

Creating the New North: Manifestations of central power in the North AD 500-1800

Presentation of a research group led by
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The Nordic countries and north-western Russia circa 1588

1 Introduction

Creating the New North. Manifestations of Central Power in the North AD 500-1800 is a multidisciplinary research group hosted by the University of Tromsø, Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, but also involving researchers from Tromsø University Museum. The group consists of participants from history, archaeology, history of art, religious studies and social and cultural geography. Based on shared interests in the areas of our research, we have formed an informal network of co-operation with other researchers in

Norway, Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland, Poland and Russia. These are based in the universities, i.e. of Oslo, Trondheim, Oxford, St Petersburg; the archiepiscopal archive of Paderborn; and in museums and official cultural institutes at various levels.

The programme of this group is designed to co-ordinate and conduct multi-disciplinary and interdisciplinary research into the late prehistory, medieval and early post medieval history of North Norway and other regions of the European North. The programme is a long-term initiative to focus the work within different academic disciplines towards the common purpose of a better understanding of historical developments in settlement, society and identity in the North.

The central aim is to develop a new understanding of how the most northerly areas of Europe were transformed from a situation of open interaction between different groups to one which saw them become northern peripheries subject to emerging national states with administrative centres further south, and to observe this development in a regional, national and continental context.

Through these activities, *CNN* has moved from being a regionally-focused programme with its attention confined to the medieval centuries to becoming a research milieu which is working with complex and long-term processes of historical change of a European character and to be understood only within a general European perspective. These processes are, however, exemplified through northern Fennoscandia's transformation from the period after the western Roman's Empire's dissolution when the economic and political centre of balance in Europe began to move northwards, and until the north European states had established their political division of the northern regions at the threshold to modern times. The extension of a wider European culture into the northern areas informs our understanding of the processes of European expansion during the Middle Ages. The extension of the northern boundaries of Europe provides interesting variants on the patterns of expansion elsewhere.

Establishing delimitations and interactions between ethnically-defined groups and social groups is important as well as the delineation of different geographical areas with various types and degrees of integration into more general external structures such as trade networks or evolving states, church organizations and religious networks, together with the evolution of more overarching societal regulatory instruments such as legislation and legal systems.

Other overlapping and intersecting networks of different character which acted within and across such areas, and which appear to have been integrated to a certain extent (such as transaction networks that were partly local and partly inter-regional) are investigated. These entities or areas and their mutual relations are studied in a chronological context, with a view to identifying processes of change, and the interaction patterns and the factors (both external as internal) that serve as the preconditions and determinants of such processes.

2 PhD projects within *Creating the New North*

2.1 Boundaries and local communities: the processes of regulation in the North 1000-1600

Research projects, medieval history and archaeology - Ståle Hagen and Yassin Karoliussen

The aim is to analyse the background and functions of medieval North Norway's boundaries. The project will have strong theoretical and methodological dimensions, as it will be necessary to use the known boundaries and patterns of land ownership of the early modern period, and to develop methodologies to relate them to situations and developments of earlier centuries. The principal boundaries to be studied will be those of the church parishes, the local judicial and administrative circuits (*sysler*, *fjerdinger*, and *tinglag*), of conscription units (*skipreider*), and the boundaries of later fiefs, bailiwicks and county judges' circuits (*len*, *fogderier*, and *sorenskriverier*). In some cases a correspondence between new administrative entities and late prehistoric centres can be observed. In other regions there seem to be weak links between the situation in the early state and the pre-state organization.

Central control of the north was achieved through the imposition of a succession of administrative entities, exercising the authority of both king and church, whilst a parallel factor in the triumph of central power was the success of the Norwegian monarchy and church in making themselves the greatest landowners in North Norway. By the end of the Middle Ages, these two organs of the state had achieved a near-monopoly position of landownership in the north. The dynasties of chieftains who before the year 1000 had ruled the region, dominated its religion, and controlled its resources, were to lose their power and their lands in the centuries that followed, and so disappear as a class. The project, therefore, will also entail a process of identifying the chiefdoms of the Viking period, and their relationship to later administrative units and property concentrations. An essential dimension of the project is the ethnic one. The greater part of the boundaries and entities under study were Norwegian ones – inasmuch as it was Norwegian interests that defined and delineated them. But there was strong and institutionalized interaction between Norse and Sámi society in the Viking period and early medieval times, and some of the boundaries between Norse and Sámi settlement and resources may have been arrived at by mutual agreement. At the same time, a significant part of the Sámi population had its own, completely separate, patterns of settlement and land-use.

It is a theoretical and methodological challenge to combine the information which is available through the written records with the interpretation of material structures and finds. This study is to be carried out as an integrated PhD-project between one historian and one archaeologist.

2.2 State development, religious meetings and inter-ethnic relations in northern Fennoscandia circa 1100 – circa 1500

PhD project, medieval history - Stefan Figenschow

The Middle Ages saw the emergence of more complex and extensive state and ecclesiastical organizations throughout Europe that gradually seized control over an increasing number of aspects of society. As these early national authorities consolidated themselves, an increased focus on the possible inclusion of more peripheral areas into the developing realms followed. The growing Scandinavian medieval kingdoms were no exception to this.

The processes of change in North Norway, of which Trondenes was an important part, had thematic, if not exact temporal parallels in north-western Russia, northern Sweden and Finland. In ways similar to the Norwegian medieval authorities, the developing Swedish state and church powers directed their focus to the north and east, and during the period from circa 1100 to circa 1500 the Norwegian and Swedish state- and church organizations established themselves in northern and eastern Fennoscandia, absorbing these areas into their kingdoms.

The main goal of this PhD-project is to carry out a comparative study of the changes in political, religious, economic and cultural relations between Norwegians, Swedes, Finns and other peoples in northern and eastern Fennoscandia in the light of the growth of Norwegian and Swedish ecclesiastical and temporal authorities during the Middle Ages. What political, economic, religious, social and cultural changes did it lead to? Which connections can be found between this regional development and what took place on the national and international levels? What are the main differences between the approach of the Norwegian authorities in North Norway and the Swedish authorities in Northern Sweden and Finland?

2.3 State development and expansion of legal culture

PhD project, medieval history - Miriam Tveit

This project aims to compare the development of a common legal system in the Scandinavian state formation process with other areas of medieval Europe. Consolidation of power and development of law were connected in the Middle Ages. In this process we can trace transmission between different laws in the early European states, and influence from Roman- and canon law is also substantial. This has equally been pointed out in the law codes of the medieval Scandinavian kingdoms, both the earlier regional laws and the national codes initiated in the 13th and 14th century, when Norway and Sweden expanded northwards.

To examine what was transmitted from other legal cultures and what was original lawmaking of these states is fruitful in order to establish how law assisted the building of state unity. The northern regions of Scandinavia were incorporated in emerging states in the period, and the methods used to control these areas were among others the extension of legal structures and the establishment of a common law. One aim is to analyse whether European legal concepts influenced the national codes and became established law in the northern regions. This could also reveal the degree of original lawmaking separately from the European legal culture that can be traced as a consequence of the extension north. In these matters it is essential to survey the influence from Roman law, church law and different Germanic sources of law. An analysis of the origins of Scandinavian legal sources is therefore central to a better understanding of the evolvement of state power and identity in the northern parts of Scandinavia.

2.4 The church of Trondenes and the surrounding society through the 15th and the 16th century

PhD project, medieval history - Sigrun Høgetveit Berg

The church at Trondenes was a rich and much-coveted canonry in the Catholic Church in the late medieval period, being a powerful land owner located in a fruitful agrarian area close to rich fisheries. Trondenes was a centre in medieval North Norway. How did the Reformation and the change of religion affect the power structures around Trondenes and the surrounding society? This PhD project intends to follow the canonry of Trondenes locally, regionally, nationally and internationally through the Reformation centuries and the main question is:

What kind of spiritual and temporal centre was late medieval Trondenes and how did it change through the post Reformation period?

Four particular aspects of this question will be addressed:

- I The canonry's financial incomes.
- II The canonry's relations to other institutions, both spiritual (the Archbishopric and other churches) and temporal (the state).

- III The interaction between the canonry and the temporal economic elite (nobility, landed gentry, the king's local government).
- IV The general cultural influence one should expect the canonry had on its surroundings.

2.5 The Altarpieces in the parish church at Trondenes

PhD project, art history - Rognald Bergesen

The PhD project is an investigation of five late medieval altarpieces in the parish church at Trondenes. Today three of the altarpieces are still in the chancel of the church, while the other two are at museums in Oslo and Bergen. The project will focus on how these altar pieces were used in different historical contexts during and after the Middle Ages. The main purpose of the investigation is to use Trondenes and its furnishings as a “case study” on how church art in a northern Scandinavian church could have been used during the transition from Catholicism to Protestantism in Denmark-Norway.

It is also important to pinpoint the unique characteristics of Trondenes. A more generalist purpose of the project is to develop new ways of studying church art. The church at Trondenes was organized as a collegiate church. The parish priest was the dean at the chapter at Nidaros, while about seven priests served as his vicars at Trondenes. The vicars also served at thirteen small chapels surrounding Trondenes. In the fifteenth and sixteenth century the interior of the parish church consisted of several features usually found only in cathedrals and other large churches, such as a large chancel, a great number of altars (eight at Trondenes), and choir stalls (fourteen at Trondenes). In cathedrals the choir stalls were used by the priests daily while singing the holy office and the mass. The church served Norwegian fishermen, farmers and Sami, and they too had the opportunity to use the church and its altarpieces. After the reformation, the collegiate was put to an end. The parish priest now lived at Trondenes and preached in accordance with the new Lutheran ideals. But the catholic altarpieces still remained in the church. Until 1700 AD there were at least seven of them. The project will investigate how the altarpieces may have functioned during different liturgical rituals by the clergy in the collegiate church (i.e. high mass, low mass, divine office), and how laymen could have used them during devotion and mass. The way the altarpieces may have been used during Lutheran communions in the seventeenth century will also be explored.

2.6 Fishing villages along the coastline of North Norway

PhD project, archaeology - Inga Malene Bruun

The settlements of medieval North Norway can be divided into three main types. Most important was the ethnic Norwegian or Sami coastal settlement where the population adhered to a way of life and economy dating back hundreds of years, relying on cattle farming, fishing and hunting to survive and prosper. Secondly, during the Middle Ages nomadic reindeer herding developed from Sami hunting communities. And last, but not least, the period also gave rise to specialized fishing communities.

The medieval fishing villages of North Norway were situated along the outermost coastline, on small islands, islets and tongues of land. The locations are close to areas rich in fish, but are also extremely exposed to harsh weather and rough sea. These specialized fishing communities were characterized by both year-round inhabitants and influxes of visiting fishermen during the main winter fishing season.

The two superior problems of this PhD project are: When did these fishing villages arise? And, who were the people living there? A common assumption is that these communities firstly occurred in the 13th and 14th century, as a direct result of increasing demands for fish in Europe, due to the introduction and enforcement of Lent by the Church. North of Tromsø one assumes that the fishing villages mentioned in the sources, were a result of Norwegian colonization of the outer coastline, an area which was traditionally Sami land. However, we do not have enough empirical evidence to conclude that these communities were not based on (much) older social conditions, nor that they were exclusively, or even mostly, of ethnic Norwegian origin. What we can say though, is that these specialized communities of the latter parts of the Middle Ages and Early modern age became one of the most important contact areas between the centres of power in the south and North Norway. The main approach to the problems will be surveys of the fishing villages and surrounding landscape, in order to get information on date, ethnic origin and utilization of resources.

2.7 Meeting between Christianity and Sami indigenous religion in early modern ages

PhD project, early modern history - Siv Rasmussen

Unlike other people in Norway, Sweden and Finland many Sami did not adopt the Christian faith in the Middle Ages. They continued practising their indigenous religion for several hundred years. The Sami were described as dangerous magicians and pagans. According to ancient Norwegian law it was forbidden to travel to Finnmark to have ones fortune told by the Sami. In the 17th and 18th centuries both Swedish and Danish kings sent missionaries to the northern parts of Fennoscandia to convert the Sami to Christianity. The kings' attention to the Sami peoples' faith is usually connected with their struggle for territorial rights in the North.

The aim of this project is to study these Christian missionary activities among the Sami people in Finnmark in Norway and in the northernmost parts of Sweden and Finland (the former Torne and Kemi lappmark). It will be of importance to take a closer look at similarities and differences between the Danish-Norwegian and the Swedish missions in the North, and the missionaries' and clergymen's view of the Sami and the Sami indigenous religion. Another aim will be to study if, and how, the Sami in this region continued practising their indigenous religion, or parts of it, after they formally had converted to Christianity. It is well known from many parts of the Sami regions, that Sami used different strategies to take part in both the Christian religion and the indigenous religion.

2.8 Constructing enemies, Finnmark 1550-1700

PhD project, early modern history - Sverre Andreas Fekjan

From the second part of the 16th century Finnmark, the northernmost part of Norway, along with the whole of Fennoscandia as such, became the object of increasing political-economic interest. Finnmark's political status in this period was characterized by border disputes between Denmark-Norway, Sweden and Russia related to the territorial conflicts regarding coastline, and the state's ambition to control the trading as well as the multi-ethnic situation where differences in Norwegian and Sámi interests sometimes led to open conflicts.

During the 17th century Finnmark also became the scene of trials against people accused for sorcery crimes. Although less than 1% of the Norwegian population lived in Finnmark 31 % of all death sentences related to sorcery crimes were executed there. In relation to population this makes Finnmark one of early modern Europe's hot-spots of witch trials.

An overarching issue for this project is to explore the relevance of the political context in order to illuminate the scope and character of the witch trials in Finnmark. More specifically, it will examine if there is any relationship between greater focus on Finnmark as a peripheral area, the political consolidation of the regime, and the witch trials. Is there any construction of enemy images that condition one another – and if that is the case, how and to what extent?

2.9 Relations between Sámi and Norse societies in southern Salten, Nordland, North Norway 500 BC – 1130 AD

PhD project, archaeology - Eirin Holberg

The project aims to broaden the understanding of ethnic and social relationships between Sámi and Norse settlements in the Iron Age and Early Middle Ages, based on sources from a part of Nordland where the Sámi history is still poorly known.

The project focuses on power relations, where the category of “Sámi” is seen as just one of many social categories in a time of socially highly fragmented societies. An intimate relation between Sámi and Norse settlements in a common social structure is seen as the most possible explanation for the problem of identifying the archaeological material as either “Sámi” or “Norse”, as experienced in earlier investigations.

Archaeological, written and toponymic sources are explored in a multi-disciplinary approach. There is a large amount of uncategorized and undated archaeological material from the region, and an important task is to perform C14-datings and analyse this materials distribution according to differences in social and ethnic identities through time. An attempt is made to identify chieftain’s estates, as these would have had important centre functions both in relations of power-, social- and inter-ethnic relations. The method is based on the established hypothesis that source materials from the Late Middle Ages and from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries enable us to reconstruct land owning relations of earlier periods as far back as to the Viking Period. Still, as opposed to the established method’s primary focus on church- and royal lands, documentations on the land owning history of the noble class is here seen as a valuable source. The project addresses old and new issues in archaeological and historical research, and aims through a critical approach both to reveal new knowledge on a largely unexplored part of North Norway, and to develop further the more nuanced picture of ethnic relations in Iron Age and Early Medieval societies seen in recent research.

3 Other projects within *Creating the New North*

3.1 The political history of Northern Norway in the Middle Ages

Research project, medieval history - Professor emeritus Håvard Dahl Bratrein

Professor Bratrein is working on the political history of Northern Norway, with a view to presenting a synthesis of the whole period between the Viking age to 1620. The synthesis will comprise relations between the Norse and the Sami people, relations to the central authorities of Norway as well as relations to external powers in the east.

Aspects of the political developments were presented in Bratrein and Niemi: “Inn i riket”, *Nordnorsk kulturhistorie* I, eds. Drivenes/Hauan/Wold, 1994.

3.2 Vágár from the Viking age to the Middle Ages

Research project, archaeology - Professor Reidar Bertelsen

Vágár in the archipelago of Lofoten was an important harbour for cod fisheries and stockfish production and stockfish trade from the prehistoric period until modern times. Related to this economic activity were also political, legal, religious as well as social and cultural functions that varied in importance through time. The role of Vágár on the national and the regional level changed during its time span.

For large parts of the Middle Ages Vágár had important administrative functions serving large parts of North Norway, and both the Archbishop of Nidaros and the Norwegian kings utilized this location as a crucial waypoint in governing and managing the northernmost region of Norway. A rich archaeological and documentary material is at hand for the study of Vágár from circa AD 1000 to 1800 and a series of studies of special aspects have been published. Four distinct phases are identified: AD 1000-1200, 1200-1400, 1400-1600 and 1600-1800.

The project intends to give a synthesis of the establishment of, and historical changes to Vágár. The project will make use of every type of source available, including cultural monuments, archaeological finds, written sources as well as data from vegetation history and zoological archaeology. The archaeological investigations of Vágár have been funded by Nansenfondet, NFR and the University of Tromsø.

3.3 The fishing settlement of Langenes

Research project, archaeology - Professor Reidar Bertelsen

Recent investigations of the settlement related to the harbour of Langenes in the Vesterålen archipelago gave archaeological evidence of permanent fishing and hunting activity from the late Stone Age until the middle of the 20th Century. Specifically, major changes can be attributed to the 13th century. The publication of this material will also view the settlement at Langenes in connection with the settlement pattern in the surrounding region and the result of the Vágár project (3.2). The archaeological investigations of Langenes were part of the NOS-H-funded project *Fishing Communities of the North, AD 800-1800*.

3.4 Physical changes of the church and the church site at Trondenes throughout the Middle Ages

Research project - Professor Reidar Bertelsen, Dr Ole Egil Eide, Dr Ole Furset and Dr Anders Hesjedal

Ole Egil Eide's provisional examinations of the church at Trondenes has made clear the need to produce a more complete idea of the profane and sacral buildings on the locality during the Middle Ages. The church itself as well as structures linked to the church offers several avenues to improved knowledge of the physical aspects of this important church site.

3.5 State, mission, and local knowledge during the 18th century

Research project, early modern history - Cand. Polit. Dikka Storm

The project focuses on Norwegian missionary activity among the Sámi population during the 18th and 19th centuries and the consequences of this activity. More specifically, it is an examination of the establishment of local knowledge as a tool used to consolidate the power

of the Dano-Norwegian state in the county of Troms, North Norway during the 18th century. The county of Troms, where the church at Trondenes was an important ecclesiastical centre, has since prehistoric times been inhabited both by Norwegians and Sámi people. One of the primary aims of the project is therefore to chart and examine the role played by the church at Trondenes as a part of the missionary organization which was established during the first decades of the 18th century. In Troms this involved several people working to establish local knowledge of the region, which then could serve as a tool in the missionary efforts.

The missionary effort to the Sámi was conducted by the Danish-Norwegian authorities as a part of a more encompassing effort to Christianize the various ethnic groups which were seen as the subjects of the Dano-Norwegian state on the Scandinavian Peninsula, as well as those overseas, in the Danish colonies. Such a task required a new organization, and in the case of North Norway the theologian Thomas von Westen was appointed to carry out the assignment. This new organization, the personnel recruited and their functions and roles is examined: What was the impact of the missionary initiative on the local Sámi population in the area, especially at the island of Hinnøya, and what kind of consequences or implications did the mission have for State policy vis-à-vis the Sámi population in the southern part of Troms?

The perspectives on the state-led missionary activity of this period provides an alternative, comparative way of reflecting on how similar evangelization missions had been conducted by the Catholic Church in earlier times, before the Reformation. Was there any such missionary activity – and in case it was – how were these evangelization efforts conducted and which implications did it have for the population at the time? And finally, what implications did the role of the Sámi population in previous centuries have for the perspectives of the State-led missionary activity in the 18th century?

3.6 Trondenes: The European context

Research project, medieval history - Professor Richard Holt

Behind Trondenes church stood a west European Church with centuries-old traditions, yet which in 1100 was still developing its identity. The Investiture Dispute was only the most prominent aspect of a redefinition of the relationship between Church and lay concerns; at the local level the Church was still evolving a uniform structure that was effectively financed and manned and would better serve its pastoral mission. It is proposed to examine the established procedures for extending the work of the Church to new areas (as had happened previously in England and parts of Germany), and then the implications of contemporary developments within the European Church. The aim is to assess assumptions and expectations behind missionary activity in Norway, and thus to enhance understanding of the ideological and organizational background to the founding of Trondenes church. There is a solid groundwork of excellent research into the Christianization of Norway and northern Europe, but there remains great potential and a need for a more precise investigation of the factors informing and affecting the work of the new Norwegian Church.

4 Completed projects within *Creating the New North*

The web address of the University of Tromsø's open research archive, where most of the monographs listed below, as well as a lot of other research material, can be found, is:

<http://www.ub.uit.no/munin/>

4.1 Trondenes church at the intersection of east and west. Was Trondenes church fortified during the middle ages?

Completed master's degree project, archaeology - Inge Sjørgård (2005)

Trondenes church has usually been regarded as fortified, because of its (in places) three metres high churchyard wall, incorporating two towers, and the known situation of Russian and Karelian threats to Hålogaland during the Late Middle Ages. The study showed that the defensive aspect has been exaggerated, as for most of its circuit the wall was similar to other churchyard walls; towards the sea, however, it was as high as five metres, and together with the seaward towers – in themselves of no defensive value – the effect was to project the illusion of a heavily fortified location. It would appear that the intention was to give the impression that Trondenes was as well defended as Vardøhus, with its strong ringwork. There may not have been enough resources to defend Trondenes properly, or perhaps the church was so peripheral to the threatened region that a serious defensive circuit could not be justified. Another motivation for projecting an illusion of a heavily fortified structure might have been the possibility that Russian or Karelian raiders were known to avoid well defended locations.

4.2 Imported European pottery in a North Norwegian context: The use and significance of pottery in North Norwegian society from circa 1400 to circa 1800 AD

Completed master's degree project, archaeology - Yassin Karoliussen (2008)

During the transition from the Middle Ages to the early modern period it is evident that imported pottery became more and more common on North Norwegian farms. This is different from the High Middle Ages when pottery was mainly utilized on the vicarage of Trondenes and the trading centre of Vågan. The imported pottery came from the cities and consequently represents urban cultural elements that were placed into a North Norwegian context. One of the most important subjects of the dissertation is why the pottery was absorbed into North Norwegian culture, and what the use of it can tell us about North Norwegian society. The project's point of departure is pottery material from the farm mounds at Tjøtta, Vågan, Trondenes and Mjelvik which can be connected to the period 1400-1800 AD. The widespread use of such pottery developed along similar lines as the increasing contact between the inhabitants of the northern part of the country and representatives from urban settings and the upper class culture that took place during the period of investigation. The pottery in question was connected to preparation, service and consumption of food and drink. The introduction of this type of pottery to the North Norwegian society may therefore also have led to a change in table manners among the population.

4.3 Church localities and church buildings in Troms and Finnmark before 1800

Completed PhD project, art history - Vidar Trædal (2009)

The dissertation surveys all known and feasible church localities in the two northernmost counties of Norway, and the church buildings which have stood there. The projects point of departure is saga literature and older topographical description, church accounts from the 17th and 18th centuries, older drawings and photographs as well as archaeological registrations and new inspections. The systematic study of ecclesiastical archive material from the 17th and 18th centuries especially has provided new knowledge of church architecture in the northernmost part of Norway before 1800.

The relation between the establishment of churches and the general settlement history is emphasized and examined. A central point of the thesis is how settlement history, with a Norse population in southern Troms in the younger Iron Age, the colonization of northern Troms in the High Middle Ages and of the outer rim of the coastal landscape of Finnmark in the Late Middle Ages, influenced the establishment of churches. This process later led to three different ecclesiastical bodies controlling the churches and protecting their economic interests in the High- and Late Middle Ages: The chapter in Trondheim controlled southern Troms through the collegiate church on Trondenes, the royal chapel clergy were in possession of northern Troms through the royal chapel at Tromsø and the archbishop in Trondheim controlled Finnmark by way of the churches and chapels in the fishing settlements along the coast. Since these relations were only completely phased out over a very long period of time after the Reformation it is possible to see the results of the early development in settlement – even in the church architecture itself – as late as in the 18th century.

4.4 Church and location: a study of the church's relationship to the archaeological and topographical landscape of the parish of Trondenes in the Middle Ages

Completed master's degree project, archaeology - Marius Opdahl Larsen (2009)

The objective of this dissertation is to see what archaeology can relate on the background of the churches that made up the medieval parish of Trondenes. The thesis deals with 13 church localities mentioned in the post reformation writing “Trondhjems reformats” (a survey of the churches, parishes and economy of the diocese of Nidaros), and seven church localities included in the cadastres of Trondenes, medieval surveys of landed property. Six of the seven church localities mentioned in the cadastres of Trondenes are also included in “Trondhjems reformats”. Methodically, the churches' location in relation to the topographical and archaeological landscape in the different church localities has been emphasized. The thesis has not approached the subject matter with a specific theoretical perspective as a point of departure, but is an attempt to analyse the contextual relations between church, landscape and the archaeological material in its entirety. This relationship has in turn been discussed based on the objective of studying the churches' background. The dissertation concludes that the placing of churches in the landscape can be divided into two distinct groups: The churches referred to in the cadastres of Trondenes were chiefly built on farmsteads associated with the Norse elite. The churches that are exclusively mentioned in “Trondhjems reformats” however, are mainly placed in fishing villages, and lack the prominent positions that can be attributed to the other churches. The background of these churches is less clearly evident, but they appear to be significantly later than the churches mentioned in the cadastres of Trondenes.

4.5 Land ownership and church building in the bailiwick of Salten in the Middle Ages: a retrospective analysis

Completed master's degree project, history - Ståle Hagen (2010)

This master's thesis examines the connection between land ownership and church building in the area of North Norway known as *Salten Fogderi* (the bailiwick of Salten) in 1647. Various sources have been utilised to analyse land ownership in general and around the churches in particular. By using retrospective analysis, I have tried to find out if it is possible to use the tax records of the 16th and 17th centuries to research land ownership and church building in the Middle Ages. All written sources have been plotted on maps to show changes in property

structures over time, to control which changes have taken place and to explain these changes in an effort to use more recent sources to study the conditions of previous periods. The Tax Cadastre of 1647 (*Skattematrikkelen 1647*) and the Cadastre of Aslak Bolt (*Aslak Bolts Jordebok*) are among the most important sources in examining church building and land ownership in medieval North Norway.

4.6 Cultural contact between centre and periphery AD 1000-1600

Completed post-doctoral project, archaeology - Anders Hesjedal (2010)

The material culture of daily life is indirectly and multifariously linked to institutional changes. Several extensive archaeological examinations have pointed out great changes in the Middle Ages, in medieval North Norway most notably in the mercantile centre Vágur in Lofoten. This project will attempt to place the processes initiated by the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities of the emerging states in a broader context of cultural contact in northern Fennoscandia. The focus will be on the effects of the centre-periphery relation that came into being early in the period and was strengthened by the general increase in contact between north and south. Roughly speaking, one can say that the older lateral cultural networks were replaced by north-south cultural relations, and it is also fair to assume that these changes had several different dimensions: economic, symbolic and ideological.

The broad features of the establishment of institutions and arenas connected with the church, royal power and trade networks are well known, as are the consequences of the population's adjustment to the new social structures instituted by the state and church, and the disparity this led to among the different ethnic groups of northern Fennoscandia. However, to this date we have no clear understanding of the dynamics of these processes. The archaeological data and material from settlements along the coast of North Norway are an important source for variations in the material culture of daily life, and detailed examinations effected over the last 30 years show that there were great differences from place to place and over time as well as regionally and socially.

A more coherent mapping of the direct and indirect effects of the lay and religious authorities' establishment and influence in northern Fennoscandia is needed. A superficial impression tells us that three important changes took place during the time span in question: firstly, the amount of objects owned by people increases dramatically from the 11th century to the 17th century. Secondly, objects originating from the urban communities of north-western Europe, which at the start of the period are limited to obviously aristocratic environments, are much more common towards the end of the period. Thirdly, the diversity of what kind of objects that are found is much clearer toward the end of the period than at the beginning.

5 Future plans and aims

Since the summer of 2010 *Creating the New North* has been working on two major grant applications. The most comprehensive of these two is an application to Norges Forskningsråd (NFR, Eng: the Norwegian Research Council) with the aim of turning *Creating the New North* into a Centre of Excellence (CoE), starting in 2013. The second application is for a substantial research project concerning the Reformation in Northern Norway to NFR, which is to be included as a sub-project in the *Creating the New North CoE (CNN CoE)* if successful.

Please see sections 5.1 and 5.2 for more detailed descriptions on these two applications.

Creating the New North is actively seeking partners for international collaborative and comparative projects. This was the principal theme of the workshop *Church, State and Sacred Landscapes in the Medieval North* at the University of Tromsø in May 2008, as well as the research programmes active participation in the seminar *Creating the New North (AD 1000-1600)* at Pomor University in Arkhangelsk, Russia in January 2008.

Planning is underway on a project to publish a book in the course of 2012 with contributions from many of the participants in the research programme, summing up our activity so far. The publishing of this book will also be a good opportunity to take stock of the results of *Creating the New North*'s first five years of activity, and provide a springboard for the future activity of this enterprise. In connection with the publication of this book, an issue of the periodical *Ottar*, published by Tromsø University Museum, presenting parts of the research programme's results so far was released in time for "Det 27. nordiske historikermøtet i Tromsø 2011" (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians) in Tromsø in August of 2011.

Meanwhile, important results of the research programme's activities will again be presented to an international audience when participants representing *Creating the New North* will hold and moderate a session at Europe's leading gathering of medieval historians, the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, England on Wednesday 10 July 2012.

"Laws and Practice in the Medieval Far North"

- Stefan Figenschow: Imposing the law on northern Scandinavia and Finland 1100-1400
- Richard Holt: Attempting to regulate medieval Norway's towns and trade
- Rune Blix Hagen: Sorcery and witchcraft legislation in Scandinavia 1200-1600
- Lars Ivar Hansen: Tension in the boundary between medieval Norwegian inheritance law and the reality of marriage contracts.

As an active research community *Creating the New North* also continues to apply for funds to further the development of its research programme. We are currently developing several applications for further funding in the near future, intended both for the researchers already involved in the programme as well as new PhD and post-doctoral projects.

Among these future projects are:

- A closer study of the building up of central authorities in Finnmark
- A more thorough examination of power structures in Northern Norway before the unification of Norway
- Further work on the development and role of Vardøhus fortress

Planning of some specific projects is well-advanced or already applied for:

5.1 Creating the New North Centre of Excellence (2013-22)

Creating the New North: Manifestations of Central Power in the North AD 500-1800

The primary objective of the *Creating the New North* Centre of Excellence is to provide a deeper understanding of the social, economic and cultural transformations of Europe's northernmost regions during the period of the formation of the nation states. The secondary objective is to create a milieu for international recruitment to interdisciplinary research into northern history and cultural history before AD 1800.

The proposal of a CNN CoE is designed for the period of 2013 to 2022, and is based on the work of the research programme since its inception in 2006. The multi-disciplinary approach (based on history, archaeology, history of art, cultural and social geography and religious studies) is to be strengthened by more formal relationships with strong international milieus within the same disciplines as well as new disciplines both within the humanities, social and natural sciences. The main theoretical approach (society as a process in time and space) is inspired by works of Bourdieu, Dodgshon, Giddens, Hågerstrand, Massey, Werlen et al.

The proposal has two integrated parts. Firstly, *Change and transition in the Human Space, 500-1800* is an effort to understand historical developments by examining the relationship between society and its physical environment over time, to study the interplay between them and between a range of social groups with identifiable interests in the landscape.

Secondly, *The North in the period of Reformation and Renaissance* is an in-depth study of northern Fennoscandia between the years AD 1400-1700. This is a poorly understood, but formative period influenced by powerful European transformations, but distinctively regional in many of its aspects. The Reformation process, its course and effects in northern Norway and adjoining parts of northern Fennoscandia, is to be investigated from different disciplines to clarify the Reformation's consequences for neighbourly relations between Denmark-Norway and northern Russia. With the European Reformation anniversary of 2017 in mind, we will produce an anthology of academic contributions from several disciplines. Important changes in northern material culture and economy will be looked upon in the broader perspective of a general European transformation, the Renaissance.

5.2 The Protracted Reformation in Northern Norway

Interdisciplinary research project applied for from NFR Frihum funds

The primary objectives of the research project is to gain new insights into the Reformation's processes, course and effects in northern Norway and to a certain extent adjoining parts of northern Fennoscandia in a longer chronological perspective, from the late Middle Ages to the 1700s, as well as to clarify the Reformation's consequences for neighbourly relations between Denmark-Norway and northern Russia. The project will also seek to further develop and consolidate the multidisciplinary research expertise in Reformation studies that has been established within the fields of history, history of art and religious studies at the University of Tromsø, and the aim is to publish one doctoral dissertation and three monographs dedicated to various aspects of these themes. The secondary objectives is to publish a series of articles about the same related themes in scientific periodicals, and with the European Reformation anniversary of 2017 in mind, to produce an international anthology of academic contributions from several disciplines, highlighting various aspects of the Reformation.

Traditionally, the Reformation has been seen as a water-shed event by Norwegian scholars, and they have tended to focus upon differences between the Catholic Norwegian church province of the late Middle Ages and the state church of the post-Reformation era, as well as the consecutive establishment of new secular forms of government in Norway dominated by the Danish nobility. By contrast, our project will highlight both the preconditions for, and the more long-ranging consequences of the Reformation on a wider timescale, from the 1400s to the 1700s. Special consideration will be given to the particular conditions which affected the implementation of the Reformation in the North, that is firstly, the special role played by the northern part of the country within the Catholic Church province in the late Middle Ages. Secondly, the multi-religious situation in the North with a considerable element of surviving

shamanistic beliefs and practices among the Sámi, as well as the fact those parts of northern Norway made up a frontier zone against the Russian Orthodox Church which also conducted mission work among the Sámi. Thirdly, the fact that exact state borders had not yet been established in northern Fennoscandia, and that large areas were defined as general taxation areas where all the surrounding state powers collected taxes from the Sámi.

5.3 Troms County as an ethnically mixed border area 600 AD – 1600 AD

Research project, medieval history, to be supervised by Lars Ivar Hansen

The present day county of Troms has been a region of mixed ethnic settlement – Norwegian and Sámi – from at least the late Iron Age right up until the present day. At the same time Troms was prominent politically as a border or frontier region during the Middle Ages, when the authority of the medieval Norwegian monarchy to an increasing degree incorporated parts of the north-western coast into its domain. Whereas the northern limit of the Norwegian realm at the end of the 12th century was located just south of the present-day county border between Nordland and Troms, the northern extension of unquestioned Norwegian power regarding taxation was (according to an agreement with Novgorod) drawn at Lyngsfjorden in 1326. This implied a removal and expropriation of the North Norwegian chieftaincies that hitherto had held social, economic and military power in the region. From the outset, the property conditions or income basis of the aristocracy of the region seems to have been entirely different from the prevailing system further south in Norway, inasmuch as the fishermen and farmers who based their livelihoods on the local resources of sea and on land did not pay ordinary land rent to the owners of the ground, but instead paid special dues for permission to use land and harbours as a basis for their fishing activities.

A decisive step in the integration of the region into the Norwegian realm was the establishment of a church under special royal authority (exempt from the ordinary church organization) at Tromsøya during the middle of the 13th century. The church was explicitly said to be located “next to the heathens” – *iuxta paganos*. However, the later Tromsø church is recorded as a canonry subject to the chapter of canons of the archdiocese of Nidaros.

While the main traits of settlement distribution during the medieval period are known, themes such as the local development of state and church power, or shifts in property relationships over time are still poorly charted and understood. This project aims, therefore, to investigate these changes in greater detail, taking as a starting point an analysis of the different interests lying behind Tromsø church’s transition from a royal chapel to a canonry under Nidaros cathedral chapter. Focus will be placed on the following matters: 1) The significance and consequences of such a fundamental institutional change as the establishment of the church at Tromsøya as seen in relation to the competing efforts of Novgorod; 2) The nature and extent of the church’s income, and in particular the establishment of a complex of church-owned land in the area; 3) the changing conditions affecting possibilities for inter-ethnic organisation, ethnic articulation and interaction in the region, in particular the ‘space of action’ for the local Sámi communities.

These questions will be investigated through intensive studies of settlement patterns and developments in specific areas, as well as retrospective studies based on medieval and post-Reformation cadastres which are nevertheless still informative as to the previous property relations of the former ecclesiastical institutions.

5.4 Movement and symbolism in the landscape

Research project, archaeology - to be supervised by Dr David Griffiths, University of Oxford

This will address physical and cultural expressions of social, religious and environmental change in the prehistoric and medieval landscape, so as to understand Trondenes' development as a central node of influence. Co-operation on defining and investigating zones of transition in landscape, settlement and environmental exploitation will build up the data-set for analysing Trondenes' particular role and significance. The empirical outcome should include statistical sampling and mapping of regional advantage zones for agriculture, settlement, trading and communication. The relationships and convergence patterns of these factors will be the basis for interpreting their social and cultural expression. In social terms, it will include a review of the experience of characterising the pagan-Christian transition in terms of human occupation and utilisation of the landscape in related international contexts, principally elsewhere in Scandinavia and the British Isles, and go on to propose frameworks for studying the long-term relationship of physical and symbolic ritual foci to territorial boundaries and patterns of movement. A phenomenological approach will broaden the understanding of ritual sites as meeting places.

5.5 The establishment of Church and State in Norse core regions, Kvæfjord and Hadsel AD 900-1300

Post.doc project, art history - Vidar Trædal

Two regions of Hålogaland with optimal agricultural resources are selected with the purpose of trying out models on studies of Southern Norway describing the transition from the Iron Age to the Medieval Period. This may lead to a better understanding of the strategic actions on the hands of the archbishop of Nidaros and the king in establishing power in the north. The project is interdisciplinary and based on art historical, archaeological as well as historical theory, methodology and material.

6 Background and organization

6.1 The research programme's background

In 2003 Reidar Bertelsen, on behalf of a group of researchers consisting of himself, Lars Ivar Hansen, Richard Holt, Lena Liepe and Øyvind Norderval (Department of religious science, Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Tromsø) received a grant from the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Tromsø to implement a preliminary work called *Trondenes i tiden, kulturen og samfunnet* ("Trondenes in time, culture and society"). The preliminary work resulted in a project application to The Norwegian Research council in 2004 called *Trondenes: sted, institusjon, region* ("Trondenes: place, institution, region"). At this juncture, what was later to become the research programme *Creating the New North* concentrated on detailed interdisciplinary investigation of Trondenes.

Trondenes is the location of the principal medieval church of North Norway, the regional base of the archbishops of Nidaros. Built between 1200 and 1450, it remained for centuries the northernmost stone church in Europe, and the largest (and perhaps the richest) rural church in Norway. It had thirteen annex churches covering a large area to the north. The project leaders have themselves worked for several years on aspects of this church, and several of the PhD projects since implemented do so as well.

During the work with *Trondenes: sted, institusjon, region* the research group established a network of researchers associated with universities, museums and other institutions in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark and Great Britain in the subjects of history, the history of buildings, archaeology, cultural geography, art history, religious science and the history of languages. Although not at first successful, the application was well received by the representatives of the Norwegian Research Council, and met with constructive criticism. In accordance with the feedback from the research council the research group expanded the programme to include international and comparative points of view as well as the main focus on Trondenes. The current results of this process can be seen in the description of the different projects the programme consists of today, which have been presented above. The leadership of *Creating the New North* is also working hard to develop the comparative perspectives even further by implementing comparative research projects concentrating on the development in medieval north-western Russia in cooperation with Russian researchers.

6.2 The organization of the research programme

The research programme *Creating the New North* is headed by Professor Reidar Bertelsen (archaeology), Professor Lars Ivar Hansen and Professor Richard Holt (both history). The programme was designed to co-ordinate and conduct multi-disciplinary research – especially between the Department of Archaeology and social anthropology and the Department of History and religious studies but with the active participation from other departments. *Creating the New North* is established with a leading research group, a multi-disciplinary collective of researchers from disciplines such as archaeology, art history, history and religious science and a network of researchers both internally and externally of the University of Tromsø, including the Tromsø University Museum. The research programme is also working together with Trondarnes Distriktsmuseum (Trondenes Regional Museum) to promote the results of the work of the researchers that are part of *Creating the New North*.

Creating the New North currently has ten PhD research fellows engaged as well as a number of permanently employed staff members. Those associated with *Creating the New North* meet at regular seminars, where feedback on specific projects, more general discussions and planning of the research programme's future take place. As can be seen from the appendix the seminar activity has increased significantly over the last three years. Master students, PhD students and regular staff members as well as external researchers connected to the programme are welcome to present their work to the other participants at these seminars. The way in which these seminars are held also underlines another crucial aspect of *Creating the New North* as a research programme, where significant efforts are made to guide, train, motivate and review the work of the next generation of archaeologists, historians and art historians who will be working on these topics of interest for many years to come.

6.3 Results of the research programme's activities

In addition to the numerous regular seminars, actively seeking partners for international collaborative and comparative projects is a mainstay among *Creating the New North's* activities. This was the principal objective when five members of the research programme participated in the four-day seminar *Creating the New North (AD 1000-1600)* arranged by Professor Nikolay Terebikhin's research group at the Pomor University in Arkhangelsk, Russia in January 2008. This was also the principal theme of the workshop *Church, State and Sacred Landscapes in the Medieval North* at the University of Tromsø, May 21-23, 2008. One specific topic of the workshop was to establish a basis for co-operation with researchers from the Pomor University, Arkhangelsk, as well as researchers from other universities in northern

and western Russia. This productive and inspiring gathering, as well as partaking in the above mentioned seminar was made possible by funding the research programme received from the Norwegian Research Council and the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Tromsø.

In the autumn semester of 2008, *Creating the New North* was represented with a stand at “Forskningstorget” (“The research market”), a part of “Forskningsdagene 2008” (“Research days 2008”) describing the research programme and its core themes. In addition to the posters themselves, several representatives of the research programme held short lectures, answered questions and initiated dialogue with interested members of the public.

In the summer of 2009, *Creating the New North* as a research programme contributed to the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, England, by holding a separate session. Three of the participants of the research programme presented papers on Wednesday 15 July:

- Land Ownership and Church Organization on the Periphery of Christendom
- The Attractions of a Benefice in the Far North around 1400
- The Frontier between the Christian and the Pagan: Mission as a tool of Colonization

In the summer of 2010, the research programme expanded its contribution to the International Medieval Congress by holding two separate sessions. Six members of *Creating the New North* presented their papers on Thursday 15 July:

The first session “Northern Travels and Meetings, I: Fishy Tales from the North?” included three paper presentations:

- Bearded Women and Sea Monsters?: Reports from the North before 1200
- A Venetian Report of Arctic Norway in 1431: Misrepresenting a Fishing Society?
- Images and Representations of the Extreme North at the End of the Middle Ages

The second session “Northern Travels and Meetings, II: Politics, Religion and Identity” consisted of three more paper presentations:

- Political Contacts and Rivalry in Norway and Russia: Diplomacy and Warfare on the Move
- For Business or Pleasure? Travelling to Rome from the Arctic in the 15th century
- Merchants’ Travels to the Sami: Trade, Tax and Conversion

In addition to presenting these papers, information on the research programme was handed out to members of audience at the session.

In the early spring of 2011 *Creating the New North* held the two-day seminar [*Reformasjonen i nord - kva veit me?*](#) (The Reformation in the North – what do we know?) at Tromsø Museum Universitetsmuseet (Tromsø University Museum), with external as well as internal contributors from the disciplines of history, art history, religious science and linguistics.

In the summer of 2011, the research programme again expanded its contribution to the International Medieval Congress by holding two separate sessions, as well making different contributions to three other sessions in various capacities. A total of eight members of *Creating the New North* presented papers between Monday 11 July and Wednesday 13 July:

The first session, entirely held and moderated by participants of *Creating the New North*, will take place on Monday 11 July and was moderated by Richard Holt.

“Authority and social differentiation in the Medieval Far North”

- Eirin Holberg: Limitations to the Power of Norwegian Kings and Chieftains, c. 600-1000
- Inga Malene Bruun: Fashionable Fishermen: The Archaeology of Rich and Poor in North-Norwegian Fishing Villages
- Lars Ivar Hansen: Social Differentiation among the Sámi Hunters and Fishermen of North Norway

The second session consisting entirely of paper given by members of the research programme took place on Wednesday 13 July and was moderated by Arnold Otto.

“A New Credo in the North: Mission and Conversion in Northern Scandinavia”

- Siv Rasmussen: The Sámi between Two Churches and Two Legal Systems
- Roald E. Kristiansen: Christianizing the Far North: The 18th-century Sámi Mission and Its Local Responses
- Dikka Storm: Missionaries, Local Knowledge, and State Consolidation in the North

In addition, one representative of *Creating the New North* presented a paper as part of a session organised and moderated by Lars Ivar Hansen and Richard Holt respectively on Wednesday 13 July.

“Images and Architecture as Expression of Status and Power”

- Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen: Displaying the Wealth of the North Norwegian Church
- Miguel Larrañaga Zulueta: Image, Word and Power, 11th -13th Centuries
- Evgeny Khodakovsky: Late Medieval Church Architecture in the White Sea Region: The Advancement of the Orthodox Spirituality to the ‘Midnight Lands’

Furthermore, as part of the session “Wealth, Vengeance, and Literary Culture in the Early Middle Ages, research programme member Miriam Tveit presented the paper “Vengeance and *Wergild* in Early Medieval Law: Legal Transmission in Germanic Europe”.

Finally, Lars Ivar Hansen moderated the session “The Realm of Norway and Its Dependencies, I” where three members of the research project *The Realm of Norway and Its Dependencies as a Political System* from Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskapelige Universitet (NTNU) in Trondheim presented their papers on Thursday 14 July.

The session planned for the congress in the summer of 2012 represents a continuation of this initiative, and the fourth year *Creating the New North* will organize and hold sessions at the International Medieval Congress. In addition to presenting papers as well as organizing and moderating sessions, information on the research programme was handed out to members of audience at the different sessions where members of the research programme participated.

Later in the summer of 2011 five research group members presented papers as part of a joint full-day session organized by *Creating the New North* and *The Realm of Norway and its dependencies as a political system c. 1260 - 1400* (research project at NTNU in Trondheim) at [Det 27. nordiske historikermøte](#), (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians) in Tromsø.

In the autumn semester of 2011, *Creating the New North* participated in “Forskningsdagene 2011” (“Research days 2011”) by organizing the excursion [Med båt gjennom tusenåra i Sør-Troms](#) (“South Troms – by boat through the millennia”) to the southern parts of the county of

Troms which included several stops along the way to give lectures open to the public. The venues for these lectures included the community centre at Bjarkøy, Harstad University College and Ibestad cultural centre, and were organized in cooperation with South Troms Museum, Pensjonistmuseet (“Pensioners’ University”, Harstad University College Research Days as well as the parish priest and schools of Ibestad. Information concerning the research programme was handed out to members of the audience throughout the excursion.

Furthermore, members of the research programme frequently make their way to historical and archaeological sites of interest in North Norway as a part of their work. Prominent examples of this active fieldwork include an effort in May 2008, when a group of four researchers and students visited six different church sites in the parish of Trondenes to investigate, localize and/or date farm mounds, church remains and graveyards. One of the main objectives of this endeavour was to assist the PhD and master students in the work on their projects. Another example took place in late October 2009, when three researchers carried out an investigation into the graffiti and triptychs of the interior of Trondenes church, as well as investigating settlement remains in the vicinity of the church. One of the researchers also gave a lecture to the public in cooperation with the local church council and Trondarnes distriktsmuseum (Trondenes district museum) as a part of “Trondenesdagene”, a local week-long cultural event focusing on different themes in relation to the history of the church and parish of Trondenes.

6.4 *Creating the New North:*

6.4.1 Leading researchers:

Professor [Reidar Bertelsen](#) (Archaeology, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Professor emeritus [Håvard Dahl Bratrein](#) (History, University of Tromsø)
 Associate professor [Ingebjørg Hage](#) (Art history, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Associate professor [Rune Hagen](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Professor [Lars Ivar Hansen](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Professor [Richard Holt](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Associate professor [Roald E. Kristiansen](#) (Religious Studies, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Professor [Endre Mørck](#) (Old Norse Philology, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 Professor [Inger Storli](#) (Archaeology, Tromsø University Museum)
 Senior curator [Dikka Storm](#) (Cultural geography, Tromsø University Museum)

6.4.2 PhD research fellows:

PhD research fellow [Sigrun Høgetveit Berg](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Rognald Bergesen](#) (Art history, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Inga Malene Bruun](#) (Archaeology, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Sverre Andreas Fekjan](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Stefan Figenschow](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Ståle Hagen](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Eirin Holberg](#) (Archaeology, University college of Bodø)
 PhD research fellow [Yassin Karoliussen](#) (Archaeology, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Siv Rasmussen](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
 PhD research fellow [Miriam Tveit](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)

6.4.3 Other researchers associated with *Creating the New North:*

Senior adviser [Reidun Laura Andreassen](#) (Finnmark County Municipality)
 Professor [Sigurd Bergmann](#) (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim)

Department manager [Lisa G. Bostwick](#) (South-Troms Museum)
Professor [Charlotte Damm](#) (Archaeology, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
Director [Ole Furset](#) (South Troms Museum, Harstad)
Dr [David Griffiths](#) (University of Oxford)
Project manager/archaeologist [Anders Hesjedal](#) (Archaeology, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)
Professor Dr.phil Per Ingesman (Faculty of Theology, University of Aarhus)
Architect, dr.ing [Jørgen Jensenius](#)
Associate professor Ph.D Evgeny Khodakovskiy (Department of Russian Art History, University of St. Petersburg)
Curator of paintings [Kaja Kollandsrud](#) (Museum of Cultural History, University of Oslo)
Master of archaeology [Marius Opdahl Larsen](#)
Erzbistumsarchivar (Archivist of the Archdiocese) Dr.phil. Arnold Otto (Erzbischöfliches Generalvikariat, Paderborn)
Professor [Lena Liepe](#) (Department of Philosophy, Classics, History of Art and Ideas, University of Oslo)
Senior executive officer [Keth Lind](#) (Tromsø University Museum)
Professor [Tarald Rasmussen](#) (Faculty of Theology, University of Oslo)
Dr [Vidar Trædal](#) (Art history section, Department of Culture and Literature, University of Tromsø)
Associate professor [Thomas Wallerstrøm](#) (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)
Associate professor [Liv Helene Willumsen](#) (History, HSL-faculty, University of Tromsø)

6.4.4 Web site address:

<http://uit.no/ihr/cnn>

7 Appendix – Creating the New North Seminars and Activities 2006-2011

2006

- Wednesday 131206 *Creating the New North*-kick off.

2007

- Friday 260107 Reidar Bertelsen and Lena Liepe presented their contributions to the programme.
- Friday 230207 Vidar Trædal, Richard Holt and Lars Ivar Hansen presented their contributions to the programme.
- Friday 160307 Stefan Figenschow presented an outline of his PhD project.
- Friday 200407 Yassin Karoliussen and Marius Opdahl Larsen presented their master's degree projects.
- Tuesday 280807 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg presented an outline of her PhD project.
- Tuesday 110907 Rognald Bergesen presented an outline of his PhD project.
- Tuesday 180907 Marius Opdahl Larsen presented a chapter draft from his master's degree dissertation.
- Tuesday 021007 Yassin Karoliussen presented a chapter draft from her master's degree dissertation.
- Tuesday 161007 Dikka Storm presented a chapter draft from her dissertation on Storjorda.
- Tuesday 301007 Anders Hesjedal presented an outline of and a working paper from his post-doctoral project.

2008

- Monday 210108 to Friday 250108 Rognald Bergesen, Reidar Bertelsen, Lars Ivar Hansen, Anders Hesjedal and Richard Holt participated in the seminar *Creating the New North (AD 1000-1600)* at the Pomor University in Arkhangelsk, Russia.
- Thursday 070208 Progression- and planning seminar (steering committee).
- Thursday 140208 Progression- and planning seminar (steering committee).
- Thursday 130308 Yassin Karoliussen and Marius Opdahl Larsen presented drafts of chapters from their master's degree dissertations.
- Thursday 270308 Meeting on the organization of the international workshop.
- Thursday 030408 Dag Frøland presented his master's degree project.
- Thursday 100408 Stefan Figenschow presented a chapter draft from his PhD dissertation.
- Thursday 240408 Ståle Hagen presented a chapter draft from his master's degree dissertation.
- Thursday 080508 Rognald Bergesen presented a chapter draft from his PhD dissertation.
- Thursday 080508 Meeting on the organization of the international workshop.
- Mid May - Reidar Bertelsen, Lars Ivar Hansen, Marius Opdahl Larsen and Vidar Trædal visited and investigated six church sites at Lenvik, Tranøy, Ibestad, Kvæfjord, Bjarkøy and Trondenes in the parish of Trondenes.
- Wednesday 210508 to Friday 230508 International workshop *Church, State and Sacred Landscapes in the Medieval North*.

- Thursday 110908 Progression- and planning seminar, focus on the document presenting *Creating the New North* as a research programme.
- Thursday 180908 Miriam Tveit presented an outline of her PhD project.
- Friday 260908 and Saturday 270908 Representatives of *Creating the New North* participated in “Forskningsdagene 2008” (“Research days 2008”).
- Thursday 091008 Reidar Bertelsen and Anders Hesjedal: Empirical data and methodology seminar, archaeology, part I.
- Thursday 061108 Reidar Bertelsen and Anders Hesjedal: Empirical data and methodology seminar, archaeology, part II.
- Thursday 131108 Lars Ivar Hansen: Empirical data and methodology seminar, history.
- Thursday 201108 Anders Hesjedal presented a chapter draft from his post-doctoral dissertation.
- Thursday 271108 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg presented a chapter draft from her PhD dissertation and Kaja Kollansrud presented her research on the sacramental cabinet from Berg.
- Thursday 041208 Christmas breakfast.

2009

- Thursday 050209 Inga Malene Bruun presented an outline of her PhD project.
 - Thursday 120209 Siv Rasmussen presented a chapter draft from her PhD dissertation.
 - Thursday 190209 Dikka Storm presented the sources and historiography of Sami research.
 - Thursday 260209 Progression- and planning seminar focusing on the status of *Creating the New North* as a research programme with introductions by Richard Holt and Stefan Figenschow.
 - Thursday 120309 Rognald Bergesen and Vidar Trædal: Empirical data and methodology seminar, art history.
 - Thursday 190309 Marius Opdahl Larsen presented a chapter draft from his master’s degree dissertation.
 - Thursday 260309 Reidar Bertelsen presented a plan for the completion of his project on Vågan society and fisheries through more than 1000 years.
 - Thursday 160409 Torjer Olsen presented the project “Religion i nord” (“Religion in the north”) and North Norwegian history of religion.
 - Thursday 300409 Planning seminar, *Creating the New North* book project.
 - Thursday 140509 Stefan Figenschow presented an outline of his contribution to *Creating the New North*’s session at the International Medieval Congress on Wednesday July 15.
 - Thursday 280509 Reidun L. Andreassen and Håvard Dahl Bratrein: Finnmark between east and west.
 - Thursday 040609 Progression- and planning seminar focusing on the status of *Creating the New North* as a research programme.
 - Wednesday 170609 Coordination- and planning seminar, *Creating the New North* session at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, Wednesday July 15.
 - Wednesday 150709 Lars Ivar Hansen, Sigrun Høgetveit Berg and Dikka Storm presented three papers at a separate session moderated by Richard Holt at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, England.
-
- Thursday 030909 Planning seminar, *Creating the New North* sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, 12.-15. July 2010.
 - Thursday 170909 Planning- and coordination seminar for *Creating the New North*’s book project and planned publication in Tromsø University Museum’s periodical *Ottar*.

- Thursday 240909 Lars Ivar Hansen presented his paper “The Arctic Dimension of 'Norgesveldet’”.
- Thursday 081009 Miriam Tveit presented her paper written for a seminar on legal history.
- Thursday 221009 Inga Malene Bruun and Siv Rasmussen presented a slideshow of this summer’s fieldwork.
- Late October – Rognald Bergesen, Reidar Bertelsen and Anders Hesjedal visited the church at Trondenes to investigate the church interior and exterior. In addition, Rognald Bergesen held a lecture arranged by the local church council and museum.
- Thursday 191109 Rognald Bergesen presented his paper “Birgittinian crusader ideology in a triptych in Trondenes”.
- Thursday 031209 Anders Hesjedal and Dikka Storm presented their thoughts on the subject of mobility and space, and Anders Hesjedal presented his paper “Mobility, ships and farm mounds in the late Iron Age and the Middle Ages”.
- Thursday 101209 Christmas breakfast.

2010

- Thursday 140110 Progression- and planning seminar.
- Thursday 210110 Meeting with Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education leadership and Vice President for Research & Development Curt Rice.
- Thursday 280110 Planning seminar concentrating on the research programme’s anthology book and *Ottar* issue publishing projects, as well as setting the seminar agenda this spring.
- Thursday 180210 Reidar Bertelsen and Richard Holt presented their NFR (Norwegian Research Council) application of 2004 as a background for future applications.
- Thursday 250210 Dikka Storm held a presentation on “Mobility and space”.
- Thursday 040310 Reidar Bertelsen and Håvard Dahl Bratrein held a presentation of different roles played by stockfish within the field of the research programme.
- Thursday 110310 Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen presented his paper “The collegiate church on Trondenes”.
- Thursday 180310 Progression- and planning seminar focusing on *Creating the New North’s* planned NFR (Norwegian Research Council) application.
- Thursday 250310 Siv Rasmussen presented her paper “The influence of the Birkarls on the propagation of Christianity in Torne lappmark”.
- Thursday 080410 Progression- and planning seminar focusing on preparation of several applications (NFR, Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education), as well as the further development of *Creating the New North* as a research programme.
- Thursday 150410 Inga Malene Bruun presenter her paper “The fishing villages in previous research – Status presens”.
- Thursday 220410 Progression- and planning seminar focusing on the preparation of an application for formal status of *Creating the New North* as a Research group of the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education.
- Thursday 060510 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg presented a chapter draft from her PhD dissertation.
- Thursday 200510 First Coordination- and planning seminar, *Creating the New North* sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, Thursday July 15.
- Thursday 270510 Lars Ivar Hansen held a presentation on comparative analysis.
- Thursday 030610 Planning seminar focusing on *Creating the New North’s* participation at Det 27. nordiske historikermøte, 11.-14. august 2011 (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians). Summer brunch.

- Thursday 100610 Second Coordination- and planning seminar, *Creating the New North* sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, Thursday July 15.
- Thursday 150710 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg, Rune Blix Hagen, Lars Ivar Hansen, Richard Holt, Siv Rasmussen and Miriam Tveit presented six papers at two separate sessions moderated by Richard Holt at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, England.
- Thursday 190810 Progression- and planning seminar.
- Thursday 020910 Budget proposal, distribution of funds received after *Creating the New North* attained formal status as a Research group at the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education. Discussion on scope of planned publications, including both the forthcoming special edition of the periodical *Ottar* due out in time for Det 27. nordiske historikermøte, (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians) in Tromsø, august 2011 and *Creating the New North's* anthology book project.
- Thursday 090910 Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen presented his findings on the two "Bibles of Trondenes" kept at Riksarkivet (Public Records Office) in Oslo.
- Thursday 230910 Planning seminar focusing on *Creating the New North's* sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, 11.-14. July 2011.
- Monday 270910 Reidar Bertelsen, Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen and Sigrun Høgetveit Berg participated at "Forskningdagene 2010" ("Research days 2010") in Harstad.
- Thursday 300910 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg presented a draft of her article for *Creating the New North's* planned special edition of the periodical *Ottar* in 2011.
- Thursday 211010 Lars Ivar Hansen presented his paper "The Sami in local history: Challenges and Experiences".
- Thursday 041110 Siv Rasmussen presented a draft of her article for *Creating the New North's* planned special edition of the periodical *Ottar* in 2011.
- Thursday 181110 Presentation- and progression seminar with a representative from the Department of Research at the Faculty of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education of the University of Tromsø. Planning of and discussion on *Creating the New North's* future work in the research fields of landscapes and the reformation.
- Thursday 251110 Full-day session where Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, Håvard Dahl Bratrein, Inga Malene Bruun, Stefan Figenschow, Lars Ivar Hansen, Richard Holt and Dikka Storm each presented drafts of their articles for *Creating the New North's* planned special edition of the periodical *Ottar* in 2011.
- Thursday 091210 Reidar Bertelsen held an introductory course in computer-based map drawing.
- Thursday 161210 Christmas breakfast.

2011

- Thursday 130111 Progression- and planning seminar.
- Thursday 200111 Luitgard Löw, Department head at Nordkappmuseet (The North Cape Museum) held a presentation on the map exposition at her museum.
- Thursday 270111 Richard Holt presented a manuscript draft for his presentation at *Creating the New North* and *The Realm of Norway and its dependencies as a political system c. 1260 - 1400* joint full-day session at Det 27. nordiske historikermøte, (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians) in Tromsø, august 2011.
- Thursday 100211 Review of article drafts for *Creating the New North's* special edition of the periodical *Ottar* in 2011.
- Thursday 170211 Håvard Dahl Bratrein presented a draft of his article "Pels og politikk" ("Fur and politics") for *Creating the New North's* special edition of *Ottar*.

- Thursday 030311 Progression- and planning seminar focusing on a spring excursion and the upcoming Reformation seminar.
- Thursday 100311 Reidar Bertelsen presented a manuscript draft for his presentation at *Creating the New North* and *The Realm of Norway and its dependencies as a political system c. 1260 - 1400* joint full-day session at Det 27. nordiske historikermøte, (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians) in Tromsø, august 2011.
- Thursday 240311 Ståle Hagen and Yassin Karoliussen presented outlines of their joint PhD projects, as well as an idea for an article. Discussions regarding Reformation project and CoE grant applications.
- Wednesday 300311 and Thursday 310311 [*Reformasjonen i nord - kva veit me?*](#) (The Reformation in the North – what do we know?). Seminar at Tromsø Museum Universitetsmuseet (Tromsø University Museum) with lectures by Tarald Rasmussen, Anne Irene Risøy, Steinar Imsen, Vidar Trædal, Roald Kristiansen, Lars Ivar Hansen, Rune Blix Hagen and Endre Mørck.
- Thursday 070411 Summary of the reformation seminar last week, results and future prospects. Work on Reformation project and CoE grant applications.
- Thursday 140411 Working seminar focusing on the on Reformation project and CoE grant applications.
- Thursday 280411 Working seminar focusing on the on Reformation project and CoE grant applications.
- Thursday 050511 Working seminar focusing on the CoE application.
- Thursday 120511 Working seminar focusing on the Reformation project application.
- Thursday 190511 Working seminar focusing on the CoE application.
- Thursday 260511 Working seminar focusing on the CoE application.
- Thursday 090611 Progression- and planning seminar.
- Thursday 160611 Coordination- and planning seminar, *Creating the New North* participation in sessions at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds this summer. Summer brunch.
- Monday 110711 Eirin Holberg, Inga Malene Bruun and Lars Ivar Hansen presented three papers at a separate *Creating the New North* session moderated by Richard Holt at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds, England.
- Wednesday 130711 Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, Roald E. Kristiansen, Siv Rasmussen, Dikka Storm and Miriam Tveit presented five papers at three different sessions at the International Medieval Congress, one of which was organised and moderated by Lars Ivar Hansen and Richard Holt respectively.
- Sunday 140811 Richard Holt, Miriam Tveit, Reidar Bertelsen, Stefan Figenschow and Sigrun Høgetveit Berg (co-written with Dikka Storm and Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen) presented papers as part of a joint full-day session organized by *Creating the New North* and *The Realm of Norway and its dependencies as a political system c. 1260 - 1400* (research project at NTNU in Trondheim) at [*Det 27. nordiske historikermøte*](#), (The 27. Nordic Meeting of Historians) in Tromsø.
- Thursday 250811 Progression- and planning seminar, autumn 2011.
- Thursday 080911 Summary of *Creating the New North*'s participation at the International Medieval Congress 2011 in Leeds, and planning of next year's participation. Review of the current plans for the publication of *Creating the New North*'s anthology book.
- Thursday 220911 Presentation and discussion of chapter drafts for the anthology project.
- Monday 260911 and Tuesday 270911 [*Med båt gjennom tusenåra i Sør-Troms*](#) ("South Troms – by boat through the millennia") Excursion to the Vågsfjord basin in the southern

parts of the county of Troms as part of “Forskningsdagene 2011” (“Research days 2011”) with public lectures at Bjarkøy (Inger Storli, Richard Holt and Lars Ivar Hansen), Harstad (Rognald Heiseldal Bergesen, Siv Rasmussen and Dikka Storm) and Ibestad (Lars Ivar Hansen & Sigrun Høgetveit Berg).

- Thursday 061011 Sigrun Høgetveit Berg presented a chapter draft from her PhD dissertation.
- Thursday 101111 Presentation and discussion of chapter drafts for the anthology project.
- Thursday 171111 Stefan Figenschow presented a chapter draft from his PhD dissertation.
- Tuesday 061211 Christmas breakfast.
- Thursday 081211 Ståle Hagen and Yassin Karoliussen presented an outline of their strategies for cooperation in working with their PhD projects and dissertations.

2012

- Thursday 120112 Progression- and planning seminar.
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