islandsk oversættelse ved Brandr Jónsson*. Copenhagen: Kommissionen for Det Arnamagnaeanske Legat/Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag

Jonsson, Finnur & Eirikur Jonsson (1892-1896) *Hauksbók udgiven efter de arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4º, samt forskellige pairshåndskrifter*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-selskab.

Jonsson, Finnur (1893-1900) *Heimskringla, Nóregs Konunga Sögur af Snorri Sturluson*. 2 Vols. Copenhagen: S. L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri.

Jonsson, Finnur (1927) *Flateyarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.). Copenhagen.

Jónsson, Guðbrandur (1951) *Lilja: Krists konungs drápa tíræð aftir broður Eysteynn Ásgrimsson*. Reykjavík: Helgafell.

Keyser, R. & C. R. Unger (1851) *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark.

Kolsrud, Oluf & Georg Reiss (1913) *Tvo norrøne latinske kvæde med melodiar / utgjevna frå Codex Upsaliensis C 233 (saeculi XIII exeuntis)*. Kristiania: Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1912: 5.
Kristjánsson, Jónás (1960-1964) *Riddarasögur*. 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Handritastofnun Islands.
Kölbing, Eugen (1872) *Riddarasögur: Parcevals saga, Valvers Þattr, Ívents Saga, Mírmans saga/ zum ersten mal herausgeben und mit einer literarhistorischen Einleitung versehen von Eugen Kölbing*. Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner.
Kölbing, Eugen (1878) *Die Nordische und die Englische Version der Tristan-Sage herausgeben von Ernest Kölbing*. *Tristrams saga ok Isondar*. Reprint 1978. Facsimile Edition. Heilbronn: Henninger.
Kölbing, Eugen (1879) *Elie de Saint-Gilles, chanson de geste publiée avec introduction, glossaire et index par G. Raynaud, accompagnée de la rédaction norvégienne (Elis saga ok Rosamundu) tr. Par E. Koelbing*. Paris: Firmin Didot.
Lindblad, Gustaf (1963) *Bergsbok*: Perg. Fol. Nr.1 in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bragger.
Loth, Agnete, Knud Togeby & Pierre Halleux (Eds.) (1980) *Karlamagnus Saga: Branches I, III, VII et XI: Édition bilingue*. French and Old Norse texts in parallel. Ogier le Danois: 3. Copenhagen: Société pour l'étude de la langue et de la litérature danoise.
Louis-Jensen, J. (Ed.) (1963) *Trójumanna saga*. Copenhagen: Editiones Arnamagnaeanae, A, 8
Morgenstern, Gustav (1890) *Oddr, Fagrskinna und Snorre*. Leipzig: Doctoral Thesis.
Njardvik, Njördur P. (1991) *Sólarljód*. In the series *Islensk rit*, 10. Reykjavik: Bókmennta-fræðistofnun Háskóla Islands.
Næss, Leonhard (1929) *Lilja av Eysteinn Aasgrimsson: fra gamalnorsk ved Leonhard Næss*. Oslo.
Olson, Emil & Carl af Petersen (1919-1925) *Sogur Danakonunga*. Copenhagen.
Olson, Emil (1956) *Flores och Blanzeflor*. Svenska Fornskrift-Sællskapet. Lund: Carl Blom.
Ostenso, Martha (1925) *Graagaas*. Oslo: Some.
Pálsson, Steingrímur (Ed.) (1944) *Heimskringla (Snorri Sturluson).* 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Helgafell.
Rindal, Magnus (1980) *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga. Manuscript no. 6 fol. in the Royal Library, Stockholm, and the Norwegian fragments.* Corpus codicum Norvegicorum medii aevi. Quarto Series: 6. Facsimile Edition. Oslo.
Rindal, Magnus (1981) *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*. Norrøne tekster: 4. Oslo: Kjeldeskriftfondet.
Saga af Tristram ok Ísönd & Möttuls saga (1878). Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri.
Saint Gregory: AM 237 a fol. Z: Fragment of 34th Homily. Arnamagnaean Institute, Copenhagen.
Saint Gregory: AM 677 4º: Dialogues. Arnamagnaean Institute, Copenhagen

Seip, Didrik Arup (1952b) *Gammelnorsk homiliebok etter AM 619 4to*. Oslo: Selskapet til utgivelse av norske håndskrifter.
Seip, Didrik Arup (1956) *Stjórn: AM 227 fol.: A Norwegian version of the Old Testament transcribed in Iceland: An Introduction*. Corpus Codicum Islandorum Medii Aevi 20. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
Snorrason, Oddr (1932) *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar*, Edited by Finnur Jonsson. Copenhagen: Gad.
Steinnes, Asgaut (1965) *Bergsbok: Eit gammalt utdrag or Bergsbok: forteljingar frå dei store kongesagene om Olav Tryggveson og Olav den heilage*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Tate, George Sheldon (1989) *Liknarbraut: a skaldic drápa on the cross*. Ann Harbor, Mich: PhD Thesis from Cornell University.
Tucker, John & Joanna Louis-Jensen (1998) *Plácidus saga: with an edition of Plácitus drápa*. *Editiones Arnamagnána* Series B, Vol. 31 Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel.
Tveitane, Mattias (1964) *En norrøn versjon av Visio Pauli*. Bergen: Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen, Humanistisk Serie 1964: 3.
Uecker, Heiko (Ed.) (1980) *Vienna Psalter*: *Cod. Viund. 2713*. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ. Series B: 27. Latin and Old Norse texts in parallel, commentaries in German. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel.
Unger, C. R (Ed.) (1848) *Alexanders saga: norsk bearbeidelse fra Trettende Aarhundrede af Philip Gautiers Latinske Digt Alexandreis*. (Brandr Jonsson). Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark.
Unger, C. R (Ed.) (1853) *Saga Þiðriks konungs af Bern*: *Fortællingen om kong Thidrik af Bern og hans Kæmper i norsk bearbeidelse fra det trettende Aarhundrede efter Tydske Kilder*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark.
Unger, C. R. & P.A. Munch (Eds.) (1847) *Fagrskinna: kortfattet norsk Konge-saga fra Slutningen af det tolfte Aarhundrede eller Begyndelsen af det trettende Aarhundrede. Med to lithographerede facsimile-Aftryk.* Christiania: Kongelige Norske Fredriks Universitet.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1862) *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra Verdens Skabelse til det Babyloniske Fangenskap.* Christiania: Feilberg & Landmarks Forlag.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1864) *Gammel Norsk Homiliebok*. Christiania: Brøgger & Christie.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1867) *Morkinsskinna: Pergamentsbog fra første Halvdel af det trettende Aarhundrede: Indeholdende en af de ældste Optegnelser af norske Kongesagaer*. Christiania: B. M. Bentzen.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1871) *Maríu Saga: Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes Jertegn*. Christiania: Brøgger & Christie.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1874) *Postola Sögur: legendariske Fortællinger om Apostlernes liv, deres Kamp for Kristendommens udbredelse samt deres Martyrdød: efter gamle Haandskrifter*. Christiania: B. M. Bentzen.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1877) *Heilagra manna sögur: Fortællinger og Legender om Hellige Mænd og Kvinder: efter gamle haards Skrifter* (Lives of the Saints). 2 Vols. Christiania: C. R. Unger.

Widding, Ole (1960) (Ed.) *Alkuin i Norsk-Islandsk overlevering* (Edit. Arn. A. 4). Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.
Wolf, Kirsten (1995) *Gyðinga saga: Rit Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi*: 42. Reykjavik: Stofnun Arna Magnussonar.

Latin Texts

Adam of Bremen (1876) *Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum… in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis*. Honnover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani
Alcuin (1863) "De virtutibus et vitiis" in *Patrologiae cursus completus… Series Latina. Tomus CI: B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini, abbatis et Caroli Magni imperatoris magistri: Opera Omnia*. Vol. 101. Paris: J.-P. Migne: 613-638.
Alcuin (1881) "De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I. Berlin: E. Dueemmler.
Beauvais, Vincent de (1964-65) *Speculum quadruplex, sive speculum maius: naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*. Graz: Akadademische Druck-Universitäts Verlagsanstalt.
Bom, Inger & Niels Haastrup (1973) (Eds.) *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum: ordine literario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione*. By Christiern Pedersen. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
Buttimer, C.H. (Ed.) (1939). *Didascalion* (Hugues of Saint-Victor (1096-1141). Washington: Catholic University of America, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin.
Catalogus regum Norvegiae (Short list of Norwegian kings, Old Norse and Latin texts in parallel) in Gustav Storm (1880b) *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*. Kristiania: Brøgger: 183-186.
Christensen, C. A. (1948) *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum: Codex Havniensis*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
Corpus Codicum Norvegicorum Medii Aevi, Quarto series. Oslo: Selskapet Til Utgivelse Av Gamle Norske Håndskrifter.
Dal, Erik (1979) *Tre latinske grammatikker: Donatus, Fundamentum, Regulae*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
Dale, Richard C. & Servus Gieben (Eds.) (1982) *Hexaëmeron* (Robert Grosseteste) in Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi: 6. London: Oxford University Press.
Delhaye, Philippe (1951) *Microcosmus* (de Godefroy de Saint-Victor). Lille/Gembloux: Duculot.
Dove, Mary (1997) *Glossa ordinaria. Pars 22, in Canticum cantorum* (English & Latin) (Anselm of Laon d.1117). Turnhout: Brepols (Series Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 170).
Ekrem, Inger (1992) *Halvard Gunnarssøn: Norges Kongekrønike*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Erasmus, Desiderius (1973) [*Paraclesis, id est, adhortio ad sanctissimum ac salubrissimum Christianae philosophiae studii.] An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture made by Erasmus Roterodamus (1529) and translated in to Inglissh. An exposition in to the seventh chaptre of the first epistle to the Corinthians*. Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarum/ New York: Da Capo Press.

Étaix, Raymond (Ed.) (1999) *Gregorius Magnus. Homiliae in Evangelia in Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXLI*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers: 53-56.

Geiger, Maria (1912) *Die Visio Philiberti des Heinrich von Neustadt* [c. 1312]. Tûbingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (1985-1991) *Historia regum britanniae*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Giet, Stanislas (1949) *Homiliae in Hexaemeron / L'Hexaemeron de Saint Basil*. Paris: CERF.

Gjerløw, L. (Ed.) (1968) *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae. Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi*, 2. Oslo.

Green-Pedersen, Niels Jørgen (Ed.) (1976) *Boethii Daci Opera: topica-opuscula* (Boethius de Dacia). *Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi*: 6. Pars 1: *Quaestiones super librum topicorum*. Pars 2: *Opuscula: De aeternitate mundi; De summo bono; De somniis*. Copenhagen.

Grässe, Johann Geor Theodor (1946) *Legenda aurea: vulgo historia lombardica dicta* (Jacobus Voragine). Dresden/Leipzig: Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae.

Harðarson, Gunnar (1995) *Littérature et spiritualité en Scandinavie médiévale: la traduction norroise du De arrha animae de Hugues de Saint-Victor: Étude historique et édition critique*. Paris: Brepols.

Heinrich, Roos (1952) *Die Modi significandi des Martinus de Dacia*. Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff.

Heinrich, Roos (1961) *Martini de Dacia: Opera*. Copenhagen: Gad / Series Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi (2).

Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium in Gustav Storm (1880b) Monumenta historica Norvegiae. Kristiania: Brøgger: 1-69.

Historia Norwegi(a)e in in Gustav Storm (1880b) *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*. Kristiania: Brøgger: 70-124.

Historia Norwegi(a)e. Private Owner: Dalhousi, Brechin Castle, Fol. 1r-12r. Copy in the collection of old manuscripts Kjeldeskriftfondets samlingar at the Norwegian Archives in Oslo: No. 173 a.

Historia scholastica Magistri Petri Comestoris in *Patrologia Latina*, Migne, J.-P. Vol. 198. Paris: Migne: 1053-1722.

Jonsson, Finnur (1970) *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae* (Copenhagen 1780). Westmead/London: Gregg International Publishers.

Jørgensen, Torstein and Gastone Saletnich (1999) *Brev til Paven. Norske forbindelser med den Hellige Stol i senmiddelalderen*. Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag.

Kilwardby, Robert (1935) *De natura theologicae. Opuscula Et Textus Historiam Ecclesiae Illustrantia*: XVII. Aschendorff: Monasterii.

Kirchmann, Berhard Casp. (1684) *Commentarii historici duo. hactenus inediti: Alter, De regibus vetustis Norvagicis, alter, De profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, circa annum MCLXXXV (1185) susceptam, eodem tempore ab incerto auctore conscriptus*. Iohannis Kirchmann, Lübec. Printed by Bernh. Casp. Kirchmanno, J. U. D. in Amsterdam

Kleinhans, Martha (1993) *Elucidarium in "Lucidere vault tant a dire comme donnant lumiere"*: Untersuchung und Edition der Prosaversionen 2, 4, und 5 des Elucidarium (Latin and Old French texts in parallel). Tübingen: Niemayer: 260-633.

Kraggerud, Egil (1981) *De consolatione philosophiae / Filosofiens trøst* (Boethius). Thorleif Dahls Kulturbibliotek. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Krantz, Albert (1583) *Rerum Germanicarum historici clariss. I. Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniae, Sueciae, Noruagiae, chronica: quibus gentium origo vetustissima, & Ostrogothorum…* Frankfort (OLIS).

Magnus, Olaus (1972) *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Romae 1555). Introduction by John Granlund. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.

McDermott, A. Charlene Senape (Ed.) (1980) *Boethius of Dacia: Godfrey of Fontaine's abridgement of Boethius of Dacia's Modi significandi sive quaestiones super priscianum maiorem*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Melanchthon, Philipp (1979) *Apologia de Confessio(ne). The Justification of Man by Faith Only* (1548). Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm.

Metcalfe, F. (Ed.) *Passio et miracula Beati Olavi: Edited from a Twelfth-Century Manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College.* Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Midbø, Hans Larsinius (1949) *Historia de profectione danorum in Hierosolymam. En studie over forfatteren og hans verk* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: J. Dybwad.

Migne, J.-P. (1844-1864) *Patrologiae cursus completus: sive bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium ss. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum … Series Latina* (*Patrologia Latina, PL*), 221 Vols. Paris: Migne.

Müller, Karl (1913) *Soliloquium de arrha animae und De vanitate mundi*. Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber's Verlag.

Mynors, R. A. B. & R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom (Eds.) (1998) *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings* (William of malmesbuty). London/New York: Clarendon Press.

Münster, Sebastian (1550) *Cosmographiae universalis*. Basel (OLIS).

Olrik, J. & H. Ræder (Eds.) (1931-1957) *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*. 2 Vols. Copenhagen: Levin/Munksgaard.

Otto, Alfred (1955) *Johannis Daci Opera*. Copenhagen: Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi (1).

Otto, Alfred (1963) *Simonis Daci Opera* (*Quaestiones super 2 minoris voluminis Prisciani*). Copenhagen: Apud Librarium G.E.C. Gad: Series Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi (3).

Passio Olavi (Codex Duacensis 295) Bibliothèque municipale de Douai, France, fol. 94r-108r. Copy in the collection of old manuscripts at the Norwegian Archives Oslo, nr. 336.

Paton, Lucy Allen (1911) *Historia regum Britanniae* / *The histories of the kings of Britain*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth. London: Everyman's Library.

Pedersen, Christiern (1973) *Vocabularum ad usum dacorum: ordine litterario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione*. Paris 1510. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.

Petrarch, Francesco (1975-1985) *Rerum familiarum libri*. Translated by Aldo S. Bernardo. Albany, NY: John Hopkins University Press.

Pöhlmann, Horst Georg (1993) *Loci communes 1521: Lateinish-deutsch* / Philipp Melanchthon. Translated and commented on by Pöhlmann. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn.

Rosenkilde, V. & C. J: Ballhausen (1987) *Thesaurus Librorum Danicorum 15th and 16th century*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.

Rosweyd, Heribert (1628) *Vitae Patrum: de vita et verbis seniorum sive Libri X, historiae eremiticae…* Antwerpen: Ex Officina Platiniana.

Schultz-Flügel, Eva (1990) *Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum* (Tyrannius Rufinus Aquileiensis c.345-c.410). Patristische Studien: 34. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.

Septuagint: The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, According to the Vatican Edition together with the Real Septuagint Version of Daniel and the Apocrypha Including the Fourth Book of the Maccabees (1851). London: Samuel Bagster & Sons.

Sidwell, Keith (1996) *Reading Medieval Latin*. (Anthology of medieval texts from the foundations of Christian Latin to the 12th century Renaissance). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Silverstein, Theodore (1935) *Visio sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalpyse in Latin, together with nine Texts*. London: Christophers.

Skard, Eilif (1932) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* / *Soga um dei gamle norske kongane av Tjodrik munk* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Storm, Gustav (1880b) *Monumenta historica Norwegiae Latine Conscripta*. Reprint 1973. Contains: *Historia antiquitate regum norwagiensium, Historia Norwegiae, Acta Sancti Olavi Regis Martyris, Acta Sanctorum in Selio, Acta Sancti Halvardi, De spinea corona, Itinerarum in Terram Sanctam* (fratre Mauritio), *Fundatio Lysensis Monasteri, Commentariolus de Coenobiis Norwegiae*). Oslo: Fotografisk Opptrykk 1975.

Stubbs, William (1867) *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis: the chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD. 1169-1192* (Benedict of Peterborough), in Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 49. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.

Sudhoff, Karl (Ed.) (1917) "Daniels von Morley Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum, nach der Handschrift Cod. Arundel 377 des Britischen Museums Abdruck gebracht," in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*. 8/3. Leipzig, pp.1-40.

Saaby Pedersen, Fritz (1979) *A Mediaeval Commentary on Time-Reckoning* (Petrus de Dacia c.1235-1289: Computus metricus manualis). Odense: Odense University.

Thomson, Robert W. (Ed. & Trans.) (1995) *The Syriach Version of the Hexaemeron by Basilius of Caesara*. Loewen: E. Peters.

Thorkelín, Grímur Jónsson (1786) *Diplomatarium Arna-Magnaeanum: exhibens monumenta diplomatica quae collegit et universitati Hanviensi testamento reliquit Arnas Magnaeus historiam atque jura Daniae*. 2 Vols. Copenhagen.

Tischendorf, Constantin von (1866) *Apocalypse Apocryphae: Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohanni, item Mariae Dormitio* (Transitus Mariae); *additis evangeliorum et actuum apocryphorum supplementis* (The Apocalypses, the Greek Transitus Mariae, and the first Latin Transitus Mariae, and the Syriach Apocalypse of Paul). Leipzig: Mendelsohn.

Visio Philiberti (vel Fulberti) in *Archivo della latinità italiana del Medievo*, a joint project by the following universities: Università di Milano, Università di Napoli Frederico II, Università di Palermo, Università da Foscari, Università di Verona (Available on the Web).

Vitae Patrum in Patrologiae cursus completus … Series Latina, Vols. 73-74. Paris: Migne.

Walsingham, Thomas (1863-64) *Historia anglicana*. 2 Vols. In series *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*. London: Longman, Green, Roberts & Green.

Way, Agnes Clare (1963) *Homiliae in Hexaemeron. Exegetical Homilies / Saint Basil in Fathers of the Church*, 46. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.

French Texts

Bédier, Joseph (1942) *Le Roman de Tristan et Yseut*. Paris: H. Piazza (J. Dumoulin).

Beltran, Evencio (Ed.) (1986) *Archiloge Sophie de Jacques Legrand*. Paris: H. Champion.

Bossnat, R. (1957) *Le roman de Renart*. Paris: Hatier-Boivin.

Boyer, Regis (Ed. & Trans.) (1983) *La saga de Saint Olaf: tirée de la Heimskringla*. (Snorri Sturlason). Paris: Payot Bibliothèque Historique.

Calmette, Joseph (Ed.) (1925) *Mémoires (de Philippe de Commines)*. 3 Vols. In the series: *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*: 3. Paris: Société d'Édition: 5-6.

Cario(n), John (1499-1537) *Les chroniques de Ian Carion philosophe: auec les faicts & gestes du roy Français, iusques au regne du roy Henry deuxiesme de ce nom, à présent regnant*. Paris: Estienne Groulleau.

Chanoine Crampon (1960) *La Sainte Bible*. Paris/Tournai/Rome/New York: Desclée et Cie.

Commynes, Philippe de (1994) *Mémoires* [de Louis XI (1423.1483) and *Charles VIII* (1470-1498)]. Contamine, Philippe (Ed.). Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

De la Garanderie, Marie- Madeleine (1976) *La correspondance d'Erasme et Guillaume Budé*. Paris: Série de Petrarque à Descartes.

Dor, Juliette (Ed.) (1993) *Chrétien de Troyes: Sire Gauvin et le chevalier vert*. Paris: Bibliothèque Médiévale.

Du Bartas, Guillaume de Salluste (1981) *La sepmaine [1581]*. Yvonne Bellenger (Ed.). Paris: Nizet.

Dufournet, Jean (Ed.) (1978) *Mémoires sur Louis XI (1464-1483) / Philippe de Commynes*. Paris: Gallimard.

Foucher, Jean-Pierre (1975) *Chrétien de Troyes: Romans de la Table Ronde* (Érec et Énide; Clièges ou la fausse morte; Lancelot, le chevalier à la charette; Yvain, le chevalier au lion). Paris: Gallimard.

Froissart (1972) *Chroniques*. Paris / Geneva: Minard / Droz.

Gröber, Gustav (1908) *La Chanson de Roland d'après le manuscrit d'Oxford*. Bibliotheca Romanica 53-54. Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz.

Jenkins, Thomas Atkinson (Ed.) (1974) *Espurgatoire seint Patriz: an Old French poem of the thwelfth century*. Geneva: Slatkine.

Jonin, Pierre (1982) *Le Roman de Tristan / Béroul: traduit de l'ancien français par Pierre Jonin*. Paris: Champion.

Joubert, Claude-Henry (Ed.) (1987) *Oyez ke dit Marie: étude sur les Lais de Marie de France (XIIe siècle)*. Paris: José Corti.

Jugé, C. (1970) *Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582). Essai sur sa vie, son oeuvre, son influence*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints.

Kibler, William W. (Ed.) (1985) *Chrétien de Troyes: The Knight with the Lion, or Yvain*. (Original French text and English translation). New York/London: Garland Library Of Medieval Literature 48a.

Kleinhans, Martha (1993) “Elucidarium” in “*Lucidere vault tant a dire comme donnant lumiere”: untersuchung und Edition der Prosaversionen 2, 4, und 5 des Elucidarium* (Latin and Old French texts in parallel). Tübingen: Niemayer: 260-633.

Kölbing, Eugen (1879) *Elie de Saint-Gilles, chanson de geste publiée avec introduction, glossaire et index par G. Raynaud, accompagnée de la rédaction norvégienne (Elis saga ok Rosamundu) tr. Par E. Koelbing*. Paris: Firmin Didot.

Lacroix, Daniel & Philippe Walter (1989) *Tristan et Iseut. Les poèmes français. La saga norroise. Textes originaux présentés, traduits et commentés par D. Lacroix et P. Walter*. Paris: Le Livre de Poche, in the series “Lettres gothiques.”

Laurion, Gaston (1997) *Les Lais de Marie de France*. Montréal: Lanctôt.

Loth, Agnete, Knud Togeby & Pierre Halleux (Eds.) (1980) *Karlamagnus Saga: Branches I, III, VII et XI: Édition bilingue*. French and Old Norse texts in parallel. Ogier le Danois: 3. Copenhagen: Société pour l’étude de la langue et de la litérature danoise.

Marchello-Nizia, Christiane (Ed.) (1995) *Tristan et Iseut: Les premières versions européennes* (amongst others Béroul: Tristan et Iseut; Thomas: Tristan et Iseut, fragment de Carlisle; Marie de France: Le lai du Chèvrefeuille; La folie de Tristam (Berne); La folie de Tristan (Oxford), Eilhart d’Oberg: Tristant; Gottfried de Strasbourg: Tristan et Isolde; Frère Robert: le saga de Tristram et d’Isönd; Sire Tristrem). Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.

Menut, A.D. (1970) *Maistre Nicole Oresme. Le livre de Politiques d’Aristote*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LX, 6.

Meung, Jean de (1966) *Roman de la Rose (1230)* Paris: CFMA.

Meyer, P. (1895) ”Un samedi par nuit,” in *Romania:* XXIV. Paris: Société des amis de la Romania: 365-375.

Micha, Alexandre (1978) *Lancelot: Roman en prose du 13e siècle*. Genève: Droz.

Moignet, Gérard (1969) *La Chanson de Roland*. Paris: Bibliothèque Bordas

O’Hara, Prudence Mary (1976) *Les Lais anonymes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Édition critique de quelques lais bretons*. Geneva: Droz.

Paris, Gaston & Alfred Jeanroy (Eds.) (1927) *Extraits des chroniqueurs français: Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Commines (avec notes et glossaire)*. Paris: Hachette.

Pauphilet, Albert (Ed.) (1952) *Historiens et chroniqueurs du moyen âge: Robert de Clari, Vilehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Commynes.* Paris: Gallimard Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (No. 48).

Polain, Mattieu Lambert (1863) *Les vrayes chroniques de messires Jehan Le Bel: Histoire vraye et notable des nouvelles guerres et choses avenues l’an mil CCCXXVI jusques à l’an LXI, en France, en Angleterre, en escosse, en Bretaigne et ailleurs, et principalement des haults faitz du roy Edowart d’Angleterre et des deux roys Philippe et Jehan de France*. Bruxelles: F. Heussner.

Rychner, Jean & Paul E. Aebischer (Eds.) *Marie de France. Le Lai de Lanval [Texte imprimé]. Texte critique et édition diplomatique des quatre manuscrits français par Jean Rychner. Accompagné du texte du "Januals ljod" et de sa traduction française, avec une introduction et des notes par Paul Aebischer.* Geneva: Droz (Paris: Minard).
Rychner, Jean (Ed.) (1968) *Les Lais de Marie de France*. Paris: H. Champion.
Strubel, Arnold (1984) *Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meung: Roman de la Rose*. Paris: PUF.
Studer, Paul (1918) *Le mystère d'Adam: An Anglo-Norman drama of the twelfth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Tobin, Prudence Mary O'Hara (1976) *Les Lais anonymes des XII^e^ et XIIIe siècles. Édition critique de quelques lais bretons.* Geneva: Librairie Droz.

Danish-Norwegian and Modern Norwegian texts

Audne, Kr. (1921-28) *Historia Norwegiae: den eldste Noregs-historia. Umsett frå latin ved Halvdan Koht. Med tillegg: Meldingane frå Noreg hjå Adam av Bremen. / Soga um Bjørn Hitdølkappe / Soga um Håkon Håkonsson / etter Sturla Tordarsson.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Audne, Kr.& Hallvard Magerøy (1979) *Soga om Håkon Håkonsson. & Soga om Magnus Lagabøte.* Vol. 4 of *Noregs Kongesoger*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget
Bang, A. Chr. (Ed.) (1886) *Katechismusudlæggelse for de norske prester* (Peder Palladius. Translation of Latin text from 1541). Kristiania.
Berdal, Olaug (1985) *Flores og Blancheflor*. Introduction by Helge Nordahl. Oslo: Aschehoug & Akershus Slotts Venner
Beyer, Absalon Pederssøn (1928) *Om Norgis Rige*. (Ed.) Harald Beyer. Oslo: Foreningen for Norsk Bokkunst/Beyers Forlag.
Beyer, Absalon Pederssøn (1963) *Dagbok og Oration om Mester Geble*. Text Volume. Edited by Ragnald Iversen. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Beyer, Absalon Pederssøn (1970) *Dagbok og Oration om Mester Geble*. Commentaries to Text Volume by Halkild Nilsen. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Brandrud, Andreas & Oluf Kolsrud (Eds.) (1917) *To og Tredive Prædikener: holdt i årene 1578-1586 / av Jens Nilssøn*. Christiania: Aschehoug.
Brandt, C. J. & R. Th. Fenger (Eds.) (1850) *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter.* Copenhagen: Gyldendahl.
Brandt, C. J. (1885) *Christiern Pedersens Danske Krøniker*. Copenhagen: Quist.
Brøgger, A. W. (1947) *Konungs Skuggsjá / Norsk Kongespeil*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Bø, Olav (Ed.) (1974) *Draumkvedet*. Oslo: Dreyer.
Carlson, Gottfrid (1955) *Kalmar Recess 1483*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
Dal, Erik (1961) *Tre ballader: Harpens kraft: Vreta klosterrov. Drømmekvadet.* Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.

Danielsen, Rolf & Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Grønli, Knut Helle, Edgar Hovland (1992) *Grunntrekk i norsk historie: Fra vikingtiden til våre dager*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Danstrup, John (1980-82) *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid*. 22 Vols. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger / Oslo: Gyldendal.
Dass, Peter (1753) *Dr. Morten Luthers Lille Catechismus*. Trykt hos Owe Lynov.
Ebbestad Hansen, Jan-Erik (1998) (Ed.) *Norsk tro og tanke: 1000-1800*. 2 Vols. Anthology of Old Norwegian texts in modern translation. Oslo: Tano Aschehoug.
Edvardsen, Edvard (1674) *Dend viitberømte i viide verden navnkundige, fordum Kongelige residentzis- kiøb- og Handel-stad Bergen udi Norge hendes fuldkommelige Beskrivelse eller Histories første Part* (Avskrift fra c.1750) preserved in *Norske samlinger, Vol 1: 1-72 and Vol 2: 489-600*, and *Bergens Historike Forenings Skrifter* no. 55. A survey of extant manuscripts and copies can be found in *Bergens Historike Forenings Skrifter* no. 54.
Eggen, Erik (1962) *Soga om Rolv Krake: med Bjarkemål*. Oslo: Norrøne Bokverk, No. 39.
Fidjestøl, Bjarne (1996) *Håvamål*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget: 60-61.
Friis, Peder Claussøn (1633) *Snorre Sturlussøns Norske Kongers Chronica*. Copenhagen: Ole Worm.
Frøysadal, Øistein (1998) "Preike på første juledag (*De nativitate domini sermo*)," in Ebbestad Hansen (1998) *Norsk tro og tanke: 1000-1800*. Vol. I: 83-86.
Ghemen, Gottfried of (1873) *Den Danske Rimkrønike* (1495). Facsimile Edition. Copenhagen: Budtz Müller & Co. and Ferslew.
Ghemen, Gottfried of (1910) *Facsimile-Udgave af Flores oc Blanzeflor. Ghemens udgave af 1509*. Copenhagen: August Fjelstrup.
Grammaticus, Saxo (d. 1204) *Danmarks krønike/fordansket ved N.S.F. Grundtvig*. Copenhagen: Steen Hasselbach (1962).
Granlund, John (1976) *Historia om de nordiska folken* (*Olaus Magnus with commentaries*). Stockholm: Gidlund.
Green-Pedersen, Niels Jørgen (2001) *Verdens evighed; Det højeste gode; Drømme / Boethius de Dacia*. Corpus philosophorum danicorum medii aevi. Fredriksberg: Det Lille Forlag.
Gundersen, Dag (1984) *Sverres saga (En tale mot biskopene)*. Oslo: Gyldendal
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1998) "Rigstula," in Ebbestad Hansen 1998: 54-60.
Holtsmark, Anne (1986) *Sverres saga; En tale mot biskopene*. Oslo: Aschehoug/ Thorleif Dahls Kulturbibliotek.
Hope, Harald (1972) *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok.* Bergen: Norsk Bokreidingslag.
Huitfeldt, Arild (1594) *Hirdskraa, Den Norske Hirdskraa Eller Gaards Rætt, huor aff forfaris kand, huorledis Rigit udi fordum dage vaar skickit: og huorledis Kogerne udi de dage haffue huldit Hoff…Udset aff gammel Norske paa danske* (1594) Copenhagen.
Jacobsen, Lis (1911-26) *Peder Palladius' Danske Skrifter*. Copenhagen: H.H. Thiele.

Johnsen, Arne Odd (1976) *Ny tolkning av Historia de profectione danorum in Hyerosolymam* (Theodoricus Monachus). Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1984) *Sigurd Jorsalfars opphold i England (1108-1109)*. Oslo: Det Norske Vitenskapsakademiet. II. Hist. Filos. New Series.
Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar (1997)*Aslak Bolts Jordebok*. Oslo: Riksarkivet.
Kjær, Iver & Bengt Holbek (1972)*Ordsprog i Danmark: 4000 ordsprog fra skrift og tale gennom 600 år*. Copenhagen: Paludan.
Kjær, Iver (1964)*Peder Låle og Cod. Basil. A. XI. 67: Bidrag til Låle-samlingens kilder og tilblivelsesform*. Copenhagen / Uppsala: Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning.
Koht, Halvdan (1950) *Historia Norwegiae: den eldste Noregs-historia. Med tillegg: Meldingane frå Noreg hjå Adam av Bremen.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Koht, Halvdan (1928) *Folk og Seder i Germania* (Cornelius Tacitus). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
"Kristian I's håndfestning," in Edvard Bull (1977)*Nordmenn før oss*. Oslo: Tano
Kvålen, Eivind (1925) *Den eldste norske kongesoga: Morkinskinna og Hryggjarstykki*. Oslo.
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1993) *Edda Kvede*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1994) *Voluspå.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1996) *Draumkvedet.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1996) *Håvamål.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Munch, P.A. (1996) *Norrøne gude- og heltesagn*. Revised edition by Jørgen Haavardsholm. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Nilssøn, Laurents (Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus) (1999) "Det Bref, som Studenter af Danmarkis oc Norrigis riger, werendis udenlands, for boglige Konsters Skyld, haffuer till di Professorer oc Höglerde Mend i Kiöbinghafns Academia Skrefuit Anno 1602 (Brunsberg 1606)," in Ebbestad Hansen 1998: Volume 1: 271-286.
Nørlund, Poul (Ed.) (1913)*Hans Mogensens (1525-1595) Oversættelse af Philippe de Commynes «Memoires» [1574]*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel.
Olrik, Axel (1944) *Ingjaldskvadet*. Introduction by Ejnar Thomsen. Copenhagen:
Olrik, Axel (1982) *Bjarkemål*. Højberg: Wormianum.
Olrik, Axel (1992) *Danske heltesagn*. Copenhagen: Gyldendals Bogklubber
Olson, Emil (1956) *Flores och Blanzeflor*. Svenska Fornskrift-Sællskapet. Lund: Carl Blom.
Orgland, Ivar (1991) *Harmsol*. *Munken Gamli: norsk omdiktning*. Oslo: Solum.
Ostenso, Martha (1925) *Graagaas*. Oslo: Some.
Pedersen, Christiern (1850-1851) "Preface" to *Jærtegnspostillen (1515)*. Facsimile Edition. 2 Vols. Malmö: Föreningen Malmö Stadsbiblioteks Vänner.
Pedersen, Christiern (1853) "Christiern Pedersens Oversættelse af Davids Psalter," in *Christiern Pedersends Danske Skrifter* (1850-1856), Vol. 4. C. J. Brandt & R. Th. Fenger (Eds.). Copenhagen. Gyldendal
Pedersen, Christiern (1961-62) *Æsops levned og fabler* (Christiern Pedersen's translation of Stainhøwel's*Æsop*). 2 Vols. Bengt Holbek (Ed.). Copenhagen: Schultz.

Pedersen, Christiern (1986) *Om Urtevand* 1534 . Facsimile Edition. 2 Vols. Malmö: Föreningen Malmö Stadsbiblioteks Vänner
Salvesen, Astrid (1969) *Historia Norwegiae. Historien om de gamle norske kongene / Theodoricus Monachus: Historien om Danenes ferd til Jerusalem*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Salvesen, Astrid (1971) *Gammelnorsk Homiliebok.* Translation by A. Salvesen. Introduction and comments by Erik Gunnes. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Schepelern, H. D. (1985) *Hexaëmeron. Anders Sunesen: Gengivet på danske vers af H. D. Schepelern med en efterskrift af oversætteren og Jørgen Pedersen.* Copenhagen: DSL/Gad.
Schreiner, Johan (1972) *Fagrskinna*. *En norsk kongesaga*. Oslo: Fabritius.
Skard, Eilif (1930) *Passio Olavi* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Snorre Sturlason (1981) *Snorres Kongesagaer* (Translated and edited by Anne Holtsmark and Didrik Arup Seip).Gjøvik: Gyldendal.
Storm, Gustav (1881) *Om Peder Claussøn Friis og hans skrifter (Complete works).* Oslo.
Storm, Gustav (1899) *Laurents Hanssøns sagaoversættelse (Heimskringla)*. Videnskabselskabet II, Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse 1898:1. Christiania: Hans A. Benneches Fond.
Størssøn, Mattis (1860)*Mats Størssøns beretning (1560-1569) om de Tydske Kjøbmænd i Bergen*. Christiania.
Sørlie, Mikjel (Ed.) (1962)*Den Norske Krønike oversatt av M. Størssøn*. Bergen: J. D. Beyer / Det Norske språk- og litteraturselskap (Edited from *Den norske Krønike om de fraemfaerne Konger, Herrer och Førster, som haffue veldedigenn regiered och styred Norriges Rige/Uddragen af denn gamle norsche paa dansche ved Mattis Størssøn 1594.* Manuscript).
Toldberg, Helge (1958-61) *Den danske Rimkrønike*. Copenhagen: Schultz.
Vedel, Anders Sørensen (1575)*Den danske Krønicke som Saxo Grammaticus screff nu først aff Latinen udset, flittelige offuerseet oc forbedret aff Anders Søffrinsesøn Vedel*. Copenhagen.
Venås, Kjell (1990) *Den fyrste morgonblånen: Tekster på norsk frå dansketida*. Oslo: Novus.
Vislie, Geirmund (Ed.) *Bergens Rimkrønike: utgave etter håndskriftene (1560).* Oslo: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri.
Zeeberg, Peter (2000) *Saxos Danmarks Historie.* Copenhagen: Gad.
Aarebo, Anders (1965) “Hexaëmeron,” in *Samlede skrifter*. Vol. I. Copenhagen: Munksgaards Forlag.

General Bibliography

Abrams, M. H. (Ed.) (1974) *The Norton Anthology of English Literature.* Volume 1. New York: Norton.

Adam of Bremen (1876) *Adami gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum… in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis*. Honnover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani

Aebisher, Paul (1954) *Rolandiana Borealia. La "Saga af Runzivals bardaga" et ses dérivés scandinaves comparés à la "Chanson de Roland"* (Essai de restauration du manuscript français utilisé par le traducteur norrois). Lausanne: Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Lausanne.

Albrectsen, Esben (1997) *Danmark-Norge 1380-1814. Bind 1. 1380-1536: Fælleskabet bliver til*. Oslo/Copenhagen: Universitetsforlaget/Akademisk Forlag.

Alcuin (1863) "De virtutibus et vitiis" in *Patrologiae cursus completus… Series Latina. Tomus CI: B. Flacci Albini seu Alcuini, abbatis et Caroli Magni imperatoris magistri: Opera Omnia*. Vol. 101. Paris: J.-P. Migne: 613-638.

Alcuin (1931) "Cveðiu-sending Aliquini diaconi," in *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok. Cod. 619 4º*, Oslo: Jacob Dybwad: 1-31 (*De virtutibus et vitiis*).

Alnæs, Karsten (1997)*Historien om Norge. Bind II. Under Fremmed Styre*. Oslo: Gyldendal.

Alver, Bente Gullveig (1971) "Processen mot Anna Pedersdotter Beyer," in *Heksetro og Trolddom: en studie i norsk hæksevæsen*. Oslo/Bergen/Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget.

Amos, Flora (1973) *Early Theories of Translation.* New York: Octagon Books.

Amt, Emilie (1993) *Women's Lives in Medieval Europe: A Sourcebook*. New York: Routledge.

Andersson, Theodore (1985) "Kings' Sagas" in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature, A Critical Guide*. Carol Clover & John Lindow (Eds.). Itacha NY /London: Cornell University Press.

Aristoteles (2000) *Invitation à la philosophie* (translation and preface by Jacques Follon). Paris: Editions Mille et Une Nuits.

Arntzen, Jon Gunnar (Ed.) (1999) *Norsk biografisk leksikon* (2nd Edition). Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget.

Ásgrimsson, Eysteinn (1858) *Lilia = Lilium: Poema Islandicum quod ad Matrem Dei celebrandam.* Icelandic and Latin texts in parallel. Copenhagen.

Astås, Reidar (1970) "Om Leiðarvísan," in*Edda—Hefte* 5. Off-print..

Astås, Reidar (1984)*Kompilasjon – en side ved middelalderens bokproduksjon*. Off-print of article in *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Bok- og Biblioteksvesen* 1971.

Astås, Reidar (1985a)*En kompilator i arbeid: Studier i Stjórn I*. Tønsberg: Reidar Astås. Off-print.

Astås, Reidar (1985b) "Ordtak i Stjórn I," in*Bibliotheca Arnamagnaena*. Vol. XXXVIII. Oslo.

Astås, Reidar (1986)*Kompilatoren som kunnskapsformidler i middelalderen* in *Edda* 2. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. Off-print.

Astås, Reidar (1987a) “Lærd stil, høvisk stil, og florissant stil i norrøn prosa,” in *Maal og Minne* No. 1-2. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget. Off-print.
Astås, Reidar (1987b) “Florrisant stil i norrøn prosa,” in *Maal og Minne*. No. 3-4. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget. Off-print.
Astås, Reidar (1987c) “Om bibelbruk i Kongespeilet,” in *Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi* 102. Oslo. Off-print.
Astås, Reidar (1987d) *Et bibelverk fra Middelalderen: Studier i Stjórn*. Oslo: Novus.
Astås, Reidar (1987e) “Den apologiske trosbekjennelse i norrøne tekster,” in *Tidsskrift for teologi og Kirke*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Astås, Reidar (1988) “Helgenlegenden som uttrykksmiddel,” in *Edda: Nordisk Tidsskrift for litteraturforskning*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Astås, Reidar (1990a) “Barlaams ok Josaphats saga i nærlys,” in *Maal og Minne* 3-4. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget. Off-print.
Astås, Reidar (1990b) “Den eldste bevarte kristne apologi,” in *Tidsskrift for teologi og Kirke*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Astås, Reidar (1991) *An Old Norse Biblical Compilation: Studies in Stjorn*. American University Studies, 7. Theology and Religion, Vol. 109. New York/Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
Astås, Reidar (1993) “Spor av teologisk tenkning og refleksjon i norsk og islandsk høymiddelalder,” in *Collegium Medievale*, Vol. 6 (1993): 133-167.
Audi, Robert (Ed.) (1998) *The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Audne, Kr. (1921-28) *Historia Norwegiae: den eldste Noregs-historia. Umsett frå latin ved Halvdan Koht. Med tillegg: Meldingane frå Noreg hjå Adam av Bremen. / Soga um Bjørn Hitdølkappe / Soga um Håkon Håkonsson / etter Sturla Tordarsson*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Audne, Kr.& Hallvard Magerøy (1979) *Soga om Håkon Håkonsson. & Soga om Magnus Lagabøte*. Vol. 4 of *Noregs Kongesoger*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget
Augustine (Saint) (1961) *Confessions* (Trans & Ed.: R.S. Pine-Coffin). London: Penguin Books.
Badel, Pierre-Yves (1969) *Introduction à la vie littéraire du moyen âge*. Collection Études. Paris: Bordas.
Bagge, Sverre & Knut Mykland (1993) *Norge i Dansketiden*. Oslo: Cappelen.
Bagge, Sverre (1973) *Forholdet mellom Kongespeilet og Stjórn*. Stensils.
Bagge, Sverre (1976) *Konge og Kirke i Kongespeilet*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
Bagge, Sverre (1998) *Mennesket i middelalderens Norge: Tanke, tro og holdninger 1000-1300*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Bang, A. Chr. (Ed.) (1886) *Katechismusudlæggelse for de norske prester* (Peder Palladius. Translation of Latin text from 1541). Kristiania.
Barnes, Geraldine. (1987) “Arthurian Chivalry in Old Norse,” in *Arthurian Literature VII*. Cambridge: Brewer.
Bassnett-McGuire, Susan (1980) *Translation Studies*, London: Methuen.
Bate, W. J. (1947) *From Classic to Romantic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Baugh, Albert C. (Ed.) (1978) *A History of the English language*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Baune, Tove Aarsnes (1995) *Den skal tidlig krøkes-: skolen i et historisk perspektiv*. Oslo: Cappelen Akademiske Forlag.
Beadle, Richard & A. J. Piper (Eds.) (1995) *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I. Doyle.* Aldershot: Scholar Press.
Beattie, W. et. al (Eds.) (1969) *The English Experience: Its record in Early Printed Books Published in Facsimile*. Amsterdam/New York: Theatrvm Orbios Terrarvm/Da Capo Press.
Beauvais, Vincent de (1964-65) *Speculum quadruplex, sive speculum maius: naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*. Graz: Akadademische Druck-Universitäts Verlagsanstalt.
Beauvais, Vincent de (1964-65) *Speculum quadruplex, sive speculum maius: naturale, doctrinale, morale, historiale*. Graz: Akadademische Druck-Universitäts Verlagsanstalt.
Bédier, Joseph (1942) *Le Roman de Tristan et Yseut* (Foreword by Gaston Paris). Paris: H. Piazza.
Bekken, Otto B. (1995) "Algorismus i Hauksbok," in *Nordisk matematikkdidaktikk I*. Oslo: Høgskolen i Oslo.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans & Ole Widding (1972) *Arne Magnusson: The Manuscript Collector*. Odense: Odense University Press.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans (1967) *Old Norse-Icelandic Studies: A Selected Bibliography*. Toronto: TUP.
Belloc, H. (1931) *On Translation*. Oxford University Press.
Benedictow, Ole Jørgen (1993) "Vincents Lunge, Olav Engelbrektsson og det Norske Riksrådet 1523-24," in *Collegium Medievale 5.1-2.*
Benediktsson, Jakob (1968) *Islendingabók; Landnamabók.* Islenzk Fornrit: 1b. 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Hið Islenzka fornritafélag.
Berdal, Olaug (1985) *Flores og Blancheflor*. Introduction by Helge Nordahl. Oslo: Aschehoug & Akershus Slotts Venner
Berggrav, Jan (1953) *Oslo Katedralskole gjennom 800 år*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Berlin, Isaiah (1978) "The Purpose of Philosophy," in *Concepts and Categories: Philosophical Essays*. London: The Hogarth Press.
Berman, A. (1984) *L'épreuve de l'étranger: culture et traduction dans l'Allemagne romantique*. Paris: NRF Gallimard.
Beyer, Absalon Pederssøn (1928) *Om Norgis Rige*. (Ed.) Harald Beyer. Oslo: Foreningen for Norsk Bokkunst/Beyers Forlag.
Beyer, Absalon Pederssøn (1963) *Dagbok og Oration om Mester Geble*. Text Volume. Edited by Ragnald Iversen. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Birkeli, Fridtjov (1979) *Norge møter kristendommen: fra vikingetiden til ca.1050.* Oslo: Aschehoug.
Birkeli, Fridtjov (1982) *Hva vet vi om kristningen av Norge? Utforskning av norsk kristendoms- og kirkehistorie fra 900- til 1200-tallet.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Blaisdell, Foster Warren & Marianne Kalinke (Eds.) (1977) *Erex saga and Ivents saga: the Old Norse versions of Chrétien de Troyes's Erec and Yvain.* Translation and introduction by Blaisdell and Kalinke. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Blaisdell, Foster Warren (Ed.) (1979) *Ivents saga*. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ. Series B. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel.
Bloch, Ernst (1972) *La philosophie de la Renaissance*. Paris: Petite Bibliothèque Payot.
Bom, Inger & Niels Haastrup (1973) (Eds.) *Vocabularium ad usum dacorum: ordine literario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione*. By Christiern Pedersen. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
Borst, Arno (1974) *Les Cathares.* Translation by Christiane Roy. Paris: Payot.
Bossnat, R. (1957) *Le roman de Renart*. Paris: Hatier-Boivin.
Bové, Paul (1986) *Intellectuals in Power: A Genealogy of Critical Humanism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Bové, Paul (1992) *In the Wake of Theory*. Middleton, Conn: Wesleyan University Press/London UK: University Press of New England.
Boyer, Regis (Ed. & Trans.) (1983) *La saga de Saint Olaf: tirée de la Heimskringla*. (Snorri Sturlason). Paris: Payot Bibliothèque Historique.
Brandrud, Andreas & Oluf Kolsrud (Eds.) (1917) *To og Tredive Prædikener: holdt i årene 1578-1586 / av Jens Nilssøn*. Christiania: Aschehoug.
Brandrud, Andreas (1917) *Biskop Jens Nilssøn av Oslo: Et bilde fra Norges senere Reformasjonshistorie*. Kristiania.
Brandt, C. J. & R. Th. Fenger (Eds.) (1850) *Christiern Pedersens Danske Skrifter*. Copenhagen: Gyldendahl.
Brandt, C. J. (1882) *Om Lunde-Kanniken Christiern Pedersen og hans skrifter*. Copenhagen: Gad.
Brandt, C. J. (1885) *Christiern Pedersens Danske Krøniker*. Copenhagen: Quist.
Brower, Reuben Arthur (1966) *On Translation*. New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Brown, Harold I. (1979) *Perception, Theory and Commitment: The New Philosophy of Science*. Chicago/London: Chicago University Press.
Brunel, Pierre et.al. (1972) *Histoire de la littérature française*. Paris/Bruxelles/Montréal: Bordas.
Bruun, Chr. V (1877) *Bibliotheca Danica, Bind I-IV*. Købehavn: Gyldendalske Boghandelsforlag.
Brøgger, A. W. (1947) *Konungs Skuggsjá / Norsk Kongespeil*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Brøndsted, Mogens (1963) *Nordens litteratur: før 1860*. Copenhagen/Oslo: Nordisk Forlag/Gyldendal.
Bull, Edvard (1977) *Normenn før oss*. Oslo: Tano
Bull, Edvard, Anders Krogvig & Gerhard Gran (1923-1983) *Norsk biografisk leksikon*. Oslo: Aschehoug
Buttimer, C.H. (Ed.) (1939). *Didascalion* (Hugues of Saint-Victor (1096-1141). Washington: Catholic University of America, Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Latin.

Bø, Olav (1982) "Ad fontes: Norse influence on Norwegian tradition," in *The Medieval Legacy: A Symposium*. Odense: Odense University Press.
Bø, Olav (Ed.) (1974) *Draumkvedet*. Oslo: Dreyer.
Calmette, Joseph (Ed.) (1925) *Mémoires (de Philippe de Commines)*. 3 Vols. In the series: *Les Classiques de l'histoire de France au moyen âge*: 3. Paris: Société d'Édition: 5-6.
Cario(n), John (1499-1537) *Les chroniques de Ian Carion philosophe: auec les faicts & gestes du roy Français, iusques au regne du roy Henry deuxiesme de ce nom, à présent regnant*. Paris: Estienne Groulleau.
Carlson, Gottfrid (1955) *Kalmar Recess 1483*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
Carr, E. H. (1961) *What is History?* New York: Vintage Books.
Cary, Edmond (1963a) *Les grands traducteurs français*. Geneva: Georg.
Cary, Edmond (1963b) "Étienne Dolet," in *Les grands traducteurs français*. Genève: Librairie de l'Université Georg & Cie S.A.
Catalogus regum Norvegiae (Short list of Norwegian kings, Old Norse and Latin texts in parallel) in Gustav Storm (1880b) *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*. Kristiania: Brøgger: 183-186.
Catford, J. C. (1965) *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. Oxford University Press.
Catholic Encyclopedia (1967-1996)*: An international work of reference on the teachings, history, organization, and activities of the Catholic Church, and on all institutions, religions, philosophies, and scientific and cultural developments affecting the catholic Church from its beginning to the present*. 19 Vols. New York: McGraw-Hill / The Catholic University of America, Washington, DC.
Cedergren Beck, Svend (1970) "Reformation og Renessanse 1533-1590," in John Danstrup & Hal Koch (Eds.) *Danmarks Historie*. 14 Vols. Copenhagen: Politiken.
Cerquiglini, Bernard (1981) *La Parole Médiévale*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.
Chanoine Crampon (1960) *La Sainte Bible*. Paris/Tournai/Rome/New York: Desclée et Cie.
Chassaigne, M. (1930) *Étienne Dolet: portraits et documents inédits*. Paris: Albin Michel.
Chaucer, Geoffrey (1981) *The Canterbury Tales.* Toronto/New York/London/Sydney: Bantam Classics.
Chavy, Paul & Eva Kushner (Eds.) (1981) "Translation in the Renaissance / La traduction à la Renaissance," in *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*: 8: 2.
Chavy, Paul (1988b) *Traducteurs d'autrefois. Moyen Age et Renaissance. Dictionnaire des traducteurs et de la littérature traduite en ancien et moyen français [842-1600]*. 2 Vols. Paris: Champion-Slatkine.
Chaytor, H.J. (1945) *From Script to Print.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Christensen, Bent & Steen Christensen (1978) *Fra Adam af Bremen til Holberg: et udvalg af "latinsk-danske" middelalderlige og senere tekster*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.

Christensen, C. A. (1948) *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum: Codex Havniensis*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
Clark, Anne L. (1992) *Elisabeth of Schönau: A Twelfth-Century Visionary*. Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press.
Clover, Carol J. & John Lindow (1985) *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature. Islandica XLV*. Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press.
Codex Frisianus: En samling af Norske Konge-sagaer. Christiania (Riksantikvaren)
Cohen, J.M. (1962) *English Translators and Translations*. London: Longman.
Collegium Medievale. Journal for the Association for Medieval Studies. Oslo: Association for Medieval Studies
Collijn, Isak (1904) *Katalog der Inkunabeln der Kgl. Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Uppsala*. Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell.
Collijn, Isak (1910) *Olaus Magnus: ett forsök till karakteristik och nogra önskemål*. Lecture. Uppsala: Michaelisgillets Tillfälliga Publikationer No. 2. Off-print.
Commynes, Philippe de (1994) *Mémoires* [de Louis XI (1423.1483) and *Charles VIII* (1470-1498)]. Contamine, Philippe (Ed.). Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
Conley, C.H. (1927) *The first English Translators of the Classics*. Port Washington (NY): Kennikat Press.
Cook, Robert & Mattias Tveitane (1979) *Strengleikar: an Old Norse Translation of Twenty-one Old French Lais*. Norrøne Tekster 3. Edited from the manuscript Uppsala De La Gardie 4-7 – AM 666 b, 4º. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeinstitutt (XII-XIV, XVI-XVIII).
Copeland, R. (1991) *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Corpus Codicum Norvegicorum Medii Aevi, Quarto series. Oslo: Selskapet Til Utgivelse Av Gamle Norske Håndskrifter.
Critical Inquiry. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Criticism. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
D'Hulst, Lieven (1990) *Cent ans de théorie française de la traduction. De Batteux à Littré (1748-1847)*. Lille: PUL.
D'Hulst, Lieven (1994) "Enseigner la traductologie: pour qui et à quelles fins?" in *Méta*, 39: 4. Montreal: Université de Montréal.
D'Hulst, Lieven (1995) "Pour une historiographie des théories de la traduction. Questions de méthode," in *Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* (TTR). VII: 1. Canadian Association for Translation Studies. Montreal: McGill University: 13-33.
Dal, Erik (1961) *Tre ballader: Harpens kraft: Vreta klosterrov. Drømmekvadet.* Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.
Dal, Erik (1979) "Boghistorisk efterskrift" in *Tre latinske grammatikker: Donatus, Fundamentum, Regulae*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
Dal, Erik (1979) *Tre latinske grammatikker: Donatus, Fundamentum, Regulae*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.
Dale, Richard C. & Servus Gieben (Eds.) (1982) *Hexaëmeron* (Robert Grosseteste) in Auctores Britannici Medii Aevi: 6. London: Oxford University Press.

Danielsen, Rolf & Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Grønli, Knut Helle, Edgar Hovland (1992) *Grunntrekk i norsk historie: Fra vikingtiden til våre dager*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Danstrup, John (1980-82) *Kulturhistorisk leksikon for nordisk middelalder fra vikingetid til reformationstid*. 22 Vols. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger / Oslo: Gyldendal.
Dante Alighieri (1981) *Literature in the vernacular*. Sally Purcell (Ed.). Manchester: Carcanet New Press
Dass, Peter (1753) *Dr. Morten Luthers Lille Catechismus*. Trykt hos Owe Lynov.
De la Garanderie, Marie- Madeleine (1976) *La correspondance d'Erasme et Guillaume Budé*. Paris: Série de Petrarque à Descartes.
Delhaye, Philippe (1951) *Microcosmus* (de Godefroy de Saint-Victor). Lille/Gembloux: Duculot.
Delisle, Jean & J. Woodsworth (Eds.) (1995) *Translators Through History/Les traducteurs dans l'histoire*. Amsterdam/Ottawa: John Benjamin/Les Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.
Delisle, Jean (1980) *L'analyse du discours comme méthode de traduction*. Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.
Delisle, Jean (2001) *Histoire de la traduction.* Small database on CD-Rom. Montreal: University of Ottawa.
Delumeau, Jean (1967) *La Civilisation de la Renaissance*. Paris: Arthaud.
Diplomatarium norvegicum. Oldbreve. Til Kundskab og Norges indre og ydre Forhold, Sprog, Slægter, Sæder, Lovgivning, og Rettergang i Middelalderen. Tillæg til syttende samling (XVII b). Oluf Koldsrud (Ed.). Kristiania 1913
Dor, Juliette (Ed.) (1993) *Chrétien de Troyes: Sire Gauvin et le chevalier vert*. Paris: Bibliothèque Médiévale.
Dove, Mary (1997) *Glossa ordinaria. Pars 22, in Canticum cantorum* (English & Latin) (Anselm of Laon d.1117). Turnhout: Brepols (Series Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 170).
Drake, Stillman (1970) "Early science and the printed book: The spread of science beyond the University" in *Renaissance and Reformation*, 6, Toronto: Canadian Society for Renaissance Studies: 38-52
Driscoll, M. J. (Ed.) (1995) *Ágrip af Konungasögum: A twelfth-century synoptic history of the kings of Norway*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research.
Du Bartas, Guillaume de Salluste (1981) *La sepmaine [1581]*. Yvonne Bellenger (Ed.). Paris: Nizet.
Du Bellay, Joachim (1972) *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* [1549]. Bibliothèque Bordas: Du Bellay's original text commented by Louis Terreaux (Ed.). Paris: Bordas.
Du Bellay, Joachim (1972) *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* [1549]. Bibliothèque Bordas: Du Bellay's original text commented by Louis Terreaux (Ed.). Paris: Bordas.
Dufournet, Jean (Ed.) (1978) *Mémoires sur Louis XI (1464-1483) / Philippe de Commynes*. Paris: Gallimard.

Dupont-Sommer, André & Marc Philonenko et.al. (1987) *La Bible: Écrits Intertestamentaires*. Paris: Gallimard in the series La Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.
Dyrvik, Ståle (1999) *Norsk historie 1625-1814. Vegar til sjølvstende*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget
Ebbestad Hansen, Jan-Erik (1993) *Norrøne myter*. (based on Snorri's *Edda* and the *Older Edda*). Oslo: Arnkrone.
Ebbestad Hansen, Jan-Erik (1998) (Ed.) *Norsk tro og tanke: 1000-1800*. 2 Vols. Anthology of Old Norwegian texts in modern translation. Oslo: Tano Aschehoug.
Eckblad, Finn-Egil (1998) "Botanikkens historie i Norge før Universitetets opprettelse," in Guleng & Paulsen (1998) *Fra Mester Geble til Charles Darwin: Trekk fra matematikkens og naturvitenskapens tidlige historie i Norge*. Oslo: Forum for Universitetshistorie: 9-17.
Edda, Codex Regius of Snorra Edda (GKS 2367 4º) consisting of 4 main manuscripts: *Codex Regius, Codex Uppsaliensis, Codex Wormianus,* and *Utrecht Codex.*
EDDA: Nordisk Tidsskrift for litteraturforskning. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget. Series.
Educational Researcher. New York: American Educational Research Association
Edvardsen, Edvard (1674) *Dend viitberømte i viide verden navnkundige, fordum Kongelige residentzis- kiøb- og Handel-stad Bergen udi Norge hendes fuldkommelige Beskrivelse eller Histories første Part* (Avskrift fra c.1750) preserved in *Norske samlinger, Vol 1: 1-72 and Vol 2: 489-600*, and *Bergens Historike Forenings Skrifter* no. 55. A survey of extant manuscripts and copies can be found in *Bergens Historike Forenings Skrifter* no. 54.
Edwards, Mark (1994) *Printing, propaganda, and Martin Luther*. Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press
Edwards, Paul & Richard H. Popkin (1969) *Medieval Philosophy: From St. Augustine to Nicholas of Cusa* (Anthology of texts). New York/London: Macmillian Publishing.
Eggen, Erik (1962) *Soga om Rolv Krake: med Bjarkemål*. Oslo: Norrøne Bokverk, No. 39.
Einarsson, Bjarni (1985) *Ágríp af Nóregs Konunga sögum. Fagrskinna, Nóregs Konungatál*. Islenzk fornrit: 29. Reykjavik: Hið Islenzka fornritafélag.
Eisenstein, Elizabeth (1983) *The printing revolution in early modern Europe.* Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press
Ekrem, Inger (1992) *Halvard Gunnarssøn: Norges Kongekrønike*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Ekrem, Inger (1998a) *Nytt lys over Historia Norwegie. Mot en løsning i debatten om dens alder?* Bergen: IKRR Seksjon for gresk, latin og egyptologi.
Ekrem, Inger (1998b) "Historia Norwegie og erkebispesetet i Nidaros," in *Collegium Medievale*, Vol. 11 (1998): 49-67.
Ekrem, Inger (1998c) *Historieskrivning og undervisning på latin i Oslo omkring år 1600: Halvard Gunnarssøns Phillipinske Carionkrønike Rostock 1596.* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Ellingsen, Terje (1997) *Reformasjonen i Norge. Da kirken valgte kurs*. Oslo: Høyskoleforlaget.
Elucidarius (Honorius Augustodunensis' Old Norse version) (1957) *The Arnamagnaean Manuscript 674 a, 4º, Photolithographic print of the incomplete extant text in Old Norse/Icelandic*. Facsimile. Copenhagen.
Encyclopedia Britannica 2000 (CD-ROM)
Erasmus, Desiderius (1973) [*Paraclesis, id est, adhortio ad sanctissimum ac salubrissimum Christianae philosophiae studii.] An exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture made by Erasmus Roterodamus (1529) and translated in to Inglissh. An exposition in to the seventh chaptre of the first epistle to the Corinthians*. Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarum/ New York: Da Capo Press.
Étaix, Raymond (Ed.) (1999) *Gregorius Magnus. Homiliae in Evangelia in Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina CXLI*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers: 53-56.
Evans, Michael (1995) *Basic Grammar for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (Readings of excerpts from *Elucidarium* by Honorius of Autun). London: Warburg Institute, University of London.
Even-Zohar, I. (1990) *Polysystem Studies*, Duke University Press [= Poetics Today, 11:1].
Faulkes, Anthony & Richard Perkings (Eds.) (1998) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagensium: An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings (Theodoricus monachus)*. English text only. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.
Favier, Jean (1999) *Dictionnaire du Moyen Âge. Littérature et philosophie.* Paris: Albin Michel / Encyclopædia Universalis.
Fayolle, Roger (1978) *La critique*. In the Series «Lettres françaises». Paris: A. Colin.
Febvre, Lucien & Henri-Jean Martin (1958) *L'apparution du livre*. Paris: Albin Michel.
Fidjestøl, Bjarne (1979) *Sólarljód: tyding og tolkningsgrunnlag*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
Fidjestøl, Bjarne (1996) *Håvamål*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget: 60-61.
Finnbogason, Gunnar (1988) *Lilja*. (Eysteinn Ásgrimsson). Reykjavik: Hörpuútg.
Firchow, Evelyn Scherabon (1992) *The Old Norse Elucidarius*. Original Text and English Translation. Columbia/SC: Camden House.
Fisher, Peter and Hilda Ellis Davidsson (1999) *Saxo Grammaticus. The History of the Danes. Books I-IX*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
Flint, Valerie I.J. (1975a) "The *Elucidarius* of Honorius Augustodunensis and Reform in Late Eleventh Century England," in *Revue Benedictine*: 85: 178-189.
Flint, Valerie I.J. (1975b) "The sources of the "Elucidarius" of Honorius Augustodunensis," in *Revue Benedictine*: 85: 190-198.
Flom, George Tobias (1929) *Codex AM 619 quarto: Old Norwegian Book of Homilies containing the Miracles of Saint Olaf and Alcuin's "De virtutibus et vitiis." Humiliúbók Codex Arnamagneana 619: 4º*. Facsimile Edition. Urbana: The University of Illinois.

Foote, Peter (1998) «Introduction» to *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium : An Account of the Ancient History of the Norwegian Kings (Theodoricus monachus)*. Anthony Faulkes & Richard Perkins (eds). London : Viking Society for Northern Research

Foote, Peter (Ed.) (1996-1998) *A Description of the Northern People: Rome 1555 = Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus: Romae 1555*. (Olaus Magnus). Translation by Peter Fisher and Humphrey Higgens. London: Haklyut Society.

Foucault, Michel (1970) *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage Books.

Foucault, Michel (1971) *The Discourse on Language*. Inaugural speech at Collège de France (Class Compendium).

Foucault, Michel (1972) *The archeology of knowledge*, London: Tavistock Publications, 1972.

Foucher, Jean-Pierre (1975) *Chrétien de Troyes: Romans de la Table Ronde* (Érec et Énide; Clièges ou la fausse morte; Lancelot, le chevalier à la charette; Yvain, le chevalier au lion). Paris: Gallimard.

Fox, John Howard (1950) *Robert de Blois, son oeuvre didactique et narrative: Étude linguistique et littéraire, suivie d'une édition critique avec commentaires et glossaire de L'enseignement des princes et du Chastoiement des dames*. Paris: Nizet.

France, Peter (2000) *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Friis, Peder Claussøn (1633) *Snorre Sturlussøns Norske Kongers Chronica*. Copenhagen: Ole Worm.

Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1981) *Saxo Grammaticus: A Medieval Author between Norse and Latin Culture*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Froissart (1972) *Chroniques*. Paris / Geneva: Minard / Droz.

Frøysadal, Øistein (1998) "Preike på første juledag (*De nativitate domini sermo*)," in Ebbestad Hansen (1998) *Norsk tro og tanke: 1000-1800*. Vol. I: 83-86.

Garrison, James, W. (1986) "Some Principles of Postpositivistic Philosophy of Science," in *Educational Researcher*: 15, Nov 1986: 12-18.

Garstein, Oskar (1998) *Klosterlasse: stormfuglen som ville gjenerobre Norden for Katolisismen*. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Gary, Edmond (1963) *Les grands traducteurs français*. Genève: Librairie de l'Université.

Geiger, Maria (1912) *Die Visio Philiberti des Heinrich von Neustadt* [c. 1312]. Tûbingen: J. C. B. Mohr.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (1966) *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe. Harmondsworth: Penguin Classics.

Geoffrey of Monmouth (1985-1991) *Historia regum britanniae*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Ghemen, Gottfried of (1873) *Den Danske Rimkrønike* (1495). Facsimile Edition. Copenhagen: Budtz Müller & Co. and Ferslew.

Ghemen, Gottfried of (1910) *Facsimile-Udgave af Flores oc Blanzeflor. Ghemens udgave af 1509*. Copenhagen: August Fjelstrup.

Gholson, Barry & Peter Barker (1985) “Kuhn, Lakatos and Lauden: Applications in the History of Physics and Psychology” in *American Psychologist*: 40 (July 1985). Lancaster, Pennsylvania: 755-769.
Giet, Stanislas (1949) *Homiliae in Hexaemeron / L’Hexaemeron de Saint Basil*. Paris: CERF.
Gillie, C. (1977) *Longman’s Companion to English Literature*. London: Longman.
Gjerløw, L. (Ed.) (1968) *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae. Libri Liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis Medii Aevi*, 2. Oslo.
Grammaticus, Saxo (d. 1204) *Danmarks krønike/fordansket ved N.S.F. Grundtvig*. Copenhagen: Steen Hasselbach (1962).
Grane, Leif og Kai Hørby (Eds.) (1993) *Københavns Universitetet 1479-1979*. Copenhagen: Gads Forlag.
Granlund, John (1976) *Historia om de nordiska folken* (*Olaus Magnus with commentaries*). Stockholm: Gidlund.
Gravier, Maurice (Ed.) (1975) *Les relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge*. Paris: Société d’Édition “Les Belles Lettres”.
Green-Pedersen, Niels Jørgen (2001) *Verdens evighed; Det højeste gode; Drømme / Boethius de Dacia*. Corpus philosophorum danicorum medii aevi. Fredriksberg: Det Lille Forlag.
Green-Pedersen, Niels Jørgen (Ed.) (1976) *Boethii Daci Opera: topica-opuscula* (Boethius de Dacia). *Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi*: 6. Pars 1: *Quaestiones super librum topicorum*. Pars 2: *Opuscula: De aeternitate mundi; De summo bono; De somniis*. Copenhagen.
Gregorius (1931) “De nativitate domini nostri Iesu Cristi sermo,” in *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok. Cod. 619 4º*. Old Norse text. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad: 38-43.
Grendler, Paul F. (1989) *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning 1300-1600*. Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press.
Grässe, Johann Georg Theodor (1946) *Legenda aurea: vulgo historia lombardica dicta* (Jacobus Voragine). Dresden/Leipzig: Impensis Librariae Arnoldianae.
Gröber, Gustav (1908) *La Chanson de Roland d’après le manuscrit d’Oxford*. Bibliotheca Romanica 53-54. Strasbourg: J. H. E. Heitz.
Grønbech, Vilhelm (1913) *Religionsskiftet i Norden.* Copenhagen.
Guillerm, Luce (1988) *Sujet de l’écriture et traduction autour de 1540*. Paris: Aux Amateurs de Livres.
Guleng, Mai Britt & Kjell M. Paulsen (1998) *Fra Mester Geble til Charles Darwin: trekk fra matematikkens og naturvitenskapens tidlige historie i Norge*. Oslo: Forum for Universitetshistorie.
Gundersen, Dag (1984) *Sverres saga (En tale mot biskopene)*. Oslo: Gyldendal
Gunnes, Erik (1971) *Kongens ære: kongemakt og kirke i “En tale mot biskopene*.” Oslo: Gyldendal.
Gutt, Ernst-August (1991) *Translation and Relevance, Cognition and Context*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Halphen, Louis (Ed.) (1996) “L’Assemblée de Strasbourg,” in *Classiques de l’Histoire de France au Moyen Âge*. (Extract from Nithard’s account of the Serment of Strasbourg between Charlemagne and Louis). Paris: Libraire ancienne Honoré Champion: 101-109.

Halshall, Paul (Ed.) (2000) *Medieval Sourcebook* (Anthology of selected and full-text medieval sources in both Latin and the vernacular). Fordham University Center for medieval Studies (available on the Web)
Halvorsen, E.F. (1959) *The Norse version of the Chanson de Roland.* Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
Hamre, Lars (1986) "Jon Simenssøn, jurist og humanist, tradisjonsformidlar og sambandsledd mellom gammal og ny tid," in *Peder Claussøn Friis: Samtid og miljø på Agder*. Hans Try (Ed.). Kristiansand: Agder Distriktshøyskole.
Hangeland, Åse-Ragna (1985) *Hekse-jakt: om trolldomsprosessene i Norge og i Europa forøvrig*. Bodø: Bodø Lærerhøgshole.
Hannay, M. P. (1985) (Ed.) *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women As Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*. Kent (Ohio): Kent State University Press.
Harðarson, Gunnar (1995) *Littérature et spiritualité en Scandinavie médiévale: la traduction norroise du* De arrha animae *de Hugues de Saint-Victor: Étude historique et édition critique*. Paris: Brepols.
Haugen, Odd Einar (1998) *Grunnbok i norrønt språk.* Oslo: Ad Notam Gyldendal.
Heggstad, Leiv & Finn Hødnebø, Erik Simensen (1993)*Norrøn ordbok*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Heinrich, Roos (1952) *Die Modi significandi des Martinus de Dacia*. Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff.
Heinrich, Roos (1961) *Martini de Dacia: Opera*. Copenhagen: Gad / Series Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi (2).
Helgason, Jon (1954-66) *Manuscripta Islandica* (Vol I: AM 551a 4º; *Barðar saga, Viglundar saga*; *Grettis saga*. Vol II: AM 2845 4º, in the Royal Collection of the Royal Library Copenhagen. Vol III: The Saga manuscript 9. 10. Aug 4º, in Herzog August Library, Wolfenbüttel. Vol IV: AM 674a 4º. Vol V: *Hauksbok*. AM 371 4º, AM 544 4º, and 675 4º. Vol VI: *Alexanders saga*. AM 519a 4º). Copenhagen: Manuscripta Islandica.
Helgason, Jon (1960) *Hauksbok: The Arnamagnæam manuscripts AM 371 4º, AM 544 4º, and AM 675 4º.* Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
Helk, Vello (1987) *Dansk norske studierejser fra Reformationen 1536-1660, med en matrikkel over studerende i udlandet*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag
Helle, Knut (1974) "Norge blir en stat: 1130-1319," in *Handbok i Norges Historie 3*. Knut Mykland et. al. (Eds.). Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
Hermans, Theo (1985) (Ed.) *The manipulation of Literature. Studies in Literary Translation*. London/Sydney: Croom Helm.
Hillerbrand, Hans J. (1996) *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation.* New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium in Gustav Storm (1880b) in *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*. Kristiania: Brøgger: 1-69.
Historia Norwegi(a)e in in Gustav Storm (1880b) *Monumenta historica Norvegiae*. Kristiania: Brøgger: 70-124.
Historia Norwegi(a)e. Private Owner: Dalhousi, Brechin Castle, Fol. 1r-12r. Copy in the collection of old manuscripts Kjeldeskriftfondets samlingar at the Norwegian Archives in Oslo: No. 173 a.

Historia scholastica Magistri Petri Comestoris in *Patrologia Latina*, Migne, J.-P. Vol. 198. Paris: Migne: 1053-1722.
Hjelde, Oddmund (1990) *Norsk preken i det 12. Århundre: Studier i Gammel norsk Homiliebok*. Oslo: O. Hjelde.
Holmes, S. (1988) *Translated! Papers on Literary Translation and Translation Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1940) *Den gammelnorske oversettelsen av Pamphilius*. Oslo: Jacob Dybwad.
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1998) "Rigstula," in Ebbestad Hansen 1998: 54-60.
Holtsmark, Anne (1986) *Sverres saga; En tale mot biskopene*. Oslo: Aschehoug/ Thorleif Dahls Kulturbibliotek.
Holtsmark, Anne (Ed.) (1978) *Islendingabok/ Ari Þorgilsson hinn frodi* (AM 113 b fol.). Nordisk Filologi. A. Tekster, 5. Oslo Dreyer.
Hoof, Henri van (1991) *Histoire de la traduction en Occident: France, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne, Russie, Pay-Bas*. Paris: Duculot.
Hope, Harald (1972) *Gamal Norsk Homiliebok.* Bergen: Norsk Bokreidingslag.
Horguelin, Paul A. (1996) *Traducteurs français des XVIe et XVIIe siècles*. Montréal: Linguatech.
Huitfeldt, Arild (1594) *Hirdskraa, Den Norske Hirdskraa Eller Gaards Ræt, huor aff forfaris kand, huorledis Rigit udi fordum dage vaar skickit: og huorledis Kogerne udi de dage haffue huldit Hoff…Udset aff gammel Norske paa danske* (1594) Copenhagen.
Indrebø, Gustav (1931) *Gamal norsk homiliebok. Cod. AM 619 4º* Oslo: Jacob Dybwad: "De vitutibus et vitiis" (Alcuin) pp. 1-31; "De nativitate domini nostri Iesu Cristi sermo" (Gregory) pp. 38-53; "Visio sancti Pauli apostoli," pp. 148-153. Reprinted 1966.
Indrebø, Gustav (1936) *Ágrip af Nóregs konunga sögum: Ei liti norsk kongesoge: gamalnorsk grunntekst og nynorsk umsetjing*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Iversen, Ragnvald (1994) *Norrøn grammatikk.* Oslo: Tano.
Jacobsen, Grete (1989) "Nordic Women and the Reformation," in Marshall, S. (Ed.) *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*. Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press.
Jacobsen, Lis (1911-26) *Peder Palladius' Danske Skrifter*. Copenhagen: H.H. Thiele.
Jakobson, Roman (1990) *On Language*. Linda R. Waugh & Monique Monville-Burston (Eds.). Cambridge, MASS: Harvard University Press.
Jenkins, Thomas Atkinson (Ed.) (1974) *Espurgatoire seint Patriz: an Old French poem of the thwelfth century*. Geneva: Slatkine.
Johannesson, Jon (1956) *Islendingabok Ara Froda: AM 113a and 113b, fol.* Reykjavik: Islenzka Handrit, Series in Folio.
Johanssen, Jan & Marius Nygaard, Emil Schreiner (Eds.) (1998) *Latinsk-norsk ordbok.* Oslo: J.W. Cappelens Forlag.
Jonin, Pierre (1982) *Le Roman de Tristan / Béroul: traduit de l'ancien français par Pierre Jonin*. Paris: Champion.

Jónsson, Brandr (1925) *Alexanders saga/ Islandsk oversættelse ved Brandr Jónsson*. Copenhagen: Kommissionen for Det Arnamagnaeanske Legat/Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag
Jonsson, Finnur & Eirikur Jonsson (1892-1896) *Hauksbok udgiven efter de arnamagnæanske håndskrifter no. 371, 544 og 675, 4º, samt forskellige pairshåndskrifter*. Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-selskab.
Jonsson, Finnur (1893-1900) *Heimskringla, Nóregs Konunga Sögur af Snorri Sturluson*. 2 Vols. Copenhagen: S. L. Møllers Bogtrykkeri.
Jonsson, Finnur (1927) *Flateyarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.). Copenhagen.
Jonsson, Finnur (1970) *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiae* (Copenhagen 1780). Westmead/London: Gregg International Publishers.
Jónsson, Guðbrandur (1951) *Lilja: Krists konungs drápa tíræð aftir broður Eysteynn Ásgrimsson*. Reykjavík: Helgafell.
Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar (1993) "Sagaoversettelse i Norge på 1500-tallet," in *Collegium Medievale* 1993: 2: 169-197.
Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar (1997) *Aslak Bolts Jordebok*. Oslo: Riksarkivet.
Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar (1998) "Om verdien av sagaskriftene fra 1600-tallet," in *Collegium Medievale*, Vol. 11: 87-103.
Jørgensen, Torstein and Gastone Saletnich (1999) *Brev til Paven. Norske forbindelser med den Hellige Stol i senmiddelalderen*. Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag.
Kalinke, Marianne (1981) *King Arthur North-by-Northwest. The matière de Bretagne in Old Norse/Icelandic Romances*. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzels Bokhandel.
Kalinke, Marianne (1985a) "Norse Romance," in *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: A Critical Survey*. Carol J. Clover & John Lindow (Eds.). *Islandica 45*. Ithaca & London: Cornell UP.
Kalinke, Marianne (1985b) *Bibliography of Old Norse-Icelandic Romances*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
Kalinke, Marianne (1991) "Translator or Redactor? The problem of Old Norse-Icelandic Translations from Old French Literature," in *New Comparison*: 12*:* (*Translation in the Middle Ages*). Roger Ellis (Ed.). Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
Kelly, Louis (1969) *25 Centuries of Language Teaching: An Inquiry into the Science, Art, and Development of Language Teaching Methodology 500 BC - 1969*. Rowley, Massachussetts: Newbury House.
Keyser, R. & C. R. Unger (1851) *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark.
Kibler, William W. (Ed.) (1985) *Chrétien de Troyes: The Knight with the Lion, or Yvain*. (Original French text and English translation). New York/London: Garland Library Of Medieval Literature 48a.
King, John (1985) "Patronage and Piety: The Influence of Catherine Parr," in M. P. Hannay (Ed.) *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women As Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*. Kent (Ohio): Kent State University Press.
Kirby, Ian J. (1986) *Bible Translations in Old Norse*. Geneva: Librairie Droz.

Kirchmann, Berhard Casp. (1684) *Commentarii historici duo. hactenus inediti: Alter, De regibus vetustis Norvagicis, alter, De profectione Danorum in Terram Sanctam, circa annum MCLXXXV (1185) susceptam, eodem tempore ab incerto auctore conscriptus*. Iohannis Kirchmann, Lübec. Printed by Bernh. Casp. Kirchmanno, J. U. D. in Amsterdam

Kittel, H. & A. P. Frank (Eds.) (1991) *Interculturality and the Historical Study of Literary Translation*. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Kjær, Iver & Bengt Holbek (1972)*Ordsprog i Danmark: 4000 ordsprog fra skrift og tale gennom 600 år*. Copenhagen: Paludan.

Klein, Julie Thompson (1990) *Interdisciplinarity: History, Theory and Practice*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Kleinhans, Martha (1993) "Elucidarium" in "*Lucidere vault tant a dire comme donnant lumiere": untersuchung und Edition der Prosaversionen 2, 4, und 5 des Elucidarium* (Latin and Old French texts in parallel). Tübingen: Niemayer: 260-633.

KLNM (1956-1979) *Kulturhistorisk Leksikon for Nordisk Middelalder. I-XXI*. Oslo / Copenhagen: Gyldendal / Rosenkilde & Bragger.

Knudsen, Trygve (1952) "Innledning," in Seip (1952b) *Gammelnorsk homiliebok etter AM 619 4to*. Oslo: Selskapet til Utgivelse av norske Håndskrifter: 1-39.

Koht, Halvdan (1928) *Folk og Seder i Germania* (Cornelius Tacitus). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Koht, Halvdan (1950) *Historia Norwegiae: den eldste Noregs-historia. Med tillegg: Meldingane frå Noreg hjå Adam av Bremen.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.

Kolsrud, Oluf & Georg Reiss (1913) *Tvo norrøne latinske kvæde med melodiar / utgjevna frå Codex Upsaliensis C 233 (saeculi XIII exeuntis)*. Kristiania: Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter. II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1912: 5.

Kolsrud, Oluf & Kristen Valkner (1963) "Introduction" to *Oration om mester Geble* 1571 *utgitt på grunnlag av Edv. Edvartsens "Bergens Beskrivelse*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Kolsrud, Oluf (1913) "Den Norske Kirkes Erkebiskoper og Biskoper indtil Reformationen," in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum 17B: Oldbreve til kundskab om Norges indre og ydre Forhold, Sprog, Slægter, Sæder, Lovgivning, og Rettergang i Middelalderen. Tillæg til Syttende Samling (XVII B)*. Appendix to Volume 17. Christiania: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri.

Kraggerud, Egil (1981) *De consolatione philosophiae / Filosofiens trøst* (Boethius). Thorleif Dahls Kulturbibliotek. Oslo: Aschehoug.

Krantz, Albert (1583) *Rerum Germanicarum historici clariss. I. Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniae, Sueciae, Noruagiae, chronica: quibus gentium origo vetustissima, & Ostrogothorum*… Frankfort (OLIS).

Krause, Virginia (2001) "The End of Chivalric Romance: Barthélemy Anau's *Alector* (1560)," in *Renaissance And Reformation,* Vol. XXIII, No. 2. London (ONT): Canadian Society for Renaissance Studies.

Kristian I's håndfestning, in Edvard Bull (1977)*Nordmenn før oss*. Oslo: Tano

Kristjánsson, Jónás (1960-1964) *Riddarasögur*. 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Handritastofnun Islands.

Kristjánsson, Jónás (1988) *Eddas and Sagas: Iceland's medieval literature.* Translation by Peter Foote. Reykjavik: Hið íslenska bókmenntafálag.
Kroman, E. (1980) *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*. Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie.
Krontiris, T. (1992) *Oppositional Voices: Women as writers and translators of literature in the English Renaissance*. London and New York: Routledge.
Kvalbein, Laila Akslen (1970) *Feminin Barokk: Dorothe Engelbretsdotters liv og dikning*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Kvålen, Eivind (1925) *Den eldste norske kongesoga: Morkinskinna og Hryggjarstykki*. Oslo.
Kværness, Gunhild (1996)*Ein kan godt blote bere det skjer i løyndom. Kristenrettane i Gulatingslova og Grágás og forholdet mellom dei*. Oslo: Kult Skriftserie 65
Kölbing, Eugen (1872) *Riddarasögur: Parcevals saga, Valvers Þattr, Ívents Saga, Mírmans saga/ zum ersten mal herausgeben und mit einer literarhistorischen Einleitung versehen von Eugen Kölbing*. Strasbourg: Karl J. Trübner.
Kölbing, Eugen (1879) *Elie de Saint-Gilles, chanson de geste publiée avec introduction, glossaire et index par G. Raynaud, accompagnée de la rédaction norvégienne (Elis saga ok Rosamundu) tr. Par E. Koelbing*. Paris: Firmin Didot.
Kålund, Kr. (1888-94) *Katalog over den Arnamagnæanske Håndskriftsamling*, 2.Vols. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Labarge, Margaret Wade (19986) *Women in Medieval Life*. London: Hamish Hamilton.
Lacroix, Daniel & Philippe Walter (1989) *Tristan et Iseut. Les poèmes français. La saga norroise. Textes originaux présentés, traduits et commentés par D. Lacroix et P. Walter*. Paris: Le Livre de Poche, in the series "Lettres gothiques."
Lamb, M.E. (1985) "The Cooke Sisters: Attitudes Towards Learned Women in the Renaissance," in Hannay, M. P. (1985) (Ed.) *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women As Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*. Kent (Ohio): Kent State University Press.
Langlois, Ernst (1965) *Le Roman de la Rose* (Jean de Meung et Guillaume de Lorris) *publié d'après les mss.* New York: Société des anciens textes français.
Larousse (1993) "Le temps des ingénieurs," in *L'Histoire du monde*, No. 55: 534-538.
Larrington, Carolyne (1995) *Women and Writing in Medieval Europe. A Sourcebook*. London & New York: Routledge.
Larsen, Sten (1989) *Ole Bole kom i skole: skolens historie i Danmark.* Copenhagen: Gjellerup & Gad.
Laurion, Gaston (1997) *Les Lais de Marie de France*. Montréal: Lanctôt.
Lausten, Martin Schwarz (1987) *Biskop Peder Palladius og Kirken.* Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
Lawson, John (1967) *Mediaeval Education and the Reformation*. London: Routledge.

Le Goff, Jacques (1985) *Les intellectuels au moyen âge*. Paris: Seuil.
Lefebvre, Lucien (1958) *L'apparison du livre*. Paris: Albin.
Legrelle, Arsène (1864) *Holberg concidéré comme imitateur de Molière*. Paris: Hachette.
Léon, Antoine (1972) *Histoire de l'education en France*. Paris: PUF.
Liestøl, Knut (1946)*A Norwegian Visionary Poem from the Middle Ages*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Lighthall, Fred (1988) "An Organization Watcher's View Of Classroom Questioning And Discussion," in James Dillon (Ed.) *Questioning and Discussion: A Multidisciplinary Study*. Norwood, NY: Ablex Publishing Company
Lillegaard, Leif B. (1989) *Landkjenning på Røst: Pietro Querinis dødsferd mot verdens ytterste grense i 1431*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Lindblad, Gustaf (1963) *Bergsbok*: Perg. Fol. Nr.1 in the Royal Library at Stockholm. Early Icelandic Manuscripts in Facsimile. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bragger.
Loth, Agnete, Knud Togeby & Pierre Halleux (Eds.) (1980) *Karlamagnus Saga: Branches I, III, VII et XI: Édition bilingue*. French and Old Norse texts in parallel. Ogier le Danois: 3. Copenhagen: Société pour l'étude de la langue et de la litérature danoise.
Lotringer, Sylvère (1996) *Foucault Live*. *Collected interviews 1961-1984.* Columbia University, NY: Semiotext(e)
Louis-Jensen, J. (Ed.) (1963) *Trójumanna saga*. Copenhagen: Editiones Arnamagnaeanae, A, 8
Lusignan, Serge (1986) *Parler vulgairement. Les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. Montréal: Linguatech.
Lönnroth, Lars (1972) "Charlemagne, Hrolf Kraki, Olaf Tryggvason: Parallels in the Heroic Tradition," in Maurice Gravier (Ed.) *Les Relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge* (1975). Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres:" 29-52.
Magnus, Olaus (1972) *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Romae 1555). Introduction by John Granlund. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
Marchall, Sherrin (1989) *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
Marchello-Nizia, Christiane (Ed.) (1995) *Tristan et Iseut: Les premières versions européennes* (amongst others Béroul: Tristan et Iseut; Thomas: Tristan et Iseut, fragment de Carlisle; Marie de France: Le lai du Chèvrefeuille; La folie de Tristam (Berne); La folie de Tristan (Oxford), Eilhart d'Oberg: Tristant; Gottfried de Strasbourg: Tristan et Isolde; Frère Robert: le saga de Tristram et d'Isönd; Sire Tristrem). Paris: Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.
Martinsen, Olav (1996) "Aslak Bolt 1428-1450," taken from www.katolsk.no/biografier
Mary, André, (Ed.) (1951) *La fleur de la prose française depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle. Textes choisis et accompagnés de traductions et de gloses*. Paris: Garnier Frères.

McDermott, A. Charlene Senape (Ed.) (1980) *Boethius of Dacia: Godfrey of Fontaine's abridgement of Boethius of Dacia's Modi significandi sive quaestiones super priscianum maiorem*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
McMurtrie, Douglas (1943) *The Book: The Story of Printing & Bookmaking*. New York / London: Oxford University Press.
Mediaeval Scandinavia. Odense: Odense University Press.
Mediaeval Studies. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
Medievalia et humanistica. An American Journal for the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Boulder (Col.): Medieval and Renaissance Society
Melanchthon, Philipp (1979) *Apologia de Confessio(ne). The Justification of Man by Faith Only* (1548). Amsterdam: Theatrvm Orbis Terrarvm.
Meletinsky, Eleazar M. (1998) *The Elder Edda and the Early Forms of the Epic*. Trieste: Parnaso.
Ménager, Daniel (1968) *Introduction à la vie littéraire du XVIe siècle*. Paris: Bordas, Collection Études.
Merquior, J. G. (1991) *Foucault*. London: Fontana Press
Meta: Translators' Journal / Journal des traducteurs. Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.
Meung, Jean de (1966) *Roman de la Rose (1230)* Paris: CFMA.
Meyer, P. (1895) "Un samedi par nuit," in *Romania:* XXIV. Paris: Société des amis de la Romania: 365-375.
Micha, Alexandre (1978) *Lancelot: Roman en prose du 13e siècle*. Genève: Droz.
Midbø, Hans Larsinius (1949) *Historia de profectione danorum in Hierosolymam. En studie over forfatteren og hans verk* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: J. Dybwad.
Midbø, Hans Larsinius (1949) *Historia de profectione danorum in Hierosolymam. En studie over forfatteren og hans verk* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: J. Dybwad.
Migne, J.-P. (1844-1864) *Patrologiae cursus completus: sive bibliotheca universalis, integra, uniformis, commoda, oeconomica omnium ss. Patrum, doctorum scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum … Series Latina* (*Patrologia Latina, PL*), 221 Vols. Paris: Migne.
Minnis, A. J. (1988) *Medieval Theory of Authorship*. 2nd edition. Aldershot: Wildwood House.
Modern Language Notes. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press
Moignet, Gérard (1969) *La Chanson de Roland*. Paris: Bibliothèque Bordas
Monsen, Erling & A. H. Smith (Eds. & Trans.) (1990) *Heimskringla, or the Lives of the Norse Kings*. New York: Dover.
Morgenstern, Gustav (1890) *Oddr, Fagrskinna und Snorre*. Leipzig: Doctoral Thesis.
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1993) *Edda Kvede*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1994) *Voluspå.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1996) *Draumkvedet.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Mortensson-Egnund, Ivar (1996) *Håvamål.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Mounin, Georges (1955) *Les belles infidèles*. Paris: Cahiers du Sud.

Munch, P.A. (1996) *Norrøne gude- og heltesagn*. Revised edition by Jørgen Haavardsholm. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Müller, Karl (1913) *Soliloquium de arrha animae und De vanitate mundi*. Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber's Verlag.
Mynors, R. A. B. & R. M. Thomson & M. Winterbottom (Eds.) (1998) *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings* (William of malmesbuty). London/New York: Clarendon Press.
Münster, Sebastian (1550) *Cosmographiae universalis*. Basel (OLIS).
Mørkhagen, Sverre (1995) *Kristins verden: Om norsk middelalder på Kristin Lavransdatters tid*. Oslo: Cappelen Fakta.
Maal og Minne. Oslo: Det norske Samlaget.
New comparison: a journal of comparative and general literary studies (1986). British Comparative Literary Association
Nida, E. (1976) "A Framework for the Analysis and Evaluation of Theories of Translation," in *Translation: applications and research*. Richard Brislin (Ed.). New York: Gardner Press.
Nielsen, Lauritz (1996) *Dansk bibliografi 1482-1600*. (5 Bind). Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselkab.
Nilssøn, Laurents (Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus) (1999) "Det Bref, som Studenter af Danmarkis oc Norrigis riger, werendis udenlands, for boglige Konsters Skyld, haffuer till di Professorer oc Höglerde Mend i Kiöbinghafns Academia Skrefuit Anno 1602 (Brunsberg 1606)," in Ebbestad Hansen 1998: Volume 1: 271-286.
Njardvik, Njördur P. (1991) *Sólarljód*. In the series *Islensk rit*, 10. Reykjavik: Bókmennta-fræðistofnun Háskóla Islands.
Nordahl, Helge (1997) *Den Hellige Birgitta: Beåndet vishonær – begavet politiker*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Norgesartikkelen i Kristian 3.s håndfestning," in Sølvberg, Songstad & Olsen (1986) *Historiske kilder før 1850*. Oslo: Aschehoug & in Ebbestad Hansen 1998: Volume 1: 176.
Næss, Harald (Ed.) (1993) *A History of Norwegian Literature*. Lincoln & Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.
Næss, Leonhard (1929) *Lilja av Eysteinn Aasgrimsson: fra gamalnorsk ved Leonhard Næss*. Oslo.
Nørlund, Poul (Ed.) (1913) *Hans Mogensens (1525-1595) Oversættelse af Philippe de Commynes «Memoires» [1574]*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel.
OLIS: Oxford University Libraries
Olrik, Axel (1944) *Ingjaldskvadet*. Introduction by Ejnar Thomsen. Copenhagen:
Olrik, Axel (1982) *Bjarkemål*. Højberg: Wormianum.
Olrik, Axel (1992) *Danske heltesagn*. Copenhagen: Gyldendals Bogklubber
Olson, Emil (1956) *Flores och Blanzeflor*. Svenska Fornskrift-Sællskapet. Lund: Carl Blom.
Orgland, Ivar (1991) *Harmsol. Munken Gamli: norsk omdiktning*. Oslo: Solum.
Ostenso, Martha (1925) *Graagaas*. Oslo: Some.
Painter, George D. (1976) *William Caxton: A Quincentenary Biography of England's First Printer*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Pálsson, Steingrímur (Ed.) (1944) *Heimskringla (Snorri Sturluson).* 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Helgafell.
Pálsson, Steingrímur (Ed.) (1944) *Heimskringla (Snorri Sturluson).* 2 Vols. Reykjavik: Helgafell.
Parallèles: Cahiers de l'École de traduction et d'interprétation de Genève. Geneva: Université de Genève.
Paris, Gaston & Alfred Jeanroy (Eds.) (1927) *Extraits des chroniqueurs français: Villehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Commines (avec notes et glossaire).* Paris: Hachette.
Passio Olavi (Codex Duacensis 295) Bibliothèque municipale de Douai, France, fol. 94r-108r. Copy in the collection of old manuscripts at the Norwegian Archives Oslo, nr. 336.
Paton, Lucy Allen (1911) *Historia regum Britanniae* / *The histories of the kings of Britain*, by Geoffrey of Monmouth. London: Everyman's Library.
Pauphilet, Albert (Ed.) (1952) *Historiens et chroniqueurs du moyen âge: Robert de Clari, Vilehardouin, Joinville, Froissart, Commynes.* Paris: Gallimard Bibliothèque de la Pléiade (No. 48).
Pedersen, Christiern (1850-1851) "Preface" to *Jærtegnspostillen (1515)*. Facsimile Edition. 2 Vols. Malmö: Föreningen Malmö Stadsbiblioteks Vänner.
Pedersen, Christiern (1853) "Christiern Pedersens Oversættelse af Davids Psalter," in *Christiern Pedersends Danske Skrifter* (1850-1856), Vol. 4. C. J. Brandt & R. Th. Fenger (Eds.). Copenhagen. Gyldendal
Pedersen, Christiern (1961-62) *Æsops levned og fabler* (Christiern Pedersen's translation of Stainhøwel's*Æsop*). 2 Vols. Bengt Holbek (Ed.). Copenhagen: Schultz.
Pedersen, Christiern (1973) *Vocabularum ad usum dacorum: ordine litterario cum eorum vulgari interpretatione*. Paris 1510. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
Pedersen, Christiern (1986) *Om Urtevand* 1534 . Facsimile Edition. 2 Vols. Malmö: Föreningen Malmö Stadsbiblioteks Vänner
Pernoud, Régine (1990) *La femme au temps des croisades*. Paris: Stock/Laurence Pernoud.
Prescott, A. L. (1985) "The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite of Navarre's *Miroir* and Tudor England," in Hannay, M. P. (1985) (Ed.) *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women As Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*. Kent (Ohio): Kent State University Press.
Pym, Anthony (1998) *Method in Translation History*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
Pym, Anthony (2000) *Negotiating the Frontier. Translators and Intercultures in Hispanic History*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
Pöhlmann, Horst Georg (1993) *Loci communes 1521: Lateinish-deutsch* / Philipp Melanchthon. Translated and commented on by Pöhlmann. Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn.
REAL: Yearbook of Research in English and American Literature. Berlin/New York: De Gruyter
Rener, Frederick M. (1989) *Interpretation: Language and Translation from Cicero to Tytler*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

REX = Royal Danish Library
Rian, Øystein (Ed.) (1997) *Danmark-Norge 1380-1814. Bind I-II. I. Felleskabet bliver til 1380-1536. II. Den aristokratiske fyrstetiden 1536-1648*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget / Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
Rindal, Magnus (1980) *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga. Manuscript no. 6 fol. in the Royal Library, Stockholm, and the Norwegian fragments.* Corpus codicum Norvegicorum medii aevi. Quarto Series: 6. Facsimile Edition. Oslo.
Rindal, Magnus (1981) *Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*. Norrøne tekster: 4. Oslo: Kjeldeskriftfondet.
Romania: Recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures romanes. (1872) Paris: Société des amis de la Romania
Rosenkilde, V. & C. J: Ballhausen (1987) *Thesaurus Librorum Danicorum 15th and 16th century*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
Rositzke, Harry August (1940) *The C-Text of the Old English Chronicles / The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Bochum-Langendeer: H. Pöppinghaus.
Rossel, Sven Håkon (1994) *Ludvig Holberg: A European Writer*. Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.
Rosweyd, Heribert (1628) *Vitae Patrum: de vita et verbis seniorum sive Libri X, historiae eremiticae…* Antwerpen: Ex Officina Platiniana.
Rust, Val Dean (1989) "Democracy and education in Pre-Independent Norway," in *The Democratic Tradition and the Evolution of Schooling in Norway*. Edited by Rust. New York/London: Greenwood Press.
Ryan, William Granger (1993) *Jacobus de Voragine: The Golden Legend. Readings on the Saints*. 2 Vols. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
Rychner, Jean (Ed.) (1968) *Les Lais de Marie de France*. Paris: H. Champion.
Saga af Tristram ok Ísönd & Möttuls saga (1878). Det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskab. Copenhagen: Thieles Bogtrykkeri.
Saint Gregory: AM 237 a fol. Z: Fragment of 34th Homily. Copenhagen: Arnamagnaean Institute.
Saint Gregory: AM 677 4º: *Dialogues*. Arnamagnaean Institute, Copenhagen
Salvesen, Astrid (1968) *Studies in the vocabulary of the Old Norse Elucidarium*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Salvesen, Astrid (1969) *Historia Norwegiae. Historien om de gamle norske kongene / Theodoricus Monachus: Historien om Danenes ferd til Jerusalem*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Salvesen, Astrid (1971) *Gammelnorsk Homiliebok.* Translation by A. Salvesen. Introduction and comments by Erik Gunnes. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Sando, Svein (1999) "Norsk misjonshistorie 900-1000." Lecture at Stavanger College by Fridtjov Birkeli 1980, made available on the web.
Sawyer, Peter & Birgit (1993) *Medieval Scandinavia. From Conversion to Reformation: circa 800-1500*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.
Schepelern, H. D. (1985) *Hexaëmeron. Anders Sunesen: Gengivet på danske vers af H. D. Schepelern med en efterskrift af oversætteren og Jørgen Pedersen.* Copenhagen: DSL/Gad.
Schreiner, Johan (1972) *Fagrskinna. En norsk kongesaga*. Oslo: Fabritius.

Schulte, R. and J. Biguenet (Eds.) (1992) *Theories of Translation: An Anthology of Essays from Dryden to Derrida*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.
Schultz-Flügel, Eva (1990) *Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum* (Tyrannius Rufinus Aquileiensis c.345-c.410). Patristische Studien: 34. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.
Seip, Didrik Arup (1952b) *Gammelnorsk homiliebok etter AM 619 4to*. Oslo: Selskapet til utgivelse av norske håndskrifter.
Seip, Didrik Arup (1956) *Stjórn: AM 227 fol.: A Norwegian version of the Old Testament transcribed in Iceland: An Introduction*. Corpus Codicum Islandorum Medii Aevi 20. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.
Seip, Didrik Arup (1962) "Laurends Hanssøn," in *Norsk Biografisk leksikon*, Vol. 14. Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget.
Shichtman, Martin B. (1987) "Gawain in Wace, Layamon in the alliterative Morte Arthure: A cultural comparison" in *Medieval Text & Contemporary Readers*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
Sidwell, Keith (1996) *Reading Medieval Latin*. (Anthology of medieval texts from the foundations of Christian Latin to the 12th century Renaissance). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Silverstein, Theodore (1935) *Visio sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalpyse in Latin, together with nine Texts*. London: Christophers.
Skard, Eilif (1930) *Passio Olavi* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Skard, Eilif (1932) *Historia de antiquitate regum norwagiensium* / *Soga um dei gamle norske kongane av Tjodrik munk* (Theodoricus Monachus). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Skaadel, Jardar & Svein Erik Skarsbø (1998) *Norske kongar og regentar*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Skårup, Poul (1972) "Les *Strengleikar* et les lais qu'ils traduisent," in Maurice Gravier (1975) *Les Relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres": 97-115.
Snorrason, Oddr (1932) *Óláfs saga Tryggvassonar*, Edited by Finnur Jonsson. Copenhagen: Gad.
Snorre Sturlason (1893-1905) *The stories of the kings of Norway: Called the round world (Heimskringla) by Snorri Sturluson*. Morris, William & Eirikr Magnusson (Ed. & Trans.). London: Bernard Quaritch, The saga Library 3-6.
Snorre Sturlason (1965) *The Prose Edda of Snorri Sturluson: Tales from the Norse Mythology*. Introduction by Sigurdur Nordal; Translation by Jean I. Young. Berkeley: Berkeley University Press.
Snorre Sturlason (1981) *Snorres Kongesagaer* (Translated and edited by Anne Holtsmark and Didrik Arup Seip).Gjøvik: Gyldendal.
Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies (1926-). Cambridge (Mass): Medieval Academy of America.
Stanford, Michael (1986) *The Nature of Historical Knowledge*. New York: Basil Blackwell.
Steiner, T.R. (1975) *English Translation Theory 1650-1800*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Steiner. G. (1976) *After Babel*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Steinnes, Asgaut (1962) "Om Bergsbok i 1500-åri," in *Maal og Minne* 1962. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget/Bymålslaget: 9-30.
Steinnes, Asgaut (1965) *Bergsbok: Eit gammalt utdrag or Bergsbok: forteljingar frå dei store kongesagene om Olav Tryggveson og Olav den heilage*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Stevenson, Jane (1992) *Women Writers in English Literature*. Essex: Longman York Press.
Stillwell, M. B. (1972) *The Beginning of the World of Books, 1450-1470: A Chronological Survey of the Texts Chosen for Printing…* New York: Bibliographical Society of America.
Stokker, Kathleen (1993) "Oral Tradition, Humanism, And The Baroque," in *A History of Norwegian Literature*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.
Storm, Gustav (1880b) *Monumenta historica Norwegiae Latine Conscripta*. Reprint 1973. Contains: *Historia antiquitate regum norwagiensium, Historia Norwegiae, Acta Sancti Olavi Regis Martyris, Acta Sanctorum in Selio, Acta Sancti Halvardi, De spinea corona, Itinerarum in Terram Sanctam* (fratre Mauritio), *Fundatio Lysensis Monasteri, Commentariolus de Coenobiis Norwegiae*). Oslo: Fotografisk Opptrykk 1975.
Storm, Gustav (1881) *Om Peder Claussøn Friis og hans skrifter (Complete works).* Oslo.
Storm, Gustav (1899) *Laurents Hanssøns sagaoversættelse (Heimskringla)*. Videnskabselskabet II, Historisk-Filosofisk Klasse 1898:1. Christiania: Hans A. Benneches Fond.
Strømholm, Per (1993) *Bokspor: norske bøker gjennom 350 år*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget
Stubbs, William(1867) *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis: the chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD. 1169-1192* (Benedict of Peterborough), in Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 49. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.
Studer, Paul (1918) *Le mystère d'Adam: An Anglo-Norman drama of the twelfth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Størssøn, Mattis (1860) *Mats Størssøns beretning (1560-1569) om de Tydske Kjøbmænd i Bergen*. Christiania.
Sudhoff, Karl (Ed.) (1917) "Daniels von Morley Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum, nach der Handschrift Cod. Arundel 377 des Britischen Museums Abdruck gebracht," in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*. 8/3. Leipzig, pp.1-40.
Sørlie, Mikjel (Ed.) (1962) *Den Norske Krønike oversatt av M. Størssøn*. Bergen: J. D. Beyer / Det Norske språk- og litteraturselskap (Edited from *Den norske Krønike om de fraemfaerne Konger, Herrer och Førster, som haffue veldedigenn regiered och styred Norriges Rige/Uddragen af denn gamle norsche paa dansche ved Mattis Størssøn 1594.* Manuscript).
Tate, George Sheldon (1989) *Liknarbraut: a skaldic drápa on the cross*. Ann Harbor, Mich: PhD Thesis from Cornell University.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and the New Testament (King James' Authorized Version). Oxford: Oxford University Press
Thomas, Hugh (1979) *An Unfinished History of the World*. London: H. Hamilton.
Thormodsæter, Sofus (1912)*Nordmænd ved Wittenbergs universitet i Reformationsårhundredet*. Kristiania: Grøndahl.
Thuesen, Nils Petter (1997) *Norgeshistorien i årstall*. Oslo: Orion Forlag.
Tischendorf, Constantin von (1866) *Apocalypse Apocryphae: Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohanni, item Mariae Dormitio* (Transitus Mariae); *additis evangeliorum et actuum apocryphorum supplementis* (The Apocalypses, the Greek Transitus Mariae, and the first Latin Transitus Mariae, and the Syriach Apocalypse of Paul). Leipzig: Mendelsohn.
Tobin, Prudence Mary O'Hara (1976) *Les Lais anonymes des XII^e^ et XIIIe siècles. Édition critique de quelques lais bretons.* Geneva: Librairie Droz.
Togeby, Knut (1972) "La chronologie des versions scandinaves des anciens textes français," in Maurice Gravier (Ed.) *Les relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres": 183-192.
Toldberg, Helge (1958-61) *Den danske Rimkrønike*. Copenhagen: Schultz.
Toulmin, Stephen (1982) "The Construal of Reality: Criticism in Modern and Post-modern Science," in *Critical Inquiry* 9. Chicago: University of Choicago Press: 93-111.
Tucker, John & Joanna Louis-Jensen (1998) *Plácidus saga: with an edition of Plácitus drápa*. *Editiones Arnamagnána* Series B, Vol. 31 Copenhagen: C. A. Reitzel.
Tveitane, Mattias (1964) *En norrøn versjon av Visio Pauli*. Bergen: Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen, Humanistisk Serie 1964: 3.
Tveitane, Mattias (1968) *Den lærde stil. Oversetterprosa i den norrøne versjonen av Vitae Patrum*. Bergen/Oslo: Årbok for Universitetet i Bergen. Humanistisk serie. 1967:2.
Uecker, Heiko (Ed.) (1980) *Vienna Psalter*: *Cod. Viund. 2713*. Editiones Arnamagnæanæ. Series B: 27. Latin and Old Norse texts in parallel, commentaries in German. Copenhagen: C.A. Reitzel.
Ulset, Tor (1983) *Det genetiske forholdet mellom Ágrip, Historia Norwegiae og Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagiensium: En analyse med utgangspunkt i oversettelses teknikk samt en diskusjon omkring begrepet "latinisme" i samband med norrøne tekster*. Oslo: Novus.
Unger, C. R (Ed.) (1848) *Alexanders saga: norsk bearbeidelse fra Trettende Aarhundrede af Philip Gautiers Latinske Digt Alexandreis*. (Brandr Jonsson). Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark.
Unger, C. R (Ed.) (1853) *Saga Þiðriks konungs af Bern*: *Fortællingen om kong Thidrik af Bern og hans Kæmper i norsk bearbeidelse fra det trettende Aarhundrede efter Tydske Kilder*. Christiania: Feilberg & Landmark.
Unger, C. R. & P.A. Munch (Eds.) (1847) *Fagrskinna: kortfattet norsk Konge-saga fra Slutningen af det tolfte Aarhundrede eller Begyndelsen af det trettende Aarhundrede. Med to lithographerede facsimile-Aftryk.* Christiania: Kongelige Norske Fredriks Universitet.

Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1862) *Stjorn. Gammelnorsk Bibelhistorie fra Verdens Skabelse til det Babyloniske Fangenskap.* Christiania: Feilberg & Landmarks Forlag.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1864) *Gammel Norsk Homiliebok*. Christiania: Brøgger & Christie.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1867) *Morkinsskinna: Pergamentsbog fra første Halvdel af det trettende Aarhundrede: Indeholdende en af de ældste Optegnelser af norske Kongesagaer*. Christiania: B. M. Bentzen.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1871) *Maríu Saga: Legender om Jomfru Maria og hendes Jertegn*. Christiania: Brøgger & Christie.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1874) *Postola Sögur: legendariske Fortællinger om Apostlernes liv, deres Kamp for Kristendommens udbredelse samt deres Martyrdød: efter gamle Haandskrifter*. Christiania: B. M. Bentzen.
Unger, C. R. (Ed.) (1877) *Heilagra manna sögur: Fortællinger og Legender om Hellige Mænd og Kvinder: efter gamle haards Skrifter* (Lives of the Saints). 2 Vols. Christiania: C. R. Unger.
Van Hoof, H. (1972) *International Bibliography of Translation*. *Bibliographie internationale de la traduction*: München-Pullach: Verlag Dokumentation.
Vedel, Anders Sørensen (1575) *Den danske Krønicke som Saxo Grammaticus screff nu først aff Latinen udset, flittelige offuerseet oc forbedret aff Anders Søffrinsesøn Vedel*. Copenhagen.
Vellev, Jens, Per Hofman Hansen & Alan Karker (1986) *Hans Tausen og Hans Vingaard: reformator og bogtrykker i Viborg*. Viborg: Skovgaard Museet i Viborg & Viborg Stiftsmuseum.
Venuti, L. (1995) *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*. London: Routledge.
Venås, Kjell (1962) "Innleiing," to *Strengleikar eller Songbok*. Henrik Rytter (Ed.). Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.
Venås, Kjell (1990) *Den fyrste morgonblånen: Tekster på norsk frå dansketida*. Oslo: Novus.
Verbrugge, R. (1985) "Margaret More Roper's Personal Experience in the Devout Treatise Upon the Pater Noster," in Hannay, M. P. (1985) (Ed.) *Silent But for the Word: Tudor Women as Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*. Kent (Ohio): Kent State University Press.
Vigiliae Christianae: A Revue of early Christian Life and Language. Amsterdam: Brill
Viller, Marcel (1932-1995) *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique : doctrine et histoire / publié sous la direction de Marcel Viller, assisté de F. Cavallera et J. de Guibert, avec le concours d'un grand nombre de collaborateurs.* Paris: Beauchesne
Visio Philiberti (vel Fulberti) in *Archivo della latinità italiana del Medievo*, a joint project by the following universities: Università di Milano, Università di Napoli Frederico II, Università di Palermo, Università da Foscari, Università di Verona (Available on the Web).
Vislie, Geirmund (Ed.) *Bergens Rimkrønike: utgave etter håndskriftene (1560).* Oslo: Det Mallingske Bogtrykkeri.

Vitae Patrum in Patrologiae cursus completus … Series Latina, Vols. 73-74. Paris: Migne.
Walsingham, Thomas (1863-64) *Historia anglicana*. 2 Vols. In series *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*. London: Longman, Green, Roberts & Green.
Way, Agnes Clare (1963) *Homiliae in Hexaemeron. Exegetical Homilies / Saint Basil in Fathers of the Church*, 46. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.
Wayne, V. (1985) "Some Sad Sentence: Vive's Instruction of a Christian Woman," in Marshall, S. (Ed.) (1989) *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*. Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press.
Weaver, F.E. (1989) "Erudition, Spirituality, and Women: The Jansenist Contribution," in Marshall, S. (Ed.) (1989) *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*. Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press.
Widding, Ole & Hans Bekker-Nielsen (1959) "A Debate Of The Body And The Soul In Old Norse Literature," in *Mediaeval Studies* 21, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
Widding, Ole (1960) (Ed.) *Alkuin i Norsk-Islandsk overlevering* (Edit. Arn. A. 4). Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.
Willen, D. (1989) "Women and Religion in Early Modern England," in Marshall, S. (Ed.) (1989) *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe*. Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press.
Wippel, John F. & Allan B. Wolter (O.F.M) (1969) *Medieval Philosophy from St. Augustine to Nicholas of Cus. Readings in the History of Philosophy* (Anthology of medieval texts in English translation). New York/London: The Free Press.
Wittgenstein, Ludwig (1958) *Philosophical Investigations*. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice Hall.
Woledge, Brian (1988) *Commentaire sur Yvain (Le chevalier au lion) de Chrétien de Troyes.* 2 Vols. In the series *Publications romanes et françaises*, CLXX (Vol. 1) & CLXXXVI (Vol. 2). Geneva: Droz.
Wolf, Kirsten (1990) "Brandr Jonsson and Stjórn," in *Scandinavian Studies*: 62: 163-188.
Wolf, Kirsten (1995) *Gyðinga saga: Rit Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi*: 42. Reykjavik: Stofnun Arna Magnussonar.
Worth, Valerie (1988) *Practising Translation in Renaissance France: The Example of Étienne Dolet*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Zeeberg, Peter (2000) *Saxos Danmarks Historie.* Copenhagen: Gad.
Zinc, Georges (1972) "Les poèmes arthuriens dans les pays scandinaves," in Maurice Gravier (1975) *Les relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres."
Zuber, R. (1968) *Les «belles infidèles» et la formation du goût classique*. Paris: Armand Collin.
Ørjasæter, Jo (1994)*Våre folkeeventyr, hva forteller de?* Aurskog: Landbruksforlaget.

Øverås, Asbjørn (1952) *Trondheim katedralskole: bygninger og undervisningsrom 1152-1952*. Trondheim: F. Bruns Bokhandel
Øyslebø, Olaf (1979)*Mester Absalon forteller: En studie i 1500 tallets ord- og setningsbruk*. Oslo: Skrivestua.
Aarebo, Anders (1965) “Hexaëmeron,” in *Samlede skrifter*. Vol. I. Copenhagen: Munksgaards Forlag.
Aasen, Elisabeth (1996) *Det skjønnes hage. Middelalderens skrivende kvinner*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.

Further Readings

Actes du Colloque de Liège (1975) *Les relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au moyen âge (Avril 1972)*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres."

Adams, G. B. (1992) *Civilization During The Middle Ages, Especially in Relation to Modern Civilization*. New York-Chicago: C. Schreibner's Son.

Adams, Percy G. (1983) *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*. Lexington, Ky: University Press of Kentucky.

Aiken, P. (1942) "Vincent of Beauvais and Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*," in *Speculum*: XVII: 56-68.

Akhmanova, Olga & Velta Zadornova (1977) "The Philology of Translation," in *Shakespeare Translation:* 4. Tokyo: Yushodo Shoten: 1-9.

Alain (1935) *Propos de littérature*. Paris: Gonthier.

Alcala, Samuel Lopez (2001) *La histioria, la traduccion, y el control del pasado*. Madrid: Comillas.

Alcuin (1881) "De clade Lindisfarnensis monasterii," in *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, I. Berlin: E. Dueemmler.

Alexander, J.J. & M.T. Gibson (1976) *Medieval Learning and Literature* [Yale French Studies 61, 1981]. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Allen, Judson Boyce (1971) *The Friar as Critic: Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages.* Nashville: Vanderbuilt University Press.

Amundsen, Leiv (1926) *Katalog over Universitetsbibliotekets paleotypsamling*. Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket.

Andersen, Per Sveaas (1977) *Samlingen av Norge og kristningen av landet: 800-1130*. In series *Handbok i Norges Historie: 2*.

Andersen, Øivind (1986) "Hva leste peblingene?" in *Klassisk Forum 1986*, 2: 31-48.

Annerstedt, C. (1877) *Uppsalas Universitets Historia, Vol 1 (1477-1654).* Stockholm.

Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge. Paris: J. Vrin.

Armstrong, Elizabeth (1954) *Robert Estienne: An Historical Study of the Elder Stephanus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Aron, Raymond [1948] (1976) *Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire. Essais sur les limites de l'objectivité historique.* Paris: Gallimard.

Aubailly, Jean-Claude (1984) *Le monologue, le dialogue et la sotie*, Paris: Champion.

Aurner, Nellie Slayton (1965) *Caxton: Mirrour of Fifteenth-Century Letters. A Study of Literature of the First English Press*. New-York: Russel & Russel.

Babcock, Robert G. (1993) *Reconstructing a Medieval Library: Fragments from Lambach*. New Haven: Beinecke Rare Books & Manuscript Library.

Babel. International Journal of Translation. Frankfurt am Main: FIT.

Babelon, J. (1961) *La civilisation française de la Renaissance*. Casterman.

Baeumer, M. L. & Aldo Scaglione (Eds.) (1984) *The Emergence of National Languages. Essays.* Ravenna: Longo.

Bagge, Sverre (1984) “Høymiddelalderen,” in Bjøl, Erling, Knut Mykland, Anders Røhr & Knud Sandvej (Eds.). *Cappelens Verdenshistorie*, Vol. 8. Oslo: Cappelen.
Bainton, Roland Herbert (1977) *Women of the Reformation, from Spain to Scandinavia*. Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House.
Baker, Mona (Ed.) (1996) *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. London: Routledge.
Baldwin, C. S. (1959) *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (To 1400): Interpreted from Representative Works*. Cloucester, Mass: P. Smith.
Baldwin, J. W. (1971) *The Scholastic Culture and the Middle Ages 1000-1300*. Lexington, Mass.
Ballard, Michel (1992) *De Ciceron à Benjamin. Traducteurs, traductions, réflections*. Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille.
Bandlien, Bjørn (2001)*Å finne den rette: kjærlighet, individ og samfunn i norrøn middelalder*. Oslo: Den Norske Historiske Forening.
Bang, A. Chr. (Ed.) (1886) *Katechismusudlæggelse for de norske prester* (Peder Palladius. Translation of Latin text from 1541). Kristiania.
Barish, Jonas A. (1960) *Ben Jonson and the language of prose comedy.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Barnwell, Katharine (1983) “Towards acceptable translation,” in *Notes on Translation,* No. 95. Atlantic Monthly.
Baron, R. (1957) *Science et sagesse chez Hugues de Saint-Victor*. Paris: Lethielleux.
Bassnett S. & A. Lefevere (Eds.) *Translation, History and Culture*. London: Pinter.
Bate, Keith (1976) *Three Latin Comedies* (Geta, Babio, Pamphilius). *Toronto Medieval Latin Texts*: 6: Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
Bateson, Mary Catherine (1994) “Learning from Strangers,” in *Peripheral Visions: Learning along the Way*. New York: Harper Collins Publications.
Bathgate, R. (1983) “Image of the Translator,” in *Van Taal tot Taal*, Vol. 27. No. 3: 130-135.
Bathgate, R. (1985) “A twelfth-century translation model,” in *Van Taal tot Taal*, Vol. 29, No. 3: 92-96.
Baugh, Albert C. (1968) *Chaucer*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Baugh, Albert C. (Ed.) (1967) *A Literary History of England*, 12 Vols. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans & Thorkild Damsgaard Olsen (1965) *Norrøn fortællerkunst. Kapitler af den norsk-islandske middelalderlitteraturs historie*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans (1965) “The Victorines and their Influence on Old Norse Literature,” in Bjarni Niclasen (Ed.) *The Fifth Viking Congress*. Torshavn: 32-36.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans et al. (1986) *From Script to Book: A Symposium*, Odense: Odense University Press.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans et. al. (1979) *Medieval Narrative: A Symposium.* Odense: Odense University Press.
Bekker-Nielsen, Hans et. al. (1981) *Hagiography And Medieval Literature: A Symposium*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Beltran, Evencio (1974) “Jacques Legrand, O.E.S.A. Sa vie et son oeuvre,” in *Augustiania* 30: 132-160 and 387-414.
Beltran, Evencio (1979) “Une source de l’*Archiloge Sophie* de Jacques Legrand: l’*Ovidius moralizatus* de Pierre Bersuire,” in *Romania 100*: 483-501.
Beltran, Evencio (Ed.) (1986) *Archiloge Sophie de Jacques Legrand*. Paris: H. Champion.
Bennett, J.A.W. (Ed.) (1966) *Early Middle English Verse and Prose*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Benson, R. L & G. Constable (1982) *Renaissance and Renewal in the 12th Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Berman, A. (1985a) “Du Bellay: La rive paternelle et le bord étranger,” in *Communications*. Paris: Seuil.
Berman, A. (1985b) “La traduction et la lettre ou l’auberge du lointain,” in Berman, A. & G. Granel, A. Jaulin, G. Mailhos et. al. (1985) *Les tours de Babel: Essais sur la traduction.* Mauvezin: Trans-Europ-Repress.
Berman, A. (1988) “Translation, tradition et traduction,” in *Cahiers du Collège International de Philosophie et Poésie*.
Bischoff, Bernard (1994) *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Bjorvand, Harald & Fredrik Otto Lindeman (Eds.) (2000) *Våre arveord: etymologisk ordbok*. The Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture. Oslo: Novus.
Boccaccio, Giovanni (1909) *The Decameron preserved to posterity by Giovanni Boccaccio, and translated into English anno 1620*. London: D. Nutt .
Bois, John (1969) *Translating for King James; being a true copy of the only notes made by a translator of King James’s Bible…* Nashville: Vandebuilt University Press.
Bonaventura, Giovanni Fidanza (1964) *Collationes in Hexaemeron: Das Sechtageswerk: Lateinish und Deutsch.* Translation and Introduction by Wilhelm Nyssen. Munich: Kösel-Verlag.
Bossy, Michel André (Ed. & translator) (1987) *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works*. New York: Garland.
Bourchier, John (1967) *The Chronicle of Froissart: Translated out of French by John Bourchier*. 6 Vols. Introduction by William Patin Ker. London: Nutt.
Boureau, Alain (1984) *La légende dorée: le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine* (1298). Preface by Jacques Le Goff. Paris: Éditions du Cerf.
Bowker, Lynne, M. Cronin & D. Kenny, J. Pearson (Eds.) *Unity in Diversity? Current Trends in Translation Studies*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing
Bown, W. E. (1928) *The Achievement of the Middle Ages*, London: Sands & Company
Boyle, Marjorie O’Rourke (1977) *Erasmus on Method and Language in Theology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Brandrud, Andreas (1895) *Klosterlasse: et bidrag til den jesuitiske propagandas historie i Norden*. Christiania: Th. Steens Forlagsexpedition.
Brandt, C. J. (1849) *Elucidarium: en folkebog fra Middelalderen.* Nordiske Oldskrifter: 7. Copenhagen: Samfundet.

Brandt, C. J. (1885) *Christiern Pedersens Danske krøniker*. Copenhagen: Quist.
Brislin, Richard W. (Ed.) (1976) *Translation: applications and research.* New York: Gardner Press / Distribution by Halsted Press.
Brock, H. (1965) *Créations et connaissances*. Paris: Gallimard.
Brower, Reuben Arthur (1974) *Mirror on Mirror: Translation, Imitation, Parody.* Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
Brown, Michelle P. (1994) *Understanding Illuminated Manuscripts: A Guide to Technical Terms*. Malibu: J. Paul Getty Museum.
Bruce, F.F. (1961) *The English Bible: A History of Translations*. London: Lutterworth Press.
Brundage, A. (1989) *Going to the Sources: A Guide*. Arlington Heights Ill: Harlan Davidson.
Bush, D. (1965) *Prefaces to Renaissance Literature*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
Butler, Pierce (1899) *Legenda aurea – Légende dorée – Golden Legend: a study of Caxton's Golden Legend with special reference to its relations to the earlier English prose translation*. Baltimore.
Butler, Pierce (1968) *The Origin of Printing in Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Butterfield, Herbert (1949) *The Origins of Modern Science 1300-1800*. London: Bell.
Bühler, Curt (1960) *The Fifteenth Century Book, the Scribes, the Printers, the Decorators*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Cario(n), John (1499-1537) *Les chroniques de Ian Carion philosophe: auec les faicts & gestes du roy Français, iusques au regne du roy Henry deuxiesme de ce nom, à présent regnant*. Paris: Estienne Groulleau.
Carlson, Gottfrid (1955) *Kalmar Recess 1483*. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
Cartier, R. (1988) *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representation*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
Cary, Edmond (1986) *Comment faut-il traduire?* Lille: PUL
Castaglione, Baldassarre (Conte) (1967) *Il libre del cortegiano / The book of the courtier*. Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby 1561, introduction by Walter Raleigh. New York: AMS Press.
Chambers, R.W. (1932) "The Continuity of English Prose from Alfred to More and his School," Preface to Nicolas Harpsfield (1932) *The Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*. London: Elsie V. Hitchcock.
Chaney, E. & P. Mack (Eds.) (1990) *England and the Continental Renaissance*. Woodbridge, Suffolk (UK)/Rochester NY: Boydell Press.
Charlton, Kenneth (1965) *Education in Renaissance England*. London: Routledge and K.Paul.
Chassaigne, M. (1930) *Étienne Dolet: portraits et documents inédits*. Paris: Albin Michel.
Chauvet, Paul (1959) *Les ouvriers du livre en France: des origines à la Révolution de 1789*. Paris: PUF.

Chavy, Paul (1981a) “Les premiers translateurs” (Chapitre II: 29-41) and “Les traducteurs de la Renaissance” in *Anthologie de la manière de traduire, domaine français*. Chapter III: 47-74. Horguelin P. (Ed.) Montréal: Linguatech.
Chavy, Paul (1981b) “Les traductions humanistes au début de la Renaissance française: traductions médiévales, traductions modernes,” in *La Traduction à la Renaissance/Translation in the Renaissance*, E. Kusner et P. Chavy (Eds.). Special edition of *Revue canadienne de littérature comparée/Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, vol. VIII, n° 2.
Chavy, Paul (1985a) “Depuis quand traduit-on en français?” in *Bibliothèque d’Humanisme et Renaissance, Travaux et documents*, Vol. XLIV. Geneva: Droz: 361-362.
Chavy, Paul (1985b) “Pour une histoire des traductions,” in *Neohelicon*, Vol. XII, n° 1. Budapest / Amsterdam: Akademiai / John Benjamins: 39-45.
Chavy, Paul (1988a) “Les traductions humanistes,” in *L’Epoque de la Renaissance*, Vol. I: *L’Avènement de l’esprit nouveau* (1400-1480). Budapest: Collection “Histoire comparée des littératures de langues européennes”: 485-494.
Chaytor, H.J. (1941) *The Medieval Reader And Textual Criticism*. Manchester: John Ryland’s Library.
Chaytor, H.J.(1923) *The Troubadours and England.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cheyfitz, E. (1991) *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translation and Colonization from The Tempest to Tarzan*. New York-Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Chomsky, Noam (1986) *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origin and Use*. New York: Praeger.
Christensen, Bent & Steen Christensen (1978) *Fra Adam af Bremen til Holberg: et udvalg af “latinsk-danske” middelalderlige og senere tekster*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Christiansen, Erik (1992) *The Works of Sven Aggesen: Twelfth-Century Danish Historian*. London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College London.
Christiansen, Reidar (1958) *The Migratory Legends: A Proposed List of Types* (with a Systematic Catalogue of the Norwegian Variants) FCC 175. Helsinki (reprinted in 1977 in New York by Arno Press).
Coleridge, Henry James (1874) *The Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great: An Old English Version*. London: Burnes & Oates.
Collijn, Isak (1927-38) *Sveriges Bibliografi intill år 1600.* 3 Vols. Uppsala: Svenska Litteratur-Sällskapet.
Collijn, Isak (1952) *Svensk typografisk atlas: 1400- och 1500-talen*. Stockholm.
Collingword, R.G. (1962) *The Idea of History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Combes, A. (1973) *Jean de Montreuil et le chancelier Gerson.* Paris: Vrin.
Contamine, Geneviève (1988) *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Age*: Actes du Colloque du CNRS les 26 – 28 mai 1988. Édition du CNRS.
Cooper, L. (1967) *The Greek Genius and its Influence; Selected Essays and Extracts*. Ithaca (NY): Cornall University Press.
Cottiaux, J. (1932) “La conception de la théologie d’Abélard,” in *Révue d’histoire ecclésiastique* XXVIII. Louvain: Université Catholique de Louvain: 247-295.

Coulet, H. (1967) *Histoire du roman en France, le roman jusqu'à la Révolution*. Paris: A. Collin, Collection "U".
Courtnay, William J: (1987) *Schools & Scholars in Fourteenth-Century England*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
Coverdale, Miles (1975) *The Coverdale Bible 1535* (*Biblia: The Bible: That is the Holy Scripture of the Olde and the New Testament Faithfully and Newly Translated out of the Doutche and the Latin into English*. Folkstone: Dawson.
Crawford, Samuel John (1968) *Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron, edited with an introduction, a collation of all the manuscripts, a modern English translation, parallel passages from the other works of Ælfric and notes on the sources*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
Cressy, David (Ed.) (1975) *Education in Tudor and Stuart England*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
Crotch, Walter (1978) *The Prologues and Epilogues of William Caxton*. Reprint. Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint.
Curtius, E. R. (1953) *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Transl. from German by W.R. Trask, foreword by Peter Godman), Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Cushner, Kenneth (1996) *Intercultural interactions: A practical guide*. Thousand Oaks, London: Sage.
D'Avray, David (1976) *The Transformation of the Medieval Sermon*. Oxford: PhD Thesis.
D'Avray, David (1985) *The preaching of the friars: sermons diffused from Paris before 1300.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Dal, Erik (1961) *Tre ballader: Harpens kraft: Vreta klosterrov. Drømmekvadet.* Copenhagen: Hans Reitzel.
Daly, S.R. (1957) "Peter Comestor: Master of Histories," in *Speculum*: 32: 62-73.
De la Garanderie, Marie- Madeleine (1976) *La correspondance d'Erasme et Guillaume Budé*. Paris: Série de Petrarque à Descartes.
Deanesly, M. (1920) *The Lollard Bible and Other Medieval Biblical Versions.* London: Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought.
Delabastitia, Dirk (1991) "A false opposition in Translation Studies: Theoretical versus/and Historical Approaches," in *Target* 3:2. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing: 37-52.
Delhaye, Philippe (1951) *Microcosmus* (de Godefroy de Saint-Victor). Lille/Gembloux: Duculot.
Delhaye, Philippe (1961) *Pierre Lombard, sa vie, ses oeuvres, sa morale*. Montréal/Paris: Institut d'études médiévales/Librairie J. Vrin.
Delort, Robert (1982) *La vie au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Seuil.
Denton, J. (1990) "Plutarch in Renaissance Dress: A Study in Elizabethan Translation." Paper presented at the inaugural Conference of the European Society for the Study of English (ESSE). Norwich.
Derrida, J. (1967) *L'Écriture et la Différence*. Paris: Seuil.
Dolet, Étienne (1972) *L'Art de bien traduire d'une langue en aultre* [1540]. Genève: Slatkine Reprints.

Donohue, James J. (1943) *Ancient Classifications of Literature.* No.1. Dubuque: Loras.
Doutrepont, Georges (1969) *Les mises en prose des épopées et des romans chevaleresques du XIVe au XVIe siècle,* [Bruxelles: Palais des Académies, 1939] Genève: Slatkine Reprints.
Dove, Mary (1997) *Glossa ordinaria. Pars 22, in Canticum cantorum* (English & Latin) (Anselm of Laon d.1117). Turnhout: Brepols (Series Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis 170).
Du Bellay, Joachim (1972) *Deffense et illustration de la langue françoise* [1549]. Bibliothèque Bordas: Du Bellay's original text commented by Louis Terreaux (Ed.). Paris: Bordas.
Dufournet, Jean (1984) *Etudes sur le Roman de la Rose de Guillaume de Lorris*. Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion.
Duin, Johs. J. (1984) *Streiftog i norsk kirkehistorie, 1450-1880: en samling artikler*. Oslo: St. Olav.
Dunn-Lardeau, Brenda (1986) *Legenda aurea: sept siècles de diffusion:* Actes du Colloque Internationale sur la *Legenda aurea* (Montréal 11-12 mai 1983). Montreal: Bellarmine.
Dupont-Sommer, André & Marc Philonenko et.al. (1987) *La Bible: Écrits Intertestamentaires*. Paris: Gallimard in the series La Bibliothèque de la Pléiade.
Ebbesen, Sten (1993) "The Theory of Loci in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in *Argumentationstheorie: scholastische Forschung zu den logischen und semantischen Regeln korrekten Folgerns*. Klaus Jacobi (Ed.). Leyden: Brill.
Ebbesen, Sten (1999) "Danskerne, videnskaben og bøgerne i middelalderen," in *Levende Ord & Lysende Billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Catalogue and Essays*, 2 Vols. Erik Petersen (Ed.). Moesgård Museum: Det Kongelige Biliotek: 119-126.
Ebel, J. (Oct-Dec 1969) "Translation and Cultural nationalism in the Reign of Elizabeth," in *Journal of the History of Ideas*: 30. Philadelphia: The Journal of the History of Ideas: 593-602.
Ebin, Lois (1984) *Vernacular Poetics in the Middle Ages*. Kalamazoo (Mich): Medieval Institute Publications.
Ecclesiasticus, or the Wisdom of Jesus, Son of Sirach (1974). Old Testament Apocrypha. Comentary by John G. Snaith. London: The Cambridge Bible Commentary.
Edwards, A.S.G. (Ed.) (1984) *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
Einstein, L. (1962) *The Italian Renaissance in England*. New York: Benjamin Franklin.
Ekrem, Inger & Lars Boje-Mortensen, Karen Skovgaard-Petersen (Eds.) (2000) *Olavslegenden og den latinske historieskrivning i 1100-tallets Norge: En artikkelsamling.* Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum.
Ellingsen, Terje (Ed.) (1988) *Kirkeordinansen* 1537/39: *«Den rette ordinants»*. Oslo: Verbum.

Ellis, Roger (Ed.) (1989) *The Medieval translator: the theory and practice of translation in the Middle Ages*, Woodbridge-Suffolk-Wolfboro, N.H: D.S. Brewer.
Ellis, Roger (Ed.) (1991) *The Medieval Translator II*. London: Centre for Medieval Studies. Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London.
Erasmus, Desiderius (1965) *The Praise of Folie*. Translated by Sir Thomas Chaloner [1521-1565]. Clarence H. Miller (Ed.). London/New York: Early English Texts Society / Oxford University Press.
Ersland, Geir Atle & Hilde Sandvik (1999) *Norsk historie 1300-1625. Eit rike tek form.* Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget
Étier, Albert-Marie (1939) *Le "De Trinitate" de Richard de Saint-Victor*. Paris/Ottawa: J. Vrin & Institut d'études médiévales.
Evans, G. R. (1985) *The Language and Logic of the Bible: the Road to Reformation*. Cambridge (UK)/New York: Cambridge University Press.
Eysteinsson, J.S. (1953-55) "The relationship between *Merlinúspá* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*," in *Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*: 14. London: Viking Society for Northern Research: 95-112.
Farrell, K., E. Hageman & A.F. Kinney (Eds.) (1990) *Women in the Renaissance: Selections From English Literary Renaissance*. Amherst: University of Massachussetts Press.
Febvre, Lucien (1976) *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing 1450-1800*. London: N.L.B.
Feleppa, Robert (1988) *Convention, translation and understanding: philosophical problems in the comparative study of cultures*. Albany (NY): State University of New York Press.
Fink, Inge (1994) *Hans Tausen – i 500 året for hans fødsel*. Odense: Tuse.
Finnbogason, Gunnar (1988) *Lilja*. (Eysteinn Ásgrimsson). Reykjavik: Hörpuútg.
Fladby, Rolf (1964) *Kongebrev i Diplomatarium Norvegicum 1-20: systematisk register*. Oslo: Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskriftinstitutt (Geble: DN VII, no. 645 & 720, Olav Torkelsen DN IX no 571, Christian III DN XXII, no 396).
Folz, R. (1969) *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourtheenth Century* (translated by Sheila Ann Ogilvie). London: Edward Arnold.
Ford, Boris (Ed.) (1984) *Medieval Literature: The European Heritage*. Harmondsworth: Penguin; New York: Viking.
Forster, Leonard (1970) *The Poet's Tongues: Multilingualism in Literature*. London: Cambridge University Press.
Foucault, Michel (1966) *Les mots et les choses. Une archéologie des sciences humaines*. Paris: Gallimard.
Foucault, Michel (1969) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, Edited by D. Bouchard. Cornell University Press.
Foucault, Michel (1988) *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*. New York: Vintage Books.
Foucault, Michel (1995) *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Vintage Books.

Fowler, Alistair (1987) *A History of English Literature: Forms and Kinds from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Fox, John Howard (1950) *Robert de Blois, son oeuvre didactique et narrative: Étude linguistique et littéraire, suivie d'une édition critique avec commentaires et glossaire de L'enseignement des princes et du Chastoiement des dames*. Paris: Nizet.
Foz, Clara (1990) "Traduction et culture dans l'Espagne du XII^{e} siècle," in *Bulletin de l'ACLA*, Printemps 1990, vol. 12, n^{o} 1: 67-77.
Foz, Clara (1991) "L'École de traducteurs de Tolède au XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles," in *The Medieval Translator Volume II*. Westfield Medieval Publications.
Foz, Clara (1992) *Les traducteurs de Tolède. Enjeux de la traduction dans l'Espagne du XII^{e} et XIII^{e} siècles*. Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa.
Frank, A. P. (1984) "Theories and theory of literary Translation," in *Literary Theory and Criticism: Festschrift in Honor of René Wellek*. Joseph Strelka (Ed.). Bern: Lang: 203-221.
Frank, A. P. (1988a) "Literary Translation and Alterity: Some Distinctions » in *Anglistentag 1987 Tübingen: Vorträge*. Hans Werner Ludwig (Ed.). Gießen: Hoffmann: 271-282.
Frank, A. P. (1988b) "Understanding Literature via Translation: The Study of Literary Translation as Hermeneutic Device," in *Literatur in Wissenschaft and Unterricht*, 21: 1. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann: 33-37.
Frank, A. P. et. al. (1986) "Towards a Cultural History of Literary Translation," in *R.E.A.L*, Vol. 4: 317-380.
Fredborg, K. M. (1973) "The Dependence of Petrus Helias' *Summa super Priscianum* on William of Conches' *Glose super Priscianum*," in *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Âge Grec et Latin*, XI: 1-57. Copenhagen: Institutt for Græsk og Latinsk middelalderfilologi.
Friedrich, H. (1992) [1965] "On the Art of Translation," in *Theory of Translation*. Rainer Schulte & John Biguenet (Eds.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1987) *Saxo Grammaticus as Latin Poet: Studies in the Verse Passages of the Gesta Danorum*. Roma: L'Erma de Bretschneider.
Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1989) "Humanism and politics. The Paris Edition of Saxo Grammaticus' Gesta Danorum 1514," in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*: 17/18. Roma: L'Erme Di Bretschneider: 149-162.
Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1991) "Historiography and Humanism in Early Sixteenth-Century Scandinavia," in *ACNT*: 325-33.
Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1995) *La réception de la littérature classique au moyen âge* (IX^{e}-XII^{e} siècle): C*hoix d'articles publiés par des collègues à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*: *Olsen, Birger Munk*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum.
Friis-Jensen, Karsten (1999) *Levende Ord & Lysende Billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Catalogue and Essays*, 2 Vols. Erik Petersen (Ed.). Moesgård Museum: Det Kongelige Biliotek: 96-104.
Fritzner, Johan (1973) *Ordbog over det gamle Norske Sprog*. I-III. 4. utgave. Oslo / Bergen / Tromsø: Universitetsforlaget.

Frost, W. (1955) *Dryden and the Art of Translation*. New Haven: Yale University Press
Frost, W. (1988) *John Dryden: Dramatist, Satirist, Translator*. New York: AMS Press.
Gardiner, Eileen (1993) *Medieval Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Sourcebook*. New York: Garland Publishing.
Garstein, Oskar (1953) *Cort Alsakssøn: studier over dansk-morsk universitets- og lærdomshistorie omkring år 1600*. Oslo: Lutherstiftelsen.
Garstein, Oskar (1964-1980) *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia, until the establishment of the S Congregatio de Propaganda Fide in 1622, based on source material in the Kolrud Collection.* Oslo-New York: Universitetsforlaget/Oxford University Press.
Garstein, Oskar (1990a) *Humanismen i renessansens og barokktidens Norge* Oslo: Oslo Katedralskole.
Garstein, Oskar (1990b) *Mariu-klaustr i Höfudey: Cistersienserklosteret på Hovedøya vislet den hellige Jomfru Maria og til martyrkongen St. Edmund av East Anglia i England*. Oslo: Katedralskolen.
Garstein, Oskar (1993) *Vinjeboka: den eldste svartebok fra norsk middelalder*. Oslo: Solum.
Geete, Knut Robert (1875) *Studier rörande Sveriges romantiska medetidsdiktning, I: Eufemia-visorna*. Uppsala: Thesis.
Geijer, Per (1871) *Études sur les* Mémoires *de Philippe de Commines* (c.1447-1511). Uppsala: Edquist.
Genovesi, Giovanni (1990) *History of Elementary School Teaching and Curriculum*. Hildesheim: Lax.
Genz, Randi Gunderson (1998) *Hildegard av Bingens urtehage: Hildegards bruk av legende planter og ville vekster i middelalderens tradisjon*. Oslo: Pax Forlag.
Gløersen, Ingeborg (1972) *Kongespeilet og Las Siete Partidas*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Godman, Peter (1982) *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York* (Alcuin 735-804). Oxford/New York: Clarendon Press / Oxford University Press.
Golding, Louis Thorn (1937) *An Elizabethan Puritan: Arthur Golding, the translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses and also John Calvin's Sermons*. New York: R.R. Smith.
Gordon, Leff (1968) *Paris and Oxford Universities in the Thirteenth and Forteenth Centuries: An Institutional and Intellectual History*. New York: Wiley.
Gundersheim, Werner (Ed.) (1965) *The Italian Renaissance*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
Gunnes, Erik (1990) "The Foundation of the Brigittine Monastery of Munkeliv, and its Struggle for Existence," in *Collegium Medievale 3:2*.
Gunnes, Erik (1996) *Erkebiskop Øystein: statsmann og kirkebygger*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Hallberg, P. (1959) "Imagery in religious Old Norse prose literature," in *Work Shop Papers I: The Sixth International Saga Conference 1985*. London: The Viking Society for Northern Research University College.

Halphen, Louis (Ed.) (1996) “L’Assemblée de Strasbourg,” in *Classiques de l’Histoire de France au Moyen Âge*. (Extract from Nithard’s account of the Serment of Strasbourg between Charlemagne and Louis). Paris: Libraire ancienne Honoré Champion: 101-109.
Halvorsen, Eyvind F. (1972) “Problèmes de la traduction scandinave des textes français du Moyen Age,” in *Les relations littéraires franco-scandinaves au Moyen Age: Actes du Colloque de Liège (Avril 1972)*. Paris: Société d’Édition «Les Belles Lettres».
Halvorsen, Eyvind F. (1974) “Translation – Adaptation – Imitation,” in *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 7: 56-60.
Hamre, Lars (1943) *Erkebiskop Erik Valkendorf: trekk av hans liv og virke*. Oslo: Grieg.
Hamre, Lars (1971) *Norsk historie frå midten av 1400-åra til 1513: førelesingar*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Hanse, William F. (1983) *Saxo Grammaticus and the life of Hamlet: a translation, history and commentary* (Translation of *G.D.* Liber 3, VI-4, II). Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
Hanssen, J. (1949) “Theodoricus Monachus and European Literature,” in *Symbolae Osloenses*: 27. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget: 70-127.
Harder, Andreas et.al. (1982) *The Medieval Legacy: A Symposium*. Odense: Odense University Press.
Harding, Sandra (1991) *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women’s Lives*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press.
Haskins, C.H. (1927) *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*. Cleveland & New York.
Hathaway, B. (1972) *The Age of Criticism: The Late Renaissance in Italy*. Westport, CONN: Greenwood Press.
Hatim, B. (1990) *Discourse and the Translator*. London; New York: Longman.
Hay, Denys (1960) *The Italian Renaissance in its Historical Background.* Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press.
Healey, Antonette Di Paulo (1978) *The Old English Vision of Paul*. Cambridge, Mass: Mediaeval Academy of America.
Heider, F. (1987) *Methods, Principles and Philosophy of Science*. Munchen/Weinheim: Psychologie Verlags Union.
Heinrich, Roos (1946) “Martinius de Dacus und seine Schrift *De modis significandi:* ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des dänischen Sprachlogik im Mittelalter,” in *Classica et Mediaevalia 9*: 87-115.
Heinrich, Roos (1952) *Die Modi significandi des Martinus de Dacia*. Münster, Westfalen: Aschendorff.
Heinrich, Roos (1961) *Martini de Dacia: Opera*. Copenhagen: Gad / Series Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi (2).
Heiserman, A. R. (1977) *The novel before the novel: essays and discussions about the beginnings of prose fiction in the West*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Helgason, Grimur M. & Helgi Magnusson (1990) *Håndskrifter i Norden: rundebordskonferanse om håndskrifter i Reykjavik 5-9 september 1983.* Copenhagen: Nordisk Videnskabelig Bibliotekarforbund.
Helk, Vello (1966) *Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus s.j.: En biografi med bidrag til belysning af romerkirkens forsøg på at genvinde Danmark-Norge i tiden fra reformationen til 1622.* Copengahen: Gad.
Helle, Knut (1968) "Anglo-Norwegian relations in the reign of Håkon Håkonsson (1217-1263)," in *Mediaeval Scandinavia* 1: 101-114.
Herbert, Kevin (1956) *Soliloquy on the Earnest Money of the Soul* in the series *Medieval Philosophical Texts in Translation*: 9. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press.
Hermans, Theo (1979) "Translation, Comparison, Diachrony," in *New Comparison*: 9: 58-91.
Hermans, Theo (1986a) "Literary Translation: The Birth of a Concept," in *New Comparison*: 1: 28-42.
Hermans, Theo (1986b) *Literary Translation and Literary System*. London: University College of London.
Hermans, Theo (1996) *Origène, théologie sacrificielle du sacerdoce des chrétiens.* Paris: Beauchesne.
Hermans, Theo (1999) *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches explained.* Manchester: St. Jerome.
Hicks, Eric (Ed.) (1977) *Le débat sur le roman de la rose*, Paris: H. Champion.
Hillman, R. (1992) *Intertextuality and Romance in Renaissance Drama: the Staging of Nostalgia*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
Himmelstrup, Kaj (1965) *Bogtrykkerkunsten*. København: Gyldendal.
Hoffmeister, G. (Ed.) (1977) *The Renaissance and Reformation in Germany: An Introduction*. New York: F. Ungar Pub. Co.
Holbek, Bengt (1961-62) *Æsops levned og fabler*. 2 Vols. København: Schultz.
Hollister, C. Warren (1997) *Mediaeval Europe: A Short Sourcebook*. New York: McGrw-Hill.
Holmes, Georges (1986) *Florence, Rome, and the Origins of Renaissance*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Holmes, James S. & Frans de Haan, Anton Popovic (1970) *The Nature of Translation*. The Hague: Mouton.
Holmes, James S. (1978) "Describing Literary Translations: Models and Methods," in *Literature and Translation: New Perspectives in Literary Translation*. James S. Holmes, José Lambert and Raymond van den Broeck (Eds.). Leuven, Belgium: ACCO: 69-82.
Holmes, James S. (1991) *Translation Studies: The State of the Art: Proceedings of the First James S. Holmes Symposium on Translation Studies 1990.* Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart & Ton Naaijkens (Eds.). Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi.
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1952) *Håndskriftene av Konungs Skuggsjá. En undersøkelse av deres tekstkritiske verdi. (Bibliotheca Arnamagnaeana 13*). Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
Holm-Olsen, Ludvig (1981) "The Prologue to the King's Mirror," in *Speculum Norroenvm*. Odense: Odense University Press.

Hosington, B. M. (1983) “Spenser and the Elizabethan Art of Verse translation,” in *Spenser and the Cultural Milieu*. Clarion, Penn: Clarion Press: 82-103.
Hosington, B. M. (1984) “Early French Translations of Thomas More’s *Utopia*: 1550-1715,” in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*: XXXIII. Louvain/The Hague: University Press & Martinius Nijhoff: 116-134.
Hosington, B. M. (1989) “The Englishing of the Comic technique in Hue de Roteland’s *Ipomedon*,” in *The Craft and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages.* Jeanette Beer (Ed.). Kalamazoo. Michigan: University of West Michigan Press: 247-263.
Hosington, B. M. (1991) “*Partenope de Blois* and Its Fifteenth-Century Version: A Medieval Translator at Work,” in *The Mediaeval Translator* II. London: Westfield Medieval Studies.
Hudson, Anne (1988) *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffe Texts And Lollard History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Hultgård, Anders (Ed.) (1997) *Uppsala och Adam av Bremen*. Nora: Nya Doxa.
Hunt, R. W. (1968) “English learning in the Late Twelfth Century,” in *Essays on Medieval History*: 106-128.
Haakonsen, Daniel (1973) *Fra Renessanse til Romantikk: Norsk litteratur fra Peter Dass til omkring 1870*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Jackson, W.T.H. (1960) *The literature of the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Jacobson, E. (1958) *Translation: A Traditional Craft*. Copenhagen: Nordisk Forlag.
Jakobsen, A. L. (1988) “The Earliest Translations from English into Danish (c. 1666),” in *A Literary Miscellany. Presented to Eric Jakobsen*. Graham D. Caie & Holger Nørgaard, Copenhagen: Publication of the Department of English, Vol. 16, University of Copenhagen: 367-387.
Jakobson, Roman (1966-1973) *Essais de linguistique générale*. 2 Vols. Preface by Nicolas Ruwet. Paris: Editions de Minuit.
Jakobson, Roman (1971) *Fundamentals of Language*. Janua linguarum. Series Minor: 1. The Hague: Mouton.
Jakobson, Roman (1980) *The framework of language*. Michigan Studies in Humanities. East Lansing, Mich: University of Michigan Press.
Jakobson, Roman (1987) *Language in literature*. Krystyna Pomorska & Stephen Rudy (Eds.). Cambridge, MASS: Belknap Press.
James, Edward (Ed.) (1985) *The Lives of the Fathers / Gregory of Tours* (Vitae Patrum). Liverpool: Liverpool University Press.
Jansson, Valter (1945) *Eufemiavisorna: en filologisk undersökning*. Uppsala: A.B. Lundequistska bokhandel.
Jeffers, H. (1979) *Principles and Methods for Historical Linguists*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Jefferson, B. L. (1968) *Chaucer and the Consolation of Philosophy by Boethius*. New York: Gordian Press.
Johannesson, Kurt (1978) *Saxo Grammaticus: komposition och världsbil i Gesta Danorum*. Stockholm: Almquist & Wiskell.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1939) *Om Theodoricus og hans “De antiquitate regum Norwagiensium”*. Oslo: J. Dybwad.

Johnsen, Arne Odd (1945) *Studier vedrørende Kardinal Nikolaus Breakspeares legasjon til Norden.* Oslo: Fabritius.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1951) "Les relations intellectuelles entre la France et la Norvège (1150-1214)," in *Le Moyen Âge*: 57: 247-268.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1967) *On the Background for the Establishment of the Norwegian Church Province*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1970) "The Earliest provincial Statute of the Norwegian Church," in *Mediaeval Scandinavia*: 3: 172-197.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1976) *Ny tolkning av Historia de profectione danorum in Hyerosolymam* (Theodoricus Monachus). Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksell.
Johnsen, Arne Odd (1984) *Sigurd Jorsalfars opphold i England (1108-1109)*. Oslo: Det Norske Vitenskapsakademiet. II. Hist. Filos. New Series.
Jones, Michael (1972) *Memoirs: The reign of Louis XI, 1461-1483*. Translated with an introduction by M. Jones. Harmondworth: Penguin Classics.
Jones, R. F. (1966) *The Triumph of the English Language: A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of the Printing to the Restoration*. Reprint. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
Jonson, Einar M. (1995) *Le miroir. Naissance d'un genre littéraire*. Paris: Les "Belles Lettres."
Jorgensen, Theodore (Ed. & Trans.) *The trumpet of Nordland and other Masterpieces of Norwegian Poetry from the period 1250-1700*. Northfield (Minn): St. Olaf College Press.
Joubert, Claude-Henry (Ed.) (1987) *Oyez ke dit Marie: étude sur les Lais de Marie de France (XIIe siècle)*. Paris: José Corti.
Journet, Debra (1990) "Writing, Rhetoric, and the Social Construction of Scientific Knowledge," in *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*. Vol 3. No. 4. December 1990. New York: Institute of Electrical and Electronics Engineering: 162-167.
Jugé, C. (1970) *Jacques Peletier du Mans (1517-1582). Essai sur sa vie, son oeuvre, son influence*. Geneva: Slatkine Reprints.
Jusdanis, G. (1991) *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature*. University of Minnesota Press.
Jørgensen, Theodore (Ed.) (1954) *Norwegian Literature in Medieval and Early Modern Times*. Northfield, Minn: St.Olaf College Press.
Jørgensen, Torstein and Gastone Saletnich (1999) *Brev til Paven. Norske forbindelser med den Hellige Stol i senmiddelalderen*. Stavanger: Misjonshøgskolens Forlag.
Kallendorf, Craig (1982) *Latin Influences on English Literature from the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century: An Annotated Bibliography of Scholarship 1945-1979*. New York: Garland Publications.
Kaspersen, Søren (1986) "Bildende Kunst, Theater und Volkstümslichkeit im Mittelalterlichen Dänemark. Zur Wechselwirkung von Wandmalerei und Spielkultur," in *Popular Drama in Northern Europe in the late Middle Ages*: A Symposium. Odense: Odense University Press.
Kelders, Ann (1991) *Formules de copistes: les colophones des manuscrits datés (Catalogue)*. Bruxelles: Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}.

Kelly, L. (1979) *The True Interpreter. A History of Translation Theory and Practice in the West*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Kelly, L. G. (1973) "Linguistics and Translation in Saint Augustin," in *The Bible Translator,* 24 (Quarterly). London: United Bible Society: 134-139.
Kelly, L. G. (1987) "Medieval Philosophers and Translation," in *Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on the History of Linguistic Science,* (Trier, 24-28 August 1987). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kelly, L. G. (1989) "Plato, Bacon and the Puritan Apothecary: the Case of Nicholas Culpeper," in *Target*, No. 1: 95-109.
Kelly-Gadol, Joan (1987) "The Social Relation of the Sexes: Methodological Implications of Women's History," in Sandra Harding's *Feminism and Methodology: Social Science Issues*. Bloomington IND: Indiana University Press.
Kermode, Frank (1974) *English Renaissance Literature: Introductory Lectures*. London: Gray-Mills Publishing.
Kilwardby, Robert (1935) *De natura theologicae. Opuscula Et Textus Historiam Ecclesiae Illustrantia*: XVII. Aschendorff: Monasterii.
Kinsley, J. & G. Parfitt (1970) *John Dryden, Selected Criticism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Kirby, Ian J. (1980) *Biblical Quotations in Old Icelandic-Norwegian Religious Literature*. Reykjavik: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi 9-10 (Series).
Kjær, Iver & Bengt Holbek(1972) *Ordsprog i Danmark: 4000 ordsprog fra skrift og tale gennom 600 år*. Copenhagen: Paludan.
Kjær, Iver (1964)*Peder Låle og Cod. Basil. A. XI. 67: Bidrag til Låle-samlingens kilder og tilblivelsesform*. Copenhagen / Uppsala: Nordisk Institut for Folkedigtning.
Knox, Ronald Arbuthnott (1957) *On English Translation*. Oxford: Clarendon.
Knudsen, Trygve & Alf Sommerfelt (1983) *Norsk Riksmålsordbok*. 4 Vols. Oslo: Kunnskapsforlaget.
Knudson, C.A. (1970) "Les versions norroises des romans de Chrétien de Troyes: le Cadre," in *Mélanges* (Series). Paris: Grains de Sable: 533-541.
Koerner, Konrad & Hans-J. Niederehe & R. H. Robins (Eds.) (1980) *Studies in medieval Linguistic thought: dedicated to Geoffrey L. Bursill-Hall*. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science, Series 3: 26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Koerner, Konrad (1989) *Practising Linguistic Historiography*. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
Kohl, B.J. (1985) *Renaissance Humanism, 1300-1550: A Bibliography of Materials in English*. New York: Garland Pub. Co.
Kolsrud, Oluf (1941) "Laurentius Nicolai Norvegus," in *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon,* Vol. X: 232-243.
Kolsrud, Oluf (1958) *Noregs Kyrkjesoga: Millomalderen*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Kolsrud, Oluf (1962) *Presteutdanningi i Noreg*. Norvegia Sacra: 21. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Kragelund, A. (1963) *Dansk Digtning paa Latin gennem syv Aarhundreder*. Copenhagen.

Kraggerud, Egil (1982) *Klassisk og norsk: 12 essays om antikken og den klassiske innflytelse i Norge*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Krantz, Albert (1583) *Rerum Germanicarum historici clariss. I. Regnorum Aquilonarium, Daniae, Sueciae, Noruagiae, chronica: quibus gentium origo vetustissima, & Ostrogothorum…* Frankfort (OLIS).
Krapp, Georges Philip (1963) *The Rise of English Literary Prose.* New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.
Kristeller, P. O. (1960-) *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum: Medieaval and Renaissance Latin Translations and Commentaries*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.
Kristjánsson, Jónás (1970) *Icelandic Sagas and Manuscripts*. English translation by Alan Boucher. Reykjavik: Saga Publishing.
Kroman, E. (1980) *Danmarks Middelalderlige Annaler*. Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie.
Krynen, J. (1981) *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Age*. Paris: A. & J. Picard.
Kukenheim, L. & H. Roussel (1963) *Guide de la littérature française du Moyen Age*. 3rd Edition. Leyde: Press Universitaire.
Kümin, B.A. (Ed.) (1996) "Denmark," in *Reformations Old and New. Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c.1470-1630*. Aldershot: Scholar Press.
Kölbing, Eugen (1878) *Die Nordische und die Englische Version der Tristan-Sage herausgeben von Ernest Kölbing. Tristrams saga ok Isondar*. Reprint 1978. Facsimile Edition. Heilbronn: Henninger.
Lagarde, Georges de (1956-1970) *La naissance de l'esprit laïque au déclin du moyen âge*. 5 vols. Louvain: E. Nauwelaerts.
Lambert, José (1984) "Théorie littéraire, histoire littéraire, études des traductions," in *Renouvellements dans la théorie de l'histoire littéraire*. Eva Kuschner (Ed.). Ottawa: Société Royale du Canada et Association Internationale de Littérature Comparée, 119-130.
Lambert, José (1989) "La traduction," in *Théorie littéraire, problèmes et perspectives*. Angenot et al. (Eds.). Paris: PUF: 151-160.
Landau, David (1994) *The Renaissance Print 1470-1550*. New Haven: Yale UP.
Langlois, Ernst (1965) *Le Roman de la Rose* (Jean de Meung et Guillaume de Lorris) *publié d'après les mss.* New York: Société des anciens textes français.
Lauer, Ph. (Ed. & Trans.) 1926) *Nothard – Histoire des fils de Louis le Pieux*. Collection: Les Classiques de l'Histoire de France au Moyen Age. Paris: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion: 101-109.
Le Goff, Jacques (1964) *La civilisation de l'Occident médiéval.* Paris: Arthaud – Flammarion.
Le Goff, Jacques (1977) *Pour un autre moyen âge. Temps, travail, et culture en Occident.* Paris: Gallimard.
Le Goff, Jacques (1999) *Saint François d'Assise*. Paris: Gallimard.
Leach, Henry G. (1921) "Angevin Britain and Scandinavia," in *Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature* 6. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press.

Leach, Henry G. (1966) "The Lais Breton in Norway," in *Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Margaret Schlauch.* Warsawa: Polish Scientific Publishers: 203-212.
Leegaard Knudsen, Anders (1992) *Studier i Saxo Grammaticus: Gesta Danorum og værkets eftervikning i middelalderen*. University of Copenhagen (Doctoral Thesis).
Lewis, C. S. (1936) *The Allegory of Love: A Study in Medieval Tradition*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Lewis, Robert et. al. (Eds.) (1985) *Index of Printed Middle English Prose*. New York: Garland.
Liestøl, Knut & Moltke Moe (1912) *Norske folkeviser fra middelalderen*. Kristiania: Jacob Dybwad.
Liestøl, Knut (1915) *Norske trollvisor og norrøne sogor*. Kristiania: Norli.
Lorian, Alexandre (1973) *Tendances stylistiques dans la prose narrative française du XVe siècle* in Bibliothèque Française et Romane, Paris: Klincksieck.
Luscombe, D. E. (1969) *The School of Peter Abelard*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought: 4. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Lusignan, Serge (1989) "La topique de la *translatio studii* et les traducteurs français de textes savants au XIV[e] siècle," in *Traduction et traducteurs au Moyen Âge*. Actes du Colloque international du CRNS organisé à Paris le 26-28 mai 1986. G. Contamine (Ed.). Paris: Institut de Recherche et d'histoire des textes.
Lusignan, Serge (1999) *"Vérité garde le Roy." La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIII[e]-XV[e] siècle)*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne.
Luther, Martin (1531) *Huorledis huert Menniske skal berede sit Kaars met Ihesu Christo udsat paa Dansk aff Christiern Pedersen* (Microfilm).
Luther, Martin (1578) *Den Christelige Trois Hoffuet Artickle… fordansket aff hans Mogenssøn*. Copenhagen.
Lutz, C. E. (1956) "Remigius' Ideas on the origin of the Seven Liberal Arts," in *Medievalia et Humanistica,* X. Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Culture. Boulder, Col.: 32-49.
Lyby, Th. C. (1996) "Frands Vormordsen," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Lyssand, Reidar (1959) *Om Leidarvisan: en studie i norrøn kristendomsfortåelse*. Bergen: Master thesis.
Lönnroth, Lars (1965) *European Sources of Icelandic Saga Writing. An Essay Based on Previous Studies*. Stockholm: Lönnroth.
Maclean, Helen S. (1972) "The Old Norse Percival," in *Bulletin bibliographique de la Société arthurienne*, 24: 209-210.
Madsen, Victor (1930) *Et Saxoproblem: Angers-fragmenterne og Christiern Pedersen*. Copenhagen: Reitzel.
Magnus Lagabøtes Landslov (1970) Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Magnus, Olaus (1972) *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (Romae 1555). Introduction by John Granlund. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
Magoun, Francis P. (1941) *Survivals in Old Norwegian of Medieval English, French and German Literature* (Connecticut College Monographs 1): 38-49.

Martin, C. F. J. (1996) *On the Six Days of Creation / Robert Grosseteste: A Translation of the Hexaëmeron by C. F. J. Martin*. Oxford: British Academy by Oxford University Press.
Martindale, J. (1985) *English Humanism: Wyatt to Cowley*. London/Dover NH: Croom Helm.
Mary, André, (Ed.) (1951) *La fleur de la prose française depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du XVIe siècle. Textes choisis et accompagnés de traductions et de gloses*. Paris: Garnier Frères.
Massaut, Jean-Pierre (1974) *Critique et tradition à la veille de la Réforme en France*. Paris: J. Vrin in the Series *De Pétrarque à Descartes*: 31.
Mathiesson, F. O. (1965) *Translation: An Elizabethan Art*. New York: Octagon Books.
Mattson, Ola (1957) *Helga manna leverne: studier i den fornsvenska översättningen av Vitae Patrum*. Helsingfors (Helsinki): Svenska Litteratursällskapet i Finland.
Maynes, Mary Jo (1985) *Schooling in Western Europe: a social history*. Albany (NY): State University of New York Press.
McCormick, Donald (1976) *A Biography of William Caxton [1422-1491]: The first English editor, printer, merchant and translator*. London: Muller.
McDermott, A. Charlene Senape (Ed.) (1980) *Boethius of Dacia: Godfrey of Fontaine's abridgement of Boethius of Dacia's Modi significandi sive quaestiones super priscianum maiorem*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
McEvoy, James (1994) *Robert Grosseteste: Exegete and Philosopher*. Aldershot: Variorum / Collected Studies Series CS 446.
McLuhan, Marshall (1962) *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
McNally, Peter F. (1959) *The Bible in the Early Middle Ages*. Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press.
McNally, Peter F. (Ed.) (1987) *The Advent of Printing: Historians of Science Respond to Elizabeth Eisenstein's The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*. Graduate School of Library and Information Studies. Montreal: McGill University.
Menut, A. D. (1970) *Maistre Nicole Oresme. Le livre de Politiques d'Aristote*. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, LX, 6.
Merton, Thomas (1961) *The Wisdom of the Desert: Sayings from the Desert Fathers of the Fourth Century* (*Verba Seniorum*). London: Hollis & Carter.
Metcalfe, F. (Ed.) *Passio et miracula Beati Olavi: Edited from a Twelfth-Century Manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College*. Oxford. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Micha, Alexandre (1978) *Lancelot: Roman en prose du 13e siècle*. Genève: Droz.
Midbøe, Hans (1947) *Peter Dass*. Oslo: Gyldendal.
Miner, John N. (1990) *The Grammar Schools of Medieval England*. Montreal/Kingston, London, Buffalo: McGill/Queens University Press.
Minnis, A. J. (1979) "Late-medieval Discussions of *Compilatio* and the Role of the *Compilator*," in *Beitrage zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, CI: 385-421.

Minnis, A. J. (1989) *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer.
Minnis, A. J. (2001) *Magister Amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Moen, Kristian (1977) *Historien i nærlys*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Moseng, Ole Georg & Erik Opsahl, Gunnar Pettersen and Erling Sandmo (1999) *Norsk historie 750-1537*. Oslo: Tano-Aschehoug
Mounin, Georges (1967) "Linguistique et traduction" in *Linguistique et traduction*. Bruxelles: Dessart & Mardaga: 63-88.
Murphy, James J. (1974) *Rhetorics in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley: University of California Press.
Murphy, James J. (1980) "The treaching of Latin as a second language in the 12th century," in *Studies in Medieval Linguistic Thought*. Koerner, Niederehe & Robins (Eds.). *Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science*, Series 3: 26. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Müller, Olav (1997) *Hvordan det opplevdes å være katolikk i Trondhjem i århundredet som fulgte reformasjonen*. Lecture.
Nelson, Venetia (1981) *A myrour to lewde men and wymmen: a prose version of the Speculum Vitae*. Heidelberg: C. Winter.
Norton, Glyn P. (1984) *The ideology and language of translation in Renaissance France and their Humanist antecendents*. Geneva: Droz.
O'Hara, Prudence Mary (1976) *Les Lais anonymes des XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Édition critique de quelques lais bretons*. Geneva: Droz.
Olrik, Axel (1992) *Danske heltesagn*. Copenhagen: Gyldendals Bogklubber
Olrik, J. & H. Ræder(Eds.) (1931-1957) *Saxonis Gesta Danorum*. 2 Vols. Copenhagen: Levin/Munksgaard.
Olsen, Astrid Falck, Jan Songstad & Erik Sølvberg (1986)*Historiske kilder før 1850*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Olson, Emil & Carl af Petersen (1919-1925) *Sogur Danakonunga*. Copenhagen.
Olson, Emil (1956) *Flores och Blanzeflor*. Svenska Fornskrift-Sællskapet. Lund: Carl Blom.
Orme, Nicholas (1973) *English Schools in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen.
Orme, Nicholas (1984) *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530*. London: Methuen.
Orme, Nicolas (1989) *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England*. London: Hambledon Press.
Ostenso, Martha (1925) *Graagaas*. Oslo: Some.
Otto, Alfred (1955) *Johannis Daci Opera*. Copenhagen: Corpus Philosophorum Danicorum Medii Aevi (1).
Ovid (1965) *Metamorphoses. The Arthur Golding Translation, 1567*. New York: Macmillan.
Ozment, Steven (1980) *The Age of Reform, 1259-1550: an intellectual and religious history of late medieval and reformation Europe*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Paetow, Louis John (1966) *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric*. Facsimile of 1910 Edition. Champaign, Ill: University of Illinois / Dubuque, Iowa: W. C. Brown.
Payen, J. C. & H. Weber (Eds.) (1965) *Manuel d'histoire littéraire de la France. Tome I: des origines à 1600*, Paris: Éditions Sociales.
Payne, J. & Rainer Komels (Eds.) (1989) *Babel: the cultural and linguistic barriers between nations*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press.
Paz, O. (1992) "Translation, Literature and Letters," in *Theories of Translation*. Rainer Schulte & John Biguenet (Eds.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Petersen, Carl (1943) *Det Kongelige Biblioteks Haandskriftsamling*. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.
Petersen, Erik (1985) "Humanism and the medieval past: Christiernus Petri as a humanist scholar," in *ACNB*: 172-176.
Petersen, Erik (1999a) *Levende Ord & Lysende Billeder. Den middelalderlige bogkultur i Danmark. Catalogue and Essays*, 2 Vols. Moesgård Museum: Det Kongelige Biliotek.
Petrarch, Francesco (1975-1985) *Rerum familiarum libri*. Translated by Aldo S. Bernardo. Albany, NY: John Hopkins University Press.
Phillips, M. M. (1981) *Erasmus and the Northern Renaissance*. Woodbridge-Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer / Totowa, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield.
Piø, Iørn (1977) "On reading orally-performed ballads: The medieval ballads of Denmark," in *Oral Tradition Literary Tradition: A Symposium.* Odense: Odense University Press.
Plutarch (1967) *Vitae parallelae. Plutarch's lives of the noble Grecians and Romans. Englished by Sir Thomas North, anno 1579*. New York: AMS Press
Polain, Mattieu Lambert (1863) *Les vrayes chroniques de messires Jehan Le Bel: Histoire vraye et notable des nouvelles guerres et choses avenues l'an mil CCCXXVI jusques à l'an LXI, en France, en Angleterre, en escosse, en Bretaigne et ailleurs, et principalement des haults faitz du roy Edowart d'Angleterre et des deux roys Philippe et Jehan de France*. Bruxelles: F. Heussner.
Poulsen, Jens Aage (1994) *Da djævelen slap løs: Hans Tausen og reformationen i Danmark*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Primeaux, Ronald (Ed.) (1977) *Influx: Essays on Literary Influence*. Port Washington, NY; London: Kennikat Press.
Pulciano, P. & Kirsten Wolf, Paul Acker, Donald K. Fry, Knut Helle (Eds.) (1993) *Mediaeval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*. New York: Garland.
Puttenham, Richard (1968) *The Arte of English Poesie [1589]*. Menston: Scholar Press.
Pym, Anthony (1987) «Paraphrase and Distance in Translation" in *Parallèles*. Vol. VIII. Geneva: École de traduction et d'interprétation.
Quispel, G. (1978) "The *Diatessaron* in Iceland and Norway," in *Vigiliae Christianae:* 32. Amsterdam: Brill: 214-215.
Rado, G. (1964) "La traduction et son histoire," in *Babel* 1964: 15-16.
Rado, G. (1967) "Approaching the History of Translation," in *Babel* 1967: 169-173.

Rand, N. (1985) "The Translator and the Myth of the Public: Introductory remarks to the first French translations of Swift, Young and Shakespeare," in *Modern Language Notes*, C, 5: 1092-1102.
Rasmussen, Jens (1958) *La prose narrative française du XVe siècle*. Copenhagen: Einar Munkgaard.
Reames, Sherry L. (1985) *The Legend Aurea: A Reexamination of its Paradoxical History*. Madison (Wis): University of Wisconsin Press.
Rice, David Talbot (Ed.) (1965) *The Dark Ages: The Making of European Civilization*, London: Thames and Hudson.
Richards, Earl Jeffrey (1981) *Dante and the Roman de la Rose: An Investigation into the Vernacular Narrative Context of the Commedia.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Richardson, Brian (1994) *Print Culture in Renaissance Italy: The Editor and the Vernacular Text, 1470-1600*. Cambridge (UK)/New York: Cambridge University Press.
Rigg, A. G. (Ed.) (1977) *Editing Medieval Texts: English, French, and Latin written in England: Paper given at the twelfth annual Conference on Editorial problems, University of Toronto, 5-6 Nov. 1976*. New York: Garland Publishing.
Robbins, Frank Egleston (1912) *The Hexameral Literature: A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on the Genesis*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Rode, G. (1866) *Renessansens tidligste eftervirkning på dansk poetisk literatur: en literair-historisk undersøgelse*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal
Roesdahl, E. & J. P. Mohen & F.-X. Dillman (1992) *Les Vikings: Les Scandinaves et l'Europe 800-1200*. Paris: AFAA.
Rosenkilde, V. & C. J: Ballhausen (1987) *Thesaurus Librorum Danicorum 15th and 16th century*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.
Rouse, R. H. (1979) "Florilegia and Latin Classical Authors in Twelfth- and Tirteenth-Century Orleans," in *Viator*, X: 131-160.
Rozett, M. T. (1984) *The Doctrine of Election and the Emergence of Elizabethan Tragedy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Rubin, Deborah (1985) *Ovid's Metamorphoses Englished: George Sandys as a translator and mythographer*. New York: Garland.
Rummel, E. (1985) *Erasmus as a Translator of the classics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Russel, Stephen J. (1987) *Allegoresis: The Craft of Allegory in Medieval Litterature*. New York: Garland.
Rychner, Jean & Paul E. Aebischer (Eds.) *Marie de France. Le Lai de Lanval [Texte imprimé]. Texte critique et édition diplomatique des quatre manuscrits français par Jean Rychner. Accompagné du texte du "Januals ljod" et de sa traduction française, avec une introduction et des notes par Paul Aebischer*. Geneva: Droz (Paris: Minard).
Ryding, William (1971) *Structure in Medieval Narrative*. The Hague: Mouton.
Salvesen, Astrid (1980) "Elucidarius," in *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon für nordisk medeltid fran vikingatid till reformationstid*. Vol 3. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.

Schach, Paul (1964) “Tristan and Isolde in Scandinavian Ballad and Folktale,” in *Scandinavian Studies*: 36: 281-297.
Schepelern, H. D. (1985) *Hexaëmeron. Anders Sunesen: Gengivet på danske vers af H. D. Schepelern med en efterskrift af oversætteren og Jørgen Pedersen*. Copenhagen: DSL/Gad.
Schmidt, Joël (1965) *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*. Paris: Librairie Larousse.
Schogt, H. G. (1988) *Linguistics, Literary Analysis and Literary Translation*. University of Toronto Press.
Schulerud, Mentz (1962) *Nordmenn i København. En beretning om de norske som i dobbeltmonarkiets tid og i senere tider har slått seg til i den danske hovedstad.…* Oslo: Cappelens Forlag.
Schultz-Flügel, Eva (1990) *Historia monachorum sive de vita sanctorum patrum* (Tyrannius Rufinus Aquileiensis c.345-c.410). Patristische Studien: 34. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter.
Scoble, A. R. (1884) *The Memoirs of Philip de Commines*. London: G. Bell & Son.
Seip, Didrik Arup (1952a) *Omstridde spørsmål i norsk pråkutvikling*. Oslo: Fabritius.
Septuagint: The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, According to the Vatican Edition together with the Real Septuagint Version of Daniel and the Apocrypha Including the Fourth Book of the Maccabees (1851). London: Samuel Bagster & Sons.
Shipley, J. T. (1931) *The Quest for Literature: A Survey of Literary Criticism and the Theories of the Literary Forms*. New York: R. R. Smith Inc.
Sigal, Phillip (1986) *From Medieval to Proto-Modernism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Allison Park, PA: Pickwick Publications.
Sigurdsson, Jon Vidar (1999) *Norsk historie 800-1300. Frå høvdingemakt til konge- og kyrkjemakt*. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget 1999
Silverstein, Theodore (1935) *Visio sancti Pauli: The History of the Apocalpyse in Latin, together with nine Texts*. London: Christophers.
Silverstein, Theodore (1959) “The Vision of Saint Paul: New links and patterns in the Western tradition,” in *Archives d’histoire doctrinales et littéraire du moyen âge*. Paris; J. Vrin, pp.99-248.
Silverstein, Theodore (1962) “The date of the *Apocalyse of Paul*,” in *Mediaeval Studies*: 24. Toronto: Pontifical Institure of Mediaeval Studies: 335-348.
Sisam, Kenneth (Ed.) (1921) *Fourteenth Century Verse & Prose*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Skafte Jensen, Minna (1988a) “Latin bucolic poetry in 16th century Denmark,” in *ACNG*, Copenhagen: 269-275.
Skafte Jensen, Minna, Inger Ekrem & Egil Kraggerud (Eds.) (1996) *Reformation and Latin Literature in Northern Europe*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press.
Skafte-Jensen, Minna (1988b) “Humanist Friendship in 16th-century Denmark,” in *A Literary Miscellany presented to Eric Jacobsen*. Graham D. Caie & Holger Nørgaard (Eds.). University of Copenhagen, Department of English. Copenhagen: Athenum: 185-201.

Skafte-Jensen, Minna (1991) “The language of eternity: the role of Latin in 16th century Danish culture,” in ACNT. Copenhagen: 42-61.
Skafte-Jensen, Minna (1993) “Melanchthon, the Muses, and Denmark,” in *Renaissance Culture in Context. Theory and Practice*. Brink, Jean R. & William F. Gentrup (Eds.). Aldershot: Scolar Press.
Skafte-Jensen, Minna (Ed.) (1996) *A History of Neo-Latin Literature*. Odense: Odense Universitetsforlag.
Skarstein, Trygve (1985) *The Scandinavian Reformation: A Bibliographical Guide.* St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research.
Smyser, H.M. (1941) “The Middle English and Old Norse story of Olive,” in *PMLA* 56: 69-84.
Snorre Sturlason (2000) *Les sagas des premiers rois de la Norvège: Heimskringla.* Paris: Le Semaphore.
Sorelius, Gunnar og Michael Srigley (Eds.) (1994) *Cultural Exchange Between European Nations During The Renaissance*. Symposium 1993. Uppsala: Almquist och Wiksell.
Southern, R. W. (1970) ”Humanism and the School of Chartres” in *Medieval Humanism and Other Studies*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Steen, Jens (1971) *En sammenligning mellom ortografien i Christiern Pedesens udgave af Karl Magnus’ Krønike og Ghementrykket 1509*. University of Copenhagen: Thesis.
Steen, Sverre (1935) *Det norske folks liv og historie*. Oslo: Aschehoug.
Steiner, T.R (1970) “Precursors to Dryden: English and French Theories of Translation in the Seventeenth Century,” in *Comparative Literature Studies*, No. 7. College Park, Md: Department of Comparative Literature, University of Maryland.
Steinnes, Asgaut (1965) *Bergsbok: Eit gammalt utdrag or Bergsbok: forteljingar frå dei store kongesagene om Olav Tryggveson og Olav den heilage*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
Steinsland, Gro (1990) “The Change of Religion in the Nordic Countries – A Confrontation between Two Living Religions,” in *Collegium Medievale 3:2*.
Stevens, Wesley M. (Ed.) *Bibliographic Access to Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: A Survey of Computerized Databases and Information Services*. New York: Haworth Press.
Stillwell, Margaret Bingham (1970) *The Awakening Interest in Science During the First Century of Printing, 1450-1550: An Annotated Check List of First Editions* New York: Bibliographical Society of America.
Stock, Brian (1983) *The Implications of Literacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Storm, Gustav (1880a) “Om Haandskrifter og Oversættelser af Magnus Lagabøters Love,” in *Forhandlinger i Videnskabselkabets i Christiania Aar 1879*: 14: 1-61.
Storm, Gustav (1888) *Islandske annaler intil 1578*. Christiania: Grøndahl & Sønner.
Storm, Gustav (1893) *Otte Brudstykker af den ældste Saga om Olav den hellige.* Christiania: Grøndahl & Søn.
Storm, Gustav (1895) *Historisk-Topografiske skrifter om Norge og Norske Landsdele, forfattede i Norge i det 16nde Aarhundrede.* Oslo: Brøgger.

Storm, Gustav (1898) *Regesta Norvegica: chronologisk fortegnelse over dokumenter vedkommende Norge, Nordmænd og den norske kirkeprovins 991-1263*. Christiania: Det Norske Historiske Kildeskriftfond.
St-Pierre, P. (1990a) "La traduction: histoire et théorie," in *Meta*, Vol. 25, No. 1: 119-125.
St-Pierre, P. (1990b) "The Historical Nature of Translation," in *Translation Theory in Scandinavia*. P.N. Chaffey, A.F. Ryding & S.S. Ulrichsen (Eds.): 254-263.
St-Pierre, P. (1990c) "Translation: The need for an Historical Approach," in *Actes du Colloque CTIC: La Traduction au Canada: les acquis et défis / Translation in Canada: Achievements and challenges*. Montréal: Linguatech.
St-Pierre, P. (1993) "L'histoire en traduction," in *TTR*, VI: 1. Canadian Association for Translation Studies. Montreal: McGill University.
Strange, Steven K. (1992) *On Aristotle's Categories* (*Porphyry*). In the series: *The Ancient Commentators on Aristotle*. London: Duckworth.
Strubel, Arnold (1984) *Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meung: Roman de la Rose*. Paris: PUF.
Stubbs, William(1867) *Gesta regis Henrici secundi Benedicti abbatis: the chronicle of the reigns of Henry II and Richard I, AD. 1169-1192* (Benedict of Peterborough), in Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, 49. London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer.
Studer, Paul (1918) *Le mystère d'Adam: An Anglo-Norman drama of the twelfth century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Stybe, Svend Erik (1979) *Copenhagen University: 500 years of science and scholarship*. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Sudhoff, Karl (Ed.) (1917) "Daniels von Morley Liber de naturis inferiorum et superiorum, nach der Handschrift Cod. Arundel 377 des Britischen Museums Abdruck gebracht," in *Archiv für die Geschichte des Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*. 8/3. Leipzig, pp.1-40.
Svendrup, Torben (1994) *Hans Tausen: den danske Luther*. København: Fremad.
Szondi, Peter (1986) *On Textual Understanding*. University of Minnesota Press.
Søderhjelm, Werner (1973) *La nouvelle française au XVe siècle* [Paris: Champion, 1910]. Genève: Slatkine Reprints.
Saaby Pedersen, Fritz (1979) *A Mediaeval Commentary on Time-Reckoning* (Petrus de Dacia c.1235-1289: Computus metricus manualis). Odense: Odense University.
Tate, George Sheldon (1989) *Liknarbraut: a skaldic drápa on the cross*. Ann Harbor, Mich: PhD Thesis from Cornell University.
Taylor, H. O. (1958) *The Emergence of Christian Culture in the West: the Classical Heritage of the Middle Ages*. New York: Harper.
Taylor, H. O. (1962) *The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages*. 3 Vols. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
Taylor, Jerome (1961) *The Diascalion of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*. New York/London: Columbia Univesrity Press.

Thiset, Anders (1897) *Danske adelige Brevkister: Registratur fra det 15.-17. Aarhundrede. Udgivne For det Kongelige Sprog- og Litteraturselskab for Fædrelandets Historie og Sprog*. Copenhagen: Gyldendal.
Thompson, K.F. (1964) *Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World.
Thompson, Peter Edmund (1966) *Contemporary Chronicles of the Hundred Years War: From the Works of Jean Le Bel, Jean Froissart & Enguerrand De Monstrelet*. London: Folio Society.
Thomson, Robert W. (Ed. & Trans.) (1995) *The Syriach Version of the Hexaemeron by Basilius of Caesara*. Loewen: E. Peters.
Thomson, Samuel H (1963) *Europe in Renaissance and Reformation*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
Thorkelín, Grímur Jónsson (1786) *Diplomatarium Arna-Magnaeanum: exhibens monumenta diplomatica quae collegit et universitati Hanviensi testamento reliquit Arnas Magnaeus historiam atque jura Daniae*. 2 Vols. Copenhagen.
Tischendorf, Constantin von (1866) *Apocalypse Apocryphae: Mosis, Esdrae, Pauli, Iohanni, item Mariae Dormitio* (Transitus Mariae); *additis evangeliorum et actuum apocryphorum supplementis* (The Apocalypses, the Greek Transitus Mariae, and the first Latin Transitus Mariae, and the Syriach Apocalypse of Paul). Leipzig: Mendelsohn.
Togeby, Knut (1969) *Ogier le Danois dans les littératures européennes*. Copenhagen: Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab.
Torkar, Roland (1981) *Eine Altenenglische Übersetzung von Alcuins* De virtibus et vitiis*, Kap. 20 (Libermanns Judex): Untersuchung und Textausgabe*. München: Fink.
Toury, G. (1980) *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics.
Toury, G. (1986) «Translation: A Cultural-Semiotic Perspective" in *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics*. Berlin-New-York-Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter, Vol. II: 1111-1124.
Tov, Emmanuel (1997) *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint* in *Biblical Research*. Jerusalem: Simor.
Try, Hans (1986) *Peder Claussøn Friis: Samtid og miljø på Agder: ei artikkelsamling*. Kristiansand: Agder Distriktshøgskole.
Tschan, Francis Joseph (Ed.) (1959) *The History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen (Adam of Bremen)*. New York: Columbia University Press.
Tveitane, Mattias (1969) "Europeisk spr åkp åvirkning av den norrøne sagalitteratur," in *Edda*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget: 73-95.
Tveitane, Mattias (1984) "Havets høyhet og luftens letthet: om lærdom og latinismer i norrønt og norsk språk," in *Klassisk og norsk*. Egil Kraggerud (Ed.). Oslo: Gyldendahl.
Tveitane, Mattias (Ed.) (1971) *Studier over Konungs Skuggsjá*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.
Uhlendorf, B. A. (1932) "The invention and spread of printing til 1470, with special reference to social and economic factors," in *The Library Quarterly* 2. Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 179-231.

Van Hoof, H. (1986) *Petite histoire de la traduction en Occident*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Cabay.
Van Hoof, H. (1990) "Traduction biblique et genèse linguistique," in *Interface*, n° 32 et 33 (1989) & *Meta*, vol. 35, n° 4 (1990); *Babel*, vol. 36, n° 1, (1990).
Van Hoof, H. (1991) *Histoire de la traduction en Occident: France, Grande-Bretagne, Allemagne, Russie, Pays-Bas*. Paris-Louvain-la-Neuve: Duculot.
Vellev, Jens (1986) *Hans Tausen og den hvide sten: om en gravsten på gråbrødrenes kirkegård i Viborg*. Viborg: Skovgaard Museet i Viborg & Viborg Stiftsmuseum.
Venuti, L. (1986) "The Translator's Invisibility," in *Criticism.* Spring Issue. Detroit (Mich): Wayne State University Press: 179-212.
Venuti, L. (1992) *Rethinking Translation. Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology*. New York: Routledge.
Vestergaard Knudsen, Hanne (1992) " …*En fugl der er sluppet ud af buret..?": Humanisten Christiern Pedersen*. University of Copenhagen (Master's Thesis).
Veyne, P. (1984) *Writing History: Essay on Epistemology*. Wesleyan University Press.
Vickers, Brian (1968) *Francis Bacon and Renaissance Prose*. London: Cambridge University Press.
Wallace-Hadrill, J. M. (1988) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People: A History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Walsh, Patrick Gerard (1970) *The Roman Novel. The «Satyricon» of Petronius and the «Metamorphoses» of Apuleius*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Warren, Edward W. (Ed. & Trans) (1975) *Isagoge / Porphyry the Phoenician.* Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
Weingartner, Russel (Ed. & Trans.) (1985) *Graelent [texte imprimé] and Guingamor: Two Breton lays*. New York/London: Garland.
Weisheipl, J. A. (1964) "The Curriculum of the Faculty of Arts at Oxford in the early Fourteenth Century" in *Mediaeval Studies,* XXVI: 143-185.
Weisheipl, J. A. (1975) *Friar Thomas D'Aquino: his life, thought, and works.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Weiss, R. (1964) *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
Weiss, R. (1964) *The spread of Italian Humanism*. London: Hutchinson.
White, L. T. (1962) *Medieval Technology and Social Change*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Whitelock, Dorothy & David C. Douglas & Susie I. Tucker (Eds.) (1961) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode.
Widding, Ole & Hans Bekker-Nielsen (1963) "An Old Norse *Transitus Mariae*," in Hans Bekker-Nielsen (Ed.) *Medieval Studies:* 25. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies: 324-333.
Widding, Ole (1960) (Ed.) *Alkuin i Norsk-Islandsk overlevering* (Edit. Arn. A. 4). Copenhagen: E. Munksgaard.
Widding, Ole (1963) "The *Lives of the Saints* in Old Norse Prose: A Handlist," in Hans Bekker-Nielsen (Ed.) *Medieval Studies*: 25: 294-337.

Widding, Ole (1979) “Den florissante stil i norrøn prosa,” in *Årsberetning 1977-78 for Selskab for nordisk filologi*. Copenhagen: Selskabet for nordisk filologi.
Willard, Charity C. (Ed.) *The writings of Christine de Pisan*. New York: Widener.
Wilson, Katherina M. (Ed.) (1987) *Women Writers of the Renaissance and the Reformation*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press
Wimsatt, James I. (1970) *Allegory and mirror: tradition and structure in Middle English Literature*. New York: Pegasus
Winny, James (Ed.) (1960) *Elizabethan Prose Translation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Wippel, John F. (Ed.) (1987) *On the Supreme Good, On the Eternity of the World; On Dreams / Boethius of Dacia*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.
Wold, Helge A. & Hein B. Bjerck (Eds.) *In the Tracks of Pietro Querini: 5000 Years of History on Røst*. Bodø: Nordland County.
Woledge, Brian (1975) *Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose français antérieurs à 1500* (Suppl. 1954-1973). Genève: Droz.
Woledge, Brian (1976) “La légende de Troie et les débuts de la prose française,” in *Mélanges de linguistique et littérature romanes offerts à Mario Rogues*. Genève: Slatkine.
Wollin, L. (1981) *Svensk Latinöversätning. I. Processen* [Swedish Latin Translation. I. The Process], Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap, A 34. Lund: University of Lund.
Wollin, L. (1983) *Svensk Latinöversätning. II. Förlagan och produkten* [Swedish Latin Translation. II. The Original and the Product], Lundastudier i nordisk språkvetenskap, A 35. Lund: University of Lund.
Wollin, L. (1987) “Birgitta, Erasmus und Luther. Latinisch-deutch-schwedischer Sprachkontakt im Spätmittelalter,” in *Sprachkontakte in der Hanse. Aspekte des Sprachausgleichs im Ostsee- und Nordseeraum*. Akten des 7. Internationalen Symposions überSprachkontakt in Europa, Lübeck 1986. Tübingen: 203-229.
Wollin, L. (1991) “The Monastery of Vadstena. Investigating the Great translation workshop in Medieval Scandinavia,” in *The Medieval Translator*. London: Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies: 65-88.
Wollin, Lars (1992) “Translation in A European Community – An Old Story,” in *Journal of the Department of Scandinavian Languages*, Uppsala University [Biskops-Arnö], June 1992: 1-10.
Wollin, Lars (1996) “Munklatin och riddarsvenska: den tvåspråkiga medeltidskuturen,” in *Svenskan i tusenår*. Lena Moberg & Margareta Westman (Eds.). Stockholm: Norstedt.
Workman, Samuel L. (1940) *15th Century Translation as an Influence on English Prose*, Princeton Studies in English 18. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
Zeeberg, Peter (1987) “Kemi og Kærlighed– Naturvidenskab i Tycho Brahes Latindigtning,” in *Litteratur og Lærdom. Dansk-Svenske Nylatindage*. Alenius, Marianne & Peter Zeeberg (Eds.). Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum: 149-61.
Zeeberg, Peter (1991) “Science versus secular life: a central theme in the Latin poems of Tycho Brahe,” in *ACNT*: 831-38.

Zeeberg, Peter (2000) *Saxos Danmarks Historie.* Copenhagen: Gad.
Ødegård, Knut (1980)*Lilja / Broder Eysteinn: gjenndiktning.* Oslo: Tiden.
Aarsæther, Ragnhild (1981) “Kvinner som familieforsørgere of sjølforsørgende belyst ved nordnorske skattelister på 1500 og 1600 tallet,” in*Kvinnans ekonomiska ställning under nordisk medeltid*. Kvinnehistorisk Arkiv: 19. Hedda Gunneng / Birgit Strand (Eds.). Göteborg: B. Strand.
Aasen, Elizabeth (1986) Kvinners spor i skrift: supplement til norsk litteraturhistorie. Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget.