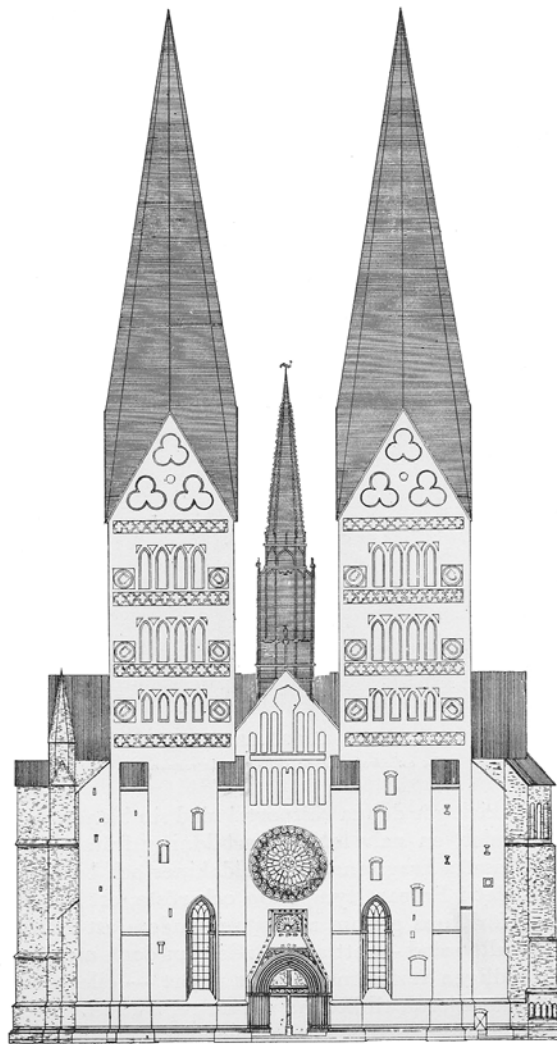


Church and nation

The discourse on authority in Ericus Olai's *Chronica regni Gothorum* (c. 1471)

Biörn Tjällén



Stockholm University

Department of History

Cover: plate 1. Reconstruction of the fifteenth-century façade of the Uppsala cathedral. After Boëthius & Rohmdahl.

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Copenhagen, November 2007

Biörn Tjällén

Introduction

The *Chronica regni Gothorum* or Chronicle of the realm of the Goths is the first Swedish national history in Latin prose. It was completed after 1471 by a member of the Uppsala cathedral chapter, Ericus Olai, who, arguably, intended his work primarily for the readership of his own arch see. Ericus professed to compile a history of the Swedish realm from the birth of Christ until his own time and according to the succession of kings and bishops governing from Uppsala. He addressed his fellow clerics with a chronological account of the realm and royal and episcopal power.¹ This thesis examines his discourse on authority in the realm and determines its relation to the contemporary needs and aspirations of the Uppsala arch see.

The political prominence of the Uppsala church in the later Middle Ages is apparent from the modern scholarship. However, what discourses instigated, guided or legitimized political action at this institution have eluded observation. This examination of Ericus's *Chronica* is intended as a contribution to a clearer understanding of this field. Ericus was a prominent member of the Uppsala church who in turn addressed his fellow clerics. His chosen theme of the realm and of its secular and ecclesiastical government testifies to the articulation within this group of the dominant political issues of his day: Sweden's status within the union with Denmark-Norway and the relations between its king, aristocracy and ecclesiastical leadership received his historiographical attention. The focus on the authority discourse at the Swedish arch see in this thesis however also resonates with a broader interest in the political-ideational and institutional developments in Sweden towards the end of the Middle Ages. The establishment of a royal authority in the realm in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries coincided with the consolidation of its church; these two institutions, yet weak, collaborated for their mutual benefit and growth. In the fifteenth century, however, when monarchic advances were met with resistance, the leadership of the Swedish church defended its autonomy by joining forces with the aristocracy. Together against royal power, they mobilized around the alternative source of central authority that was constituted by the concept of the realm. The *Chronica*, this thesis argues, reflects how these shifting authority relations were understood, negotiated and affirmed in Ericus's contemporary terms and from his institutional perspective.

The liberty of church and realm are central tenets to the discourse on authority in the *Chronica*. It is necessary to introduce this analysis with a brief account of the appearance of these two concepts in contemporary public debate as well as their treatment in modern historiography. The introduction

¹ The time of composition of the *Chronica*, authorship and intended audience is discussed below in chapter I. The authorial intentions made explicit by Ericus are referred to in chapter II.

concludes with a brief survey of previous research on the *Chronica* that is relevant to this thesis and with a specification of the intended aim, method and disposition.

The liberty of church and realm

It is a commonplace that the historian at work departs from his or her own contemporary issues. A compiler of a Swedish national and ecclesiastical-institutional history working in the latter half of the fifteenth century had a complex and unstable institutional framework to address. In Sweden, this want of political stability characterized an epoch beginning with the introduction of the dynastic union between Sweden and Denmark-Norway in the 1390s. It involved attempts at instituting a strong royal regime and the consequent conflicts between monarchs and lay and clerical power elites. And it closed with the establishment of a permanent national monarchy in Sweden and the Reformation in this realm, from the 1520s. The fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century have been characterized as a consolidation phase of monarchy in Europe; repeated challenges to royal authority were, towards the end of the period, largely overcome.² As in other parts, this monarchic advance in Scandinavia came to several halts and was not uncontested. The struggle between monarchy and aristocratic interests is traditionally regarded as the defining political issue of the Swedish fifteenth century. It was paradigmatically described by Erik Lönnroth in 1934 as a conflict of two opposing political ideals of a *regimen regale* or a *regimen politicum*: one placed the sovereign authority in the will of a monarch; the other localized it in the law, supported by the political elite among the governed.³

Lönnroth's account was a sobering refutation of the previous nationalist historiography of the fall of the Scandinavian union. It must however not obscure other aspects, some of which appear in more recent research, such as the ecclesiastical concerns or the popular advance, which fueled the contests of this long century. Moreover, the historical role of national thought in this epoch still merits inquiry. The following outline of these fifteenth-century authority contests adheres to the traditional account. It adds prominence, however, to the specific ecclesiastical dimension of the monarchic and aristocratic tug of war and is focused on contemporary political discourse, where these authority relations were negotiated and affirmed.

The realm: representation or nation?

The concept of the realm (*rike*, *regnum*) was the centrepiece of Swedish fifteenth-century political discourse.⁴ Ericus's choice of title – *The chronicle of the realm of the Goths* – secured the position of

² Burns, J.H., *Lordship, kingship and empire. The idea of monarchy 1400-1523* (Oxford 1992), p. 150

³ Lönnroth, E., *Sverige och Kalmarunionen 1397-1457* (Göteborg 1934)

⁴ For the realm as a point of reference in political mobilization at times when the legitimacy of the government could not be construed around the person of the king. See for instance the following works: Schück, H., 'Sweden as an aristocratic

his work in the midst of contemporary political debate. The semantic range of the concept of the realm has not been systematically explored in Swedish research. But the title of the *Chronica* suggests one aspect that will be further examined in this thesis: the realm belonged to the Swedes as a people, not to the king. Arguably, this popular accent, which worked to the detriment of the notion of the realm as the sphere of authority of the king, was one result of the contemporary aristocratic resistance against the monarchic advance.⁵ In the fifteenth century, at any rate, a clear distinction was made between the interests of the king and those of the realm. In the royal and aristocratic tug of war, Swedish councillors from the 1430s acted on the behalf of the realm and claimed to defend it from what they perceived the king's despotic rule, and, by consequence, their 'thralldom'. The history of events responsible for this emphatic division between king and realm can be outlined as follows.

Queen Margrete (regent 1389–1412) and King Erik of Pommerania (king 1396–1439)⁶ in practice governed Denmark, Norway and Sweden not as three sovereign realms in union, but as a unity. They developed common governmental institutions and symbols for what would be one, hereditary, Scandinavian monarchy where political power was centralized in their royal hands.⁷ Interest groups and individuals could draw on the monarchic ambitions of these rulers to further particular aims; cooperation offered a path to advancement.⁸ However, in general it clashed with that of the self-conscious Swedish nobility.

In 1434, the Swedish council renounced their allegiance to King Erik of Pommerania on the grounds that, contrary to the Swedish law he swore to uphold, he enfeoffed the best of the castles to foreigners and impoverished both nobility and commoners. Control of the appointments to these royal fiefs meant that Erik in practice could ignore the electoral rights pertaining to the men of the realm in favour of his designated heir. The councillors stated that the loss of control of the fiefs implied a 'perpetual thralldom' (*ewinnerlighen traeldom*) for the realm. They prioritized their allegiance to this body (*wara edha som wi rikeno sworit hafuom*) and its harmless inhabitants, over that to the king, and

republic' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 9 (1984), pp. 65-72; Reinholdsson, P., *Uppror eller resningar? Samhällsorganisation och konflikt i senmedeltidens Sverige* (Uppsala 1998), pp. 32, 52-53; Ferm, O., *State-formative tendencies, political struggle, and the rise of nationalism in late medieval Sweden* (Stockholm 2002), *passim*.

⁵ This development is suggested by the study of Schück, H., *Rikets råd och män. Herredag och råd i Sverige 1280-1480* (Stockholm 2005), *passim*.

⁶ The dates concern Erik as king of Sweden. However, he was sole regent first after the death of his maternal aunt, Queen Margrete, in 1412. In addition, his kingship was renounced in between the years 1434–35 and for a period in 1436.

⁷ Margrete and Erik failed to appoint candidates to the highest offices of the Swedish realm: royal deputy (*drots*), chancellor, and marshall (*marsk*): Larsson, L-O., *Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson och 1430-talets svenska uppror* (Stockholm 1984), p. 94. As alternative governmental institutions, common for the three realms and within the immediate control of this monarch, the authority of King Erik's royal court officials, the royal chancellor, the steward (*hofmester*) and the treasurer (*kammarmester*), increased at this time. Additional means towards centralization were council meetings common for the whole union, the centralization of archives, a common banner and seal, the institution of a chivalrous order with members recruited from all three realms and the introduction of the office of a common herald: Olesen, J.E., 'Erik av Pommern og Kalmarunionen. Regeringssystemets utformning 1389–1439', in: Ingesman, P. & Jensen, J.V., eds., *Danmark i senmiddelalderen* (Aarhus 1994), pp. 145-149, 165.

⁸ Enemark, P., 'Motiver for nordisk aristokratisk unionspolitik. Overveielser omkring kildegrundlag og tilgangsvinkler i unionsforskningen' in: Ingesman, P. & Jensen, J.V., eds., *Danmark i senmiddelalderen* (Aarhus 1994), p. 178

consequently withdrew their loyalty from his person.⁹ The manoeuvre demonstrated how the sovereignty of the realm could in practice pass from the hands of the king to the Swedish council.

Erik was deposed as Swedish king in 1439. The tug of war between king and aristocrats however continuously marked the high politics of the realm. In 1441, Christoffer (–1448) was accepted as Swedish king, albeit with major constitutional concessions. His subsequent government also lacked the force to breach these restrictions.¹⁰ This weak kingship implied a strong position in the realm for the aristocratic Oxenstierna faction.¹¹ This aristocratic advance, it has been argued, was also reflected in the constitutional tendencies governing the revision of the national law code before and during Christoffer's reign.¹² At times, after Christoffer's natural death, the Swedish realm had its own king in the person of Karl Knutsson (1448–57, 1464–65, 1467–70). Karl's monarchic policies, however, did not differ from those of the earlier union rulers and caused conflict with the aristocracy. He divided the offices and fiefs of the realm into the hands of his relatives or to new men and thereby curbed the Oxenstierna faction.¹³ Under the leadership of Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson (Oxenstierna, archbishop 1448–67, regent 1457, 1465–66), this aristocratic faction ousted King Karl. They aimed for a weak union government, similar to the one under Christoffer, and introduced Christian I (1457–1464), who, initially, ratified Swedish privileges.¹⁴ The 1460s however turned out particularly anarchic; Christian, Karl and Jöns all appeared at times as governors of the realm.¹⁵

After the decisive Battle of Brunkeberg in 1471, the Swedish realm has been characterized as a *de facto* sovereign aristocratic republic (the union was restored but only temporarily in 1497 and 1520), initially governed by a vacillating alliance between the two most prominent members of the Swedish council, Sten Sture (regent 1470–1503), who was a nephew of Karl Knutsson, and the new archbishop of Uppsala, Jakob Ulfsson (archbishop 1470–1515).¹⁶ However, the era of Sten Sture and subsequent Sture regents (Svante Nilsson 1503–11, Sten Sture the Younger 1512–20) also involved conflicts between the aristocratic Swedish council and the regents, who buttressed their monarchic policies with popular support.¹⁷ The reign of Gustav I (1523–60) developed into a strong national monarchy.

⁹ DN, Vol. V, pp. 460–461; Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 67–71. As stated by Rosén, J., 'Slottsloven' in: *KLNM*, Vol. XVI, cols. 225–226, the diminishing recourse to the power resources constituted by the royal fiefs was a serious concern for the Swedish aristocrats since this was a basic unit of the traditionally decentralized royal administration. In the main, Margrete and Erik appointed Danes of proven loyalty instead of inborn aristocracy to these fiefs, contrary to what was stated in the national law code and in the oaths of Erik's election in 1396.

¹⁰ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 181–182, 201–231. Cf. Kumlien, K., 'Kristofer' in: *SBL*, Vol. XXI, p. 583, who argued for a stronger position for the king.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 583

¹² Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 225; Palme, S-U., *Riksföreståndarvalet 1512: studier i nordisk politik och svensk statsrätt 1470–1523* (Uppsala 1949), pp. 217–219

¹³ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 301–313; Kumlien, K., 'Karl Knutsson (Bonde)' in: *SBL*, Vol. XX, pp. 622–630

¹⁴ *ST*, Vol. III, p. 257; Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 316

¹⁵ A general and referenced survey of the political events of the period: Carlsson, S. & Rosén, J., *Svensk historia. I, Tiden före 1718* (Lund 1978), pp. 252–264.

¹⁶ Schück, 'Sweden as an aristocratic republic', pp. 65–72. Cf. Gustavsson, H., 'A State that failed? On the union of Kalmar, especially its dissolution' *Scandinavian Journal of History* 31 (2006), p. 205, who argued that the Scandinavian union in this time and beyond was still not ruled out as an alternative, but continuously formed part of the political framework.

¹⁷ Enemark, P., *Fra Kalmarbrev til Stockholms blodbad: den nordiske trestatsunions epoke 1397–1521* (København 1979), p. 150. For a referenced survey of the period: Carlsson & Rosén, *Svensk historia*, pp. 264–285.

Initially, however, he bought the support of the nobility by sharing with it the material gains from his aggressive policies against the church.¹⁸

Herman Schück demonstrated that the transfer of authority over the realm in the 1430s, from the king to the councillors, was in accordance with Swedish political tradition. The issuers of the letter of resignation of 1434 no longer appeared as members of the king's council, a body that was regulated by the law code, but as a larger assembly, speaking with the authority of the whole political class of the *homines regni* of Sweden and also representing the commonalty. This assembly had appeared in earlier crises of royal authority, such as minorities or conflicts with the king, and on these occasions claimed to represent the realm. When kings regained power, the importance of this large assembly receded. From the election of King Christoffer, for instance, the Swedish council was again reduced to the more narrow body regulated by the law code. However, one permanent shift appeared from this same time: the council no longer referred to itself as the king's council, but acted from now on as the council of the realm. In addition, at some stage, it took the initiative to change the councillors' oath, from a declaration of loyalty to the king to one directed towards the realm and to its council (the so called republican oath).¹⁹

The notion of the Swedish realm as an entity with an authority of its own appeared in the fifteenth century on the level of symbols, such as the perpetual kingship of St Erik, who served as a rallying point in the contest with the union ruler.²⁰ A contemporary understanding of the sovereignty of the realm in legal terms was however never voiced. It can, to some extent, be abstracted from the oaths of the law code that regulated the relation between the governed and the king. The concept of the realm, it has been argued, corresponded in the law to society's privileged groups; the realm *was* the privileged men of the realm.²¹ The nature of this entity can perhaps be grasped in terms of contemporary corporation theory; the *homines regni* made up the corporation of the realm as individual members. However, as evident in the so-called republican oath, the realm also appeared as an entity distinguishable from its participants, a legal person of its own, distinct from both people and governor. This abstraction was also consonant with the developments in corporation theory and its previous applications to kingdoms.²²

Modern Swedish research has focused primarily on the constitutional aspects of the concept of the realm. It has been more or less divested of the nationalist associations that were taken for granted in an earlier generation of scholarship. One reason that this connexion between a struggle for the

¹⁸ Survey in English: Roberts, M., *The early Vasas. A history of Sweden, 1523-1611* (London 1968). The church policies of Gustav I are discussed below in chapter IV. The regiments of Erik of Pommerania, Karl Knutsson and Jöns Bengtsson will be addressed in more detail and in relation to Ericus's historical account below in chapter III.

¹⁹ Schück, *Rikets råd och män*, pp. 98-122; Palme, *Riksföreståndarvalet 1512*, pp. 203-276. The oath is edited in *Ibidem*, pp. 433-434.

²⁰ For St Erik in his capacity as a unifying symbol of the Swedish realm: Ahnlund, N., 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten' in: Thordeman, B., ed., *Erik den helige. Historia – kult – relikier* (Stockholm 1954), p. 139; below, chapter III, pp. 86-88.

²¹ Palme, *Riksföreståndarvalet 1512*, pp. 231-232, 237-240

²² Canning, J.P., 'Law, sovereignty and corporation theory, 1300-1450' in: Burns, J.H., ed., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 473-476

sovereignty of the realm and nationalist thought seemed natural to those older scholars was that the men that made up the realm and claimed its self-government, the *homines regni*, also frequently referred to themselves as ‘men of Sweden’ or ‘Swedish men’.²³ Lönnroth’s influential account of the fifteenth-century high politics refuted the nationalist historiography of the fall of the Scandinavian union.²⁴ But the historical role of national thought or nationalism in this epoch remains a matter of inquiry. Nationalism can be written off as the *causa efficiens* of Sweden’s dissent from the Scandinavian union, but it merits further study as one of the discursive means applied to sustain the war efforts of various combatants; the notion of nationality, namely, is one way to legitimize the setting aside of private interests on public grounds. This is a function that also can be observed in Ericus’s historical account of the Goths and their realm.

Lönnroth’s refutation of the nationalist historiography of the union conflicts was conceptually opaque and has been qualified in later research. With reference to the insurgent Swedes of the 1430s, Olle Ferm argued that the community of the realm at this time was not national in character. Prerogatives of ‘Swedish men’ were frequently referred to in political discourse. The political class thus self-denominated was indeed Swedish speaking. But the denomination did not include the peasantry, and, at any rate, being inborn and permanently settled in Sweden counted for more than ethnicity (Finnish and German elements were constant among the population). Ferm defined the political program of the rebellious Swedish council as ‘state-patriotic’. It was not intended to cater for the interests of all ethnic Swedes, but as an advocacy of the constitution of the realm, designed to protect the interest of the leading estate of this predominant group. No truly national ideology could surge in this realm due to its institutional backwardness. It lacked adequate forums where different social and regional groups could mingle and form the notion of a national community. Only the concept of the realm and its law were therefore common concerns. However, important steps, Ferm argued, were taken in this period towards the formation of a community of a national kind. And it was celebrated in the political literature of the time, long before it was a fact.²⁵

Scholarship of nationalism abounds. Its modernist school, which claims that nationalism is primarily a phenomenon of the industrial era,²⁶ is of less interest in this context. But nationalism has also, by critics of this opinion, been associated with medieval categories of thought and associated with state formative tendencies of this age.²⁷ Ferm’s account clarifies the historical as well as the

²³ The many examples of the usage provided by Schück, *Rikets råd och män, passim*, indicate that these terms were synonymous and interchangeable.

²⁴ Lönnroth argued that nationalism was not constitutive for the union conflicts. ‘Patriotism’ was at hand, but it served the propaganda only in times of conflict with the union king and to support what were primarily constitutional claims. This changed, he argued, in the reign of Karl Knutsson, when both a Swedish self-government and Karl’s monarchic ambition needed legitimization. In Karl’s propaganda, patriotism merged with and supported royal claims to sovereignty: Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 185-199, 327-333.

²⁵ Ferm, *State-formative tendencies*, pp. 4-21

²⁶ This school was championed for instance by Gellner, E., *Nations and nationalism* (Oxford 1983, repr. 1994).

²⁷ Hastings, A., *The construction of nationhood. Ethnicity, religion and nationalism* (Cambridge 1997), discussed the relation between identification with Bible history and national self-assertion, Reynolds, S., *Kingdoms and communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford 1984), chapter 8, surveyed the links between ethno-historical notions and the consolidation of kingdoms.

conceptual complexity of this matter in late medieval Sweden. But the modernist slant of his definition of a nation – requiring for instance ideas of citizenship rights or mass education²⁸ – must obscure the political force of notions of common descent, culture and history, relevant to this historiographical examination of political discourse, in the likely event that they can only be traced among the elite. A more historically open-ended definition of nationalism may gauge a different result. Ernst Gellner, himself a proponent of the ‘modernism’ among scholars of nationalism, claimed that ‘[n]ationalism is primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent’.²⁹ In these terms, the fact that only magnates act in the name of the realm does not exclude nationalism as a relevant legitimization or, indeed, motivation for their actions.

In addition, scholarship on the collective solidarity of medieval kingdoms has challenged the idea that aristocratic demands towards the ruler only reflected sectional interests. The contemporary notions of representation, at any rate, implied that it was the responsibility of the great men of the realm to represent the lesser, and it must not be taken for granted that this duty was never held sincerely. Also disputed is the understanding that the foundation of solidarity within a realm differed in all respects from modern nationalism. Kingdoms were assumed to correspond, it is argued, to a natural body of men that shared law, customs and descent. They comprised the idea of a separate people with an inherent right to self-government.³⁰ Some such notions are strongly evident in Ericus’s *Chronica*.

The church and the realm

The traditional assessment, which holds that the above political contentions were primarily a struggle of royal and aristocratic interests articulated as a constitutional conflict, has not been challenged.³¹ It rests however on a binary system of classification of actions and actors that is ill-suited to bring out the institutional concerns that are the focus of this thesis. It limits the political class to the tax exempt, even though at this time the commonalty – evident for instance in the Engelbrekt uprising of 1434–36, but also later in the century – emerged as a force to be reckoned with on the battlefield and thereby shifted the dynamics of the strife between king and aristocracy.³² In addition, and of particular

²⁸ Fern’s account of the main features of a nation refers to Smith, A.D., *Theories of nationalism* (New York 1983). Smith’s perspective is not essentially of the modernist school. He argues that ethnicity or the nation is one basis for a collective identity that has frequently appeared in historical societies. As a dominant collective identity and a mass phenomenon, however, nationalism appears first in the modern era. Territorial economic unity and common rights and duties of all members form part of the ideal type of a nation that Smith construes in *Idem*, ‘National identities: modern and medieval?’ in: Forde, S., Johnson, L. & Murray, V., eds., *Concepts of national identity in the Middle Ages* (Leeds 1995), p. 27. In the same essay, pp. 34, 37, Smith however adds that for some medieval communities (for instance France and England) these requirements of mass participation are unduly restrictive for their justifiable categorization as nations.

²⁹ Gellner, *Nations and nationalism*, p. 1. Gellner is a representative of the modernists among scholars of nationalism. However, the definition in itself is advantageously open-ended for an historical inquiry; it leaves the two sub-concepts of ‘political’ and ‘national’ units open to historical definition.

³⁰ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities*, chapter 8: ‘The community of the realm’

³¹ However, Enemark, *Fra Kalmarbrev*, pp. 149–150, agreed with the characterization of the conflicts as constitutional only to the year 1448. He also held that the policies of the Sture regents were at times more monarchic in character than those of their royal antagonists.

³² Olesen, J.E., *Unionskrige og stændersamfund: bidrag til Nordens historie i Kristian I’s regeringstid, 1450–1481* (Aarhus 1983), pp. 309–312; Reinholdsson, P., *Uppror eller resningar, passim*. The importance of commoners in the irregular meetings on the level of the realm of the 1460s, and their convocation (primarily of Stockholm burgers) to the meetings at the

importance for this thesis, the traditional interpretative grid does not differentiate between the lay actors and the clerical within the political class, but subsumes the latter category into the first. Lönnroth, for instance, characterized the clerical grievances against royal incursions on electoral rights as only a juridical 'mask' to legitimize the aristocratic rising against the king.³³ This conceals one aspect of the contentions governing this epoch from analysis. Monarchic ambitions, namely, demanded a shift in loyalties on the part of the subjects, not only from local lords to one single ruler, but also from division between secular and ecclesiastical authorities to the one secular governor of the king.³⁴ Ericus's account gives pointers to how this process of a nationalization of the church was negotiated at the Swedish arch see.

Princes disputed the boundaries between temporal and spiritual powers, which had been set in previous centuries following the preference of the pope. In their quest for sovereignty they strove to alter the delineation of these boundaries and refute papal demands to temporal lordship. In the fifteenth century, however, the pope was less of a threat to the integrity of the secular rulers because the locus of authority within the universal church was contested; the conciliar movement claimed that universal councils possessed an authority superior to that of the pope. Faced with this challenge to its authority over the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the papacy did not wholeheartedly withstand the princely claims. It bought the support of the secular rulers by concordats, granting them increased control over practical matters of church government within their territories.³⁵ In fact the papacy, it has been argued, especially at the time of the later conciliar controversy, liaised with the princes on terms of common interest defined against the contemporary challenges to the very principle of monarchy, in the secular as well as in the ecclesiastical sphere.³⁶

However, authority over the church was negotiated below this summit level as well. The contests of the boundaries of authority between the king and the Swedish ecclesiastics fuelled the contentions that dominated this period. In the Scandinavian union, the locus of authority within the ecclesiastical hierarchy was also contested. The Swedish church province was founded in the twelfth century as a hive off from the Danish province of Lund. Strengthened by the union monarchy, the old notion of the primacy of Lund came back to haunt the Swedish arch see.³⁷

1470s, apparently heralded the more regular estate representation of the following century: Schück, H., *Rikets råd och män*, pp. 118-121.

³³ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 101. Olsson, G., *Stat och kyrka i Sverige vid medeltidens slut* (Göteborg 1947), pp. 101-103, wrote about a later era, when the monarchic ambition of Sten Sture was a marked threat to ecclesiastical liberty in the realm but departed from the same notion as Lönnroth, and saw the king in conflict with a 'feudal element' of church and aristocracy, summoned around a constitutional program.

³⁴ As was stated for France and the reign of Philip IV in the seminal inquiry on state formation by Strayer, J.R.: 'France: The Holy Land, the chosen people and the most Christian king' in: Rabb, T.K. & Siegel J.E., eds., *Action and conviction in Early Modern Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey 1969).

³⁵ Thomson, J.A.F., *Popes and princes, 1417-1517. Politics and polity in the late medieval church* (London 1980), pp. 50-53. The Swedish province adhered to the conciliar causes, for instance during the archiepiscopacy of Nicolaus Ragvaldi (1438-1448). The reform councils and Scandinavia: Losman, B., *Norden och reformkonsilierna 1408-1449* (Göteborg 1970).

³⁶ Burns, *Lordship, kingship and empire*, pp. 8-11 and literature there referred to.

³⁷ Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna*, pp. 64-65, 118. King Erik supported the primacy of Lund: Lindblom, A., *Akter rörande ärkebiskopsvalet i Uppsala 1432 samt striden därom mellan konung Erik och svenska kyrkan* (Stockholm 1903), no. 15. The Lund archbishop, Peder Lykke, referred to himself as *primas* of the Swedish province: *Ibidem*, no. 16.

Practical considerations of government inclined secular rulers to challenge ecclesiastical liberty.³⁸ In the reign of King Erik of Pommerania, incursions into the electoral right of the chapters were a means to create loyal officials, not the least in the Swedish council, where the bishops were constant members. Arguably, the king's frequent absence from the realm made his reliance on loyal hands created in this way more pressing.³⁹ This policy was a source of conflict with the Swedish clergy. The electoral rights of the Strängnäs chapter clashed with the will of the union monarchs from 1408.⁴⁰ This was also the case in Västerås in 1414,⁴¹ and none of the elections to the arch see in 1408 and 1422 were in the hands of the cathedral chapter.⁴² In 1432, however, the Uppsala chapter defied Erik by proceeding with the election of a new archbishop, the chapter's provost, Olaus Laurentii, without obtaining the king's prior consent.⁴³

The union rulers did not support their church policies by references to the well being of the realm. The practical considerations behind King Erik of Pommerania's incursions into elections instead combined with a monarchic conception of his royal position. For the Uppsala arch see, Erik or his pen pushers stated that by the royal grace of the king the Swedish archbishop functioned as governor of the realm (*archiepisopus [...] eo saltem existente in regis gracia, tanquam rector et gubernator regni*). This executive office could not be occupied by one who conspired to curtail royal prerogatives (*maiestatis regie diminucionem*). Erik understood that the archiepiscopal office comprised a temporal dominion whose origin was his own royal self.⁴⁴

The contested election to the arch see in 1432 spurred a production of polemical material. The Uppsala chapter produced extracts from the national law code that specified the duties of the king towards the realm and the church. Copies of papal bulls that testified to the diocese's right of free elections and other privileges were produced and attested, and used in ensuing letters of protest.⁴⁵ In addition, hearings with elderly clergy and councillors and Uppsala burghers were staged and written down to refute royal claims.⁴⁶ The letter from the Swedish council of 1434, quoted above, also

³⁸ Ecclesiastical liberty is here used in accordance with the historical definition provided by Szabó-Bechstein, B., 'Libertas ecclesiastica' in: *LM*, Vol. V, col. 1951: *Libertas ecclesiastica* was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries specified – in opposition to royal demands – to encompass all legal rights pertaining to the church, ranging from outlawry of lay involvement in ecclesiastical matters such as elections, juridical privileges (*privilegium fori*), and tax immunities (*privilegium immunitatis*) to property rights.

³⁹ This was stated by the king: Lindblom, *Akter*, no. 14.

⁴⁰ Brilioth, Y., *Svensk kyrka, kungadöme och påvemakt 1363-1414* (Uppsala 1925), pp. 223-243; Pernler, S-E., *Sveriges kyrkohistoria. Vol. II, Hög- och senmedeltid* (Stockholm 1999), pp. 110-111

⁴¹ Brilioth, *Svensk kyrka*, pp. 252-254

⁴² At the first archiepiscopal election in the union monarchy in 1408, the chapter's candidate was replaced by the king's chancellor, Johannes Gerechini. Johannes fell into disgrace with the king, and seemingly also with the chapter, and was suspended from 1422. Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna*, pp. 50-87, argued that Johannes's removal from office was a consequence of his relative independence towards his royal benefactor; a position that he used to defend ecclesiastical liberty. Cf. Brilioth, *Svensk kyrka*, p. 321, for the opposite opinion of Johannes. The reasons for the chapter's course of action in the process remain obscure. Nor was there in practice a free canonical election in the case of Johannes Haquini, in 1422: Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna*, pp. 88-89 and p. 88 note 4.

⁴³ Lindblom, *Akter*, *passim*; Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, pp. 130-133

⁴⁴ Lindblom, *Akter*, letter no. 14, also nos. 15, 16; Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 96

⁴⁵ Lindblom, *Akter*, nos. 9, 17, 49, 62 and 44, 52

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 62. The statements denied that the king held the right of assent to episcopal elections in the realm. They also countered King Erik's notions that it was a prerequisite for the election of a candidate that he had been a councillor of the king or the realm, that the archbishop governed in temporal matters in the absence of the king, that

specified the nature of Erik's transgression against the church: at his election Erik swore to love and protect the church; but in contrast, his policies proved its ruin. This grievance focused not on the appointments as such but stated that the men instituted were unworthy and that Erik also invested them with their spiritual episcopal powers. The king, in short, was accused of acting as the pope ([...] *befalet them andelica biscopts makt som han ware en pawe*). In addition, the king expelled bishops sanctioned by the pope and did not heed the ecclesiastical ban nor respect papal or conciliar legates.⁴⁷ King Erik, they argued, not only incurred on the rights of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, he acted as if he were its head.

Elections were not the only issue that caused tension between the monarchs and the church. Margrete and Erik instigated inquisitions into property donated to the church that aimed at their revocation into taxable lands. These inquisitions caused outrage among the Swedish clergy, not the least since the inquisitional courts frequently, at least in the earlier phase, consisted mainly of laymen.⁴⁸ In 1427, King Erik also demanded contributions from the church to his international war effort. The Swedish clergy, who, however, eventually complied, resented this.⁴⁹ The above examples of royal demands on the church were not confined to the reigns of the union monarchs. During inquisitions into property donated to the church in 1453–1454, similar to the ones instigated by Margrete earlier in the century and much opposed by the clergy, Karl Knutsson's steward (*hovmästare*) presided over an itinerant court that issued royal verdicts.⁵⁰ Karl also intervened in ecclesiastical elections, sentenced a bishop to the capital punishment and, allegedly, interfered with the amount of feast days celebrated in the realm, which he considered to be too many.⁵¹ In the beginning of the regency of Sten Sture, conflicts with the church regarding elections were few in number, but they multiplied towards its end.⁵² Archbishops Jakob Ulvsson and Gustav Trolle (1515–21) appeared as leaders of the Swedish council in the conflicts with their respective regents. The latter archbishop was charged with treason and deposed. At this time, the archiepiscopal stronghold Almare-Stäket was also demolished, on the grounds that it had served to the detriment of the realm ever since Archbishop Jöns.⁵³ Gustav I, who adopted these arguments for his church policies, exercised a control over the ecclesiastical institutions previously unknown in the realm. This led to a definitive break with Rome and to the virtual disappearance of the church as an autonomous institution in Sweden.⁵⁴

Archbishop Olaus was an instigator of discord. The statements were also to prove that the king was an elected king who had sworn to uphold the laws and customs of the realm. Prelates in the same hearing also defined the relation between the king and the archbishop, who was indeed his appointee: Johannes Gerechini, they argued, carried out tasks of a royal bailiff.

⁴⁷ *DN*, V, pp. 459–460

⁴⁸ Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, pp. 109–111, 120

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 126–127

⁵⁰ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 314–318

⁵¹ Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 156; Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 313

⁵² Kellerman, G., *Jakob Ulvsson och den svenska kyrkan. Under äldre Sturetiden 1470–97* (Stockholm 1935), pp. 137–139; Olsson, *Stat och kyrka*, pp. 101–126; Carlsson & Rosén, *Svensk historia*, pp. 268–269

⁵³ *Ibidem*, pp. 275–277; Olsson, *Stat och kyrka*, pp. 127–264

⁵⁴ Below, chapter IV

Weak kingship, as in the reign of Christoffer, implied not only a strong position in the realm for dominant aristocratic factions, but also a far reaching liberty for the Uppsala archbishop (whose position was further strengthened by the weakness of the papacy at this time). Archbishop Nicolaus Ragvaldi's construction of the castle Almare-Stäket was a military manifestation of the ecclesiastical advance of this time.⁵⁵ Collections of synod statutes undertaken in his archiepiscopacy indicate a move towards internal consolidation of the Swedish province, and the outcome of Nicolaus's involvement in the revision of the national law code also testifies to a forward thrust in relation to the temporal powers. The new law defined the division between lay and ecclesiastical jurisdiction more sharply than its forerunner. In King Magnus's law from the mid-fourteenth century, the king was considered to be the judge above all judges, but Christoffer's law from 1442 specified that the king's supremacy concerned only lay judges.⁵⁶ The church in Sweden was increasingly wealthy.⁵⁷ Towards the end of the Middle Ages, in terms of landed property, the ecclesiastical institutions possessed more than twenty percent of the acreage.⁵⁸

The critique against King Erik's inquisitions into church property denied his claims to royal prerogatives. The arguments centred on a sharp distinction between a secular and ecclesiastical sphere, where the head of the former had no authority over the latter. A statute emanating from the province synod of 1412 stated that no lay person had authority in matters of church property and that canon law considered verdicts thus issued unlawful.⁵⁹ When the Swedish archbishop and two suffragans complied in 1427 with the king's demands of wartime contributions, as mentioned above, they stated that they were not obliged by law to do so.⁶⁰ Protests from ecclesiastics against monarchic policies were not limited to the union rulers. In the wake of Karl Knutsson's inquisitions in 1454, a protest from the Swedish episcopacy annulled all temporal verdicts on clerics and their property. No lay man, no matter what his status, held a right to issue such verdicts. Kings, it stated, govern for and not over the church. The laws they issue are vain, if they do not correspond to canon law. The protest was directed at those who challenged ecclesiastical liberty (law, privileges, customs, immunities were mentioned). It was intended to be delivered to King Karl in person in Örebro. 'Harsh words' from the king, however, forced the clerical representatives to withdraw to a 'safer place' and read out their statement for the notary public.⁶¹

⁵⁵ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 228-229

⁵⁶ Bjarne-Larsson, G., *Stadgelagstiftning i senmedeltidens Sverige* (Stockholm 1994), pp. 127, 211. Bjarne-Larsson's general assessment of the power relations as these appear from the revision of the law code, was that the Swedish council was strengthened in relation to the king but that its clerical representatives were also strengthened in relation to the lay: *Ibidem*, p. 128.

⁵⁷ Olsson, *Stat och kyrka*, pp. 77-89

⁵⁸ Fern, O., *De högadliga godsen i Sverige vid 1500-talets mitt –geografisk uppbyggnad, räntestruktur, godsdrift och hushållning* (Stockholm 1990), p. 29

⁵⁹ Reuterdaahl, H., ed., *Statuta synodalia veteris ecclesiae Sveogothicae* (Lund 1841), p. 109, § 24; Brillioth, *Svensk kyrka*, pp. 318-321, accounted for the content of the statute.

⁶⁰ Reuterdaahl, *Statuta synodalia*, pp. 119-120; Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 91-92

⁶¹ Hausen, R., ed., *Registrum ecclesiae Aboensis eller Åbo domkyrkas svartbok* (Helsingfors 1890), no. 563. Jöns Bengtsson's involvement in this protestation appears from a preserved letter of authorization to his delegate: Gillingstam, H., *Ätterna Oxenstierna och Vasa under medeltiden: släkthistoriska studier* (Stockholm 1952-1953), p. 364.

As suggested above, the assessment of the fifteenth-century political struggles as a tug of war between monarchs and aristocracy has concealed the specific ecclesiastical dimension of these contentions from analysis. Clerical privileges were necessary to defend even if lay privileges were never threatened. Their importance was real for they constituted the legal foundation without which ecclesiastical institutions could not exist. The higher clergymen of Sweden were members not only of the realm but also of an international ecclesiastical hierarchy. What this implied for them as a power elite in their relation to the domestic politics has not been explored. In some respects an identification of ecclesiastical concerns with those of the lay aristocracy is legitimate. As privileged power elites, the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the aristocracy shared concerns in relation to the ambitions of the prince. And, as it is known from the continent, an ambitious late medieval ruler, for instance Philip IV, would argue that the clerical order as much as the lay formed a part of and owed allegiance first and foremost to the body of the realm, of which he himself was head.⁶² And towards the end of the period of this inquiry, as mentioned above, the Swedish archbishop was indeed deposed on charges of treason.

As it emerges from the above, ecclesiastical and secular power elites were joined in some dimensions but separate in others. The concerns of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and of the aristocracy caused by the monarchic aspirations of the king were intertwined, but they were also distinguished in discourse. Around the time of the Engelbrekt uprising, they both could be remedied by an overthrow of the 'tyrannical' union king. In letters among the Swedish ecclesiastics, clerics, nobility and people were said to defend themselves and the realm from the tyrannical king to recuperate the liberty of the realm as well as of the church; the defence of *patria* and *libertas ecclesiae* went hand in hand.⁶³ The strong ties between the secular and ecclesiastical governing institutions within the Swedish province and realm, but also their separateness, appear again in the ratification of ecclesiastical privileges issued by only the lay members of the Swedish council after the rebellion in 1436. The aristocrats swore to defend ecclesiastical liberty on the grounds that the prelates and clergy had previously fought to preserve the realm and the seculars in the privileges that they were denied in earlier times of trouble.⁶⁴

⁶² Strayer, J.R., 'Defense of the realm and royal power in France' in: *Idem, Medieval statecraft and the perspectives of history* (Princeton, New Jersey 1971), pp. 291-293, 296-298

⁶³ Lindblom, *Akter*, no. 66, Kristofer Larsson admonished Bishop Nils of Växjö, at this time representing at the Council of Basel, to: '[...] pugnare in spiritualibus pro patria et et eam contra emulos, persecutores, tyrannos et libertatis ecclesiastice iuuasores protegere et ecclesiasticam libertatem [...] defensare [...]'. *Ibidem*, no. 67, Bishops Knut of Linköping and Thomas of Strängnäs informed the Council of Basel of the reasons of the Swedish uprising against King Erik; clerics, nobility and people had miraculously risen, '[...] quasi diuino quodam miraculo [...]'] to defend themselves. If the king did not change his ways they would defend their liberties: '[...] clerus, nobiles ac populus [...] intendunt [...] secundum leges patrie procedere ac regnum seque contra eius [the king's] tyrannidem defensando libertatem regni pariter et ecclesie recuperare'.

⁶⁴ Lindblom, *Akter*, no. 74: 'Et merito, cum ecclesia, prelati et clerus supradicti nobiscum hactenus ad hoc fideliter pro extremis eorum viribus cooperati sint, quod regnum et nos seculares ad vsum priuilegiorum et libertatum nostrarum peruenimus, quibus longo iam tempore superiorum violencia fuimus destituti'.

Aim, method and disposition

This thesis examines Ericus's discourse on authority in the realm and determines its relation to the contemporary needs and aspirations of the Uppsala arch see. The head of the Uppsala institution was leader of the Swedish church province but also held a chairman position in the council of the Swedish realm. Impressive economic, military and ideological resources were at his disposal and were thrown into the contests that marked Swedish politics at the end of the Middle Ages. Through the actions of its chapter, however, this institution also played a decisive role at times of archiepiscopal vacancy. This account of Ericus's discourse on authority is intended as a contribution to an understanding of the normative outlook on society that determined political action (the *Handlungshorizonte*) at the arch see. It is furnished only as one distinct part towards building up a plausible picture of political culture in fifteenth-century Scandinavia.⁶⁵ In particular, it is hoped that this analysis of the *Chronica* will illuminate how the contemporary demands of the secular authority in its shifting guises – monarchic or republican – were negotiated at the institutional level of the Uppsala arch see.

This is the first full-length historical study of the *Chronica regni Gothorum*. Four previous articles on the *Chronica* that pertain to the subject of this thesis must however be introduced; their respective contributions are discussed more thoroughly in relevant sections below. In his biographical article 'Ericus Olai' of 1951, Ernst Nygren suggested four political aspects of the *Chronica*. He considered the work xenophobic, anti-Danish, anti-union and clerical. Later scholarship has not found reasons to disagree with this general characterization; nor will this present thesis. For the institutional affiliation of Ericus's work, Nygren adopted the opinion that it was a royal commission – embarked on in one of the reigns of King Karl Knutsson, but not completed before 1471 – and further argued that at some time and in some capacity, the Uppsala archbishops were also involved. Nygren considered the text to aptly cater for the interests of both clerical and royal commissioners.⁶⁶ Erik Lönnroth was less convinced than Nygren as to the royal commission of the *Chronica*. In 1952, he offered an analysis of the political tendency of the work that diverged primarily in its evaluation of its clerical traits; in theory, Lönnroth argued, Ericus was influenced by the hierocratic ideals of Archbishop Jöns, but in practice he was critical of the involvement of his ecclesiastical superior in temporal affairs. One important contribution made by Lönnroth was his location of not only the completion (previously established by G.T Westin), but of the whole working process of the *Chronica*, to the years after the battle of Brunkeberg of 1471. This dating led him to assume that its political tendency should correspond to typical notions of this time, and thereby represent 'an ecclesiastically informed constitutionalism'. Lönnroth also suggested that '[t]he republican conception of the state that was

⁶⁵ The subject receives further treatment in my 2008-2010 project: 'Literature of political counsel in late medieval Sweden'.

⁶⁶ Nygren, E., 'Ericus Olai' in: *SBL*, Vol. XIV, 216-242

reflected in the councillors' oath of the Sture era [the so called republican oath] was heralded by Ericus Olai'.⁶⁷

In 1993, Olle Ferm offered material grounds on which to refute the earlier attribution of a commissioning of the *Chronica* by King Karl. Ferm's ideology-oriented analysis of the work operated with a similar time frame for the composition of the work as Lönnroth, and also argued for its relevance to the political regime of the 1470s. However, Ferm also introduced a more specific institutional-oriented perspective on the *Chronica*. With the connection to King Karl definitively ruled out, Ferm argued that Ericus's historical account primarily catered for the interests of the clerics at the Uppsala arch see.⁶⁸ In 2004, Olle Ferm and Biörn Tjällén returned to the subject for an English-speaking audience. While this article largely agreed with and developed Ferm's previous contribution in the ideological characterization of the work, it also inquired into the discursive means by which Ericus communicated with his clerical readership.⁶⁹ A strand of scholarship of a secondary importance in this context concerns Ericus as an exponent of the Gothicism tradition, which claimed that the Swedes were the scions of the Goths who conquered the Roman world.⁷⁰

Apart from the previous lack of studies of political discourse among Swedish ecclesiastics and of a comprehensive account of Ericus's seminal chronicle, two principal epistemological concerns arising from the prior research have stimulated the undertaking of this thesis. The *Chronica* was an historical work intended to instruct and entertain its audience, and not a political pamphlet. Attempts to extract a set political programme or mission from its narrative risk obscuring the ambiguities that arose from this variety of authorial concerns in order to articulate a coherent political stance. There are in fact no reasons to expect from the outset that the societal notions Ericus put forth throughout his account form a logically coherent system at all. In addition, the general problem of construing coherence to the political aspects of the *Chronica* is aggravated by the difficulty of precisely dating this text. The material grounds for a dating of Ericus's working process are not unequivocal. A reconstruction of a political programme of the *Chronica* using its correspondence with a very specific political setting may therefore not only enforce coherence to the text but also run the risk of entering the interpretative circle from a confused standpoint.

Arguably, a critical discourse-analytical approach to the *Chronica* is better equipped than the more traditional readings to unearth political outlooks apparent at the Uppsala institution. The thesis examines Ericus's discourse on authority and determines its relation to the aspirations of the Swedish arch see. A clarification of the individual analytical concepts involved in this approach is in order. The method of discourse analysis, as it is here understood, aims at clarifying patterns that appear from the structure of a text. In concrete terms this means that the thesis explores the underlying assumptions on

⁶⁷ Lönnroth, E., 'Ericus Olai som politiker' in: *Idem, Från svensk medeltid* (Uppsala 1959), 127-142

⁶⁸ Ferm, O., 'När och för vem skrev Ericus Olai sin *Chronica regni Gothorum*?' *Lychnos. Årsbok för idé- och lärdomshistoria* (1993), 151-167

⁶⁹ Ferm, O. & Tjällén, B., 'Ericus Olai's *Chronica regni Gothorum*' *Medieval Scandinavia* 14 (2004), 79-90

⁷⁰ For instance, Nordström, J., *Johannes Magnus och den götiska romantiken* (Stockholm 1975), pp. 99-104

authority in the *Chronica* and their realization in its historical account. The concepts of discourse and authority can also be defined. Norman Fairclough considered a discourse (with the noun in the definitive) as a manner of speech that renders meaning to experiences from a specific perspective.⁷¹ It is in consequence of this definition that the authority discourse in the *Chronica* is here perceived as an *aspect* of Ericus's account that pertains to matters of authority. Authority, in its turn, is here applied in a critical and not an historical sense of the word.⁷² Max Weber envisaged two ideal types of power: authority (*Herrschaft*) and power (*Macht*). Authority is the possibility of being obeyed by issue of command; it therefore depends, in contrast to (factual) power, on notions of legitimacy among the governed.⁷³ Legitimacy, to conclude, is a concept that concerns the basis for justification of exercise of power.⁷⁴ To summarize: The authority discourse in the *Chronica* is defined in this thesis as the aspect of Ericus's account that pertains to matters of legitimacy and illegitimacy of societal power. The thesis explores the underlying assumptions on justifiable political action and their application in Ericus's historical narrative. It is a critical analysis in the sense that it clarifies the role of the production of Ericus's authority discourse in the critique and legitimization of power relations in the social world. The previous focus on the institutional affiliation of the *Chronica* – that it was written at and for the Uppsala institution and that this body later received it – is therefore developed and pursued in this thesis.

The presentation of the analysis that follows is divided into chapters that represent four analytical stages. Chapter I situates the production and reception of the *Chronica*. It argues that these procedures must be understood in terms of the concerns of education and socialization apparent at the Uppsala arch see. Chapter II accounts for a set of prescriptive assumptions on social order that structure Ericus's discourse on authority. The notions that God instituted the categories of lay and clerical as parallel hierarchies of authority and that he divided the world into different self-governing peoples and realms receive particular attention. Chapter III explores Ericus's realization of these assumptions throughout the historical narrative. This involves a comparison between his treatments of two sets of secular and ecclesiastical leaders of the realm that contrast sharply, the royal and episcopal saints of Uppsala, St Erik and St Henrik, and Ericus's contemporary rulers, King Karl Knutsson and Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson. Chapter IV determines the relation of the authority discourse in the *Chronica* to the contemporary needs and aspirations of the Uppsala arch see by way of an historical example. It examines one instance of reception of the text, the transcription of an extant manuscript at the Uppsala institution in 1528. This, it is argued, was a time when the authority issues addressed by Ericus were brought to a definitive conclusion in the Swedish realm. A concluding section provides a

⁷¹ Fairclough, N., *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language* (London 1995), p. 135

⁷² Historical uses of the term will however be addressed when appropriate.

⁷³ Weber, M., *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie* (Tübingen 1980), p. 28. *Ibidem*, p. 122, supplied *Autorität* as a synonym for *Herrschaft*. Authority as an historical term: Rabe, H., 'Autorität' in: Brunner, O. ed., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Vol. I (Stuttgart 1972, repr. 1979), pp. 384-389.

⁷⁴ Würtenberger, T., 'Legitimität, Legalität' in: Brunner, O. ed., *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, Vol. III (Stuttgart 1982), pp. 677-679

comprehensive account of the authority discourse in the *Chronica*, as it is gauged from the above analytical steps.

I. Text, author and institutional context

It was stated in the introduction that the *Chronica regni Gothorum* was written at and for the Uppsala arch see. It was suggested that its discourse on authority related to the needs and aspirations of this institution. This chapter situates the discursive practice of writing and receiving the *Chronica* within the context of the Uppsala institution and argues that it must be understood in terms of the educational concerns of this establishment. In this inquiry, the chapter also asserts some fundamental points of departure for the analysis of the subsequent chapters. First, basic features of the textual artefacts are presented. Secondly, the principal actors involved in their production and reception – that is the alleged author and the intended audience of the work – are introduced. Finally, the reasons and resources for these actors to produce and disseminate the text are viewed in relation to structural features and historiographical traditions of the environment of production, the Uppsala cathedral.

Manuscripts and edition

Five manuscripts of the *Chronica regni Gothorum*, all of a Swedish provenance, remain.⁷⁵ Only the earlier three are of interest in this context. Later manuscripts belong to an age when the institution in focus of this thesis, the Catholic Uppsala cathedral, was extinct. The first manuscript, Kungliga biblioteket D 9, stems from 1508.⁷⁶ This is the first instance known of any interest taken in the *Chronica*. The manuscript is on paper, decorated with red initials that are frequently flourished. The brown leather binding is fitted with brass revetments and locks. The manuscript is written in one and the same hand throughout, but with regard to this scribe, early owners or provenance, nothing is known. The second manuscript, Svenska riksarkivet E 8946, dating from 1517–1519,⁷⁷ is also on paper. It is a 4:o in brown leather binding. It is furnished with red lombardic script and other types of rubrics and it is written in one and the same hand. An early owner of this manuscript is known by name alone.⁷⁸ We are slightly better informed regarding the third manuscript, Uppsala

⁷⁵ Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket D 9, (1508); Stockholm, Svenska riksarkivet E 8946, (1517–1519); Uppsala universitetsbibliotek E 3, (1528); Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket D10, (1558); Stockholm, Svenska riksarkivet E 8721, (latest 1595).

⁷⁶ As stated in the decoration on the right margin of p. 29: 'Incipit cronica regni gothorum scripta anno domini mdviii'. Grandinson, K.G., 'Vilken var Engelbrekts dödsdag' *Historisk tidskrift* 55 (1933), p. 180, held that only a part of D 9 could be dated to 1508. The rest, for instance the section on the Engelbrekt uprising, Grandinson argued, was less meticulously carried out and composed at a substantially later date.

⁷⁷ The scribe noted when the copying was begun – '1517 die Sixti felicissimi et Agapiti' (August 6) – and the hour on the day when it was completed, 'In profesto translationis beati dominici 1519 hora 2:a post meridiem' (May 23).

⁷⁸ The owner of E 8946 presents himself on top of p. 1: 'Verus possessor huius libri est Wincentius Petri Arbogensis'. No one contemporary Wincentius related to the town of Arboga has been possible to trace.

universitetsbibliotek E 3, from 1528 (plate 9). This manuscript is also on paper. It has large initials in the colour of the ink but is not decorated in other respects. Its scribe presented himself as the Uppsala-prebendary Laurencius Laurencii.⁷⁹ He also added marginalia to the prologue of the text, indicating and commenting on places of special interest. The ancestry of these three medieval manuscripts is accounted for with a stemma in the latest edition of the *Chronica*.⁸⁰ A more thorough investigation of their scribal hands, which could possibly contribute to an understanding of the early reception of the *Chronica* to which they testify, remains to be undertaken.

As can be gauged from the manuscript tradition, a gap of almost forty years separates the alleged date of the completion of the *Chronica*, in the 1470s (discussed below), and the appearance of its first textual witness, in 1508. This apparent hiatus in the reception history raises several questions. It remains however a matter of conjecture whether this reflects a contemporary disinterest in the *Chronica* or its suppression, or if it is solely a result of misfortunate conditions of transmission. At any rate, the extant manuscripts testify to a continuous recourse to the *Chronica* during the early sixteenth century. Apart from this, there is no known pre-Reformation instance that clarifies the earliest reception of the work.

With no original manuscript preserved, the best means available for an analysis of the discourses of the *Chronica* is the text established in the 1993 edition of Ella Heuman and Jan Öberg.⁸¹ This text critical edition departs from the three medieval manuscripts presented above, but it aims at a representation of an archetypal text. When the *Chronica* and its *capitula* and paragraphs are hereafter referred to, the reference indicates this edition. However, the material specificity of the manuscripts may provide insights into the institutional embedding of the *Chronica* that a text critical edition cannot. Our knowledge of the instigators and of the environments of production of the earliest two manuscripts is however too limited for them to contribute to the argument in this respect. Only the E 3 allows for a more contextualized reading, and it will be discussed with this in mind in chapter IV.

A first print of the *Chronica* appeared in 1615, edited by the director of national antiquities, Johannes Messenius. It was reprinted in 1654, and a Swedish translation of the text appeared in 1678.⁸² As in the case with the later manuscripts, these early prints and the translation constitute instances of reception of the *Chronica* that were widely separated from the institutional context here addressed. They will not be dealt with in this thesis.

⁷⁹ At 113r, partly deleted: 'Ista sunt conscripta anno domini mdxxviii per me laurencium laurencii prebendatum Upsalensem'. The current grey leather binding was not carried out prior to the year 1545, which is found on the front cover.

⁸⁰ Heuman, E. & Öberg, J., eds., *Ericus Olai Chronica regni Gothorum. Textkritische Ausgabe* (Stockholm 1993), p. 13

⁸¹ This edition superseded the older Fant, ed., 'Chronica Erici Olai' in: *SRS*, II, 1-166.

⁸² Messenius, J., ed., *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque* (Stockholm 1615); Loccenius, J., ed., *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque* (Stockholm 1654); Sylvius, J., transl., *The Swenskes och Göthers Historia* (Stockholm 1678). As can be gauged from Georgii, T., *Allgemeines europäisches Bücher Lexicon. Vol. III* (Leipzig 1742), p. 148, two additional early prints appeared in Heidelberg, Germany: Erci, *Historia Suecorum Gothorumque* (Heidelberg 1623) and (Heidelberg: Wigard. 1652). A survey of relevant catalogues in the attempt to examine these German prints has proved fruitless.

Time of composition and intended audience

Neither the extant manuscripts nor the contents of the work provide explicit information regarding the exact time frame of the composition of the *Chronica*, its possible instigators or the audience for whom it was primarily intended.⁸³ An attribution to the Uppsala dean, Ericus Olai (d. 1486), appears in two of the medieval manuscripts and has formed an implicit point of departure for any such discussion. As appeared from the brief survey of earlier research presented in the introduction, these matters have in other respects been dominated by the question of possible patronage. Karl Knutsson (king 1448–57, 1464–65, 1467–70), whose historiographical interest has been asserted in relation to the *Karlskrönika*, was mentioned as one possible commissioner. Jöns Bengtsson (Archbishop 1448–67) was also referred to in this respect. The enemies Karl and Jöns, it was held, shared an interest in a gothicist history, glorifying the Swedish realm for an international audience.⁸⁴

However, it was argued by Gunnar Westin that the last section of the *Chronica* alludes to the events of the Battle of Brunkeberg, therefore indicating that it was completed after 1471.⁸⁵ At this time both Karl and Jöns were dead. Olle Ferm held that there are also reasons to exclude them as patrons at an earlier stage. Most obviously important is that they were not favourably depicted in the *Chronica*. Karl, in addition, would not have been pleased with the claims to clerical superiority apparent from the first page of the work. Ferm, however, retained the notion that Ericus wrote on the commission of his ecclesiastical superior. The background to the *Chronica*, he argued, was a surge of self-esteem in the Uppsala cathedral chapter at the time when it was headed by the new, young and energetic Jakob Ulfsson (archbishop 1470–1515). The *Chronica*, according to Ferm, was a project supported by Jakob and not primarily intended for an international audience but for the community of clerics in Uppsala. Ferm pointed to an instance in the text that designates a clerical readership, but also emphasized parts of the text written in Swedish to support his argument that this intended audience was indeed indigenous. There was a need felt within the chapter to process the turbulent events of the 1460s and to present a clerical alternative to the historiography that had prospered under lay patronage since the 1430s. The Uppsala perspective on Swedish history presented in the *Chronica* was well fitted to represent this clerical stance. While the attribution of patronage to Karl or Jöns allowed for the possibility of a protracted time of composition, Ferm in contrast, as had Erik Lönnroth, suggested that the text was written within a shorter time span and at a relatively later date. It was begun under the aegis of Jakob Ulfsson or shortly before. Ferm proposed the year 1477, when Ericus engaged in

⁸³ However, the lack of a dedication in the surviving manuscripts does not rule out that one existed in Ericus's original. Later copyists may have left out dedications from the prologue, as discussed by Simon, G., 'Untersuchungen zur Topik der Widmungsbriefe mittelalterlicher Geschichtschreiber bis zum Ende des 12. Jahrhunderts' *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte, Siegel- und Wappenkunde*, 5/6 (1959/1960), p. 137, note 9.

⁸⁴ The discussion of patronage, time of composition and of the audience primarily intended is summarized in Öberg, J., *Chronica regni Gothorum. Prolegomena und Indizes* (Stockholm 1995), pp. 14–17, and Ferm, 'När och för vem', pp. 154–166.

⁸⁵ Westin, G.T., *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri: svenska krönikans källor och krönikeförfattarens metod* (Lund 1946), pp. 372–373

teaching at the newly founded Uppsala University, as a terminus after which it was not worked on any more.⁸⁶

Jan Öberg provided additional support for a late terminus of the text. However, he maintained the idea that it was composed for an international audience and during an extended period of time. Öberg stated that Ericus was not officially commissioned to write his chronicle but was inspired to do so by the archbishop of his youth, Nils Ragvaldsson (archbishop 1438–48), and that he worked with it intermittently from the 1450s up until a journey for study purposes undertaken in 1475, after which the preparations for the foundation of the Uppsala university must have taken all his time. A change in the choice of prose rhythm towards the end of the text points to this protracted time of composition according to Öberg. The sections still in Swedish in the text are not indicative of its intended audience but they are an effect of the incomplete state of the work.⁸⁷

There remains no material evidence to help us bring the dating of the *Chronica* to conclusion. The starting points for the earlier attempts at dating may however be discussed. The attribution to Ericus appears late; his name is first mentioned in the second and the third of the manuscripts. In these two attributions, Ericus is paraphrased in his capacity as a saint, as '*beatus Ericus*', and he is also invoked.⁸⁸ Irrespective of its historical accuracy, this attribution of the *Chronica* to a venerated member of the cathedral asserted an authority for the text. The late date of the attribution and its hagiographically informed wording give reasons for caution. Apart from that, however, there are no apparent reasons to doubt that Ericus compiled the *Chronica*. A comparison with other texts that were attributed to him by his contemporaries supports his authorship for the whole text.⁸⁹ Alternatively, the common features between the *Chronica* and the texts originating from his teaching, on which this assessment is based, could be interpreted as impressions of Ericus's general impact on Uppsala as an intellectual milieu. The history of the compilation of the *Chronica* can be more complicated than what it at first appears to be, but in the absence of additional manuscripts or other material evidence there is little hope of illuminating this creative process any further.

Individual features of the text and its narrative structure also point toward a time frame for the composition similar to some of the suggestions from earlier research. The Battle of Brunkeberg in 1471 remains a feasible terminus post quem. It can not be ascertained whether the text was added to as late as 1477 or even beyond. However, if the *Chronica* was indeed instigated by Jakob Ulfsson and worked on after his arrival to Uppsala in 1470, it remains a problem that this event is not in any way suggested in the text and that Archbishop Jakob is not approached with a dedication. As it was mentioned above, Öberg held that the *Chronica* was never completed. In the sense that its author may have envisaged additional editing of his work, this may be true. In particular, the last section of the

⁸⁶ Ferm, 'När och för vem', *passim*

⁸⁷ Öberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 14-17

⁸⁸ Below, p. 30

⁸⁹ Instances that indicate this can be found both in the prologue of the *Chronica* and in the main text. For two such instances: Piltz, A., ed., *Studium Upsalense: specimens of the oldest lecture notes taken in the mediaeval University of Uppsala* (Uppsala – Stockholm 1977), p. 62; Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 220.

text gives a sketchy impression. But it is drawn to a conclusive end. The last words of the *Chronica*, where the attempts at a recapturing of the Swedish realm of King Christian I and his heirs are described as fruitless, were intended as an endnote to the work. Arguably, they prophetically point towards the future of the realm as much as to its past.⁹⁰ The idea of a protracted time of production for the *Chronica* was questioned by Lönnroth on grounds of the coherence displayed in the realization of one main theme throughout the text, that of the relation between the characteristic Swedish vice, ambition, and the discord in the realm.⁹¹ In addition, another theme was driven to the end: the question of the correct relation between spiritual and temporal authorities in the government of the realm introduced the *Chronica* and reverberated on its last page. This was a theme of acute relevance for the clerical community in Uppsala especially in the 1460s. It is easily imagined that it was the circumstances at hand at that time that spurred the instigation of the work. It is plausible that the *Chronica* was compiled during the archiepiscopal vacancy 1467–1470, between the death of Jöns Bengtsson and the advent of Jakob Ulfsson. At a later stage, the general endnote was added, possibly under influence of annalistic writing compiled from 1473.⁹² The material grounds for this dating, however, are not unequivocal. As discussed in the introduction, an analysis of the discourse of the *Chronica* cannot rest solely on its accuracy.

Model reader

No pre-Reformation reference to the *Chronica* is known and the extant manuscripts are, relative to the alleged time of its completion, from a late date. The question of what target group Ericus first intended for his work can only be assessed from particular features of the text. With this point of departure for a discussion of the *Chronica*'s intended audience, the concept of a model reader is an aid.⁹³ It helps to identify this group of readers. But it also generates a focus on the educational aspects of the text that are crucial for an understanding of the institutional relevance of its authority discourse.

The concept of a model reader departs from the notion that a correct interpretation of a given text (an interpretation corresponding to the intentions of the author) demands specific competences from the readers, such as certain linguistic qualifications or knowledge of other kinds. The author presupposes competences from his intended audience that will allow them to decode his text in the manner he envisages; in the act of writing, he imagines a reader with recourse to the same competences that he himself draws on for the composition of his work.⁹⁴ Because the author, in order to be understood, is forced to construe this postulated model reader in the semblance of his intended

⁹⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVII, 11. This endnote emphasized that the attempts of the union king and his supporters to recapture the Swedish realm were fruitless: 'Sed in uanum laborauerunt, quotquot ad hanc iniquitatem extenderunt manus suas'. Cf. Ps 126:1 and 124:3.

⁹¹ Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', pp. 128–130

⁹² For the possible relation between the endnote of the *Chronica* and the *Annales 1298–1473*; see below, p. 48 note 195.

⁹³ The concept is here applied in accordance with Eco, U., *Lector in fabula. La cooperazione interpretativa nei testi narrativi* (Milano 1979; repr. 1989).

⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 55: 'Pertanto prevederà un *Lettore Modello* capace di cooperare all'attualizzazione testuale come egli, l'autore, pensava, e di mouersi interpretativamente così come egli si è mosso generativamente'.

empirical audience, the characteristic traits also help to identify the historical readership. These characteristic features are revealed in a text through the competences that the author presupposes: his choice of a certain language or the reference to specific knowledge of other kinds that he implies; and from the way in which he addresses his reader, such as the use of epithets signalling age or other pronouns.⁹⁵

Ferm supported his idea of the clerics in Uppsala as the intended recipients for the *Chronica* with an instance in the text where the audience was directly paraphrased. In the section on the reign of St Erik, Ericus emphasized that the election of this king was a result of divine intervention. He explained these providential mysteries for the '*iuniores*'.⁹⁶ As Ferm indicated, one lexical meaning of this noun is a group of holders of lower orders within an ecclesiastical institution.⁹⁷ One instance of a contemporary use of *iuniores* within a historiographical context that supports that it was indeed a group within a clerical community that Ericus had in mind can be added. Abbot Günther von Nordhausen applied *iuniores* as epithet for this younger group within the monasteries under his supervision in his treatise on the value of institutional histories of 1481. In addition, Günther also explicitly mentioned the *seniores* within the monasteries; they too would profit from better historical knowledge.⁹⁸ Ferm in fact suggested that Ericus in the *Chronica* also implicitly designated this group of established senior clerics.

The appearance of this epithet for the audience forms a single instance in the *Chronica*. However, the choice of the Latin language also designates a primarily clerical community of intended readers. But it does not indicate that these clerics were Swedish or affiliated to Uppsala. Given the instances of vernacular material in the text, the Swedish nationality of this group however is probable. Admittedly, Öberg's suggestion that the fragments in Swedish are not indicative of the audience intended for the work but of its unedited state, possibly applies to how Ericus envisaged the final product of his work. But it does not explain why at a later stage – if the intended audience was still the same – the scribes did not translate these sections that they knew were incomprehensible to the target group. Additional competences that Ericus presupposed in his readers further reduce the number of possible addressees. He referred to Swedish saints' lives in a manner that indicates that he expected his audience to be familiar with their content.⁹⁹ Finally, discussions of topics related primarily to the internal affairs of the Uppsala cathedral qualify these Swedish-speaking clerics as members of the Uppsala institution. An important matter for this institution, such as the imprisonment of Ericus's contemporary

⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 53-55

⁹⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 4

⁹⁷ Ferm, 'När och för vem', pp. 164-165

⁹⁸ 'Traktat des Abtes Gunther von Nordhausen über den Wert historischer Aufzeichnungen' in: Frank, B., *Das Erfurter Peterskloster im 15. Jahrhundert. Studien zur Geschichte der Klosterreform und der Bursfelder Union* (Göttingen 1973). Günther wrote to advise his own monastery and the other Benedictine members of the Hirsfeld union on the matter of historiography. Quote: '[...] historiarum magister constituendus est, qui iuniores – at quid de iunioribus dico, immo etiam seniores; nam et hi plerique infantes sunt in hoc studio! – [...] fideliter informet'.

⁹⁹ This was the case for instance where Ericus mentioned the legend of St Eskil; Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XII, 18: 'Nescio, si ipse sit Sueno contra regem Ingonem electus et dictus Blodsuen in Legenda sancti Eskilli'. Similarly, for St Erik: see below chapter III.

archbishop, Jöns Bengtsson, apparently did not need introduction in Ericus's account. He could use it as a point of chronological reference to other, more obscure events, before it was duly treated in his narrative.¹⁰⁰ To summarize, a number of features of the reader for whom the *Chronica regni Gothorum* was intended appears from the text: this reader was a cleric of the lower or higher orders, of Swedish nationality and familiar with the affairs of the Uppsala cathedral.

The aspects of the model reader discussed so far relate mimetically to an intended group of empirical readers, the clerics in Uppsala. However, the model reader and the intended empirical reader are not one and the same. The author not only presupposes but also institutes competences in his audience.¹⁰¹ The address of the readers as juniors implied an expectation that they should listen and learn; it is emblematic of the didactic intent that permeates the *Chronica* and relevant for its discourse on authority, as discussed below in chapter III. This thesis, however, not only explores the authorial intentions behind the *Chronica*, where the empirical author makes a model of the reader he intends, but also its reception. For that discussion, addressed in chapter IV, it is relevant that the empirical reader also constructs a model author to contribute to his interpretation of the text.¹⁰² In that context the authority-enhancing notion of Ericus's sanctity was arguably important

Ericus Olai

The name of the author of the *Chronica* is given in the second and the third of the three extant medieval manuscripts, the E 8946 from 1517–1519 and the E 3 from 1528. They both assert the authorship of the former dean of the Uppsala cathedral chapter, '*beatus Ericus*',¹⁰³ indicating that at the time of their production he was venerated as a saint. Ericus Olai or Erik Olofsson is fairly well known as an Uppsala ecclesiastic, liturgical poet and as a teacher of theology at Uppsala University. The date and the place of his birth are not known. However, his matriculation at the Hanseatic University of Rostock in the year 1447 as '*Ericus Olai de Upsalia*',¹⁰⁴ suggests that he was born around the year 1430 and possibly also indicates that he had his first education at the cathedral school of the Swedish arch see. His grave slab (now lost) dated his death to December 24, in 1486. It bore no indication of a noble birth.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 41–42

¹⁰¹ Eco, *Lector in Fabula*, p. 56: 'Dunque prevedere il proprio Lettore Modello non significa solo "sperare" che esista, significa anche muovere il testo in modo di costruirlo. Un testo non solo riposa su, ma contribuisce a produrre una competenza'.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 62

¹⁰³ E 8946, p. 17; E 3, 1r

¹⁰⁴ Liedgren, J., 'Svenska studenter i Rostock 1419–1828. Supplement' *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 87 (1991), p. 65

¹⁰⁵ Gardell, S., *Gravmonument från Sveriges medeltid* (Stockholm 1945), no 489. Cf. with contemporaries of common origin at the Uppsala chapter: Bengt Olovsson, Gardell no 468; Martin Praal, Gardell no 507. And cf. with men of noble birth: Birger Johansson (Ulfsax), Gardell no 474; Erik Andreasson (Banér), Gardell no 57. The antiquarian recordings of Ericus's slab, on which Gardell based his account of the text, disagree in some details, for instance concerning the title '*professor*'.

In 1452, Ericus passed his degree of *Magister Artium* in Rostock and he possibly also obtained his baccalaureate in Theology there a few years later.¹⁰⁶ The Rostock *studium*, founded in 1419, attracted many students from the north. In the course of the fifteenth century c. 1100 out of an estimated total student population of c. 12000 were Scandinavian. Seventy-three students inscribed between the years 1419–1458 arguably came from the Swedish church province.¹⁰⁷ Ericus also shared this experience of a stay in Rostock with two of his contemporary fellow members of the Uppsala cathedral chapter.¹⁰⁸

In his later years Ericus visited the University of Siena in Italy where he was made Master of Theology on May 30, 1475.¹⁰⁹ One cleric from Uppsala is known to have preceded Ericus in Siena, and another handful are reported to have come after his stay.¹¹⁰ However, the two most important sources for the presence of foreign students and examinees in Siena fail to report for the years prior to 1471,¹¹¹ and the attendance of additional Uppsala clerics before these dates cannot be ruled out. Nothing in the note on Ericus's exam in the book of incorporations of the college indicates that his stay in the Tuscan town endured longer than what was required for the process of examination. There was no college for secular or lay students of theology in Siena. The study was exclusively for the religious. However, secular clerics like Ericus were allowed to apply and pass immediately to the *examen rigorosum*.¹¹² Preparatory arrangements for Ericus's stay may have been made in advance from abroad, not the least since, as was mentioned above, personal contacts between the Uppsala diocese and the Siennese university were established already before his arrival.

The increasing popularity of Italian humanism during the fifteenth century also attracted students from all over Europe to some recent university foundations on the peninsula.¹¹³ However, interest in the *studia humanitatis* was not a necessary prerequisite for the Swedish ecclesiastic intent on taking his Master of Theology in Siena. Siena was in certain respects an advantageous choice for studies. It shared with Paris and Bologna in the privileges to allow its student holders of ecclesiastical benefices to retain these incomes during their period of studies.¹¹⁴ Moreover, for the student of theology, and in

¹⁰⁶ Callmer, C., 'Svenska studenter i Rostock 1419–1828' *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 84 (1988), p. 9

¹⁰⁷ Liedgren, 'Svenska studenter', pp. 60–63

¹⁰⁸ Mårten Praal and Birgerus Johannis (Ulvsax).

¹⁰⁹ Siena, Biblioteca comunale di Siena, A.XI.1, 6r. The manuscript contains the 'Libri delle incorporazioni e delle deliberazioni, 1472–1737' of the college of theology in Siena. The dean of the *collegium* made notes of examination proceedings taking place during his deanship. The quality of these notes varies greatly throughout the manuscript, depending on the relative conscientiousness of each dean. The note for Ericus's examination is however clear and easily legible.

¹¹⁰ Nygren, E., 'Ericus Olais och andra svenskars studiebesök i Siena' *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 19 (1918), pp. 118–127, provides an account of the total six Swedish ecclesiastics, all but one affiliated to Uppsala, known to have been present at the Tuscan study between the years of 1468 and 1500. The dean's note on Ericus's exam is also edited by Nygren, following transcripts from the A.XI.1 carried out by K.H. Karlsson.

¹¹¹ The A.XI.1, 'Libri delle incorporazioni', fails to report for the years 1434–1472. The reasons for this lacuna are discussed by Bertoni, L., 'Il "Collegio" dei teologi dell'università di Siena e i suoi statuti del 1434' *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 22:1 (1968), p. 5. The Siena, Biblioteca comunale di Siena, A.XI.12, 'Libro degli inventari del Camarlengo dal 1471 (?) al 1547', shares in this fault. Also it only reports students or lecturers living at the Casa di Sapienza. Ericus is not mentioned among the residents of this college. As these lacunae imply, the number of students from the Swedish province reported by Nygren represents a minimum.

¹¹² Bertoni, 'Il "Collegio" dei teologi', p. 9

¹¹³ Verger, J., 'Schools and Universities' in: Allmand, C., ed., *The new Cambridge medieval history. Volume VII c. 1415–1500* (Cambridge 1998), pp. 232, 238

¹¹⁴ Bertoni, 'Il "Collegio" dei teologi', p. 4. It is also of interest in this context to note that Uppsala received the privileges of Bologna in its 1477 foundation bull: Annerstedt, C., ed., *Uppsala universitets historia. Bihang I 1477–1654* (Uppsala 1877),

comparison to Bologna, the curriculum of the studies and the exam stipulated by the statutes of the theological college in Siena were relatively lax.¹¹⁵ These were possible incentives for the established ecclesiastic who desired to reach the top of the educational ladder, without investing an unnecessary amount of money or time. The reason for Ericus's decision to take his Master's degree in theology at this time, late in his life, has been discussed. The prospect of teaching at a future *Studium generale* in Uppsala may have worked as an incentive.¹¹⁶ However, at the time of Ericus's stay in Siena no decision to the effect of founding a Swedish university had yet been granted official support.¹¹⁷ Furthermore, Ericus was not unique among Swedish prelates to return to his studies on the continent at a mature age.¹¹⁸

The progression of Ericus's ecclesiastical carrier can be abstracted from charters pertaining to the Uppsala cathedral. In 1456, he appears for the first time as a prebendary,¹¹⁹ and in 1459 as a canon at the cathedral chapter.¹²⁰ At an uncertain date Ericus obtained the dignity of *scolasticus*.¹²¹ In the later Middle Ages this dignity usually implied only supervising functions, with the actual teaching being handed over to a schoolmaster.¹²² In 1479, Ericus advanced to the deanery.¹²³ This office was priestly

pp. 1-4. The Bologna privileges were confirmed in a letter from the Swedish council, *Ibidem*, pp. 4-5. The council added that they granted the same privileges to Uppsala as those granted by the French king to the University of Paris. *Idem*, *Uppsala universitets historia. Vol. I, 1477-1654* (Uppsala 1877), pp. 25-26, argued that Bologna and Paris were incongruous as models, both in relation to the limited size of the Uppsala *studium* and in contrast to each other, since they represented different models of organization. He concluded that the fact that they were invoked anyhow as models demonstrates not only the hurry but also the enthusiasm of the Swedish university's promoters. However, what was concerned in the bull and the council's letter was not the organization of the *studium*, but the privileges of its students. Archbishop Jakob's intention to raise the level of education among the Uppsala canons is testified in a letter addressed to the chapter in 1486, *Idem*, *Uppsala universitets. Bihang I*, pp. 412-413. There Jakob repeated a previous demand that canons lacking five year university studies in canon law or theology take a three year course in canon law. Following the archbishop's wish to educate also the established clergy – holders of benefices – nothing but the Bologna/Paris model of privileges was thinkable. Jakob's ambitions when it came to the education of the canons were in line with the demands in this regard from popes and councils earlier in the century: Ferm, O., 'Universitet och högskolor' in: Ingesman, P. & Lindkvist, T., eds., *Rapporter til Det 24. Nordiske Historikermøde, Aarhus 9.-13. august 2001. Bd 1, Norden og Europa i middelalderen* (Aarhus 2001), p. 100. Ferm interpreted the foundation of the Uppsala university in the context of national mobilization and ambitions of sovereignty towards the Danish king and also saw the references to the king of France in the letter of the Swedish council, which was issued in the context of a refutation of the Danish king Christian's demands for a reinstatement in Sweden, in this perspective: *Ibidem*, pp. 100-103.

¹¹⁵ Bertoni, 'Il "Collegio" dei teologi', pp. 13-17

¹¹⁶ That Ericus's trip to Siena was part of Archbishop Jakob's preparations for a Swedish *studium* in Uppsala was first suggested by Carlsson, G., 'Ericus Olais utrikesstudier' *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 18 (1917), p. 354.

¹¹⁷ Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets. Vol. I*, p. 23, suggested that the decision to realize the old plans for a Swedish *studium* was taken at an obscure synod, possibly of July in 1475; that is two months after Ericus's exam in Siena. The granting bull of pope Sixtus IV dates from February 27, 1477.

¹¹⁸ A number of Swedish ecclesiastics in the fifteenth century who returned as dignitaries to their studies can be identified: Annerstedt, *Uppsala universitets. Vol. I*, p. 20. And for the years 1371-1426, one out of three Swedish canons appears inscribed in the rolls of the University of Prague, where, seemingly, many of them also pursued their studies: Mornet, E., 'Fiabilité et incertitudes de la prosopographie d'une élite sociale et intellectuelle: évêques et chanoines scandinaves à la fin du Moyen Age' in: Genet, J-P. & Lottes, G., eds., *L'état moderne et les élites. XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles. Apports et limites de la méthode prosopographique* (Paris 1996) pp. 282-284.

¹¹⁹ RAP. 14561108 UPPSALA. Ericus appears as seal witness of a land transaction: '[...] mester eriks olaui oc her peder Laurencii prebendata i Upsalom [...]'. His seal is extant: below, plate 2

¹²⁰ RAP. 14590404 UPPSALA. Archbishop and members of the chapter – with Ericus mentioned last in the row – testify to the terms of a donation of an estate to the cathedral: '[...] et Magister Ericus olaui Canonica upsalaensis [...]']

¹²¹ According to the catalogue of canons of the Uppsala arch see (*DS*, 3835), Ericus held the Tierp canonicate before his accession to the deanery. This was reserved for the chapter's *scolasticus*: Dahlbäck, G., *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav med särskild hänsyn till perioden 1344-1527* (Stockholm 1977), pp. 67, 90. Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 216, dated Ericus's accession to this dignity after May 1475.

¹²² Marchal, G.P., 'Was war das weltliche Kanonikerinstitut im Mittelalter? Dom- und Kollegiatstifte: eine Einführung und eine neue Perspektive' *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 95:1 (2000), p. 24

in character, encompassing responsibility for the services in the cathedral but also for the discipline of its clergy, and statutes consequently often required the dean to be an ordained priest. Guy Marchal characterized the dean as leader of the chapter *in spiritualibus*.¹²⁴ In order to fulfil the duties of this office, it is likely that its holder needed to be a trusted member of the chapter.

Two instances from the charter material illuminate Ericus's role as a representative of his chapter in the politically turbulent times. During the hardships caused by Archbishop Jöns's involvement in the political power struggles of the 1460s, Ericus witnessed first hand the difficulties facing the chapter in navigating between the pressures of the ecclesiastical and the secular authorities of the realm. He was present as a representative in Stockholm when Jöns handed over his episcopal duties to the chapter, and he also appears as one of the canons addressed in the letter from the papal nuncio who (carrying out the wishes of King Christian I) pressurized the chapter to go against the bidding of their ecclesiastical superior.¹²⁵ His receipt of a prebend two weeks after the release of Jöns from custody has been interpreted as a sign of the high esteem in which Ericus was held by the archbishop.¹²⁶ Little is known of Ericus's life outside the precincts of the Uppsala institution in other respects. He may well be the '*dominus E.O*' inscribed in 1474 as a member of the Corpus Christi guild in Stockholm.¹²⁷ His name appears in an application sent to the papal penitentiary in 1471, seeking permission to eat butter during lent.¹²⁸ Erik Olofsson was however a common name and it cannot be ascertained that this instance referred to the historian. Ericus's later years were devoted to teaching. From its first year in existence in 1477 and up until 1485 Ericus taught theology at Uppsala University. As a theologian he has been characterized as a conservative and as a Thomist.¹²⁹

Works and sainthood

Ericus was a prolific author. Apart from historical writing, his known works cover areas of liturgical poetry, biblical hermeneutics and commentaries on scripture and theological writings. The attribution to his name of a doctoral oration held in Siena may be false.¹³⁰ At least five of his theological texts, however, are preserved through lecture notes taken by one of his students in Uppsala, Olaus Johannis

¹²³ According to the canon list (*DS*, 3835), Ericus succeeded Birgerus Johannis (Ulvsax) as dean. Birgerus's grave slab (Gardell: no. 474) dates his death to April 2, 1479.

¹²⁴ Marchal, 'Weltliche Kanonikerinstitut', pp. 20-21. Higher orders were not a prerequisite for access to a canonry; usually the ordination of subdeacon was enough and ordained priests within the cathedral chapters were relatively few: *Ibidem*, p. 10.

¹²⁵ Discussed and referenced below in chapter III.

¹²⁶ Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', pp. 216-217

¹²⁷ Collijn, I., ed., *Handlingar rörande Helga lekamens gille i Stockholm. Bilagor Vol II* (Uppsala 1921), p. 80

¹²⁸ As reported in the forthcoming work of Sara Risberg on Swedes found in the Penitentiary rolls, this note is found in Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Penitenziaria Apostolica (ASV, PA), Vol. 20 fol. 155r.

¹²⁹ Piltz, *Studium Upsalense*, pp. 49, 58 note 56

¹³⁰ Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 235, held that the *Oracio de laudibus sanctissime theologie* mentioned in the dean's note on the exam in Siena was the title of a speech delivered by Ericus on this occasion. However, as is clear from other similar notes in the A.XI.1., (for instance on 3r-v, 5v, 6v) an '*Oracio de laudibus sanctissime theologie*' was standard procedure in the course of the exams; the name does not refer to an individual title of a particular speech. Also, as it appears in these exam notes, it cannot be established whether the oration was held by the examinee or by the dean. Nor is it clear from the statutes of the Sienese college of theologians if an oration of this kind was expected of the examinees; the statutes are ed. by Bertoni, 'Il "Collegio" dei teologi', pp. 36-56.

Gutho. Ericus commented on the books of the New Testament, on Hugh of St Victor's (d. 1141) *De tribus diebus*, on *De confessione* of Peter of Blois (d. c. 1203) and on Bonaventure's (d. 1274) *Breviloquium*. The commentaries on the Sunday Gospels and on Revelations preserved by this student are possibly also of his hand.¹³¹ The commentary on Revelations is particularly interesting as it reflects the contemporary crusading initiatives following in the wake of the military expansion of the Turks.¹³² In what perhaps constitutes his most original work, the *Regulae sacrae theologiae*,¹³³ Ericus put forth a set of rules to apply in interpretation of scripture. In these rules he explicitly denounced 'moderns', that is nominalist teachers, in preference of *antiqui*, realists (such as Thomas). In this text, moreover, he established ecclesiastical authority as the ultimate basis of the credibility of revelation.¹³⁴

Ericus also wrote poetry. He composed a sacred song in Swedish, *Een rikir man* ('A wealthy man').¹³⁵ The Latin versified office in honour of the patron saints of Sweden (*Festum patronorum regni Suecie*) is anonymously transmitted but probably also his work.¹³⁶ There are no clear-cut divisions between theological and historical discourse within this corpus of Ericus's preserved writings. The knowledge of his other works facilitates our understanding of the *Chronica*. He drew on the authors and statements from these theological works (Peter of Blois, Hugh of St Victor, Nicholas of Lyra, and from his own *Regula*) in order to raise his historical discourse in the *Chronica* to a level where it came to represent divine truth and intentions. The hagiographical piece for the patron saints of the Swedish realm is a national history of sorts and a work in some aspects similar to the *Chronica*.

Arguably the ideals incorporated in Ericus's person, teaching and writings conformed to those of other important members of the chapter, at least at a later date, since after his death he acquired the reputation of a saint. Instances of pilgrimage to Ericus (*helgä doctor erich*)¹³⁷ – presumably to his grave in Uppsala – are known. Notions of his sanctity also appear in an early print of one of his works. There it is attested that God performs miracles in recognition of Ericus's merits (*per cuius merita deus iugiter facit miracula*).¹³⁸ As referred to above, these notions also appear in the context of his chronicle. In the two latest of the medieval manuscripts, he carries an epithet to this effect (*beatus*

¹³¹ Piltz, *Studium Upsalense*, pp. 24, 60, 62. A selection of these notes is edited by Piltz.

¹³² *Ibidem*, pp. 62-63, 203-209

¹³³ Stegmüller, F., ed., *Analecta Upsaliensia theologiam medii aevi illustrantia. T. I. Opera systematica. Uppsala universitets årsskrift 1953: 7* (Uppsala – Wiesbaden 1953), pp. 395-422

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 397-398, 421. On the *via antiqua* and the *via moderna* in fifteenth-century faculties of arts and theology: Asztalos, M. 'The faculty of theology' in: De Ridder-Symoens, H., ed., *The history of the university in Europe. Vol. I. Universities in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge 1992), pp. 438-440.

¹³⁵ Ed. princeps (Uppsala 1515)

¹³⁶ Helander, S., *Ansgarskulten i Norden* (Stockholm 1989), pp. 181-191, 229-234. The versified office, *Iocundare mater ecclesia*, is edited on pp. 259-256.

¹³⁷ Utterström, G., ed., *Fem skrivare. Metta Ivarsdotters brev till Svante Nilsson. Studier i senmedeltida svenskt brevspråk* (Stockholm 1968), p. 228. In a letter of 1507 to her husband Svante Nilsson (regent 1504-1511/12), Mette Iversdotter (Dyre) furthered a rumour that Lord Åke (Hanson, Tott) had departed for a pilgrimage to the holy doctor Ericus in Uppsala: 'her ackä haffuer actet sig tiil wpsälä sÿn pÿlegrims Räsä till santce helgä doctor erich'. The scribe apparently first used the Latin epithet *sancte* for Ericus but crossed it out for the Swedish *helgä*.

¹³⁸ *Een rikir man*: '[...] Istud evangelium transtulit de latino in swecum ad modum carminis venerabilis pater magister Ericus olaui sacre theologie Professor quondam Decanus alme ecclesie Upsalensis Per cuius merita deus iugiter facit miracula'.

dominus Ericus).¹³⁹ And in one he is also invoked with a reference to his conscientiousness (*O pie Pater [...] sancta tua conscientia*).¹⁴⁰

Education and edification were continuous concerns for Ericus. Apart from this apparent scholarly disposition, any statement regarding his character or personality traits departing from the institutionally endowed actions, his posthumous reputation as a saint, or from the highly formalized works discussed above will remain largely conjecture. On the other hand, his attempt, expressed throughout the *Chronica*, to find a deeper meaning in the turbulent history of the realm and his lamentations over its continuous state of discord does concur with the observation of Friedrich Stegmüller in regard to the *Regulae sacrae Theologiae*, of Ericus as '[...] einen Mann suchenden Geistes und sorgenden Herzens'.¹⁴¹



Plate 2. Ericus's personal seal, attached to Rap. 14561108 UPPSALA. '[M]ester eriks olaui' appears as a seal witness in a land transaction. The text of the seal – SIGILLUM MAGISTRI ERICI OLAUI – indicates his scholarly achievements. Its central motive, a chalice, frequently appears in seals of Swedish ecclesiastics: Norberg, R., 'Sigill, andliga: Sverige' in: KLMN, Vol. XV, col. 196. Photography: Kurt Eriksson.

¹³⁹ E 8946, p. 17; E 3, 1r.

¹⁴⁰ E 8946, p. 17

¹⁴¹ Stegmüller, *Analecta Upsaliensia*, p. 395

Church and government

This thesis situates the discursive practice of writing and receiving the *Chronica regni Gothorum* within the institution of the Uppsala arch see. Institutions are of paramount importance for action. They provide a relatively stable framework for concerted activity. They endow actors with the power to act. But they also generate action by establishing parameters of permissible conduct for their acting members.¹⁴² As individual historical actors, clerics were in most cases empowered to act not only as members of the institution of the church but also through affiliation with other sources of power, such as family groups and other political networks. In this context, however, their actions as clerics and members of specific ecclesiastical institutions are of primary interest.

Clerics featured as actors in various aspects of government. Political theorizing was largely a clerical prerogative in the Middle Ages. Most political literature was a political theology; it concerned political matters but was based on principles, techniques and authorities derived from the field of theology. The role of mediators between man and God was related to the symbolic capital of the clergy; it was drawn on for instance in the ritual of coronation that provided divine sanction for the ascent of an individual ruler but also constricted him in relation to the church and the people he swore to protect. The pulpit could serve as a means for the communication of propaganda for the king but also for a summons of rebellion against him. When it came to their involvement in the mundane governmental practice, clerics were active in various roles and on all levels of the hierarchical ladder. Due to the administrative needs of the state, literacy had made the clerics a group of key concern in its formation, especially in the earlier phases, when education was more exclusive. The clergy supplied basic administrative personnel, but they could also be the trusted ambassadors of the king. In the representative bodies of the emerging modern states, clerics appeared in parliament or royal council.¹⁴³

The distinction between clerics and laics and their different roles within society provided medieval people with an interpretation and a legitimization of one marked feature of their social world. This notion of a twofold social order will be discussed in relation to Ericus's authority discourse in chapter II. Clerical status in legal terms was achieved with a first tonsure. In relation to society at large, all clerics held a certain social standing. In Sweden, the parish priest also expected to be referred to as *dominus (herr)*.¹⁴⁴ In other respects secular clergy (the religious are of no interest here) formed a most heterogeneous body. Clerics can be grouped according to their ordinations as holders of minor orders

¹⁴² This account of the relation between discourse, institutions and action is indebted to Thompson, J.B., *Studies in the theory of ideology* (Berkeley 1984), pp. 72-139.

¹⁴³ Millet, H., & Moraw, P., 'Clerics in the state' in: Reinhard, W., ed., *Power elites and state building* (Oxford 1996), pp. 173-188; Swanson, R.W., *Church and society in late medieval England* (Oxford 1993), pp. 89-122. For the definition of 'political theology', see: Genet, J.-P., 'Ecclesiastics and political theory in late medieval England: The end of a monopoly' in: Dobson, B., ed., *The church, politics and patronage in the fifteenth century* (Gloucester – New York 1984), p. 26.

¹⁴⁴ Ljung, S., 'Herretitel' in: *KLNM*, Vol. VI, cols. 505-507

or of holy orders; not all clerics advanced as far as to become priests.¹⁴⁵ A grouping of this kind however does not mirror the social and economic standing of the individuals. In that respect, clerics with a steady income from one or several benefices must be treated apart from the large group of ecclesiastical wage earners, sometimes referred to as an ecclesiastical proletariat, who supported themselves on revocable or short-term agreements. Access to benefices depended on various factors. Apart from the laws of supply and demand, money, education and patronage mattered.¹⁴⁶

The Uppsala arch see

With the ordination of Sweden's first archbishop, the *archiepiscopus Upsalensis*, in 1164, a Swedish church province, partitioned from the Danish province of Lund, was formed. In the later Middle Ages the borders of the province coincided to a large extent with those of the Swedish realm. But it also embraced Jämtland-Härjedalen, which was a part of Norway, and the island of Gotland, which at the time of the completion of the *Chronica* adhered to Denmark. The archdiocese, Uppsala, was geographically one of the largest in Christendom; it comprised Uppland and northern Sweden, which was however scarcely populated. Its see was at first situated in (old) Uppsala. A transfer to Östra Aros (soon referred to as Uppsala), a few kilometres to the South, was officially recognized in 1273 with the translation of the relics of St Erik.¹⁴⁷ Around this time the construction of a new brick gothic cathedral was also begun, and subsequently worked on intermittently up until its inauguration in 1435. This was the largest gothic church in Scandinavia. Enclosed by an ecclesiastical city of additional buildings, it formed an imposing complex, raised on an elevated ridge west of the River Fyris.¹⁴⁸ The grand cathedral complex was a hub for the social practices and material resources that are here referred to as the Uppsala institution. Landholdings of various kinds, town houses in Uppsala and elsewhere, tithes and so forth constituted its material basis.¹⁴⁹

In this context, however, the structural features of its personnel and their position in the government of their diocese and of the Swedish realm must primarily be addressed. There is nothing to indicate that the staffing of the Uppsala cathedral did not exhibit the same heterogeneity as found in the clerical world at large. There were scholars of an uncertain multitude who attended the cathedral school. In the 1470s, Clerics beneficed through individual chantry foundations, who were referred to as prebendaries

¹⁴⁵ Andersson, R., 'Undervisning och utbildning' in: Pernler, S-E., *Sveriges kyrkohistoria II. Hög- och senmedeltid* (Stockholm 1999), pp. 222-224

¹⁴⁶ Rapp, F., 'Rapport introductif' in: *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age* (Paris 1993), p. 18; Swanson, *Church and society*, pp. 40-50, 64-82

¹⁴⁷ Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, pp. 27-33; Beltzén, N., 'Den kyrkliga försvenskningen av Jämtland-Härjedalen' *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 44 (1944), pp. 169-171, touched on the division of this region in secular and ecclesiastical matters, but primarily concerned post-medieval developments. Pernler, S-E., *Gotlands medeltida kyrkoliv – biskop och prostar* (Visby 1977), pp. 124-129, accounts for a number of cases where political complications caused by the lordship over Gotland, either when held by the Teutonic order or the Danish king, impeded the visitations that was a duty of the Swedish bishops of Linköping.

¹⁴⁸ Ferm, O., 'Från Östra Aros till Uppsala. Uppsala under tidig medeltid' in: Cnattingius, N. & Nevéus, T., eds., *Från Östra Aros till Uppsala. En samling uppsatser kring det medeltida Uppsala* (Uppsala 1986), pp. 44-49; in English: Malm, G., 'Recent excavations at Uppsala cathedral, Sweden' *World Archeology* 18:3 (1987), pp. 382-397

¹⁴⁹ The economic organization of the Uppsala cathedral: Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav*.

in Uppsala, amounted to around thirty people. Ecclesiastical wage-earners did service in the chancel as vicars for the members of the chapter. The more prestigious body of the chapter itself, with its canons and dignitaries, numbered fifteen and five respectively in the year 1470. And, finally, there was the head of the cathedral institution, the Uppsala archbishop.¹⁵⁰

The Archbishop

The national law code regulated that bishops should be present within the Swedish council.¹⁵¹ The Uppsala archbishop was the most prominent member of this representative body. In the latter union period, the Swedish episcopacy, which consisted primarily of nationals, was endowed with crown fiefs as a reward for its services to the realm. The archbishop received more extensive fiefs than the episcopacy at large.¹⁵² In economic terms, he was slightly better off than his aristocratic lay colleagues in the council.¹⁵³ With his castles (Biskops Arnö, Biskops Tuna, Almare-Stäket, Munsö and Uppsala) and an armed retinue, his authority could be supported with force.¹⁵⁴

As it was argued in the historical sketch of the introduction, the attempts of the secular rulers to determine who was elected to the archiepiscopal office were necessitated by the formidable resources invested in its holder. Where these attempts succeeded, as in the fortunate case of King Erik of Pommerania and Archbishop Johannes Haquini, the Uppsala archbishop served as a Swedish viceroy. However, the unrest in the fifteenth century allowed for a particularly emphasized and independent position for the Uppsala archbishop in the political life of the realm. Nils Ragvaldsson could operate with free reins in relation to the weak or absent kingship and papacy. He added to the military resources of the archbishop and also advanced ecclesiastical liberty by his involvement in the new codification of the national law code. The domestic power struggles that characterized the following decades pushed Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson even further towards the political forefront. At two times he appeared not only as the ecclesiastical leader of the province but also as the regent of the Swedish realm. From 1471, when primarily the regent, Sten Sture, and Archbishop Jakob Ulvsson, governed the realm, the bishop of Strängnäs was nominally chancellor of the realm and master of its rolls.¹⁵⁵

The archbishop was ecclesiastical leader of a province of the universal church. Defence of ecclesiastical liberty, however, demanded that support was also secured from other sources of power, such as the king or the aristocracy. Additional loyalties of kinship and power groups, however, made sure that defence of ecclesiastical liberty was rarely the only post on an archbishop's agenda. When Archbishop Jöns engaged in the mid-fifteenth century power struggle and also reached the apex of the

¹⁵⁰ Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav*, pp. 32-33, 99; Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, p. 207. The vast number of lay personnel who also formed part of this institution can be added to this enumeration.

¹⁵¹ Schlyter, D.C.J., *Corpus iuris sueo-gotorum antiqui*, Vol. XII. *Codex iuris communis Sueciae Christophorianus* (Lund 1869), p. 25

¹⁵² Pirinen, K., 'Biskop' in: *KLNM*, Vol. I, cols. 623-624; Liedgren, J., 'Ärkebiskop' in: *KLNM*, Vol. XX, cols. 556-567

¹⁵³ Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav*, p. 72.

¹⁵⁴ In 1515, Archbishop Gustav Trolle acquired the right from the pope to command an armed retinue of as many as 400 men, to re-conquer and defend ecclesiastical property: Carlsson & Rosén, *Svensk historia*, p. 276. For the archiepiscopacy of Olaus Laurentii (1432-1438), Ericus mentioned a number of 300 men: below, chapter III, p. 119

¹⁵⁵ Above, Introduction, p. 11

lay hierarchical ladder, he acted as much on behalf of his own aristocratic family as in the interest of the liberty of his church province. Secular and ecclesiastical authority was distinct only in theory. In the person of an aristocratic ecclesiastic, they were necessarily intertwined.

The cathedral chapter

Ericus Olai is known as a member of the Uppsala cathedral chapter from 1456 to the year of his death in 1486. He eventually occupied two dignities, scholast and dean, within this body. The existence of a secular cathedral chapter in Uppsala can be asserted from the year 1247. It was formed under the influence of the papal legate to the North, William of Sabina.¹⁵⁶ A chapter was necessary to provide episcopal elections according to format; that is, without the interference of lay rulers. It administered and protected the episcopal holdings during the vacancy. And once the bishop was elected, the chapter was to support him with advice.¹⁵⁷ The relation between the bishop and the chapter was regulated. According to canon law the bishop acted legitimately only with the advice and consent of his chapter.¹⁵⁸ However, in fifteenth-century Sweden, bishops acted without this consent on numerous occasions.¹⁵⁹ The ceremonies of the cult in the cathedral were also nominally a responsibility of the chapter, but in practice they were usually delegated to the lower clergy. Another important task was to educate the future diocesan ecclesiastics.¹⁶⁰ Education was important not only for developing the abilities of individual office holders. No one was born a cleric. Membership within this group rested on ordination, which demanded some level of education. Also, advancement within this group depended to some extent on scholarly qualifications. Education was thus a necessary prerequisite for the reproduction of the clergy as a social group and as power elite. The cathedral chapters were of key importance in this function.

As is clear from the functions enumerated above, the cathedral chapters represented the continuity of their institutions. The chapter in Uppsala was particularly suited for this role. Its members were not attached to individual chantries and the consequent interests of their donors, as was the case at the majority of other Swedish sees. Göran Dahlbäck concluded that this organization allowed for a higher degree of consistency of the Uppsala chapter and for wider possibilities for its members to dedicate themselves to their chapter duties than in the other cathedrals of the province.¹⁶¹

The chapter corporations were juridical persons whose voices were decided by way of a vote. With their privileges and duties – for instance the right of possession of a prebend, a seat in the chancel of the cathedral, the right to vote in the chapter, the demand of residence at the cathedral and to take part

¹⁵⁶ Pernler, *Svensk kyrkohistoria*, pp. 22-24. The existence of an older regular chapter in Uppsala is known, but it had ceased to exist before 1224.

¹⁵⁷ Pirinen, K., 'Domkapitel' in: *KLNM*, Vol. III, cols. 185-195

¹⁵⁸ Wilks, M., *The problem of sovereignty in the later Middle Ages: The papal monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the publicists* (Cambridge 1963), p. 458

¹⁵⁹ Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna*, p. 69

¹⁶⁰ Pirinen, 'Domkapitel', cols. 185-195

¹⁶¹ Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav*, p. 364

in the divine service – they formed a group separated from the clergy at large.¹⁶² The distinguished position of chapter members among the cathedral clergy was emphasized with regulations for his particular dress: a black coat (*cappa choralis*) covered by a white shirt (*rochetum*). A special hat (*biretum*) was also worn. And in wintertime, a hooded cape (*almutium*), frequently with a fur lining, was added for protection during the cold hours in the unheated cathedral.¹⁶³

Behind this legal fiction and the insignia that served to visually reinforce it, a number of individual clerics appear. The make-up of the personnel of the Uppsala chapter for the year 1470 is known.¹⁶⁴ But no thoroughgoing study of the personal composition of the Uppsala chapter has been undertaken for any one time. For the period at large and for the whole of the province, Elisabeth Mornet provided a sketch of the family background, education and career patterns of Swedish dignitaries. Members of noble origin were represented among this group throughout the period, especially as holders of the highest-ranking office of provost, but the chapters were not in general aristocratic bodies.¹⁶⁵ Three out of four dignitaries are known to have been matriculated at a university. This was around twice the number of what went for the ordinary canons of the chapter, which indicates that there was a correlation between higher studies and a fortunate pursuit of an ecclesiastical career. These dignitaries or future dignitaries were primarily students of canon law. During the fifteenth century, no more than seven percent were theologians.¹⁶⁶

In this century the Swedish chapters were not represented in the Swedish council.¹⁶⁷ But individual canons could partake in government as employees of lay or ecclesiastical patrons. Two out of three dignitaries would have held some kind of professional career apart from his ecclesiastical duties. Most of these opportunities implied service to the bishop. The king was not dominant as an employer during the period. However, the majority of future bishops held backgrounds as employees of the state.¹⁶⁸ Their role as royal advisers was seen as a holy duty. It was sanctioned by canon law; a canon that was summoned as an adviser to the king, and received permission to hear from his ecclesiastical superior, was exempt from the duty of residence.¹⁶⁹ But patronage was also an important factor for the individual ecclesiastical career. The reception of a benefice often came as a reward for services rendered to a patron. Mornet concluded that there was a straightforward correlation between

¹⁶² Marchal, 'Dom- und Kollegiatstifte', pp. 7-17

¹⁶³ Pernler, *Svensk kyrkohistoria*, p. 23

¹⁶⁴ Five dignitaries and fifteen canons are named, apparently in their hierarchical order, in a letter from Pope Paul II: 1470 27/5, Rome; *SD*, no. 29116. The letter exhorts the following members of the chapter to support their new archbishop, Jakob Ulfsson: Provost, Ericus Andrae; Archdeacon, Conradus Rogga; Dean, Ericus Petri; Scholast, Carolus Johannis; Canons, Carolus Ingewasti, Benedictus olai, Elanus de Vesgotia, Laurencius Uather, Sueno Petri, Henricus Lange, Georgius Johannis, Saluo in Uecol, Birgerus Johannis, Ericus Olai, Johannes Holmberni, Petrus in Knutaby, Magnus Olai (Sacristan), Martinus Praal, Johannis Christierni.

¹⁶⁵ Mornet, E., 'Les dignitaires des chapitres cathédraux suédois à la fin du Moyen Age' in: *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Age* (Paris 1993), pp. 206-207. Mornet's study comprises a number of 312 canons who appear in the sources from 1305-1527.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 208. For an assessment of the importance of university studies for the careers within this group see also, *Idem*, 'Fiabilité et incertitudes' and Ferm, O., 'Akademiska studier och klerikal befördran i senmedeltidens Uppsala' in: Hagberg, J., ed., *Ett fönster mot den himmelska kyrkan. En vänskrift till Alf Härdelin* (Skara 2007), pp. 97-101.

¹⁶⁷ However, at an ecclesiastical province council of 1423, it was decided that each chapter send one representative to the royal court: Pirinen, 'Domkapitel', col. 192.

¹⁶⁸ Mornet, 'Les dignitaires des chapitres', pp. 208-210

¹⁶⁹ Millet & Moraw, 'Clerics in the state', p. 182

assignments for potentates and access to dignities, which often came as a reward for loyalty. Royal foundations were put to this use, but sometimes the kings could also dispense the papal reservations.¹⁷⁰

In the unrest of the fifteenth century, the relative strength of the political players also affected clerical careers. As was touched upon in the introduction, before 1430, Queen Margaret and King Erik managed to use royal patronage held by Swedish royal forerunners, and also to introduce non-Swedish members into the chapters of the province. In 1438, however, when the political tide had turned against the union king in Sweden, the consent of Karl Knutsson, at this time Swedish marshal, and the Swedish council weighed more heavily in favour of a candidate than any letter from the king. In 1474, Pope Sixtus IV consigned to Christian I the right to present candidates for sixteen Swedish dignities, eight of which were at the Uppsala chapter. King Christian however had little success in imposing his candidates to these posts. At the end of the fifteenth century it was the adherents of the actual regents who occupied the dignities under royal patronage.¹⁷¹ Political loyalties were a matter of concern for the chapters and their individual members, navigating to promote their personal and institutional interests.

¹⁷⁰ Mornet, 'Les dignitaires des chapitres', p. 211

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 211: 'Ce furent les fidèles de regents, à la fin du XVe siècle, puis ceux de Gustave Vasa, après 1523, qui occupèrent les dignités sous patronat royal; inversement, on voit les opposants échouer à les obtenir ou en être dépossédés'.

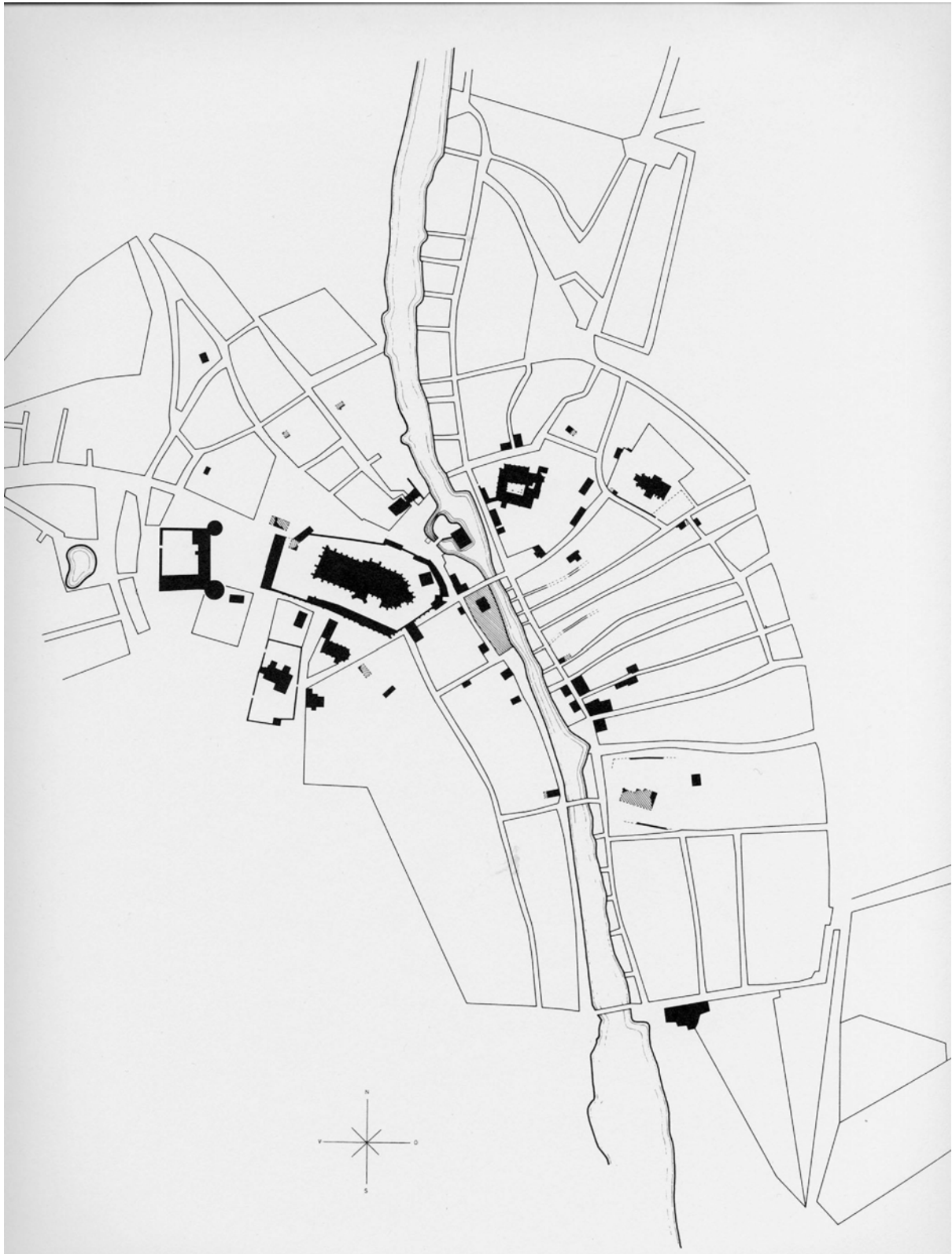


Plate 3. Uppsala at the end of the Middle Ages. Reconstruction map (1:5000) showing the town before the fire of 1543. Houses built by brick are shaded; as a result the imposing character of the ecclesiastical city on the ridge is emphasized. After Ahlberg & Hall.

Historiographical traditions of the arch see

In the Middle Ages, historiography was an important political tool. The reason for this was essentially that historical writing codified the parameters of traditional authority; it frequently dealt with the origins of institutions and it established a precedent for political action by way of example. The *Chronica regni Gothorum* is the first Swedish national history in Latin prose. Due to its origin at the Uppsala arch see and its strong emphasis on the importance of this ecclesiastical institution in the history of the realm, it may also be characterized as an institutional history.¹⁷² With few exceptions, national histories appeared in medieval Europe at the loci of central power, which was focused on the courts of kings or of the highest ecclesiastical leaders of the various realms.¹⁷³ This tradition of historical writing served to validate the sovereignty of a realm and the legitimacy of its rulers; it will be discussed in this respect in chapter II. Institutional histories served a wide array of institutional interests. Histories of individual monastic foundation, for instance, were motivated by concerns for the education of their junior members, the need of record keeping of their landholdings (of use in the probable event of a legal dispute with neighbours), and for their donators, whose souls in purgatory these institutions were funded to pray for.¹⁷⁴

Historiography was also a concern of secular ecclesiastical institutions in Sweden. At a synod for the Swedish church province in 1474, it was recommended that each diocese appoint someone to write annals and gesta that could be of use in the writing of chronicles. The reasons behind this decree are not made explicit in the lapidary statute statement. However, it appears in the context of a provision for the education of the scholars at the dioceses; each cathedral should appoint a *reformatore scholarium*, who should also be a cleric.¹⁷⁵ Arguably, the decree regarding chronicling sprung from a similar didactic intent. A number of historiographical initiatives were taken at the Swedish arch see in the period just before this time. In the context of this literary output, the *Chronica* was uniquely ambitious in the realization of its subject matter. However, its historiographical concerns with royal power and episcopal authority were also explored in the forerunning annalistic and hagiographical traditions of the arch see.

¹⁷² The generic definition of the *Chronica* as a national history rests on Kersken, N., *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der "nationes". Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Köln 1995), p. 9. Kersken defines a medieval national history as a history of a people, a country or a sovereign political entity from its origins up until the time of the composition of the work. Roest, B., 'Later medieval institutional history' in: Mauskopf Deliyannis, D., ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden 2003), p. 277, intends with the term 'institutional history': '[...] official or unofficial historical writing by and for medieval religious institutions [...] regardless of the generic categories to which these texts themselves can be assigned'.

¹⁷³ Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 736-46. The exceptions noted by Kersken primarily concern England. *Idem*, 'High and late medieval national historiography' in: Mauskopf Deliyannis, D., ed., *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Leiden 2003), pp. 181-215, identified a wave of national histories between 1450 and the early 1500s, a period when in many countries the first national histories appeared: 'Here the relationship to new kinds of state building processes and an intensification of national thought is not to be overlooked'. Quote, p. 212.

¹⁷⁴ All these concerns appear in the letter of Günter von Nordhausen, referred to above, p. 29

¹⁷⁵ Reuter Dahl, H., ed., *Statuta synodalia veteris ecclesiae Sveogothicae* (Lund 1841), p. 179: 'Punctus XXVII. Item in qualibet ecclesia cathedrali constituatur reformatore generalis scholarium in tonsura et habitu, obedientia et lectionibus opportunis: Similiter unus, qui conscribat annales et gesta, per chronica conscribenda'.

Annals

The annals preserved from medieval Sweden are few and nothing indicates that they were ever abundant. They can be distinguished into two groups according to the time of their production: one older layer was compiled in the late thirteenth to the early fourteenth century; and the other appeared in the fifteenth century or later.¹⁷⁶ Two instances of a probable Uppsala provenance remain for annalistic historical writing: *Annales 1160–1336* and *Annales 1298–1473*. In addition, a set of catalogues of kings and bishops, some of which came bound with these two annals, can be added to this group.

Most entries in the yearbook for 1160–1336 were compiled around 1310. Its entries up until the 1270s largely concern politics on the level of the realm. These are in most cases known from other annals and adhere to the tradition of Dominican annalistic writing in Sweden. After the 1270s, entries on ecclesiastical matters and with a connection to Uppsala dominate; they frequently account for the accessions and deaths of the heads and members of the Uppsala institution. The *Annales 1160–1336* are alone among Swedish annals to take the martyr death of St Erik in Uppsala as their first entry. And they are also alone to confirm that this king was of royal birth, stating that Erik was the son of Cecilia, daughter of King Sven. At the end of the fourteenth century the codex where the *Annales* are found was transferred to Vadstena Abbey, where they were continued.¹⁷⁷

The *Annales 1160–1336* came bound with other historiographical material; it was supplied with a catalogues of popes, of Uppsala archbishops and of the Christian kings of the realm. The catalogue of kings provides entries from Olof Skötkonung (d. c. 1022) to Karl Knutsson. Uppsala features in several entries of this catalogue. St Erik is mentioned as martyred and buried in Uppsala. In the entry on King Valdemar Birgersson (king 1250–1275), who was a contemporary of the transfer of the arch see from its old location, his liberal donations to the Uppsala institution are mentioned. His successor Magnus Birgersson (king 1275–1290) is noted as a contributor to ecclesiastical liberty; he ceded all demands of royal jurisdiction and taxation of the property pertaining to the Uppsala diocese. A hand contemporary to or later than King Karl Knutsson added entries after King Magnus in this list.¹⁷⁸ They were thus carried out at the Vadstena Abbey and the not at the Uppsala arch see and are of no interest in this context. The archbishops' list of this same codex accounted for office holders of Uppsala up to Nils Alleson (archbishop 1292–1305). The entry on Archbishop Magnus Bosson (1285–1289) contained a reference to the conflicts caused by the claims to primacy of Lund; the Lund see impeded Magnus from obtaining his pallium from the pope.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Paulsson, G., *Annales suecici medii aevi. Svensk medeltidsannalistik* (Lund 1974), pp. 4-6

¹⁷⁷ Paulsson, *Annales suecici*, pp. 51-62; ed.: 265-274. *Ibidem*, p. 265: 'Passus fuit Vpsalensium [Vpsalum] rex et martyr beatus Ericus xv kalendas junii pontificatus Adriani tertii pape anno v Hic fuit rex Sweorum x annis. Mater eius fuit Cecilia filia Swenonis regis que fuit soror Ulps ducis Galla et Kols'.

¹⁷⁸ The catalogues of kings that came with the *Annales* is edited in *SRS*, I:1, 21-22. The later entries also note the nationalities of the individual kings. Albrekt and Erik are referred to as Germans, Christoffer as duke of Bavaria, and Karl Knutsson as a Swede.

¹⁷⁹ The catalogue of archbishops adherent to the *Annales 1160–1336* is edited in *SRS*, III:2, 97-98.

The codex containing the *Annales 1160–1336* was still present in Uppsala in the year 1344, when its bishops' catalogue was drawn on for the compilation of a similar catalogue intended for the archdiocese's copybook, the *Registrum Upsalense*. This latter list accounted for the Uppsala archbishops (and the four bishops previous to the foundation of a Swedish province) up to the election of Jöns Bengtsson. The last entry contains no *obiit*; it was probably inserted while Jöns was still alive. Foundations, added landholdings and construction work undertaken during the individual episcopacies are noted in the catalogue. It thus preserved valuable information on the economic history of the arch see but also lauded liberality as an exemplary virtue of the bishops. Political history is rarely touched upon in the older entries. One exemption is the statement that the fourth bishop of Uppsala, St Henrik, was a contemporary of St Erik. The *Registrum* catalogue differed in this respect from the older catalogue that was its source, where the connection between the two saints was not made. From the entry on Johannes Gerechini (archbishop 1408–1421), however, political events and their reverberations on canonical elections come to the fore. The entries from Olaus Laurenti (1432–1438) to Jöns were inserted by one and the same hand, probably, as mentioned above, during Jöns's lifetime. Their account of the resistance of Archbishop Olaus against the notorious arbitrariness of King Erik and of the construction of the episcopal stronghold, Almare-stäket, under his successor, Nils Ragvaldsson, constituted a history of the mid-fifteenth century struggle and triumph of the Uppsala church.¹⁸⁰

A later version of this same archbishops' list contained additional information on Jöns Bengtsson, whose death it also mentioned. It added that Jöns was not only confirmed by the Basel council but also by Pope Nicholas V. Without apparently taking a stand in its account of these political events, it also accounted for the turbulent career of Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson: Jöns ousted King Karl from the realm and introduced the Danish king, Christian I as king of Sweden. Christian however incarcerated Jöns and brought him to Denmark. Jöns was released from his imprisonment because of the re-entry of Karl Knutsson. On the occasion of Karl's second exile, Jöns ceded him Raseborg. Karl however befriended King Christian and other enemies of Jöns, who withdrew to Öland and died there.¹⁸¹

The *Registrum* also noted the holdings and the holders of the various dignities and canonicates of the Uppsala cathedral chapter, beginning from 1344 until well into the 1470s. Apart from the economic history of the chapter, it also provided formulary characterizations of individual dignitaries.¹⁸² Arguably, it created a sense of continuity over time for the corporation of the cathedral chapter and codified its ideals of personal qualifications. In addition to these institutional histories, the *Registrum* also contained a catalogue of kings, comprising entries on pagan kings and Christian kings

¹⁸⁰ The *Registrum* version of the archbishops' list is edited in *DS*, 3834.

¹⁸¹ The additions of this updated version of the *Registrum* archbishops' list are accounted for in *SRS*, III, p.VIII.

¹⁸² *DS*, 3835

of the realm, divided in two different sections. In the latter section, a marginal gloss stated that St Erik was married to Christina, daughter of King Inge the younger.¹⁸³

The second annalistic work of Uppsala provenance, the *Annales 1298–1473*, primarily consists of entries on politics on the level of the realm. For the period 1434–1473, however, it also contains substantial references to matters of the Uppsala arch see. Contemporary events relevant to this institution and its leader, Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson, are treated and a number of individual dignitaries are mentioned. The compiler emphasized the importance of Archbishop Jöns in contemporary politics. He stated, for instance, that King Christian was ejected as king of Sweden because of his incarceration of the Uppsala archbishop. Göte Paulsson considered the treatment in the *Annales* of the political events to favour Jöns and his supporters. This led him to conclude that its compiler adhered to the chapter and to the political group surrounding Archbishop Jöns.¹⁸⁴ However, the arrival of the new archbishop, Jakob Ulfsson, in 1470, was also treated as a joyous and triumphant event by this compiler. The details concerning the previous years, in the vacancy after Jöns, when King Karl forced the Uppsala chapter to accept Tord Pederson as archbishop, he passed over in silence, apart from a laconic remark that this was a time when the chapter suffered much trouble.¹⁸⁵ Paulsson noted that King Christoffer and Trotte Karlsson (Eka-ätten), who fought with Christian at Brunkeberg, receive an appreciative treatment in the *Annales*. This was much in contrast with what was the case in the historiography instigated by King Karl Knutsson and his political heirs.¹⁸⁶ The rebellion against Erik of Pommerania is mentioned in an entry for 1434. It however marked the Danish officials in Sweden as the prime target of the rising, not the king himself.¹⁸⁷ Karl Knutsson received no positive epithet to indicate any enthusiasm towards his person in the *Annales*; their compiler also maliciously remarked, as found in the above-mentioned arch bishops' list, that when Karl was ousted in 1465 and withdrew to Raseborg, this fief was conceded to him as an act of grace.¹⁸⁸

The *Annales 1298–1473* remain in two paper copies from the mid-sixteenth century. One of them is bound with a catalogue of Uppsala archbishops that continued the *Registrum Upsalense* (with additional information on Archbishop Jöns), and with a catalogue of the kings of the realm also related to the one in *Registrum*. It is probable that a catalogue of archbishops similar to the one attached to one of these sixteenth-century manuscripts also accompanied the *Annales 1298–1473* in its fifteenth-

¹⁸³ This catalogue of kings derived from the list which introduced the thirteenth-century law code of Västergötland: Bolin, S. *Om Nordens äldsta historieforskning. Studier över dess metodik och källvärde* (Lund 1931), pp. 142–143, p. 193, n. 15. The *Registrum* catalogue of kings is edited SRS, I:1, 14–16.

¹⁸⁴ Paulsson, *Annales*, pp. 100–118; ed.: 302–314

¹⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 313

¹⁸⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 111–112; ed. pp. 310, 313. Christoffer is granted the epithet *illustrissimus*. Trotte is lauded as a *Strenuus miles*, perhaps as much because of lavish donations to the Uppsala church, also mentioned in the entry, as out of any appreciation of his person.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 310: 'Exierunt Vallenses cum suo principe Engilberto, qui sub Erico rege regnum occupatum ab officialibus Datie de manu Dacorum recuperavit et Swecie redditus castris et territoriis reassignavit'.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 312

century original. It remains in a manuscript that Paulsson argued was compiled after Jöns's death, during the episcopal vacancy.¹⁸⁹

The annalistic writing of Uppsala addressed contemporary issues of importance for this institution. Three historiographical initiatives appeared contemporary to Ericus: the additions to the archbishops' list entered in the archiepiscopacy of Jöns Bengtsson and their edition from after his death, when the *Annales 1298–1473* were also compiled. All three dwelt on the breaches of ecclesiastical liberty by the secular rulers, experienced in their time. An additional feature, most clear in the more prolix account of the *Annales 1298–1473*, is that they did not share in the anti-union political sentiment championed by the contemporary historiography of Karl Knutsson. Apart from these politically gauged references to contemporary history, older entries in the annalistic tradition of Uppsala also have the mark of defenders of this institution. They lauded liberality of kings towards the Uppsala church and supported the position of its most important saint, Erik. It is noteworthy that the Uppsala annals were unique in the Swedish realm in that they were supplied with catalogues of both kings and archbishops. In this way, the historiography of the arch see cultivated the idea of a dualism of societal authorities and applied it as a historiographical grid. In a primitive way these compounds of texts thus resembled other historical *compendia*, for instance the universal history of popes and emperors compiled by Martin of Troppau. Arguably, also the archbishops' list found in the *Registrum Upsalense* alluded to this dualist scheme of government by emphasizing the contemporariness of St Henrik and St Erik, explored in the *vita* written for this former saint and discussed below.

Hagiography

Most historiographical instances written at the Uppsala arch see were not chronicles or annals, but hagiographical works. The domestic tradition of hagiography provided an outline of the early history of the realm.¹⁹⁰ It mirrored contemporary institutional ambitions and demands in much the same manner as other historiographical genres. The legend of St Sigfrid, for instance, did not originate in Uppsala, but was re-edited before its inclusion into the Uppsala liturgy to better suit the archdiocese's aspiration to appear as an historical nucleus of the Christian realm.¹⁹¹

From his survey of the medieval Uppsala liturgy, Sven Helander concluded that in the later fifteenth century, the liturgical life of the archdiocese was affected by its tendencies towards clerical leadership on the level of the realm.¹⁹² One tradition of this liturgy concerned the cult of St Erik. The cult of the martyred twelfth-century king was of paramount importance for the Uppsala institution, and in the later Middle Ages he was perceived both as patron of the Uppsala diocese and as saint protector

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 114–115

¹⁹⁰ Schmid, T., *Sveriges kristnande: från verklighet till dikt* (Stockholm 1934), *passim*

¹⁹¹ Kjällerström, S., 'Sigfridslegenden' in: *Scripta minora Regiae societatis humaniorum litterarum lundensis* (Lund 1982), p. 21

¹⁹² Helander, S., *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin. Studier i helgonlängd, tidegård och mässa* (Lund 2001), pp. 208–210, 394

of the Swedish realm. These aspects are dealt with in relation to Ericus's treatment of St Erik below, in chapter III. Here it is enough to mention that the textual corpus for the cult provided the arch see with a history of the king and of his epoch pertinent to the issues of authority explored in this thesis.

In the fifteenth century, the Uppsala liturgy was increasingly national in character. Apart from the celebration of St Erik, a feast dedicated to all the patron saints of the realm was introduced. The notion of a group of patrons for the realm – consisting of domestic saints – first appeared in 1371. This group received much attention in the form of donations from the mid-fifteenth century, and a decision that they would be celebrated throughout the church province, which resonated with the general spirit of national mobilization following the Battle of Brunkeberg, was taken in 1474. As mentioned above, it has been argued that Ericus wrote the rhymed office for this group of patron saints. This text invoked the domestic saints jointly to intervene for the prosperity of the realm and accounted of them as important actors in the history of its salvation. As its central motif, it took the Bible-theological image of Zion, from whence redemption would proceed: God sent these saints for the construction of a Zion in the North, to the benefit of the inhabitants of the realm.¹⁹³ The text of the rhymed office was poetic and imprecise as to the geographical location of this Zion in the North. However, in the *Chronica*, as discussed below, Ericus emphasized that it was synonymous with Uppsala. With the cults of St Erik and the other patrons of the realm, the Uppsala institution launched the notion of Sweden as a political entity sanctified by God and promoted an institutional self-image as its spiritual ward.

As stated above, there is no sharp dividing line between the theological and historical discourses in the preserved corpus of Ericus's writings. The conception of history as essentially a history of salvation, voiced in the rhymed office for the Swedish patron saints, also permeates his account in the *Chronica*. As it appears from the above summary of the annalistic tradition of the Uppsala arch see, there are also specific connections between the *Chronica* and the historiographical contemporaries and forerunners at this institution that merit further attention. Göte Paulsson surveyed Ericus's use of the Swedish annals.¹⁹⁴ A relation between an entry in the *Annales 1298–1473* and the finishing section in the *Chronica* can possibly be added to Paulsson's account. It is likely that the apparently hastily added finishing paragraph of the *Chronica* was a contraction of an entry in these annals for the year 1471.¹⁹⁵ However, the annalistic tradition of his arch see supplied Ericus with more than just material for individual entries of his work. The dualist notion of societal authority that was fostered through the annalistic compounds of this institution also provided a historiographical structure for the *Chronica*. It

¹⁹³ Above, p. 34; below, p. 82

¹⁹⁴ Paulsson, *Annales*, pp. 175–201. To some extent Ericus's use of annalistic material also is itemized in the index of Öberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 41–46.

¹⁹⁵ Paulsson, *Annales*, p. 313: 'Rex Christiernus, qui ob captiuationem domini Johannis archiepiscopi Vpsalensis eiectus erat a regno Swetiae et multis iam mediis attemptauerat regnum recuperare, [...] longis tractationibus habitis cum consiliariis regni de receptione sua obsedit tandem oppidum Stocholm in Brunkabergh [...]'. Cf. Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVII, 10: 'Postquam [...] Cristiernus [...] laborauerat multifarie multisque modis ad regnum Sueorum restitui, [...] regnum recuperare multipliciter attemptauit, nunc guerris et bellis, nunc tractatibus et dietis. The apparent similarities between the *Chronica* and the *Annales 1298–1473* could alternatively be explained through the supposition of a third historical narrative as a common source for the two texts. Westin, *Olaus Petri*, pp. 433–436, argued for the existence of an historical account with a probable origin in the ecclesiastical milieu of Uppsala, which treated the 1460s and early 1470s.

is discussed in this respect in chapter II and, in relation to Ericus's treatment of St Erik and St Henrik, in chapter III.

Conclusion

This chapter situates the *Chronica regni Gothorum* in the context of the environment of its production, the Uppsala arch see. It argues that the instigation of the text must be related to the edificatory and educational concerns of this institution. Features of the text itself designate the instruction of junior clerics as one intended purpose for the work. The education and edification of members was indeed one important concern of institutional historical writing. It was arguably on the minds of the ecclesiastics who in 1474 decreed that histories must be compiled at the Swedish sees. It remains a matter of conjecture whether the initiative for the *Chronica* came as a similar decree from above or from collegial exhortation within the body of the cathedral chapter – which was responsible for the education of the diocesan clergy – or whether it was Ericus's personal initiative. However, in view of his scholarly endeavours and the particular offices within the Uppsala institution that he occupied, Ericus was a canon likely to undertake a project directed towards the edification of its members.

In an institutional context, education is a means of socialization. It serves in this respect to generate and to determine the course of action among the institution's members. The incumbents of the Uppsala arch see discussed in this chapter were empowered to act by the resources of their institution. However, it must be presupposed that when they acted in their capacity as members, only certain courses of action were open to them, while others were closed. Arguably, their institution comprised norms that established certain principles for guidance; one could choose to act outside these parameters of permissible conduct, but not without risking one's own position within the institution or the continuity of the institution as such. It is feasible that action-oriented principles of this kind formed a part of the various competences that the initiates, primarily the scholars and the lower clergy, acquired during the process of their assimilation into the Uppsala institution. In this way, guidelines for action were inscribed into their desires and beliefs and would affect how they would act in the future.¹⁹⁶ When seen in this context of the educational efforts of the Uppsala institution, the importance of the *Chronica regni Gothorum* lay in the values it imparted to its members. It would contribute to an inculcation of norms within the cathedral whose purpose it was to direct the actions of its members according to its institutional needs and aspirations.

It was argued above that historiography was an important political tool because it codified traditional authority. The educational concerns of the Uppsala institution were however not primarily political in scope; the prime objective of this institution was pastoral care. In addition, Ericus was

¹⁹⁶ Thompson, J.B., *Critical hermeneutics: A study in the thought of Paul Ricoeur and Jürgen Habermas* (Cambridge 1981), p. 174, succinctly summed up the relation between action, values and institutions: 'Within institutions, in short, actors are provided with values which dispose them to act, and to act accordingly to general principles that can be directly related to the institutions themselves'.

apparently moderate in his personal involvement in political affairs, and his scholarly profile was that of a theologian. Therefore, as with most historical writing in the Middle Ages, the full range of authorial intentions behind the *Chronica* is not exhausted with the term ‘political’. Historiography also served other ends such as edification, entertainment and as an historical account of the theological notion of an ongoing history of salvation.¹⁹⁷ These functions were not political in themselves. However, in the light of the critical discourse-analytical method applied in this thesis it is important to stress that also they could be mobilized in support of asymmetrical relations of power and put to political use. A particular set of edificatory ideals, for instance, vouched for social primacy of one stratum at the cost of others. Enemies were derided. The notion that God intervened on the behalf of a particular historical protagonist was a powerful support for this actor or his or her associates.¹⁹⁸ Discourses on authority do not exclusively appear in the context of overtly political matters. As the following analysis makes clear, this is also the case with the *Chronica regni Gothorum*.

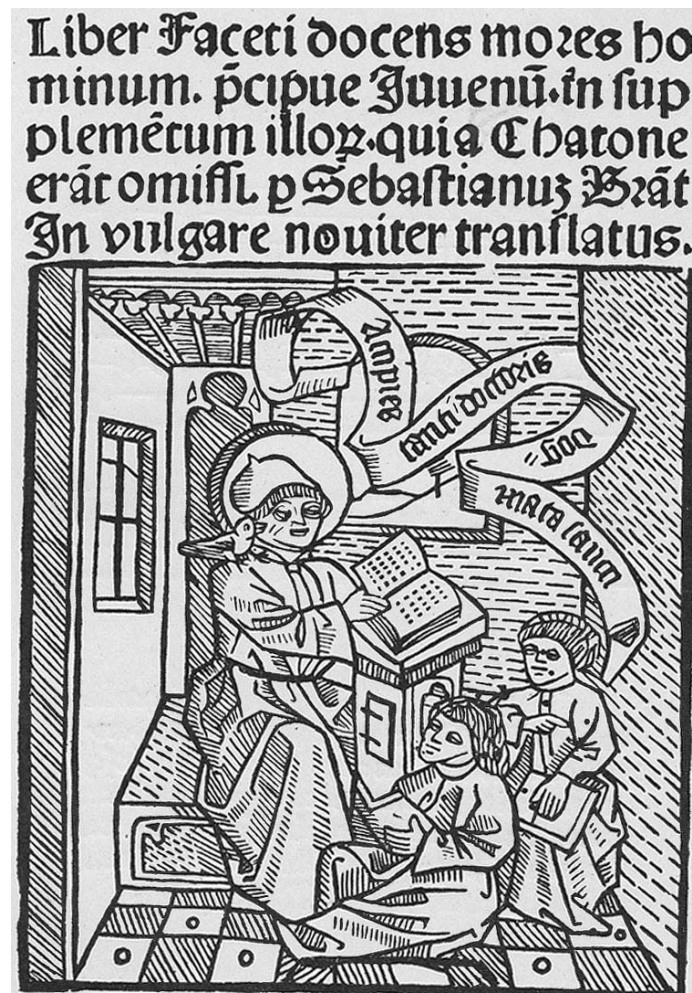


Plate 4. *Liber Facetus* (Ulm 1497), designed to teach *mores*, especially to the young. After Schramm.

¹⁹⁷ Schmale, F.-J., *Funktion und Formen mittelalterlicher Geschichtsschreibung. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt 1983), provided an introduction to the various ends of historical writing in the Middle Ages.

¹⁹⁸ A brief survey of political aspects of medieval historiography: Spiegel, G.M., ‘Political utility in medieval historiography. A sketch’ in: *Idem*, ed., *The past as text. The theory and practice of medieval historiography* (Baltimore 1997), pp. 83-98.

II. Social and discursive orders

Ericus approached his historiographical undertaking as a theologian and within certain traditions of historical writing. His account of social order largely rested on Bible-theological, ecclesiological and historiographical commonplaces. This chapter provides a comprehensive account of two commonplace notions crucial to the discourse on authority in the *Chronica regni Gothorum*. Ericus's historical narration departed from the assumptions that God instituted the categories of lay and clerical as parallel hierarchies of societal authority and that He divided the world into different peoples and realms. These assumptions were of a prescriptive nature and their implementation in the *Chronica* had pertinence to Ericus's account of legitimate political action on the level of the realm. The chapter illuminates how they permeate the declaration of intent and structure for his work.

The commonplaces under scrutiny in this chapter already appear in the prologue of the *Chronica*, where Ericus voiced general assumptions about history, society and government that underlie and bring coherence to his narrative. The prologue set out the reasons for his choice to compile a history of the realm and for the disposition of the text. A first section of this chapter presents the material features of Ericus's prologue and discusses its function in relation to the whole work and to his intended audience. It also brings attention to a prevalent theme in the *Chronica*: discord. A second section accounts for the intention that Ericus professed for his work. The above-mentioned notions of a division of society into two hierarchies and into a multitude of peoples and realms determined the historiographical ambitions that Ericus declared. A third and a fourth section examines these notions as they appear in his prologue and discusses their function in political and historical discourse with a view towards establishing their function in Ericus's discourse on authority.

The prologue

Medieval chroniclers rarely commented on the prologues of their works. Nothing indicates however that prologues of historiographical texts were construed to serve different purposes than prologues of other classes of works. William of Malmesbury's comments on the introduction to one book of his *Gesta regum Anglorum* were in accordance with Ciceronian precepts: it would make the readers attentive, receptive and benevolent towards the narrative that followed.¹⁹⁹ But what attracted attention

¹⁹⁹ Mynorst, R.A.B., ed. and transl., *William of Malmesbury. Gesta regum Anglorum, Vol. I* (Oxford 1998), p. 424: 'Nunc tertium volumen incepturus, satis reor egisse ut [lectorem] attentum et docilem facerem; ipse sibi benigne persuadebit ut benivulus sit'. William's declaration of intent adheres to Cicero's description of the purpose of proemia in *Auctor ad*

and benevolence and facilitated receptivity towards the work and its message arguably varied with the specific group for whom it was intended. To serve its purpose a prologue would have to reflect the interests, sympathies and commonly accepted truths shared within the community to which the author and his intended audience belonged. On these grounds, the assumptions voiced in the prologue of the *Chronica regni Gothorum* are a valuable source to the outlook on society cultivated at the Uppsala institution. However, an account of notions shared within this interpretative community is also crucial for a correct historical interpretation of the text. The prologue was a constituent part of the structural whole of the *Chronica*. It affected the reception of the text. In respect to the historical account, Ericus's introduction established a vantage point from where the narrated events could be perceived and judged. In relation to the various contemporary issues that he addressed, it served as a link that allowed for the particulars of the story to be perceived as carrying a universal significance.²⁰⁰

Ericus prefaced his account of Swedish history. The exact content of his preliminaries to the text however varies between the extant manuscripts. The first ten folia of E 3 provide an introduction to the historical narrative of the *Chronica regni Gothorum*. Decorated initials, announcing the beginning of the prologue and the beginning of the main text, enclose and designate this introduction.²⁰¹ The same basic layout, but with an even clearer division between prologue and main text, can be found in the earlier codices, D 9 and E 8946.²⁰² The prologues in these two manuscripts however, are of a shorter version than in E 3; the edition paragraphs IV, 70–V, 27 are omitted. The layout of the earliest manuscript, D 9, suggests that its scribe was aware of the fact that an omission was made.²⁰³ In addition, the layout of E 3 indicates a separate status for the latter section of its prologue.²⁰⁴

The reasons for the omission or inclusion of paragraphs IV, 70–V, 27 in the manuscripts are obscure. Whatever the circumstantial grounds, the decision arguably involved an assessment of the discrepancy of tone between the beginning of the prologue and this latter part. The former, which is extant in all three medieval manuscripts, can be characterized as a forceful assessment of clerical authority, of the ancient dignity of the Swedish realm and of the importance of Uppsala in its history of temporal and spiritual affairs. The second part, found only in the E 3 manuscript but arguably already at hand in Ericus's original, forms the prelude to a history of a realm in crisis. Discord is the key in this section. Ericus voiced his frustration over the difficulties to trace the royal genealogies far back in time. He offered various reasons to account for these apparent lacunae. His lamentations in this section, however, widely surpassed the purely technical cares of a medieval historian. They tapped

Herennium: Thomson, R.M., *William of Malmesbury. Gesta regum Anglorum, Vol. II, General introduction and commentary* (Oxford 1999), p. 219. That generalizations about prologues to other classes of works may also be applied to historiographical prologues was argued by Gransden, A., 'Prologues in the historiography of twelfth-century England' in: Williams, D., ed., *England in the twelfth century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton symposium* (Woodbridge 1990), p. 55.

²⁰⁰ These observations are indebted to Brinkmann, H., 'Der Prolog im Mittelalter als literarische Erscheinung' *Wirkendes Wort: Deutsches Sprachschaffen in Lehre und Leben* 14 (1964), pp. 1–6.

²⁰¹ E 3 f. 1r. and f. 11r; that is between Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 1 and VI, 1.

²⁰² D 9 and E 8946 also have notes in the scribal hand designating the end of the 'prohemium' (D 9) and 'prologus' (E 8946).

²⁰³ In D 9 six pages were left empty after IV, 69, possibly to cater for a later insertion of the section now found only in E 3.

²⁰⁴ In E 3 half a page was left empty before IV, 70.

into Ericus's moral, and by extension, political concerns. Ericus argued that the genealogical obscurities were caused by the continuous state of discord in the realm, which was a consequence of the prime Swedish vice, ambition (*ambicio*). The tyranny of the kings of the realm also contributed to the confusion in the government. Because of it the rulers frequently changed; some kings were thrown out and substituted and then called back again. In addition, the domestic discord also led the Swedes to introduce foreigners as kings, who wilfully eradicated any trace of inborn royalty.

A compendium of national and institutional history

The *Chronica regni Gothorum* was characterized above in chapter I as the first Swedish national history in Latin prose but also as an institutional history, due to its origin at the Uppsala arch see and its emphasis on the importance of this institution in the history of the realm. In the prologue Ericus declared his intention for the *Chronica* and its disposition. He aimed to provide his readers at the arch see with a history of the realm of the Goths or the Swedes; the *Chronica regni Gothorum* appears as his own choice of title for the work.²⁰⁵ As discussed below, he adhered to the idea that Sweden was the ancient and perpetual homeland of the people that conquered the Roman world. Other historians that Ericus referred to had immortalized the deeds of the Goths abroad.²⁰⁶ 'It thus remains', he stated, 'to trace how the fatherland itself and the realm of the Goths was laid out and by which and what kind of kings on the ancestral soil it has thus far been governed and ruled'.²⁰⁷

Ericus characterized the result of this historiographical undertaking as a *compendium*. In accordance with this definition of the text his intention was to select material from authoritative works on Swedish history and present it in an accessible format.²⁰⁸ His tendency to quote his sources verbatim but tacitly is noted in the earlier research. Ericus proved however that a faithful adherence to the principles of compilation did not necessarily exclude critical selection from the material at hand or its organization according to a particular historical vision.²⁰⁹ In the prologue Ericus declared how he intended to arrange the material for his brief of Swedish history:

²⁰⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* VI, 1

²⁰⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 5-6. Ericus referred to a number of authorities on the ancient history of the Goths, for instance, his near contemporary Leonardo Bruni (*Leonardus Aretinus*), the thirteenth-century archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (*Rodericus Toletanus*) and Jordanes, writing in the sixth century: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* VI, 36-37.

²⁰⁷ Ericus stated the intention to focus on the domestic affairs and not on the achievements of the Goths abroad in Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 7: 'Restat ergo, vt patria ipsa regnumque Gothorum, qualis in sui dispositione fuerit, quibusque et qualibus regibus in solo paterno gubernata et recta hactenus extiterit, describatur'.

²⁰⁸ Apart from the title, *Chronica regni Gothorum*, Ericus also designated his work as an *opusculum* or a *compendium*:

Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 1, VI, 37. Late medieval compilers frequently referred to their works as *compendia*:

Melville, G., 'Spätmittelalterliche Geschichtskompendien – Eine Aufgabestellung' *Römische Historische Mitteilungen* XXII (1980), p. 63. Cf. Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 13, argued that Ericus's designation of the *Chronica* as a compendium served as a humility topos.

²⁰⁹ On the compiler's craft: Melville, 'Spätmittelalterliche Geschichtskompendien', pp. 80-94; Guenée, B., *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris 1980), p. 214, commented on the means by which medieval historians voiced their individual concerns in compilations and argued for the merits of their study: 'En réalité, toute compilation est une construction qui mérite d'être étudiée pour elle-même, et précisément comparée aux sources qu'elle a utilisées. Chaque mot omis, chaque mot ajouté est révélateur d'une conviction religieuse, d'une attitude politique, d'un choix critique.' Cf.

The intention of the following little work or compendium is to depict with words how the realm of the Goths is ordered, and this to our time [and] according to the succession of the leadership. However, as it was voiced above, through the authority of God the hierarchy of the church is governed by a twofold leadership, a worldly and an ecclesiastical, and there is a certain renowned place in the realm of the Goths called Uppsala that is elected, as it seems, by the Lord and ordained by God and men to be the throne and the arch see of the realm. From there each of the two swords and the twofold leadership are originally and foremost exercised, so that the double-edged sword may appear from the mouth of the one who sits on the throne of the world according to this twofold power's office, diligence and service to scatter all evil. Therefore it is not for this work to record the names of all of the kings and leaders that had governed the realm since it was first inhabited, or all of the bishops that had ruled the Gothic or Swedish church, but in the first place [to name] at least those kings who had achieved the right to govern from election or succession and kept the court and throne of their royal residence in Uppsala, and especially those who governed in public matters after the realm had turned into a monarchy. And similarly, as to what regards the ecclesiastical leadership, I will mention the archbishops who ruled the Uppsala metropolis and the bishops who had preceded them on the same seat.²¹⁰

In a shorter repetition of this declaration of intent, Ericus specified the chronological time frame for his work, namely to begin from the birth of Christ.²¹¹ The intended programme was thus to depict the history of the realm from Christ and according to the succession of kings and bishops exercising authority from Uppsala.

Ericus's approach was not entirely unique. A search for his closest historiographical forerunners serves to more sharply delineate the features of the *Chronica* that are important in the context of this inquiry. The arrival of national historical writing in Sweden was also late when viewed in a Scandinavian context. Arguably for reasons of a comparatively hesitant institutional development of central government, Sweden had no high medieval Saxo Grammaticus or *Historia Norwegiae*. However, the latter half of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth was in fact a time when national histories first appeared in many countries. Their popularity at this time has been related

Attitudes taken by Nyrin-Heuman, E., *Källkritiska, textkritiska och språkliga studier till Ericus Olai: Chronica Gothorum* (Lund 1944), p. 3; Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 13.

²¹⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 1-4: 'Subsequentis opusculi sive compendii circa hoc versatur intencio, vt regni Gothorum aliqualis in scripto pingatur dispositio et ad hec nostra tempora in principatu successio. Verum quia superius est expressum autore Deo ecclesiasticam ierarchiam duplici principatu, terreno videlicet et ecclesiastico, gubernari et locum quendam in regno Gothorum esse famosum, Vpsala vocatum, a Domino vt apparet electum ac in regni solium atque metropolim a Deo et hominibus ordinatum, apud quem vterque gladius duplexque principatus et originaliter et principaliter exercetur, vt ex ore sedentis in throno machine mundialis huius duplicis potestatis officio, industria ac ministerio ad dissipandum omne malum procedat gladius bis acutus: ideo non est huius operis omnium regum et principum, qui a primordio incolatus huius regni gubernacula regenda susceperant, nec omnium episcoporum, qui Gothicam seu Suecanam ecclesiam rexerant, <nomina> annotare sed eorum dumtaxat saltem principaliter regum, qui ex eleccione uel successione ius sibi regnandi acciverant et apud Vpsaliam regalis residence curiam sedemque tenuerant, eorumque precipue qui, postquam regnum ad principatum monarchicum deuenerat, reipublice presidebant; et pariformiter quantum ad ecclesiasticum principatum presentis est propositi archiepiscoporum et eorum, qui eos in eadem sede precesserant, episcoporum facere mencionem, qui metropolim rexerant Vpsalensem'.

²¹¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* VI, 1

to intensified process of state building and national thought. The *Chronica* has been mentioned, but not examined, as a representative of this class of works.²¹²

Among the authors of late medieval national histories, Ericus was not alone in styling his work a compendium. In France, Robert Gaugin eventually had great success with his compendium to the origins and gests of the Franks.²¹³ From Denmark, Ericus had recourse to the fourteenth-century abbreviation of the gestes of the Danes, the *Compendium Saxonis*.²¹⁴ In Sweden, Ericus was preceded in his choice of format and subject matter by the vernacular history in prose, the *Prosaiska krönika*, which, it is generally believed, was compiled at the convent of the Grey Friars in Stockholm in the 1450s at the instigation of King Karl Knutsson.²¹⁵ In line with Ericus, the author of the *Prosaiska krönika* intended to write a history of the Goths and primarily those who stayed in their homeland. He also explicitly stated that his method was to compile from earlier works.²¹⁶ Ericus was familiar with the *Prosaiska krönika* and it is likely that this, admittedly shorter and less ambitious, vernacular work was one major source of inspiration, even though, as discussed below, he came to disagree with it on several points.

Also Ericus's choice to structure his account of the government of the realm according to the succession of both secular and ecclesiastical leaders was conventional. The historiographical tradition of the arch see was discussed above in chapter I. It was argued that the theme of royal and episcopal authority in the realm was voiced (albeit in an embryonic form) already by the historiographical compounds, produced in Uppsala, which were made up of annals bound with office lists for kings and archbishops. It was suggested that Ericus developed this tradition in his *Chronica*. However, it was an established format to arrange historical accounts according to the categories of secular and ecclesiastical government. When, for instance, William of Malmesbury crafted his English history he

²¹² Above, p. 43, note 173

²¹³ Robert Gaugin presented his *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* as a compilation: 'This is what I selected from the accumulation of Frankish annals'. Quoted after Reynolds, B.R., 'Latin Historiography: A Survey, 1400-1600' *Studies in the Renaissance* II (1955), p. 27.

²¹⁴ Gertz, M.C., ed., *Scriptores minores historiae Danicae medii aevi* (København 1917-1918, repr. 1970). On the nationalist character and use of this abbreviation of Saxo: Knudsen, A.L., 'The use of Saxo Grammaticus in the later Middle Ages' in: McGuire, B.P., ed., *The birth of identities. Denmark and Europe in the Middle Ages* (Copenhagen 1996), pp. 151-156

²¹⁵ For the provenance of the *Prosaiska krönika*: Klemming, G.E., ed., 'Sveriges krönika (vanligen kallad den prosaiska) från Gog T.O.M. Karl Knutsson' in: *Idem, Småstycken på forn svenska, Vol. I* (Stockholm 1868-1881), pp. 292-293; Andersson, I., *Källstudier till Sveriges historia 1230-1436: Inhemsk berättande källor jämte Libellus Magnipolensis* (Lund 1928), pp. 177-178; Kumlien, K., *Historieskrivning och kungadöme i svensk medeltid* (Stockholm 1979), pp. 120-125. This provenance was argued on the grounds that the author of the *Prosaiska krönika* drew on annalistic writing of a Franciscan origin. Cf. Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 340, note 1, who refuted that Karl was the instigator. The provenance of the *Prosaiska krönika* to Stockholm also may be questioned on the grounds of the narrative focus of this work; the author put a strong emphasis on the hallowing of Uppsala in the history of the realm. He did not explicitly intend to do so, and he did not relate any of the Bible-theological arguments applied by Ericus. However, Uppsala constituted a focal point for this author. He informed on the geographical location of other important sites at the time of the missions by reference to their distance from the later arch see; Klemming, 'Sveriges krönika', p. 226: '[...] lagho ekki langt fra upsala'. Some of his particulars that supported an historical importance for Uppsala have no counterpart in the *Chronica*, for instance the intercession of Mary for the pagan priest who swore that Uppsala would be dedicated in her honour: Klemming, 'Sveriges krönika', pp. 231-232; Cf. Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* VIII, 1-6.

²¹⁶ The author of the *Prosaiska krönika* voiced the same upper Swedish Gothicism that was apparent in the *Chronica*: Klemming, 'Sveriges krönika', pp. 219, 224. His intention to compile appears on p. 219: 'Thy haffwer jach samansankat aff gamla foreldrena krönekar [...]'. Transl.: 'For I have collected from the ancient chronicles of our forefathers [...]'.

divided it into two volumes, one dedicated to the matters of the kings and one to that of the bishops.²¹⁷ Ericus's follower as historian of the Swedish realm and arch see, Johannes Magnus (Catholic Archbishop 1523–1544, in exile from 1526) also wrote one work for each of the two authorities.²¹⁸ Secular and ecclesiastical government, however, could be recorded individually but still treated within one and the same volume. In his thirteenth-century chronicle of popes and emperors, Martin of Troppau applied a synchroptic arrangement. Using the full opening of a codex, he presented the history of the world in singular units, with the matters of the pope on the left of every opening and a contemporary emperor presented on the right, and unfolding from the top of the pages to the bottom.²¹⁹

Martin's visual aid to his historical presentation worked only as long as the entries for each successive ruler remained within a short annalistic format and may seem of no relevance for Ericus's more broadly narrated account. However, even though Ericus's debt to Martin for factual particulars on continental history is noted in earlier research, the importance of his work for the appearance of the *Chronica* is arguably underrated.²²⁰ A reassessment of this influence serves to bring out the particular stance implied in Ericus's project with more clarity, especially as to what regards his notions on the relation between secular and ecclesiastical authorities.

The presence of Martin's chronicle in the environment of the Uppsala cathedral was natural. It was an historical manual intended for the use of theologians and canonists and was frequently found in libraries of masters and students of theology, who in general were not much in favour of historical literature.²²¹ Manuscript evidence suggests that it appeared in the context of activities at Uppsala University, perhaps even in Ericus's teaching, but how it was used or if Ericus himself was involved cannot be established with any certainty.²²² Two manuscripts of Martin's *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* from medieval Sweden are known, one of which can be ruled out as a possible source for Ericus.²²³ The particular interest of Martin in this context however lies in the arguments that he put

²¹⁷ Gransden, 'Prologues in the historiography', pp. 76-77; Preest, D., transl., *William of Malmesbury. The deeds of the bishops of England* (Woodbridge 2002), p. 3: 'And as I formerly summarized the deeds of the kings of England, it seems to me sensible now to run through the names of the bishops of England, so that with God's help I may now finally complete my long promised work'.

²¹⁸ 'Historia metropolitanae ecclesiae Upsalensis' in: *SRS*, III:2, 5-97; *Historia de omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque regibus* (Rome 1554); extract in *SRS*, III:1, 34-43.

²¹⁹ Weiland, L., ed., 'Martini Oppaviensis Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum' in: *MGH SS XXII* (1872), pp. 377-475.

²²⁰ Öberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 42-43. Ericus drew on Martin in for instance Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XII, 31-33, XIII, 5-7, XVI, 19, 21. Nyrin-Heuman, *Källkritiska, textkritiska och språkliga studier*, p. 22, note 34, noted similarities in wording between Martin's and Ericus's prologues but did not discuss these similarities in terms of structure or scope of their historical accounts. Nygren, *Ericus Olai*, p. 230, explicitly denied that Ericus's composition was influenced by Martin. On the influence of Martin on chronicling: Ikas, W.-V., "'Martinus Polonus' Chronicle of the Popes and Emperors: a medieval best seller and its neglected influence on medieval English chroniclers' *English Historical Review* 116:466 (2001).

²²¹ Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 33, 56, 107-8, 249, 319.

²²² Uppsala universitetsbibliotek C195 contains some of Ericus's lectures on theology (the *Regulae Theologiae* and *In evangelium Matthaei*). The codex is damaged due to dampness. Still partly legible among a few miscellaneous notes are some that concern the German imperial electors. These were carried out in a manner similar to Ericus's treatment, Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XIII, 5-7, this section he apparently drew from Martin: Weiland, 'Martini Oppaviensis', p. 466.

²²³ One was requested by Queen Christina in 1648 to be transferred from the Uppsala library to Stockholm: Annerstedt, C., 'Upsala universitetsbiblioteks historia' *Kungliga vitterhetsakademiens handlingar* 32 (Stockholm 1895), pp. 19, 81. Callmer, C., *Königin Christina. Ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften* (Stockholm 1977), p. 166, argued that Christina brought this manuscript with her to Rome after her abdication in 1654, and that it is identical with the Biblioteca Vaticana,

forth to account for his decision to write history according to the succession of the highest secular and ecclesiastical leaders.

Martin called his Roman (that is, universal) history an *opusculum made compendiosius*; the very terms applied by Ericus for his national chronicle of Swedish kings and bishops.²²⁴ In his narration of the times before the Christianization of the empire, Martin wrote entries for the emperors. With the introduction of Christianity, however, he felt that he should also account for the spiritual rulers. Christian Rome was governed by a twofold regime according to Martin, temporal and spiritual. He therefore intended to deal with both papal and imperial rulers in his text ([...] *de duplici regimine Urbis, scilicet de spirituali, quod fuit per pontifices, et temporali, quod fuit per imperatores* [...]) *Propter hac ergo de utraque dignitate scribere volens* [...]).²²⁵ Further similarities between Martin's and Ericus's introductions of this theme were at hand and their significance for the authority discourse in the *Chronica*, and particularly for Ericus's account of temporal/spiritual interrelations, will be discussed below.

The social body and its parts

Ericus professed to compile a history of the Swedish realm. However, as it appeared from his declaration of intent, he made sure that his readers understood that the history of the realm developed within an overarching history of salvation. His discourse on authority was wrought within the parameters of a universal order where the realm was just a functional part. In the first paragraphs of the *Chronica*, Ericus communicated an understanding of this order. He accounted for the relation between society and its parts with the notion of a Christian body. The members of this body he divided according to the categories of social *ordines*, as clerics or lay. Its government he consequently distributed between a spiritual and a temporal leadership, on royal and papal power:

The mystical body of Christ, that is the church, whose chief head he is himself while the pope [is head] in political and public matters, forms two sides, a right and a left. These are the two peoples, the clerical and the lay. For that reason He who created man of soul and body instituted a twofold leadership in the hierarchy of the church. He placed two big lights in the firmament of the church, both great but one of

Ottob.Lat.719. However, even if this was the Martin's chronicle transferred from Uppsala by Christina, it is far from certain that it was already present in the Swedish province in the fifteenth century. An examination of the codex suggests that it was probably not the one drawn on by Ericus. In Ottob.Lat.719 a, Martin's chronicle is found between 1r and 101r. However, on 12v, in the introduction to the history from the time of the birth of Christ, the scribe failed to account for the setting that made it clear that from then and on, the government of Rome would be dealt with as twofold, *duplex*. The first part of the introduction was thereby made slightly nonsensical and its dualist point was blurred. In addition, it is questionable that the codex was owned by a Swedish cleric on grounds of its composition; the rest of it was devoted to a political tract and also a history in French (inc. *Les Nobles Roys de france sont descendes de la ligne du noble et vaillant Roy priam de troye*). The second Swedish manuscript, however, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek C 697, was probably in a Swedish collection already from the fourteenth century: Andersson-Schmitt, M., Hallberg, H. & Hedlund, M., *Mittelalterliche Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala: Katalog u ber die C-Sammlung*, Vol. VI (Uppsala – Stockholm 1993), pp. 309-310. It is partly damaged due to dampness.

²²⁴ Weiland, 'Martini Oppaviensis', p. 397

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 406-407

them greater, and they are the pontifical authority and the royal power: for that which has charge of the daylight, that is the spiritual matters, is greater, while that which is in charge of things of the flesh is lesser. Thus it is to be understood that the difference between popes and kings is just as big as the difference between the sun and the moon.²²⁶

Ericus conceptualized society in ecclesiological terms. He understood the participation of the individual in the community of the church as a membership in the body of Christ. The idea was deeply rooted in Christian tradition. For Paul (I Cor 12: 12–27), the church was a community of all the faithful who together constituted the *corpus Christi*. The concept of a *mystical* body of Christ, which Ericus applied, suggested that the church was a collective body whose government could be discussed in political terms.²²⁷ The political potentials of this notion were explored in the conciliar writings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Conciliarists opposed the authority of the whole body politic of the church to the authority of the pope's headship to claim various degrees of community sovereignty.²²⁸ Ericus's insistence that Christ was the true head of the church and his consequent downgrading of papal authority to a political kind, dependent somehow on constitution, was indebted to this tradition.²²⁹ A conciliarist inclination also appears from the historical account of the *Chronica*. Ericus sympathized with the council of Basel for its intention to reform the church in 'head and members', to 'extirpate schismatics', and to 'procure peace in the church of God'.²³⁰

Ericus's account of a Christian social order encompassed historical and political perspectives that explain how it pertained to his ambition to chronicle the realm. 'The church', as it appears in the quote above, was a totalizing concept; it comprised both secular and ecclesiastical institutions of government. Ericus closely tied the above account of the government of the body of the church as divided between spiritual and temporal powers to an exposition of salvation history. He made clear that the universal order of government was manifested on the locations that God had singled out for the dissemination of His word. God elected Jerusalem, which was a seat of both royal and priestly

²²⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 1-3: 'Corpus Cristi misticum, quod est ecclesia, cuius ipse caput est principale, papa vero politicum et ciuile, duo latera continet, dextrum videlicet et sinistrum, hoc est duplicem populum, clericalem scilicet et laicalem. Ideoque in ecclesiastica ierarchia duplicem instituit principatum, qui hominem ex anima creauit et corpore, ponens in ecclesie firmamento duo luminaria magna, vtrumque magnum sed alterum maius, que sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas: nam ea que preest diei, id est spiritualibus, maior est, que vero carnalibus minor, vt quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differencia cognoscatur'.

²²⁷ The term was derived from discussions concerning the nature of the Eucharist. After the twelfth century however it took on the sociological content here referred to: Kantorowicz, E., *The king's two bodies. A study in medieval political theology* (Princeton, New Jersey 1957, repr. 1997), pp. 194-206; Wilks, F., *The problem of sovereignty*, pp. 17-26

²²⁸ Black, A., 'The conciliar movement' in: Burns, J.H., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought. c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 573-587

²²⁹ Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 41, pointed to the similarities of Ericus's opening paragraph to the *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII. The notion of papal power as 'politicum et ciuile' was however not in line with the ideal expressed by Boniface. 'Politicum' or 'politicum, civile et ministeriale' as a designation of papal authority appears in the writings of conciliarists such as Andrew of Escobar (d. 1437) or Nicholas de Tudeschis ('Panormitanus', d. 1445). The latter wrote that: 'papa non sit verum caput ecclesie, sed ministeriale seu politicum'; Oakley, F., 'Natural law, the corpus mysticum, and consent in conciliar thought from John of Paris to Matthias Ugonis' *Speculum* LVI (1981), pp. 802-803, 808. Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 41, referred to Innocent III for the analogy of the sun and the moon.

²³⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LII, 8: '[...] sacri concilii intencio principalis, vt ecclesiam Dei reformarent in capite et in membris, vt hereses et scismata extirparent et vt pacem in ecclesia Dei vbique terrarum seruari procurarent [...]'. Ericus also touched on the doctrine of the church as a mystical body of Christ in his theology lectures. It appears in the tenth advice on exegesis Ericus presented for his Uppsala university theology students in the *Regulae Theologiae*: Stegmüller, pp. 412-13.

lordship. Rome and other places of importance, where royal and episcopal governance were also exercised, were picked in their turn. In this way the history of salvation unfolded through time and space, from Jerusalem in the middle of the world, to later and remote churches, carried on the vehicle of a twofold lordship. It reached Scandinavia at the time of the imminent judgment.²³¹

In Sweden, God elected Uppsala, where both kings and bishops presided, as salvation's fountainhead.²³² Viewed in this particular perspective, Sweden essentially comprised two types of people, clerics and lay, who were governed by secular and ecclesiastical authorities. This was not primarily an attempt on Ericus's behalf to provide an empirical account of late medieval Swedish society. He applied traditional images of the social world to express an understanding that was rooted in metaphysics. He did not intend to be original, but to impart on his readers a conception of society that was based on Christian doctrine.

Two orders, two swords

Ericus viewed society, the church, as a body headed by Christ. Christ's vicar, the pope, was head too, but only in civil and political matters. In one instance Ericus also referred to the Swedish realm as a body and then he conferred headship to the king.²³³ But Ericus did not develop his account of social order along the line that many other found inviting in this metaphor; he could have distinguished different social categories as physical members, as arms, feet or the belly of the social body of the realm. However, he addressed a clerical readership. It was more relevant to him and to his audience to focus on another division within man, the one between body and soul, hence between the lay order and the clerical, and the secular and ecclesiastical spheres of government. Notions on the relative authority of the two powers were of interest to the readers at the arch see. They provided a theoretical

²³¹ Ericus described the Christianization of the North as reaching Denmark, Norway and Sweden at one and the same time with the conversion of each king (Sven Tveskägg, Olav Tryggvason and Olof Skötkonung); he admitted that Sweden seemed to chronologically lag behind, but argued that this was a misperception. Christ brought three kings of the Orient to his cradle at the time of the Incarnation. Near the judgment, he led the three kings of the northern realms in the West and their peoples to knowledge: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IX, 7-9.

²³² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 17-II, 24, IV, 1-4. The mirroring of the Swedish realm and Uppsala in the examples of Jerusalem and Rome is a general feature of the prologue. Ericus interpreted it literally that the church militant was founded on holy mountains. Jerusalem and Rome were built on mount Zion and the Roman hills: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 4-17. As indicated by Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 41, Ericus at this instance referred to what was stated in Vulg. Ps. 86, 1-2, that the Lord used 'holy mountains' as a foundation for his city. Ericus mentioned that the mountains in this passage were usually interpreted as the apostles. But he continued along a line of exposition, indebted to Nicholas of Lyra, where 'mountains' were instead taken literally. In the image of Jerusalem and Rome, Uppsala occupied an elevated ridge. Uppsala thus was a Zion in the North; the prophecy of Zion as a teacher for the world once idolatry was extirpated, also applied to the Swedish arch see: *Chronica* I, 23-II, 4, II, 23-24. See the prophesy of Zion: Is. 2, and Apoc. 22,17. Idolatry was once prevalent in both Israel and Rome. Uppsala had been a centre of pagan cults; but where the deities *Thoor*, *Odhin* and *Frigh* were worshipped, a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity was erected: *Chronica* II, 15-21. The twofold government of royal and ecclesiastical authority was instituted in Jerusalem and Rome, and in Uppsala there was a similar arrangement, with a royal throne and an episcopal see: *Chronica* I, 6-7, II, 14-15, IV, 2. God elected Jerusalem centre of the world and Rome teacher of the world. On the level of the Swedish realm these functions were carried by Uppsala, its capital: *Chronica* II, 20-22. '*Caput regni*': II, 1, VII, 5. Ericus's definition of Uppsala as a *caput regni* corresponded with Baldus's (d. c. 1400) conception of a capital, quoted after Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies*, p. 205, note 35: '[...] ubi est palatium regis vel episcopi, sicut in regno regia civitas dicitur caput regni [...]'. However, Ericus also put forth secular arguments for Uppsala's prominent position in the realm; the status as '*sedes regni*' was guaranteed with a royal decree supported by general consent: *Chronica* II, 12-13, XV, 14. In addition, Uppsala was not only the political and religious centre of the realm but also its geographical centre: *Chronica* II, 1, IV, 47, XLIV, 12.

²³³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 9; below, chapter III, p. 92

understanding of the at times critical issue of the relation of their institution to the secular government of the realm.

Ericus's statement that the church had two sides was quoted above in full; the church consisted of two peoples, clerical and lay, and to rule it God instituted a twofold government composed of pontifical authority (*auctoritas*) and royal power (*potestas*). Ericus did not describe these two powers as equal: the authority of the pope was spiritual in nature and like the sun while royal power was of a carnal nature and of only a secondary importance, like the moon. Erik Lönnroth concluded from these images, taken (as it seemed to him) from two ardent defenders of ecclesiastical supremacy, Boniface VIII and Innocent III, that Ericus declared the superiority of spiritual authorities over temporal. Lönnroth also pointed out how Ericus used the topographical relations in Uppsala as a showcase for this relation of the powers on the level of the realm: Ericus inferred that the Uppsala cathedral was situated on the so called Lord's hill while the royal residence was built on a less elevated location at its foot. Ericus's outlook from this mount corresponded, according to Lönnroth, to the 'arrogant' gaze of Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson, but Lönnroth also duly reported Ericus's critique against Jöns for his personal involvement in temporal affairs; the powers, he inferred, should be held apart.²³⁴ Ericus's account however merits further investigation. Lönnroth arguably exaggerated its hierocratic tenor.

The notion of society as a unity (a body) and the idea that authority within this body is dual (divided between secular and ecclesiastical governors) is a key feature of Ericus's account of social order. An immediate source, if there was one, corresponding in all details to Ericus's introductory paragraph, cannot be identified. But the general idea concurred with the classic formulation of dualism of Hugh of St Victor, whom Ericus held in high esteem. Hugh stated that the church was the body of Christ. Whoever partook in Christ became a member of His body. Hugh described society (the *universitas fidelium*) as essentially twofold, with clerics and laity forming parallel societal hierarchies of one and the same societal body. They live different kinds of lives (*terrena/coelestis*, *corporea/spiritualis*), constitute two different peoples (*populi*) and have different governments. The left side of the societal body is constituted by the laics, subdivided into subjects and a ruling stratum. The right, clerical side, he also divided hierarchically, according to ordination of its individual members. Priests and bishops form the *prepositi* and holders of lower orders are subjects. Hugh regarded this right side of society as superior to the lay and left part, because a spiritual life was worthier than a worldly.²³⁵ This twelfth-century account of social order was not synonymous with the modern distinction between church and state but referred to a functional division between ordained

²³⁴ Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', pp. 130-131, 142. Ericus asserted that the former seat of the royal throne was situated 'on a low, insignificant and almost marshy hill': Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica*, II, 14.

²³⁵ Hugo, 'De Sacramentis' in: *PL*, 176, II, II, cols. 416-418. Col. 418: Transl.: Just as much as the spiritual life is worthier than the worldly, and the soul [is worthier] than the body, to the same extent the spiritual power surpasses the worldly in honour and rank. Hugh's exposition of this theme was included in the *Unam Sanctam* of Boniface VIII: Watt, J.A., 'Spiritual and temporal powers' in: Burns, J.H., ed., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought. c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge 1988), p. 368

and unordained and the hierarchies of secular and ecclesiastical powers they formed within one and the same societal body.

It was generally agreed that royal and priestly leadership should be held separately and that government to some extent was therefore twofold; Christ was both king and priest but had disunited these two functions for the government of his church.²³⁶ But there was no consensus on the relative status of these two powers or on the boundaries of their individual areas of lordship. Authoritative statements established a set imagery to negotiate this power relation in discourse. Pope Innocent III referred to the government of the two powers over the church in terms of the sun and the moon that God established over the firmament. The relative importance and interdependence of these celestial bodies was debated. But the allegory of one material and one spiritual sword, drawn from the account in Luke 22 of Peter's display of two swords and the initiative to ward off Christ's extradition with force, was more widely applied. Defenders of papalist and imperialist standpoints discussed who of the pope and the emperor or king was the legitimate proprietor and wielder of the swords and offered different conclusions.²³⁷ It was argued by J.A. Watt that even though dualism in the sense of temporal and spiritual as parallel and autonomous authorities was never extinct, it was largely superseded by the fourteenth century by the two opposing logics of hierocracy and caesaropapism.²³⁸

The extreme positions in this debate of the relative authority of the powers can be delineated in the form of ideal types to facilitate an assessment of the stance implied in Ericus's account. Hierocracy involved a statement of a papal plenitude of power. Those who defended the pope's supremacy in both spiritual and temporal matters stressed that the institutions of society are subordinate to its ultimate end, which is salvation. In consequence of this idea, it made sense that the pope as the summit of the ecclesiastical hierarchy ruled, since only one who understood the implications of the faith could envision the appropriate means towards this end. This did not imply that the pope should govern in all practical matters. The lay ruler functioned in this system as a papal agent. The king or emperor was executive; his authority was delegated by the pope who received it from God. In contemporary parlance, both swords belonged to the pope and the king was to wield the material blade on his nod of command. On the opposite end of this spectrum, caesaropapism claimed a full royal sovereignty. Secular rulers responded to papal demands by stressing the dualist notion of government to reserve an autonomous space within which they could be monarchs. This involved claims that royal power was received directly from God and not via the pope. It could imply an emphasis on kingship as a religious office in itself, intended to spread and uphold the faith and defend the church (historically, often against a 'heretical' pope). However, a full independence of the secular powers from the church, where the prince had extensive rights over the clerical subjects, based its claims on a different

²³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 367

²³⁷ For a thorough survey of the development of the two swords metaphor: Levison, W., 'Die mittelalterliche Lehre von den beiden Schwerten' *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 9 (1951), pp. 14-42. For the time after Boniface VIII: Lecler, J., 'L'argument des deux glaives' *Recherches de science religieuse* 22 (1932) pp. 151-303. Or: Watt, 'Spiritual and temporal powers', *passim*.

²³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 422-423

understanding of society than the papalist. The state was a natural organism with an end in itself, separate from salvation. Clerical subjects within this body should occupy themselves only with their limited sphere of sacramental matters.²³⁹

In the world of practice however, if not by other motives then at least for the reason of peacekeeping, with all likelihood most clergy did not defend extremist positions like the ones outlined above. M. Pacaut argued that between the two extremes a continued existence of a *via media* can be traced throughout the Middle Ages. It held that both powers were bestowed separately from God. The pope was thus not an intermediary between God and the princes; this was rather the role of the people, electing or consenting to lordship. The pope could not create or depose a prince. Advocators of a *via media* professed the existence of separate spheres (temporal and spiritual) of activity for the secular and the ecclesiastical rulers. The church however had a right to administer its own institutions and assets, even if these activities were not essentially spiritual in nature. The practical difficulties of making these distinctions and the aim to restore, achieve or preserve societal peace naturally engendered constant calls among this group of moderates for concord and harmony between church and state, simultaneous with continuous statements of their independence.²⁴⁰ Thomas Aquinas offered a theoretical blend including Augustinian and Aristotelian thought to support such a middle way. Natural society was good in itself but was perfect only when directed towards the aim of salvation of its members; regularly the temporal ruler had full authority, but a casual right to interfere was reserved to the pope.²⁴¹

Lönnroth held (though he did not use this term) that Ericus argued from a hierocrat position, but also added that Ericus's account of Archbishop Jöns militated against a confusion of the two powers. A more systematic attempt to insert Ericus's theoretical preliminaries in the ideological spectrum above does not negate Lönnroth's result but clarifies the ambiguities involved in Ericus's discourse. Ericus certainly expressed the idea that the spiritual power was somehow superior to temporal. But what was implied on the level of government is not clear from that statement alone. And it cannot be gauged from the standpoints ascribed to his alleged sources; if Ericus used a phrase once applied by Boniface VIII, this did not necessarily mean that he subscribed to the policies of this pontiff at large.

Hierocratic implications can indeed be deduced from Ericus's account of society. His insistence on society's unity together with the stress on the importance of the spiritual worked in this direction. Placed within the one body of the church, which could only have one head and where spiritual matters were the all-embracing concern, it seemed natural that the temporal ruler had a limited autonomy.²⁴² Hugh of St Victor, who also operated from this notion, drew two practical consequences from the

²³⁹ The above ideal types draw on Watt, 'Spiritual and temporal powers', *passim*; Wilks, M., *The problem of sovereignty*, pp. 32-54, 261-267, 306-321; Pacaut, M., 'La permanence d'une "via media" dans les doctrines politiques de l'Église médiévale' in: *Idem, Doctrines politiques et structures ecclésiastiques dans l'Occident médiéval* (1958; repr. London 1985), pp. 328-329; Ullman, W., *Principles of government and politics in the Middle Ages* (London 1961, repr. 1974), p. 97.

²⁴⁰ Pacaut, 'La permanence d'une "via media"', pp. 328-329

²⁴¹ Wilks, *The problem of sovereignty*, pp. 118-148

²⁴² Watt, 'Spiritual and temporal powers', pp. 369, 382, 400

superiority of the spiritual. He ascribed a crucial importance to the bishop for the institution of a king (consecration) and argued that no one but God could judge a bishop, which meant that he was exempt from royal jurisdiction.²⁴³ In addition, the choice to divide society into *two* functional parts had relative hierocratic implications. Other schematic representations of society were at hand, for instance the division of society in three parts, between ‘those who prayed, those who fought and those who worked’.²⁴⁴ But the idea of a twofold social order, focusing on spiritual qualification gauged by ordination rather than on division of tasks, stressed the relative dignity of the clerics more than this distribution over three parts did. It was the model preferred among those who supported papal claims to sovereignty over the secular rulers.²⁴⁵

A dualism of society’s leadership, however, did not comprise hierocracy as a necessary consequence. And the emphasis on dualism is what is most striking in Ericus’s account of social order. He introduced the history of the realm with a prayer that Christ who was both king and priest would enlighten him in his design to chronicle the two leaderships in Uppsala.²⁴⁶ As it appeared from his declaration of intent above, Ericus arguably considered that it was the government of the king and archbishop in Uppsala *together* that constituted God’s mouthpiece. He stressed throughout the prologue that royal and episcopal representatives exercised societal authority alike and simultaneously. This co-rule appeared as an important feature where salvation history unfolded. All places designated by God to play a key role in this history comprised residences of both royal and episcopal power. God also instituted a twofold lordship (*duplex principatus*) to govern Sweden. In the form of a royal throne and an archiepiscopal see (*regni solium atque metropolis*), each one of the swords that represented the spiritual authority and the temporal were present in Uppsala, from whence they were exercised (*vterque gladius [...] exercetur*).²⁴⁷ In Uppsala, they were to rule the realm in the place of Christ, in his capacity of both priest and king. At least in the prologue, Ericus offered no concrete qualifications of the theoretical lay subservience that seems implied in the expressed superiority of the spiritual over the flesh. Apart from his statement that the spiritual was superior to the carnal and that because of this the authority of the pope was like the sun in relation to the royal power, the moon – a statement that

²⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 369. Cf. Ehlers, J., *Hugo von St. Viktor. Studien zum Geschichtsdenken und zur Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden 1973), p. 103, who argued that Hugh did not intend the spiritual supremacy to imply an ecclesiastical pre-eminence in government at large. In the context of a discussion of the sacraments, preference to the administrators of the Eucharist was natural. Hugh, according to Ehlers, wrote about government from a strictly ecclesiastical perspective and without taking the immediate political consequences into consideration. This, however, seems incongruent with the fact that Hugh spelled out the consequences of the superiority of the spiritual in terms of jurisdiction.

²⁴⁴ Oexle, O.G., ‘Die funktionale Dreiteilung als Deutungsschema der sozialen Wirklichkeit in der ständischen Gesellschaft des Mittelalters’ in: Shulze, W., ed., *Ständische Gesellschaft und soziale Mobilität* (München 1988), *passim*

²⁴⁵ Robinson, I.E., ‘Church and Papacy’ in: Burns, J.H., ed., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought. c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 263-265

²⁴⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* VI, 1. Also V, 5.

²⁴⁷ In this declaration of intent, Ericus introduced also a third, double-edged sword, issuing from the mouth of Christ. Arguably, this did not confuse the clarity of the twofold pattern for his intended audience. The apparent disorder was the result of a fusion of two motives, visible in a number of Scandinavian churches. Imperialist representations of the idea of dualism depicted how Christ handed out one sword each to the pope and the emperor. The third, double-edged sword, came from depictions of the Judgment, drawing on the introduction of the Apocalypse, which mentions a double-edged sword issuing from the mouth: Eriksson, T., ‘Ecce duo gladii hic. De två svärden i dansk medeltidskonst’ in: Wenningsted-Torgard, S., *Det ikonografiske blik. Festskrift til Ulla Haastrup* (København 1993), pp. 59-73. (Plate 5)

could in fact be interpreted without definite hierocratic implications²⁴⁸ – Ericus said nothing about the relative status of the powers. He said nothing, for instance, about the mediation of the temporal authority via the pope; instead he argued that the origins of temporal power were popular, as discussed below.

Ericus dedicated much of his account of contemporary history to the conflicts between the kings and the Swedish archbishops. Discord between the two powers, caused by disagreement over the extension of their individual areas of jurisdiction, was not unheard of. Hugh of St Victor emphasized that the different offices and orders should not be transgressed. The social world was a part of the cosmic order. The individual was obliged to heed his particular *officium* and the requirements of his *ordo* so as not to defy the divine order that guaranteed societal concord.²⁴⁹ Others spelled out how this applied to the two powers: discord between society's two members, *regnum* and *sacerdotium*, led to Christianity's ruin.²⁵⁰

Ericus's theoretical ideal for the relation of the two powers, if he nourished one particular, can only be gleaned in fragments from the prologue. It appears however that his position was not extreme but moderate; in the meta-historical remarks of the prologue, he prioritized a distinction – but also cooperation – between the two powers before the implementation of hierocratic claims. Ericus, perhaps for historical necessity rather than theoretical inclinations, had reasons to develop his account of secular and ecclesiastical authority along the middle road, and join in the calls of its advocates for concord and mutual respect between the powers. However, a clearer understanding can only be gauged from his realization of these prospects in the virtual historical account.

The two swords as a historiographical schema

A dualist notion of societal authority was fostered in the historiographical compounds produced at the Swedish arch see prior to the compilation of the *Chronica*; they offered a narrative of the realm presented in an annalistic format and enclosed by tables of kings and bishops. This arrangement arguably derived from compendia of universal history like the *Chronicon pontificum et imperatorum* of Martin of Troppau. Martin argued for this choice of historiographical structure: Christ was born at a time when all nations were gathered into one empire ruled by Augustus. Two swords, constituting two lights, of which the one representing the episcopal *auctoritas* was brighter, were thereby established for the *regimen ecclesie*. The structure of the divinely instituted social order was the immediate reason for his historiographical approach: '*Propter hac ergo de utraque dignitate scribere volens*'.²⁵¹ Ericus agreed. He found it just to begin his history from the advent of Christ, since it was then that the

²⁴⁸ The lesser of the celestial bodies received its light from the greater, but the greater could not take over its task: Mantey, V., *Zwei Schwerter-zwei Reiche. Martin Luthers Zwei-Reiche-Lehre vor ihrem spätmittelalterlichen Hintergrund* (Tübingen 2005), p. 154.

²⁴⁹ Ehlers, *Hugo von St. Viktor*, pp. 107-109. This position Hugh developed not in *De Sacramentis* but in the context of his commentary to the celestial hierarchies of Dionysius.

²⁵⁰ Struve, T., *Die Entwicklung der organologischen Staatsauffassung im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1978), pp. 105, 114-115

²⁵¹ Weiland, 'Martini Oppaviensis', pp. 406-407; Cf. Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 2-3, 8-9, IV, 2-4, VI, 1, 6

twofold order of government was established. In accordance with previous compilers, for instance Hugh of St Victor, he added that the deeds of pre-Christian kings were not achieved with knowledge of the true religion and therefore not apt to provide instruction for the reader.²⁵² Apart from the fact that there was little to tell about the pre-Christian rulers of the realm, their inclusion in the *Chronica* was superfluous in Ericus's Christian didactic perspective.

The organization of historical material along a grid of successive popes and emperors or kings and archbishops was arguably not without implications for how it was interpreted. Bert Roest appreciated the ideological aspect of Martin's arrangement:

History therewith becomes an instrument for biblical theology, canon law, homiletics, and the propagation of a hierocratic world-view. Far from naïve compilations, these works exhibit an ideological institutional stance that too often is ignored by modern mediaevalists.²⁵³

Ericus arranged his compendium in a similar manner to Martin's but gave a less explicitly papalist account in order to argue for its relevance. It seems unlikely from his emphasis on dualism that he, like Martin did, would have argued that Christ was the first pope. Nevertheless, the historiographical grid Ericus applied buttressed clerical self-esteem, and, more particularly, served the interests of his arch see. When he narrated the history of the realm according to the succession of kings and bishops residing in Uppsala, this was not the repetition of a mere convention, it was the arrangement most relevant from his institutional point of view. It made the statement that the ecclesiastical power constituted a hierarchy acting on a par with – but independently from – the secular. The intention for his compendium with its focus on the Swedish metropolis would also abridge a totality of histories that catered for many institutional centres of spiritual and temporal authorities in the realm into a history that revolved around one axis only: Uppsala.

The theoretical foundation of Ericus's choice of narrative structure was similar to Martin's. But in other respects the format of the *Chronica* was very different from this annalistic counterpart. Ericus's implementation of the dualist structure belies the expectations from his prologue. Attempts to intersperse the notices on kings with information on contemporary archbishops are apparent in his account for the hundred years prior to King Erik Eriksson (*Erik läspe och halte*, king 1222–1229, 1234–1250). However, the sources for the history of the early Uppsala bishops at Ericus's disposal were minute, and as a conscientious compiler he did not add from invention. The discrepancy between Ericus's stated intention in the prologue and its subsequent realization in the historical account was also a characteristic shared with other chronicles of a similar intent. The actual narrative focus of the twelfth-century *Kaiserchronik* was on secular rulers, even though the author stated that he would give equal attention to spiritual and temporal lords. As in the case of the *Chronica*, the lapse in favour of

²⁵² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* VI, 2-3; Ferm & Tjällén 'Ericus Olai's *Chronica regni Gothorum*', pp. 83-84; Ehlers, *Hugo von St Viktor*, p. 115, and note 147.

²⁵³ Roest, 'Later medieval institutional history', p. 310

the temporal rulers in the *Kaiserchronik* was largely a result of a heavy reliance on an earlier epoch of historical writing.²⁵⁴ From King Erik Eriksson, Ericus largely drew on the well-edited material of the vernacular and rhymed chronicles of the realm,²⁵⁵ more interested in chivalry or political polemics than in the arch see. However, it will be argued below in chapter III that at points of a crucial relevance to his institutional belongings, such as in the section on St Erik and St Henrik and for the narration of contemporary history, the twofold historiographical grid determined Ericus's account of authority in the realm.



Plate 5. Skibby church, Denmark, c. 1325. Christ on Judgment day with two swords issuing from his mouth. Note the sun and the moon over his right and left shoulders. This was the motive evoked by Ericus's reference to the government of the two swords in the place of Christ in Uppsala (above, note 247). Photography: M. Knak.

The realm

The concept of the realm was the centrepiece of Swedish fifteenth-century political discourse. Ericus made it the subject matter of his historical account. The introduction above defined the realm in terms of constitutional law as a corporation of the 'men of the realm' invested with liberties and rights, the *homines regni* of Sweden, who acted as the king's counterpart but also, in the case of a constitutional conflict, claimed sovereignty for themselves. Nothing in Ericus's account denies the validity of this

²⁵⁴ Gellinek, C., *Die Deutsche Kaiserchronik. Erzähltechnik und Kritik* (Frankfurt/Main 1971), p. 27

²⁵⁵ Öberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 43-44

definition;²⁵⁶ the title of his work, which stated that the realm was of the Goths, in fact corroborates it. However, the definition of the realm as being conterminous with the men of the realm is unsatisfactory from a cultural-historical perspective. It calls for a clarification of how the community that made up the realm was understood in other terms and on what grounds it could claim sovereignty. It is in this context relevant to examine Ericus's development of the idea that the Goths or the Swedes were a people who took Sweden into their possession in ancient times.

The realm was at the centre of debate because it was embroiled in conflicts. The political turmoil in fifteenth-century Sweden was accounted for above in the introduction; Ericus's recurrent focus on discord in the realm and its consequent subjugation under foreign rule reflected the political contentions that characterized his present day. He was not unique in putting these concerns into writing. Domestic discord was a theme already addressed in the *Erikskrönika* from the first half of the fourteenth century.²⁵⁷ By the time of the completion of the *Chronica* however the idea that domestic strife was a threat to the very independence of the realm was an established *topos* in Swedish political discourse. It appeared in a new preface from 1452 to the *Erikskrönika* and in a Swedish adaptation of a political allegory of the chess game, written in the 1460s.²⁵⁸

Internal and external sovereignty was at stake in the contemporary political contentions. But Ericus did not primarily investigate constitutional matters to explain the disorder in the realm. The root of the domestic discord was instead the moral shortcoming of the Swedes, *ambicio*, their exaggerated drive for honour and power that led to internal strife. The origin of the discord was a moral deficiency but Ericus had a clear idea of what it brought about in terms of the loss of sovereignty of the realm. He offered historical parallels to explain what had befallen the realm and what was at stake. The downfall of both the Jewish nation and the Roman Empire exemplified the destiny of a realm where discord prevailed:

Indeed the Goths are an ambitious people and are greedy to be praised. But they are not fit for government and [in this] they much resemble the dissension among the Jews and the faction among the Romans, and for that reason they are miserably hit by the same kind of misfortunes as those.²⁵⁹

The author of the Swedish chess allegory also applied the comparison between Sweden's ruin and the downfall of Rome. Roman world rule, he stated, was enabled by domestic concord but greed had

²⁵⁶ This legal aspect does not exhaust the full semantic range of *regnum* as applied in the *Chronica*, but is of most importance in this context. In Ericus's account *regnum* also denotes a territorially defined area or the royal office in which the king is established, for instance through election: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* II, 12, XV, 14.

²⁵⁷ The *Erikskrönika* ended expressing a hope that the election of King Magnus would put an end to the discord in the realm: 'gud hauer nw sköt wan wanda löst / Swa at wy maghom liffua vtan kiiff'. Transl.: 'Now God has swiftly seen to our distress, so that we may lead our lives without discord': Pipping, R., ed., *Erikskrönikan enligt Cod. Holm: D.2 jämte avvikande läsarter ur andra handskrifter* (1921, repr. Uppsala – Stockholm, 1963), p. 257.

²⁵⁸ Klemming, G.E., *Svenska medeltidens rimkrönikor. D. 1. Gamla eller Erikskrönikan* (Stockholm 1865), p. 164; Ferm, O., 'Schacktavelslek. An international bestseller and its adaptation into Swedish' in: Ferm, O. & Honemann, V., eds., *Chess and allegory in the Middle Ages* (Stockholm 2005), pp. 301-303. Blomquist, G., *Schacktavelslek och Sju vise mästartare. Studier i medeltidens litteraturhistoria* (Stockholm 1941) attributed the Swedish chess allegory to the authorship of Ericus.

²⁵⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* V, 1: 'Est enim Gothorum genus ambiciosum et avidum exaltari sed ad regendum ineptum ac Iudaice dissensionis et Romane parzialitatis simillimum ideoque similibus cum eis incommotis miserabiliter conquassatum'.

brought on discord and, in consequence, collapse. Sweden was like Rome for many Swedes wanted to be kings, and thereby they exposed the realm to danger.²⁶⁰ It was Sallust that placed this vice in the exemplary historical-political context that Ericus and the chess allegorist referred to.²⁶¹ But Ericus qualified the nature of *ambicio* in accordance with Bernhard of Clairvaux.²⁶² For Ericus and the chess allegorist, the issue of discord in the realm was arguably more than a question of political expediency. It implied a moral turpitude on behalf of those who did not heed their place in a divinely instituted order.

The Goths

Ericus outlined the history of the realm within the framework of salvation history. His discourse on the institutions of the Swedish polity was not primarily of a juridical kind. Instead he departed from Biblical and theological traditions. This was discussed above for the institutions of royal and episcopal lordship. As in Jerusalem, where both royal and priestly leadership was found, God instituted a twofold leadership over the Swedish realm in Uppsala. However, Bible history also provided Ericus with ethnographic and political-geographical tools to conceptualize the political body as such. They appear in an argumentative stretch that placed dominion in Sweden unquestionably in the hands of the Swedes understood as a people. Ericus's argument departed from the notion that God created the world into distinct territories and a belief in a universal ethnogenesis where distinct peoples derived from the sons of Noah. He pointed out that Sweden was one distinguishable region of this kind and that the Swedes were descendants of Japheth, Noah's son, and the first to take the land into possession.²⁶³

Among Ericus's collected works these assumptions appear not only in the *Chronica*. He made clear in the *Regula*, which introduced theology for students, that peoples were divided on various regions according to their different languages and that the nations derived from the sons of Noah.²⁶⁴ But it was in the context of his Swedish history that these ideas could be more fully outlined and applied to the realm; God, Ericus stated, divided the peoples and created the world from the beginning into various territories divided by natural geography.²⁶⁵ In the *Chronica* this was not an academic abstraction. In

²⁶⁰ Ferm, 'Schacktavelslek', pp. 301-302, provides a translation: 'Unfortunately one finds many who are like Rome. Look no further than here in Sweden. Since many want to be kings, then Sweden may be in danger'.

²⁶¹ Ambition was symptomatic among the nobility of the republic and contributed to its fall: Reynolds, L.D., ed., *C. Sallusti Crispi, Catilina, Iugurtha, Historiarum fragmenta selecta, appendix Sallustiana* (Oxford 1991), p. 11. Sallust occupied a prominent position in the historical culture of the high and late Middle Ages: Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 304-305. Nothing indicates however that Ericus or the author of the chess allegory drew directly from the work of the Roman historian.

²⁶² Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 41; Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* V, 5-8; cf. *PL*, Vol. CLXXXIII, cols. 198-199. Bernhard commented on the 'subtle evil' that lies in ambition in the context of a sermon on Vulg. Ps. 90.

²⁶³ The whole stretch of the argument appears in Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 8-69.

²⁶⁴ Stegmüller, *Regulae theologiae*, pp. 415-16: 'Sicut dicitur de filiis Noe: Ab his divisae sunt insulae gentium in regionibus suis, unusquisque secundum linguam suam'. Transl.: 'As it is said about the sons of Noah: By these were the islands of the peoples divided in their lands, everyone according to his language' (Gen. 10, 5).

²⁶⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV 8-10: 'Quando diuidebat Altissimus gentes [...] constituit terminus populorum iuxta numerum filiorum Israel'. Transl.: 'When the Most High divided the peoples [...] he drew up the boundaries of the peoples according to the number of the children of Israel' (Deut. 32, 8). *Chronica* IV, 28-29: 'Plantauerat autem Dominus Deus

the context of his biblical paraphrases, Ericus accounted for the boundaries of the Swedish realm in geographical terms; Sweden comprised the island of Gotland and the province of Scania, both of which were Danish territory at the time of the composition of the *Chronica*.²⁶⁶

Ericus discussed the Swedes in terms of a people (*Sueorum/Gothorum populus, Sueorum/Gothorum gens, Gotica nacio*).²⁶⁷ His account of their origin adhered to the Gothicist tradition: Sweden was the home of the ancient and prestigious Goths from whom the contemporary Swedes directly descended. They derived from Noah's son Japheth and had come from Scythia to become the first inhabitants of Sweden after the recession of the flood.²⁶⁸ It was from Sweden that some of them had embarked to conquer many lands, for instance those of Denmark.²⁶⁹

The Gothicist myth was promulgated on the council of Basel in 1434 by the future archbishop of Uppsala, Nicolaus Ragvaldi on behalf of the interests of the Scandinavian union king.²⁷⁰ However, from the mid fifteenth-century, when it was inserted into the national law code, it was harnessed as an officially cherished self-image pertinent only to the Swedish realm. Many claimed descent from the Goths, but the law code stated that Sweden was not only the ancient but also the perpetual homeland of this people.²⁷¹ This Gothicist myth was a learned construction, but it was real enough for individual clerics to use it to designate their nationality abroad.²⁷² And, as mentioned above, Ericus was not first to apply it in a work of Swedish national history. His account lay close to the treatment of this myth by

Orbem terrarum a principio diuersis terrarum spaciis distinctum, variis moncium, vallium, siluarum finibus aquarumque tractibus lineatum'. Transl.: 'And the Lord God had planted the world from the beginning separated into different regions, with the various boundaries delineated by mountains, valleys, forests and seas'.

²⁶⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 40-42. The inclusions of Gotland and Scania within the borders of the realm were in line with Ericus's opinion of the Swedes as their legitimate lords. He held that the Goths from Sweden were the first to occupy Scania, which made them rightful lords of this province; Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 69, VI, 12. He argued, in *Chronica* XII, 1, that King Emund the Old (d. 1060) that was given the epithet the ne'er-do-well or waster (*Slemme*) was thus nicknamed because he erected a border between Sweden and Scania and thereby divided the latter from the realm. King Magnus who bought Scania free from its Holsatian occupiers was its legitimate ruler; *Chronica* XXXIV, 13-14. And he held no right later to alienate this province from the realm, *Chronica* XXXVI, 14, 34, XXXVII, 10. Arguments for an ancient Swedish right of possession of Scania were already voiced in the context of a critique against king Magnus by St Birgitta: Ferm, O., 'Birgittas program för uppror mot Magnus Eriksson. En studie i politisk argumentationskonst' in: Hårdelin, A. & Lindgren, M., eds., *Heliga Birgitta – budskapet och förebilden: föredrag vid jubileumssymposiet i Vadstena 3-7 oktober 1991* (Stockholm 1993), pp. 134-135. Ericus had no myth of descent to link Gotland to the Swedish lordship. But he stated that the inhabitants of this island were always subjects to the kings of Sweden and that King Magnus was wrong to accept its pillage of the Danish King Waldemar: *Chronica* XXXVI, 15. When Danish troops occupied Gotland and their legates exhorted Karl to retract from his attempt at recapturing the island, Karl answered that he would not do so since Gotland belonged to Sweden; *Chronica* LV, 14. Marginal notes in support of Sweden's possession of Gotland appear in the E 3 manuscript adjacent to sections where this issue is raised in the *Chronica*; XLV, 7 & E 3 f 88v and X, 24-25 & E 3 f. 23r: 'Gotlandia pertinet ad sueciam'.

²⁶⁷ For instance, Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* II, 7, 22; IV, 60, 65, XII, 24. Also *Gothorum genus: Chronica* V, 1. *Populus, gens and natio* were generally not distinct concepts, but applied synonymously: Reynolds, *The community of the realm*, pp. 255-256.

²⁶⁸ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 50. For a survey of the Gothicist tradition in Sweden prior to Ericus: Nordström, *Johannes Magnus*, pp. 57-104.

²⁶⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 68-9

²⁷⁰ Losman, B., 'Nikolaus Ragvaldis gotiska tal' *Lychnos. Lärdomshistoriska samfundets årsbok 1967-1968* (Stockholm), pp. 215-221. The speech was edited by Svennung, J., *Från senantik till medeltid, Vol. I* (Lund 1963), pp. 174-180.

²⁷¹ Schlyter, *Corpus iuris sueo-gotorum*, p. 11. Archbishop Nicolaus Ragvaldi, involved in the revision of this law code, was a probable instigator of this introductory Gothicist passage: Pernler, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 139.

²⁷² Schück, H., 'Rogge, Kort' in: *SBL*, Vol. XXX, p. 283: 'Conradus Roggo gothus'; 'de regno gothorum inclitus'.

the author of the *Prosaiska krönika* who also inferred that God divided the various peoples according to language, customs and country and held the Swedes to be the descendants of Japheth.²⁷³

The Gothicist myth was not dissimilar to origin myths politically exploited elsewhere.²⁷⁴ It provided the community of the Swedish realm with a consolidating idea of the common descent of its inhabitants and linked it historically to a defined territory. It has been argued that the belief in the existence of naturally separate peoples divided over distinct territories and a concomitant notion that these communities had an inherited right to self-government was an unreasoned premise in medieval political discourse. By the later Middle Ages, at any rate, many political theorists also expressed the idea that the ideal political unit was constituted by a territory and a people with a common language and with common customs. Some even argued that if a kingdom surpassed the boundaries of territories, peoples, laws, customs, and loyalties towards different *patriae*, unrest would result.²⁷⁵ Susan Reynolds suggested the general political aspects of these ethno-historical notions; in the Middle Ages '[a]ny claim to regnal independence needed to presuppose a people and any people must by definition always have been a people'.²⁷⁶ These assumptions formed a principle stating that the political and the national unit should be congruent. They correspond to a surprising degree with a modern definition of the principle of nationalism such as Gellner's, which was accounted for in the introduction.

The extent to which this form of nationalism determined Ericus's authority discourse in contemporary history is discussed below in chapter III. Its impact is however already apparent in the prologue where Ericus lamented that as a result of the domestic strife the Swedish realm was dominated by foreigners. Inhabited by aliens it became a *civitas convenarum*, a society of strangers and warmongers who machinated further discord in the realm.²⁷⁷ Ericus's prime example of this state of affairs was Stockholm. In the fifteenth century, this town had a stronger case than Ericus's Uppsala to claim the status of capital of the Swedish realm, which was also voiced by Stockholm burghers in the context of a conflict with the arch see. Ericus however held Stockholm to be 'a town populated by men immigrated from various peoples and that rarely knows any peace or friendly relations or genuine charity among its citizens'. Ericus related the result of this lack of national cohesion; it was off putting: in Stockholm German burghers cruelly put the Swedes to death.²⁷⁸ The issue of the *exteri* in

²⁷³ A later insertion in the *Prosaiska krönika* however specified this relation in a way that Ericus did not, to Japheth's grandson Gog: Klemming, 'Sveriges krönika', p. 220. References to Noah were a commonplace in medieval national histories, see instances in Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 61, 100-104, 464, 527, 610, 688.

²⁷⁴ A number of origin myths referred to in Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities*, pp. 258-259

²⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 250-331; Dunbabin, J., 'Government' in: Burns, J.H., ed., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought. c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 481-482; Babbitt, S.M., 'Oresme's *Livre de Politiques* and the France of Charles V' *Transactions of the American philosophical society* 75 (1985), pp. 54-57

²⁷⁶ Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities*, p. 274

²⁷⁷ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* V, 3-4, also XXVI, 7. Ericus distinguished between Swedes and inhabitants of Sweden; Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 28: 'Vide, quanti animi, quante fidelitatis sunt Sueci aut potius Suecie inhabitatores in conseruanda fide principibus et dominis suis, dominis Suecis!'. Below, p. 116

²⁷⁸ Ericus narrated the combustion of the Swedes in Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica*, XL. *Chronica*, XL, 1: 'Stokholm ciuitas conuenarum ex diuersarum nacionum hominibus integrata raro habet concordiam, pacem et amicitiam et sinceram ciuium charitatem. Homines enim vnus nacionis extra suam patriam existentes plus se diligunt in patria aliena. Inde fit, vt ciues

the realm however was intertwined with the issue of royal power. Its close connection to the monarchic and aristocratic tug of war in late medieval Sweden also appears in the *Chronica*. Ericus referred to St Birgitta's exhortations to King Magnus (king 1319–1364) to only use Swedish men in his troops as revelations (*diuina consilia*), whose truthfulness were confirmed by the military disaster in the wake of Magnus's refusal to comply.²⁷⁹ The understanding of the 'men of the realm' as representatives of a people gave the critique of arbitrariness of royal government nationalist overtones.

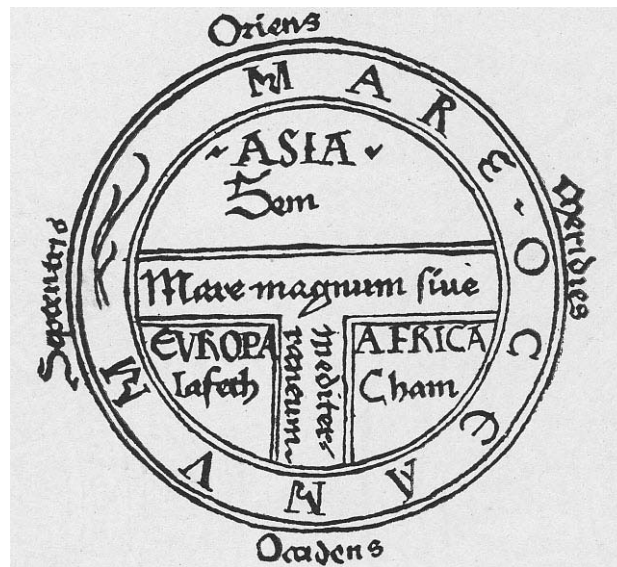


Plate 6. Isidore, *De responsione mundi* (Augsburg 1472). Noah's sons, Ham, Sem and Japheth, are distributed over the three known continents surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. After Schramm.

Authority and consent

'The Lord's is the earth and its fullness, and he gives it to whomever he wishes.'²⁸⁰ Ericus held that it was God's intention that Sweden was given to the Goths. But his account of the Goths as the first arrivals to Sweden was also a necessary backdrop to an argument in support of the legitimacy of Swedish lordship in terms of property rights. This reasoning rested on a proposition of Roman law, which stated that what previously had no owner was conceded to the first obtainer. Property rights and

Holmenses extranei maiori se amore diligent, foueant et promoueant quam intranei, cum illi extra patriam, isti in patria commorentur'. Transl.: 'Stockholm is a town populated by men immigrated from various peoples and who rarely know any peace or friendly relations or genuine charity among its citizens. For men of one people that dwell outside of their own fatherland love each other more in a foreign country. Thence it is the case that the foreign citizens of Stockholm appreciate each other with more love and favor and promote themselves more than the natives, because they live outside their fatherland while the other live within their fatherland.' Ericus's apparent dislike of Stockholm may to some extent have rested on institutional concerns, remaining from the conflict between Archbishop Jöns Gereksson and the burghers of Stockholm. In 1419, the Stockholm burghers sent a supplication to the pope stating the status of their town as capital of the realm and that they should not need to travel to Uppsala. Their request that the arch-bishop should have an official in Stockholm was repeated in 1433: Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna*, p. 72.

²⁷⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XXXV, 3-6

²⁸⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 10: 'Domini enim est terra et plenitudo eius; et cui vult, dabit illam'.

lordship were interrelated matters in medieval political discourse; *dominium* in its extended sense meant sovereignty.²⁸¹

Ericus began what constitutes an inquiry into property rights, and, by extension, into the foundations of authority, with the statement that God gives of the world to whomever he wishes. Prior to the fall, however, a distinction of property was unknown according to Ericus; everything was shared and used communally among men. In the state of innocence this was a rational arrangement to provide for a necessary sustenance and a peaceful coexistence. But after the fall, men seized more than what was necessary for their own use and also deprived weaker fellows of what they needed. In this situation communism did not provide for peace or sustenance any more; a legitimate distinction of ownership became expedient. Ericus inferred that divine or natural law, however, gave no precepts on how to arrange this division of goods. Property needed to be legitimized, but it was only the institute of positive law, issued by kings, which could provide this legitimacy.²⁸²

This begged the question of what grounds could justify a law that was not of divine or natural origin. It was the starting point for Ericus of an inquiry of the basis of legitimacy for the government that issues laws. Positive law was legitimate (*iusta*), he stated, only if the legislator was legitimate. The legislator must act with prudence and authority (*prudencia et auctoritas*). The concept of authority, however, bifurcates in his account into two distinct forms; authority was twofold, paternal and political (*Auctoritas duplex est: politica et paterna*). The authority of a political kind was virtually of a contractual nature. It was legitimate when founded on consent among the governed (*iusta ex consensu*). As long as consent was at hand, political authority in concrete terms could be exercised either by an elected prince or by a group. The basis of paternal authority was of a wholly different kind. Its legitimacy was not conditioned by consent. Instead, the authority of a father was just by natural law, but it was also buttressed by Mosaic law and the law of the Gospels. Ericus related these findings on the origins of authority to the issue of property rights. On the basis of the distinction of authority into a paternal and a political form, and the division of the latter form in rule by one or by many, he accounted for three concrete types of rulers that could legitimately legislate and divide rights: ‘Thus the distinction of lordships (*dominium*) could be legitimate according to each [different type of] authority, whether the father divides or the prince legitimately orders or a group legitimately governs’.²⁸³

To go to the roots of what legitimized lordship and possession and exemplify the above theoretical considerations, Ericus also looked back to the earliest instances known of division of lands, those between the sons of Noah after the flood, and later cases from Bible history. At that time, Ericus

²⁸¹ Burns, *Lordship, kingship and empire*, chapter 2, ‘Lordship: the problem of dominium’, pp. 16-39; Coleman, J., ‘Property and poverty’ in: Burns, J.H., ed., *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought. c. 350-c. 1450* (Cambridge 1988), pp. 620-621, 637-648

²⁸² Ericus explicitly referred to Augustine for this. The quote appeared in Gratian’s discussion on divine law, conventional law and property: Richter, E.L., ed., *Corpus iuris canonici*, (Leipzig 1879), VIII. C. I, cols. 12-13; commented by Coleman, ‘Property and poverty’, pp. 614, 617-618.

²⁸³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 19-23. Quote, IV, 23: ‘Potuit ergo distinctio dominiorum secundum utramque auctoritatem esse iusta sive patre distinguente sive principe iuste precipiente sive communitate iuste regnante’.

suggested, there must have been some law that regulated the partition of lands. In accordance with his reasoning on the types of legitimate legislators, he stated that a law of that kind would have been just if it was promulgated by a father over his children, an elected prince or by a group that was granted the authority of the community to do so. That law, he speculated further, which was issued by at least one of those authorities, probably stated that anything previously unclaimed went to the first occupant.²⁸⁴ Ericus concluded this account with another reference to Noah's sons: 'And thus they split up and stretched over the face of the whole world to the area that was designated for them'.²⁸⁵ After a digression on the natural riches of Sweden, on its geography, and on how it was once divided into several smaller realms,²⁸⁶ Ericus stated that the Goths who derived their origin from Scythia and were now called Swedes were the first to occupy the land.²⁸⁷

Ella Heuman, in a survey of Ericus's use of sources, felt that his inquiry into property rights was not of his own making but found no textual parallels to account for it, and nor did Lönnroth who also put this section to scrutiny.²⁸⁸ This new search for sources reveals that Ericus almost verbatim followed John Duns Scotus (d. 1308), who treated the question of ownership in the context of theft and penance.²⁸⁹

Lönnroth discussed Ericus's account of paternal and political authority separated from its function in the nationalist context outlined above, where it belonged. He focused on the general political-philosophical content of these deliberations to gauge what form of lordship they legitimized. These issues also lie at the heart of the concerns of this thesis. Lönnroth interpreted Ericus's discussion of authority according to the grid developed in his thesis on the fifteenth-century royal and aristocratic tug of war and argued that Ericus's two forms of authority, paternal and political, corresponded to the political ideals of *regimen regale* and *regimen politicum*. Lönnroth held that Ericus made a theoretical allowance for both.²⁹⁰ To achieve the correspondence between paternal/political and *regale/politicum*, Lönnroth equated the paternal authority with a conception of the prince as the source of the law. There

²⁸⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica*, IV, 24-26. For the idea in Roman law that a thing that previously had no owner ceded, according to the precepts of natural reason, to its first occupant: Poste, E., ed. and transl., *Gai Institutiones or Institutes of Roman Law by Gaius* (Oxford 1904), pp. 160, 165. Commented by Coleman, 'Property and poverty', pp. 613-614.

²⁸⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 27: 'Atque ita diuiserunt se super faciem vniverse terre vniversis tendentibus ad plagam sibi decretam'.

²⁸⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 28-49. It is not previously noted that the account in this description of natural assets of the different regions of the world Ericus was indebted to Hugh of St Victor: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 29-31. Cf. Poirel, D., ed., *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Opera, Vol II, De tribus diebus* (Turnhout 2002), pp. 15-16. Ericus used the larger part (lines 203-216) of the chapter *De dispositione locorum*.

²⁸⁷ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 50-55

²⁸⁸ Nyrrin-Heuman, *Källkritiska, textkritiska och språkliga studier*, p. 11; Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 209, note 16

²⁸⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 10-27; Cf. Wolter, A.B., ed. and transl., *John Duns Scotus' political and economic philosophy* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y. 2001), pp. 28-35. Duns Scotus treated the issue of property and authority in the course of a lecture on the *Sentences* of Peter the Lombard. The context was sacramental: was restitution of unjustly appropriated goods a necessary prerequisite to receive the sacrament of penance? The place and date for its composition is unknown. However, it was argued, *Ibidem*, pp. vii-viii, 11-12, for Paris and 1303. Consent was a crucial term in the conciliar movement and Ericus, as mentioned above, voiced conciliarist sympathies in his designation of papal authority. It is however beyond the scope of this inquiry to assess if the discussion of John Duns Scotus reached Ericus in a conciliar context.

²⁹⁰ Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', pp. 131-132. Lönnroth argued that even if Ericus in theory allowed for both a political and a royal regime, he in practice and for Sweden only supported the latter, political, exercised either by an elected monarch or by the community itself

are reasons to agree at first with this hypothesis. In the perspective of Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, for instance, a comparison between a royal decree intended for the benefit of his subject and a father's benevolent exercise of authority over his children seemed natural.²⁹¹ In contrast, it may however be remarked that Ericus made no unequivocal statement that supports paternal authority as anything other than that of a natural father over his children. And Scotus, who was Ericus's source, made this restriction clear; outside the family, authority was of a political kind and based on consent. Law in society – it seems that this was what he wished to communicate – was an expression of the will of the community and not of the prince; the origin of political sovereignty was popular.

An alternative interpretation of what paternal authority involved in this context can be put forth. It has been suggested as a possibility that for Scotus the division of authority into a paternal and a political kind implied a defence of ecclesiastical liberty.²⁹² The issue of *dominium*, in its extended sense of sovereignty, was frequently discussed in relation to the two powers.²⁹³ Scotus himself apparently wrote his inquiry at the Paris University at the time and under the impression of the conflict between Boniface VIII and Philip IV, a struggle focused on whether the French king owed his authority to the Pope.²⁹⁴ In this context, Scotus's discussion can be read as an attempt to strike a balance between the two powers. He argued for a popular sovereignty operating through consent. This not only put checks on royal autocracy but also stumped those who claimed that temporal power was mediated by the superior authority of the pope.²⁹⁵

But popular sovereignty was also circumscribed in the account of authority Ericus adapted from the Scot. In accordance with Scotus, Ericus argued that no one should obey what was contrary to divine law;²⁹⁶ the validity of the political authority founded on consent did not overrule the authority of divine precepts. Scotus was not and perhaps could not be explicit on the point of who was to interpret how these divine precepts translated into law, but a preference to the church, in whatever institutional guise, seems natural. If Ericus considered paternal and political authority synonymous with the spiritual and temporal swords whose twin government in the history of the realm he set out to account for, he did not make it clear,²⁹⁷ and an attempt to read his discussion on property rights into his treatment of the two powers therefore remains inconclusive. However, in the minds of his clerical readers at the arch see, the proposition to equate paternal authority with clerical was not perhaps far away. An authoritative basis for a development of that argument could be gauged from Hugh of St

²⁹¹ Aegidius Romanus, *De regimine principum libri III* (Rome 1556; repr. Frankfurt 1968), II.II.III, 173. Rule over a wife, however was political, according to Giles, since it adhered to the laws of matrimony.

²⁹² Harris, C.R.S., *Duns Scotus. Vol. II, The philosophical doctrines of Duns Scotus* (Bristol 1927, repr. 1994), pp. 352-354, hinted at this interpretation.

²⁹³ Coleman, 'Property and poverty', pp. 620-621, 637-648

²⁹⁴ Wolter, *John Duns Scotus*, pp. vii-viii, 11-12

²⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 14

²⁹⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 22; Wolter, *John Duns Scotus*, p. 34

²⁹⁷ Wolter, *John Duns Scotus*, p. 32: '[...] principatus duplex vel auctoritas, scilicet paterna et politica'. Cf. Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 1 and IV, 2, where *duplex principatus* refers to the clerical and lay aspects of authority.

Victor who interpreted the commandment to 'honour thy father' (mother was of no concern here) in support of the authority of prelates.²⁹⁸

Ericus's account of political authority based on popular consent concerned its theoretical foundations. Arguably it implied a refutation of autocracy, but what Ericus in concrete terms meant to suggest with *consensus*, or who he would denote as belonging to the *populus* who conferred it, is not clear. His accounts of decision-making in the *Chronica*, at any rate, depart from the importance of consent and also paraphrase the people expected to concede. For instance, the above-mentioned decision to extol Uppsala to a perpetual seat for government of the realm was arguably one to which Ericus wished to confer legitimacy. He stated it was reached with the consent of all (*omnium consensu*), and he qualified this multitude to consist of 'all the leading men and nobility as well as all common people' (*vniversa tam procerum et nobilium quam vulgarium multitudo*).²⁹⁹ It is hard to tell if Ericus with this distinction between different social groups meant to imply that they were represented individually or, and perhaps more likely, the idea that commoners were also represented by the magnates of the realm. Consent, it has been suggested in another context, could denote a tacit acquiescence on behalf of the people or their consent through some form of representation. It was frequently understood in the terms of a co-operation in government of a *sanior pars*, a privileged elite.³⁰⁰

Ericus's accounts of decision-making apparently comply with the example of the law code. An element of alleged general consent, paired with the actual political interaction of only a few, appears in the regulations for royal elections. According to the law, the king was elected (*aelia*) at a thing in Uppsala by the judges of the provincial courts (*lagmän*) and twelve men brought with them from each province. These twelve men would be picked with the consent of *all* inhabitants of their province (*meth samtycke alla thera j lagsaga boende aeru*), but there is no specification as to the formal arrangement of this act of popular concession. In addition, other restrictions as to who could actually be legitimately elected also apply. The royal candidate ought to be inborn and preferably of a royal lineage. The one who was unanimously voted for by the judges and their followers was elected king. If unanimity was not reached, the candidate receiving a majority of the votes was extolled. However, the extant law codes phrase this clause of majority differently. Majority was not always interpreted as a

²⁹⁸ Hugh of St Victor, '*Institutiones in decalogum legis dominicae*' PL, 176, cap. II, col. 13, interpreted the seventh commandment, to honour parents (and more specifically the father), in support of the authority of prelates: '[...] Honora patrem tuum, [...] Sane quantum spectat ad sensum litterae, duobus modis parentes nostros honorare debemus, et obediendo eis videlicet in omnibus, his exceptis in quibus Dei Patris dilectio non offenditur, et eos (quantum nostra facultas suppetit) adjuvando. Sed et de patribus spiritualibus, id est praelatis nostris, idipsum intelligere nihil impedit, quibus obedientiam debemus quantum nostra habet possibilitas, et auxilium, imo servitium quantum suppetit facultas'. Transl.: '*Honor thy father*, [...] Truly this much pertains to the literal sense [of this commandment] that we shall honor our parents in two ways, both by obeying them in everything, except from in matters that offend the love of God the Father, and by sustaining them (to the extent our resources are sufficient). However, nothing prevents that we understand [this same commandment to refer to] spiritual fathers, that is our prelates, to whom we owe obedience to the extent that we have possibility and assistance, nay rather servitude, as far as the resources are sufficient.'

²⁹⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* II, 12-13, XV, 14

³⁰⁰ Dunbabin, 'Government', pp. 518-519

majority in numbers, but some instances claim that the outcome of the election fell to the position taken by the *sanior pars* (*ypperstomm*) of the electoral body.³⁰¹

Lönnroth interpreted Ericus's account of authority and consent as a support for an electoral monarchy, but also for lordship exercised by the community, as during the Engelbrekt uprising in the conflict with King Erik of Pommerania.³⁰² This may be true, but it is also important to note that in the eyes of Ericus the process of election in itself did not constitute a guarantee for the legitimacy of the candidate extolled. It was crucial that the *right* candidate was chosen. He communicated St Birgitta's critique against electoral kingship, where the true heir (*verus heres*) was not elected. And he considered the disastrous reign of King Magnus, who was chosen through the favour of the magnates but to the detriment of the assassinated son of the former king, an example of this state of affairs: The calamitous end of king Magnus's reign was an ironic mirror image of the glory and unanimity at hand at his election: '*Ecce finis regni huius regis tam gloriose et concorditer electi*'. As this example also makes clear, the distinction between electoral and hereditary kingship was not absolute in Ericus's account. The son of the former king ought to have been elected.³⁰³

When it comes to Ericus's support for lordship exercised by the community of the realm, it will be argued below that Ericus in various ways conferred legitimacy to the rebellion against King Erik of Pommerania and thereby to the interim government of that time. But, arguably, it was equally important for him to provide legitimacy for the aristocratic rule that was the order of his present day. This system needed a theoretical support, not the least since it was contrary to the regulations of the Swedish law, which unequivocally stated that the realm should be governed by a king.³⁰⁴ Nothing indicates however that Ericus embraced this present government by many with any enthusiasm; on two occasions he stated that the realm needed a king for its continuance.³⁰⁵ His theoretical allowance for aristocratic rule may be interpreted as a concession to contemporary political necessity. A pragmatic stance of this kind could be theoretically legitimized. Thomas Aquinas argued that society was most expediently governed by one, a king. However, government of a small group of good men, an aristocratic government, was also just, and Thomas considered that even its degenerate form, oligarchy, was less destructive than kingship perverted into tyranny.³⁰⁶ As discussed below in chapter III, with no candidate that could legitimately claim the Swedish throne, this was in fact the alternative Ericus was faced with.

³⁰¹ Schlyter, *Corpus iuris sueo-gotorum antiqui*, pp. 12-14, and p. 14, note 88

³⁰² The nature of the principate that Ericus conferred to Engelbrekt was according to Lönnroth, Ericus Olai som politiker', pp. 132-133, of a similar kind to the one claimed by Jöns Bengtsson, elected by leading Swedish men as head to eradicate tyranny and restore liberty to the realm.

³⁰³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica XXXVII*, 19-23. References to Birgitta: Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 45. Nor is it the case that in the extant law codes the distinction between electoral and hereditary kingship is always absolute. Some manuscript for instance suggest that the provincial judges assemble for election only if no son of an inborn king is at hand: Schlyter, *Corpus iuris sueo-gotorum antiqui*, p. 13, notes 47, 48

³⁰⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 12

³⁰⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica XV*, 9-10 and *LII*, 10

³⁰⁶ Thomas Aquinas, 'De regno ad regem Cypri' in: *Idem, Thomae de Aquino opera omnia iussu Leonis XIII P. M. edita. T.* 42 (Rome 1979), I.2-3, pp. 452-453

National historical writing

National historical writing appeared in medieval Europe at the courts of kings or of the highest ecclesiastical leaders of the realms.³⁰⁷ The political motives for the instigation of these works are most easily understood against the background of the belief, outlined above, in the existence of naturally separate peoples and their right to a separate government. National history served to validate this sovereignty of a people by depicting it as ancient and independent. Ericus catered for this demand from the outset with the choice of title for his work, the *Chronica regni Gothorum* or Chronicle of the Realm of the Goths, which adhered to the contemporary Gothicism views on history of Sweden as the ancient and perpetual homeland of the Goths. In respect to this tradition, Ericus was a continuator of the national historical vision that was codified in the *Prosaiska krönika* and in the national law code.

Ericus's decision to narrate the history of the realm according to the succession of its rulers was also related to more than antiquarian interests. Genealogy was important where dynastic legitimacy was considered.³⁰⁸ However, the depiction of an ancient and unbroken line of independent kings in national histories also served to assert the independence of the realm as such.³⁰⁹ As a consequence, it was not only the antiquity of the people that must be vouched for. In his *Chronica*, Ericus accounted for more than forty Swedish kings ruling from the birth of Christ until the reign of St Erik in the twelfth century. He assigned great importance to the genealogical part of his historiographical undertaking. Where the lack of reliable sources frustrated his ambition to draw an ancient line of kings Ericus used the apparent lacunae to support his argument of the illegitimacy of the foreign rulers. He claimed that foreign kings stole documents validating the ancienty of Swedish royal glory:

When the royal blood had been expelled or discord prevailed they took kings from abroad. Once these [foreign kings] had seized the favourable moment they consigned nearly all succeeding [Swedish] royal generations into oblivion: They arranged with deceitful cleverness through diligent men of their own that genealogical records, wherever they could be found, were handed over to them, so that the nobility of the people would be reduced and the name of royalty be removed from the blood of the Goths.³¹⁰

The name of royalty had been or almost had been removed from the blood of the Goths. That is, there was no Swedish royal bloodline any more. Ericus was imprecise in his indications to what exact records had been brought out of the country and at what time. One reference to a transfer of letters and

³⁰⁷ Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung*, pp. 736-46. The exceptions noted by Kersken where these type of histories did not originate at the courts of central powers primarily concern England.

³⁰⁸ Gier, A., 'Institutionen und Legitimität im Spätmittelalter' in: Gumbrecht, H. U., Link-Heer, U. and Spangenberg, P.-M., eds., *Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Vol. 11/1,3 *La littérature historiographique des origines à 1500* (Heidelberg 1987), pp. 841-843

³⁰⁹ Relevant discussions in Mason, R.A., 'Scotching the Brut: Politics, history, and national myth in sixteenth century Britain' in: *Idem*, ed., *Scotland and Britain: 1286-1815* (Edinburgh 1987), pp. 68-84; Royan, N., 'National martyrdom in northern humanist historiography' *Forum for Modern Language studies* XXXVIII (2002), pp. 463-64.

³¹⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 75: '[T]um quia exacto sanguine regio aut discordia preualente cum reges aliunde cepissent, illi occasione accepta, vt gentis nobilitatem redigerent ad occasum et nomen regium a sanguine Gothorum auferrent, per subordinatos viros industrios genealogias vbicumque repertas subdola calliditate sibi tradi procurantes omnem pene regiam posteritatem in obliuionem duxerunt'.

privileges from the realm appeared among the grievances against King Erik of Pommerania,³¹¹ but it is uncertain if these were the documents that Ericus referred to. However, what is clear from the account of contemporary history in the *Chronica*, discussed below, is that Ericus considered the lack of a Swedish royal bloodline a political problem. But the issue was not unique to Sweden. In the later Middle Ages, allegations of origins and royal lineages stretching back into a mythical past were not solely a scholarly matter for the learned few. They were applied with practical ends in mind. Historiographical parallels can be identified. In 1320, during the war of independence in Scotland, the Scottish aristocracy drafted the Declaration of Arbroath, which stated their common origin in ancient Scythia and boasted that the Scottish kingdom had been ruled unconquered by a hundred and thirteen kings of their own.³¹² The same line of argument was also applied in later Scottish historiography that was intended to preserve domestic peace and ward off English claims to overlordship.³¹³ Ericus drew on the same traditions and he wrote under the impression of similar concerns.

Conclusion

This chapter provides a comprehensive account of two notions crucial to the discourse on authority in the *Chronica regni Gothorum*. Ericus's historical account departed from the assumptions that God instituted the categories of lay and clerical as parallel hierarchies of societal authority and that He divided the world into different peoples and realms. The chapter illuminates how these assumptions permeate Ericus's declaration of intent and structure for his *Chronica*. These assumptions were of a prescriptive nature and their implementation had pertinence to Ericus's account of legitimate political action on the level of the realm.

Erik Lönnroth held that Ericus's position on the relation between the two powers ascribed supremacy to the spiritual authority but was also critical towards Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson for his involvement in temporal affairs. This account, which deals with Ericus's theoretical preliminaries to this issue and not their implementation in his historical narrative, does not negate Lönnroth's result but rather highlights the fact that Ericus put more effort into emphasizing duality of government than supremacy of one of its parts over the other. It was suggested that contemporary practical political anxieties inclined Ericus towards a *via media*, stressing distinction but mutuality and cooperation between the two powers.

³¹¹ *DN*, Vol. V, p. 460: 'Oc han hafuir alt rikes ingaeld priuilegia oc breff fort bort haer vth aff riket vtlendis, oc hafuir engastadz waro rike waent thet til nytto vtan fordarffueliken skada'. The notion that the Danes transferred genealogies out of the realm recurred in the sixteenth-century Latin oration of King Erik XIV, who also referred to Ericus: Karlsson, M., ed., *Oratio de iniusto bello regis Danie anno 1563 contra regem Suecie Ericum 14 gesto* (Stockholm 2003), p. 127.

³¹² Ferguson, J., ed., *Declaration of Arbroath* (Edinburgh 1970); Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities*, p. 274. The identity of the actual drafter or drafters of the Declaration is debated. It was signed however by the aristocracy.

³¹³ Mason, 'Scotching the Brut', pp. 68-84

In the introduction, the realm was defined as conterminous with the men of the realm, the *homines regni* of Sweden. This chapter examines Ericus's understanding of this community and discusses on what grounds he argued for its political sovereignty. Ericus made clear the political relevance of the Swedish claims of descent from the Goths, held to be the first to arrive and inhabit the land. This myth of a common origin corresponded to a contemporary notion that a people had an inherited right to self-rule, but it was also pertinent to notions in law on the basis of legitimate *dominium*. Ericus argued not only on ethno-historical grounds derived from the Bible or by reference to law. He also put forth the political-philosophical statement that authority, at least outside the context of the family, depended on consent. This was a rejection of arbitrary rule and a claim of popular sovereignty for the Swedish men of the realm. The chapter identifies Ericus's source for this discussion as John Duns Scotus and stresses its function in the context of the *Chronica*, where it served to defend the sovereignty of the Swedes understood as a people. The aristocratic rule that was the order of Ericus's day – as opposed to the kingship expected by the law code – called for justification of this kind.

III. Patrons of archdiocese and realm

Ericus disposed his historical account according to two beliefs: God instituted the lay and clerical orders as parallel hierarchies of authority; and He divided the world into different self-governing peoples and realms. These beliefs provided a theoretical basis for forming a judgment on political actions. Ericus, however, planned his work not as a theological or a political treatise but as a chronologically arranged narrative that would instruct and entertain his audience. This chapter explores his realization of the dualist and nationalist assumptions throughout the historical narrative of the *Chronica*, with a focus on two sections of the work that cover events of particular importance in the history of the Swedish arch see.

Most of the *Chronica regni Gothorum* consists of a straightforward account of events. It conformed in this respect to the primary concern of medieval historical writing: narration of deeds enacted, *res gestae*. Medieval historians focused on great men and on their exemplary actions, words and virtues.³¹⁴ Through the narration of past lives, they offered advice on proper conduct. Frequently they asserted this edificatory ambition in their prologues, as did John of Salisbury: '[...] the lives of others are our teachers, and whoever knows nothing of the past hastens blindly into the future'.³¹⁵ The present chapter examines Ericus's authority discourse as it appears from his account of important historical actors. It considers two sets of lay and ecclesiastical leaders from the history of the realm that contrast sharply. First, it takes note of Ericus's account of the rule of the twelfth-century king, Erik (d. c. 1160) and Bishop Henrik, who was considered his contemporary. In the fifteenth century, St Erik and St Henrik were objects of flourishing cults in Uppsala. It is a likely hypothesis that Ericus perceived of their government as a canonical past that was worthy of imitation. Secondly, the chapter accounts for Ericus's treatment of contemporary history and the government of King Karl Knutsson and Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson, who dominated the politics of the realm in the years before the completion of the *Chronica*. This period was marked by civil wars and Ericus personally witnessed the repercussions of these conflicts from his position at the Uppsala institution.

³¹⁴ Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, pp. 22-25

³¹⁵ Chibnall, M., ed. and transl., *The historia pontificalis of John of Salisbury* (London 1956, repr. Oxford 1986), p. 3: '[...] aliena vita nobis magistra est, et qui ignarus est preteritorum, quasi cecus in futurorum prorumpit euentus'; Von Moos, P., *Geschichte als Topik. Das rhetorische Exemplum von der Antike zur Neuzeit und die historiae im "Policraticus" Johannis von Salisbury* (Hildesheim 1996), p. 9.

Sts King Erik and Bishop Henrik: dualism to the benefit of the realm

The cult of the medieval church concerned not only the individual's relation with God but also the upkeep of society and order. Masses for the well being of king and realm were an established feature in the liturgy of Uppsala from the late thirteenth century. They were performed to the benefit of the union monarchs as they had been for the earlier kings. Another aspect of the cult where institutional concerns found expression was the veneration of saints. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, cults of domestic saints were increasingly important in the Swedish province. A liturgy intended for the protection of the realm and dedicated to Swedish saints, the *Festum patronorum regni*, emerged. This cult affirmed that Sweden was a political entity sanctified by God, a notion that in the context of the contemporary inter-union conflicts was replete with political significance.³¹⁶ The foremost of the Swedish patron saints, St Erik, developed into a virtual symbol of the realm. Closely related to the cult of St Erik however was that of an episcopal saint, Henrik, who also grew increasingly important in the fifteenth century. Universal historians referred to Emperor Constantine and Pope Sylvester I or Charlemagne and Leo III as exemplary models of cooperation between temporal and spiritual authorities in government.³¹⁷ In the martyr saints King Erik and Bishop Henrik, Ericus presented an example for the Swedish realm. One royal and one episcopal saint, both allegedly governing from Uppsala; this was the model case for Ericus's historiographical undertaking. An examination of his compilation from the sources to St Erik's reign in the light of his contemporary political concerns brings out the importance of dualism and nationalism in the shaping of this model.

The legends of St Erik and St Henrik

The vernacular rhymed chronicles that provided most of the material for the *Chronica* did not cover the twelfth-century reign of Erik Jedvardsson or the episcopacy of Henrik. The most comprehensive account for St Erik was the legend read out on the matins of his feast days, a compilation dating from before the turn of the thirteenth century.³¹⁸ This text was not primarily intended as an historically accurate depiction of King Erik's life but to celebrate the hagiographical standards of a just king, similar to Sts Edward, Edmund, Olav or Knut.³¹⁹ It produced deeds, personal qualifications and a death fitted for a saint king. But it was also specific on a number of historical points.

The legend introduced its royal subject by stating that he was of royal lineage and that he was elected unanimously to the vacant throne of Uppsala due to his moral excellence. It accounted for

³¹⁶ Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, pp. 172-231; above, chapter I, p. 48

³¹⁷ One example is the *Kaiserchronik*, discussed above in chapter II: Nelson, J., 'Kingship and Empire' in: Burns, *The Cambridge history of medieval political thought*, p. 250.

³¹⁸ Schmid, T., 'Erik den Helige' in: *KLNM*, Vol. IV, col. 14. Carlsson, E., 'Erikslegendens historicitet' *Historisk tidskrift* (1952), held the legend in its extant version to be an abbreviation of an earlier narrative, written nearer to the death of the king. A dating of at least a part of the legend to the late twelfth century was supported on numismatic grounds by Sjöberg, R., 'Erik den helige - Sveriges rex iustus' in: Ehrensverd, U., ed., *LLt: festskrift till Lars O. Lagerqvist* (Stockholm 1989).

³¹⁹ Weibull, L., 'Erik den helige' in: *Idem, Stockholms blodbad och andra källhistoriska undersökningar* (Stockholm 1965), pp 78-79; Schmid, T., *Sveriges kristnande. Från verklighet till dikt* (Stockholm 1934), p. 135

three important aspects of his reign. First, St Erik supported the church. He added to the construction of the (old) Uppsala church and provided attendants for the divine service (*Upsalensem ecclesiam [...] aggrediens ac ministros divini cultus inibi ponens opere pregrandi et laborioso sollicite studuit consummare*). Second, St Erik proclaimed just laws. Third, St Erik fought the enemies of the faith and the realm; accompanied by the Uppsala-bishop Henrik, he launched an expedition against the pagan Finns. An account of minor deeds fleshed out the ideal. St Erik travelled the realm and distributed justice and peace. He reduced the tax for common people. When it came to feats of personal piety, the legend stressed St Erik's chastity; he used cold baths to repel the 'intimate enemy'. St Erik was venerated as martyr. But his death was not in defence of the faith, but of his throne from a Danish usurper. The anonymous compiler of the legend stated that it was contrary to the custom of the realm to have a foreigner as king. In Erik's tenth year of office, Magnus, a Danish prince who was assisted in this undertaking by an anonymous Swedish nobleman, overcame Erik outside (new) Uppsala, where he was slain after hearing mass. Signs soon appeared. A spring burst out where the blood of the king effused. A blind woman regained her sight.³²⁰

The legend was read out in the matins on St Erik's feast days. The other texts for his cult, found in the versified office dating from the later thirteenth century, added few particulars to its story. But they stressed St Erik's role as patron of the realm (*rex et patronus Suecie*). An addition from the fifteenth century also lauded him as the highest jewel of the *patria*, who would lead his worshippers to the kingdom of glory.³²¹ The text chosen for St Erik's *capitulum* (a short passage from the Bible chanted at Vespers and Lauds) referred to the Bible-theological image of the holy mountain of Zion. It was a quote from the Wisdom of Solomon: 'You Lord have chosen me to be king of your people [...] and told me to build a temple on your holy mountain and in the city where you dwell'.³²² Arguably, the *capitulum* text was intended to denote not only St Erik's Christian works in general but also the concrete building activities that, according to the legend, he undertook at the (old) Uppsala cathedral. As mentioned above in chapter I, Ericus elaborated the Zion motive in the office for the Swedish patron saints. His identification of Uppsala, the *Mons Domini*, as a Zion in the North from whence the realm was governed, discussed in chapter II, therefore apparently adhered to an established tradition, cultivated in the liturgy of St Erik. Ericus's emphasis on the twofold nature of this government, royal and episcopal, was instead preceded in the texts pertaining to the cult of Henrik.

A simultaneous narrative treatment of Erik and Henrik was natural to the audience at the arch see. The archbishops' list of 1344 inferred that the fourth bishop of Uppsala, St Henrik the martyr, was a contemporary to St Erik.³²³ A mass for both St Erik and St Henrik for the defence of Karelia (*pro statu*

³²⁰ 'Vita Sancti Erici Regis et Martyris': Svennung, *Från senantik till medeltid*, pp. 142-148

³²¹ Nilsson, A-M., ed., *The historia of St. Erik, king and martyr, and patron saint of Sweden* (Bromma 2000), pp. 16, 18, 47, 63, 70

³²² Sapientia, 9: 7-8: [T]u me elegisti regem populo tuo et iudicem filiorum tuorum et filiarum / dixisti aedificare templum in monte sancto tuo et in civitate habitationis tuae aram similitudinem tabernaculi sancti tui quod praeparasti ab initio; Nilsson, *The historia of St. Erik*, p. 134

³²³ DS, 3834: 'Quartus [episcopus vpsalensis] sanctus henricus martir qui fuit tempore beati erici'.

Careliae) was celebrated yearly from 1297.³²⁴ Erik and Henrik also appeared together (grouped as martyrs) in the office for the Swedish patron saints, as two of the ‘fathers and leaders’ sent by God to the realm.³²⁵ They frequently appeared together in the arts (plate 6).³²⁶ Erik’s legend, as referred above, mentioned Henrik in the context of the Finnish expedition. The *Legenda sancti Henrici* borrowed from this text and was apparently commissioned shortly after its completion.³²⁷ It was geared to focus on the intimate relation between the bishop and the king.

The first two readings of St Henrik’s legend accounted for the beneficent relation between the two saints. It voiced a dualist creed where a secular and an ecclesiastical leader cooperated in their respective roles to the spiritual and material benefit of their subjects. Henrik governed the Uppsala church while St Erik was king of Sweden. They were close friends. They were ‘like two great lights by which the people of that land were more and more enlightened and fashioned to knowledge of the true God and his cult’ (*quasi duobus magnis luminaribus populus terre illius, ad veri dei noticiam et cultum [...] illustrabatur [...]*). The anonymous compiler of the legend declared the Swedish *patria* fortunate to be governed by two such leaders at one and the same time. Because of their concord the realm would not be divided or made desolate but prosper under their leadership. The church grew in fear of God, laws were straightened, ‘rapacious wolves’ could not harm the innocent when the king from his throne dispersed all evil and the bishop guarded his flock (*cum rex sedens in solio intuitu suo omne malum dissiparet et bonus pastor viriliter vigilaret super custodiam gregis sui*). When victory over the pagan Finns was secured and many baptized, Henrik left the comfort of riches and friends at Uppsala to care for this new plantation. Subsequent readings of the legend explain how Henrik was martyred, how God punished his killer, how the relic of his finger was found and list various miracles attributed to his intercession.³²⁸

Ericus’s account of Erik and Henrik depended on their legends. Annals and office lists produced at the arch see however offered particulars that could not be retrieved from the liturgical texts. The *Annales 1160–1336* was alone among extant Swedish year books to take the martyr death of St Erik in Uppsala as its first entry. It also provided genealogical information concerning Erik’s royal birth, stating that he was the son of Cecilia, daughter of King Sven. In the catalogue of Christian kings found

³²⁴ Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, p. 208, note 439; Ahnlund, ‘Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten’, p. 128

³²⁵ Helander, *Ansgarskulten i Norden*, pp. 264–265: ‘Iam tandem tibi deuota gens Sueuorum / primitias dat patronorum [...] Illustris, iustus, deuotus rex Ericus, / insignis presul ac Henricus / triumphali decorati sunt martyrio. Transl.: ‘Now the Swedish nation, finally faithful to you [God], gives you a first offering of saint-protectors [...] The distinguished, just, faithful King Erik and the eminent Bishop Henrik, who were glorified in triumphant martyrdom’.

³²⁶ One exquisite example is the mid fifteenth-century altarpiece from Länna, depicting Henrik and Erik at sea on their way to crusade in Finland: Wilcke-Lindqvist, I., *Kyrkor i Frötuna och Länna skeppslag: konsthistoriskt inventarium*, Sveriges kyrkor no. 58 (Stockholm 1945), pp. 365–366.

³²⁷ Maliniemi, A., ‘Henrik, S:t’ in: *KLNM*, Vol. VI, cols. 452–453; Gallén, J., *La province de Dacie de l’ordre des Frères prêcheurs* (Helsinki 1946). Commissioner of the legend was Johannes, bishop of Åbo, an early enthusiast of the cult of St Erik. In 1282, when Johannes was still a member of the Dominicans in Sigtuna, his personal seal carried an image of Erik: Thordeman, B., ‘Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst’ in: *Idem*, ed., *Erik den helige. Historia – kult – relikier* (Stockholm 1954), p. 179.

³²⁸ The above quotations from the ‘Legenda sancti Henrici’ follow the edition of Heikkilä, T., *Pyhän Henrikin legenda* (Helsinki 2005), pp. 398–419. A later version of the text added that St Henrik arrived to the realm together with the papal nuncio Nicholas Breakspere: Schmid, T., ‘Henrik den Helige’ in: *SBL*, Vol. XVIII, p. 653.

in the copybook of the arch see of 1344, a marginal gloss inserted at a later date added that Erik was married to Christina, daughter of King Inge the younger.³²⁹



Plate 6. St Erik and St Henrik on expedition to Finland. Mid fifteenth-century altarpiece. Photography: Lennart Karlsson.

The cults in political discourse

The cult of St Erik was a distinguishing mark of the Uppsala arch see. It was an important source of self-esteem, prestige and material assets for this institution. But not only for this institution; in the fifteenth-century political discourse, St Erik was also used as an example of royal prerogatives over the church and developed into a symbol of the Swedish realm. Henrik was less prominent than Erik and did not appear in the contemporary political debate. One attempt at arguing his status in relation to the king, however, can be identified in Uppsala, dating from around the time of the completion of the *Chronica*.

In the later half of the fifteenth century, St Erik outshone the other saints at the arch see. The calendar was leavened with his feasts.³³⁰ His role as patron of the Uppsala cathedral increased the

³²⁹ Above, chapter I, p. 46. The extant *Annales 1160–1336* was transferred from the arch see to Vadstena after 1344. Apparently the genealogical information on Ericus's royal progeny was preserved in some other format until the time of the production of the *Chronica*.

³³⁰ St Erik was venerated on May 18 and, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, his translation was also celebrated, on January 24. At the latest in the 1460s, additional readings of his office every Tuesday (during half of the year) were added. In 1477, a donation to his altar supported another weekly mass for St Erik and for the entire group of Swedish patron saints: Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, pp. 210, 252–254, 267–272.

frequency of his appearances throughout the liturgical year. The (old) cathedral was initially inaugurated for St Lawrence. St Erik ranked as second patron but was occasionally the only patron mentioned.³³¹ The artistic embellishment of the cathedral marked his pre-eminence at this institution. His reliquary was its most valuable treasure, and altarpieces, statues, mural painting and tapestry were constant reminders of his prominence within the walls.³³² In the cathedral's close vicinity lay an individual chapel dedicated to the royal martyr, a holy well and other buildings associated with his cult.³³³ St Erik's image also featured on the seals of the archbishop, the chapter and individual clerics.³³⁴ They arguably laboured to identify their institution with the saint king. This is also apparent from the formulaic expressions of diplomas dating from the end of the fifteenth century. The arch see was occasionally referred to as St Erik's curia (*Sankt Eriks gård*).³³⁵ Donations to the *fabrica* of the Uppsala cathedral (means required for construction, maintenance and the divine service) were after 1468 regularly addressed to St Erik himself. Peasants tilling the lands of the cathedral were likewise, from the turn of that century, referred to as St Erik's farmers (*St Erik's landbor*).³³⁶

St Erik's legend set an example for temporal government and for royal relations with the church, which, was referred to as a precedent in fifteenth-century political discourse. The legend's account of St Erik's solicitude for the Uppsala church was characteristic of his role as a *rex iustus*. It appears also in the earliest extant representation of the king, a coin dating from the 1180s, where St Erik holds a church in his raised right hand.³³⁷ The image was perhaps intended to express the mutual ties between the recently founded arch see and the royal line of Erik's heirs. However, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the Uppsala ecclesiastics of the fifteenth century were ambivalent about royal patronage. The monarchic ambition of King Erik of Pommerania challenged ecclesiastical liberty in the Swedish province. The conflict concerned, among other issues, royal intervention in appointments to higher ecclesiastical offices. When the king clashed with the Uppsala chapter in the archiepiscopal election of 1432, his pen pushers used the story of St Erik's patronage as an authoritative example of monarchic prerogatives. They argued that the Uppsala church was founded and endowed by St Erik and that for this reason a right of nomination also pertained to the contemporary kings of the realm. The position was voiced for instance by bishops loyal to Erik of Pommerania in a letter to Pope Eugene IV in 1432:

These churches founded in Sweden are erected and stand solemnly enriched since their first foundation through the venerable kings of the realm. This goes first and foremost for the church of the archdiocese of

³³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 241-248

³³² Bygdén, A., 'Sankt Eriks skrin genom tiderna' in: Thordeman, *Erik den helige*, p. 344; Thordeman, B., 'Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst', *passim*

³³³ Lovén, C., 'Erikskulten i Uppsala. Dubbelhelgonet och den långa stationsvägen' *Uppland 2004. Årsbok för medlemmarna i Upplands fornminnesförening och hembygdsförbund* (Uppsala 2004), *passim*

³³⁴ Thordeman, 'Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst', pp. 180-181

³³⁵ Ahnlund., 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', p. 139

³³⁶ Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav*, pp. 175-176

³³⁷ Sjöberg, 'Erik den helige', pp. 371-374; cf. Thordeman, 'Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst', pp. 198-199, who suggested that the object in St Erik's hand was a ciborium, an attribute that later appeared in some depictions of this saint.

Uppsala, which was founded and enriched through the exemplary donation of St Erik, once king of Sweden. On grounds of the way they were founded, those who are kings in the aforementioned realm for the time being have the right to nominate suitable persons to archbishop or bishops when these churches have become vacant.³³⁸

St Erik's legend provided historical arguments for the king. The Uppsala clerics also used historiography as a means of resistance. They procured a copy of the archbishops' list found in the *Registrum Upsalense* to be presented at the papal curia. This list however only included entries up to Archbishop Folke (d. 1270).³³⁹ The decision to complete the list abruptly (the original included entries to the 1430s) was not incidental. Archbishop Folke appeared in the concluding entry as the generous commissioner of the new Uppsala cathedral, after the transfer of the see from (old) Uppsala.³⁴⁰ This was a refutation on historical grounds of the use of St Erik's church endowments as a pretext for royal arbitrary conduct towards the contemporary arch see; the message was that St Erik added to the construction of the (old) Uppsala church, but the impressive new cathedral on the ridge was an initiative sponsored by the Swedish archbishop. This issue of royal incursions into the electoral rights of the chapters was not a thing of the past when Ericus compiled the *Chronica* but continued throughout the century, as discussed above.

St Erik's advance as patron of the Uppsala institution was paralleled by his promotion towards patron of the realm. In political discourse concerning legislation and taxation, areas where the legend stated he excelled, St Erik appeared as an example of good government. The notion that he was the source and guarantor of the Swedish law was at hand from 1398, but was commonly referred to first during the Sture regents and the reign of Gustav I.³⁴¹ St Erik's legendary tax relief also impressed the political imagination of later generations. In 1403, Queen Margrete promised relief after the previous heavy burdens caused by the war. She referred to the tax levels of the reign of St Erik as an exemplary standard (*bønderna hær æffter at giorthæ therræ arlicæ scat wt, oc swa meghit ther til som the giorthæ i sancti Eriks konungx daghæ*). Her step son, King Erik of Pommerania, on his royal tour of Sweden (the *Eriks gata*, tour of Erik) had restored five of the fifteen marks previously exacted, but the

³³⁸ Lindblom, *Akter*, nos. 15: King Erik of Pommerania to Eugenius IV, 1332; no. 14: bishops of the Danish province to Eugene IV, 1432: 'Ipse namque ecclesie per Sweciam collocate a primeua fundacionis earum origine per divos regnj reges erecte ac solempniter existunt dotate, precipue autem et singulariter ecclesia Vpsalensis metropolitana per gloriosissimum olim regem Swecie sanctum Ericum quodam prerogative dono fundata existit et dotata. Racione vero et pretextu fundacionis huiusmodi reges dicti regnj pro tempore existentes habent nominare certas et ydoneas personas in archiepiscopum sive episcopos, quociens ecclesias ipsas vacare contingat.'; no. 16: Danish archbishop Peder Lykke to Eugenius IV 1432. Also, Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, p. 96.

³³⁹ Lindblom, *Akter*, nos. 41, 53

³⁴⁰ *DS*, 3834, pp. 299-300: 'Nonus archiepiscopus vpsalensis fuit dominus fulco. [...] hic archidyaconus ecclesie existens procurauit licenciam translacionis sedis ad nouam vpsaliam et fecit eciam eandem. honores ecclesie in plurimis ampliauit. factus vero archiepiscopus canonicas octo in ecclesia fieri procurauit, nam prius tantum quatuor canonici fuerunt. ipse vero duodenarium numerum perfecit de patrimonialibus suis, mansionem suam in beremi et grenby cum suis pertinenciis et attinenciis omnibus apropriaui ecclesie vpsalensi'.

³⁴¹ Liedgren, J., 'Erik konungs lag, Sankt' in: *KLNM*, IV, cols. 21-22

commonalty had failed to be impressed and asked for the entire sum.³⁴² Arguably, this gesture of royal largesse was a failed attempt to play on the legacy of St Erik to create good will for the new regime. On his royal tour, Erik of Pommerania would appear in the image of his saintly forerunner and namesake. The aims of the popular revolt against Erik of Pommerania in 1434–1436 are unclear, but taxes were apparently an issue.³⁴³ And during the rebellion the tax levels of St Erik's reign were also referred to as a norm. One contemporary report stated that the rising peasants aimed to have it again as it was in St Erik's reign, when taxes and tolls were low.³⁴⁴

Participants of the previous rising against King Albrecht in 1371 had already invoked St Erik. It has been argued however that it was the rebellion of the 1430s that propelled him to his status of prime patron of the realm. From this time, St Erik appeared with an increasing frequency in the visual arts. And he was more often portrayed in heavy armour and with a sword, an outfit perhaps suited for his role of martial patron of the realm.³⁴⁵ In a political context, an ironclad St Erik appeared together with the Swedish three crowns on the *Riksklämman*, a new seal for the realm introduced in 1439. During the interregna the council used this seal by itself, and when there was a king at hand his seal was accompanied by this seal of the realm.³⁴⁶ Nils Ahnlund interpreted the new seal with St Erik as a call for rallying and a symbol of shared responsibility and concord among the Swedish councillors in the rebel years.³⁴⁷

St Erik's function of a perpetual royal vicar was not isolated to the 1430s. He appeared on the coins issued during the interim governments between King Erik of Pommerania and King Christoffer and between the regencies of Sten Sture and Svante Sture.³⁴⁸ And the political aspects of his cult were also crucial at the time of the completion of the *Chronica*. In 1471, at the defeat of Christian I against the

³⁴² *DS*, 328, pp. 247–248; Ahnlund, 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', p. 137. The *via regia* travelled by St Erik in his legend arguably referred both to the concrete royal tour of Sweden and the king's high road of justice, traversed also by St Edmund and leading towards heaven: Sjöberg, 'Sveriges rex iustus', p. 374. Previous to his adoption by his royal grand aunt, Erik of Pomerania was named Bogislav, less appropriate perhaps for a Scandinavian king: Carlsson, G., 'Erik av Pommern' in: *SBL*, Vol. XIV, p. 269. The etymology of the *Eriksgata* had no connection to the historical King Erik Jedvardsson: Hasselberg, G., 'Eriksgata' in: *KLNM*, Vol. IV, col. 23.

³⁴³ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 72–83, argued that it was indeed the burdens of taxes that compelled the Swedish peasantry to rise.

³⁴⁴ *BSH*, Vol. II, pp. 260–261. The letter was issued in 1434 by a servant of King Erik's bailiff of Stockholm and addressed to the council of Danzig. It primarily concerned a private business transaction but also accounted for the motives of the rebels: 'Dit doen se alle vmme des willen dat ed hir in Sweden sal also wedder stan alz et in uortiden by konynk Erix tiden stunt de nu gar hillich is den man hir im lande erbarliken viret. do en was hir gen tollen noch gene beschattunge edder beswerunge, der gebure nicht alz nu is also dat se ere gerechticheit wedder willen hebben gehat. gelijk in vorledenen jaren'. Transl.: 'They do all of this because they want that it shall be in Sweden again as it was in the past, at the time of King Erik, who now is a saint venerated with reverence in this land. At that time there were no burdensome tolls, taxes or duties as of today and thus they want the rights and privileges that they had in the past'. Ahnlund, 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', p. 138.

³⁴⁵ Thordeman, 'Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst', pp. 214–215

³⁴⁶ Klackenborg, H., & Tegnér, G., 'Sigillstamper i svenska samlingar' in: Andersen, M. & Tegnér, G., eds., *Middelalderlige seglstamper i Norden* (Roskilde 2002), pp. 26, 33; Ahnlund, 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', p. 139. The seal of Archbishop Olaus Laurentii, however, preceded the Riksklämman of 1439. In 1436, when Olaus took possession of the office that his struggle with King Erik of Pomerania delayed, he substituted the seal of his forerunners, on which St Erik appeared with St Lawrence and the Virgin Mary, for one where the saint king presided alone. The same master carried out the new seal for the archbishop and the Riksklämman. Thordeman suggested that it was Archbishop Olaus – prominent also in the rebel council – that in this way introduced the patron saint of his cathedral also as the patron of the rebellion: Thordeman, 'Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst', pp. 180–182.

³⁴⁷ Ahnlund, 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', p. 139

³⁴⁸ Thordeman, 'Erik den helige i medeltidens bildkonst', pp. 199–200

Sture forces at Brunkeberg, Archbishop Jakob declared that St Erik had interceded on the side of the victors and this notion was repeated in the following year in a letter from the Swedish council to the Danish.³⁴⁹ The *Sturekrönika*, probably commissioned by the victorious Lord Sten, narrated the details of St Erik's intercession; at the Battle of Brunkeberg, whenever the Swedish forces gathered, a flaming sword of Sweden's patron appeared in the skies.³⁵⁰

The decision of a Swedish province synod in 1474 to celebrate St Erik and the group of Swedish patron saints with a high ranking feast throughout the realm were close in time to these political events, and the new regent Sten Sture provided lavish donations to the saint protectors of the realm.³⁵¹ A new piece commissioned for the high altar of the Uppsala cathedral spelled out the historical, political and sacred implications that Lord Sten attributed to his victory at Brunkeberg (Plate 7). In the foreground it depicted a scene from Erik's legend: the king falling into the hands of his Danish captivators. His right hand however pointed to a battle scene occupying most of the table. It displayed knights fighting under the Swedish banner overpowering a Danish force. The scene apparently referred to Brunkeberg but was historically inaccurate. As the heraldry made clear, Karl Knutsson, who was in fact dead at the time of the event, headed one wing of the Swedish forces while his nephew and political heir, Sten Sture, headed another. The message of the composition however was evident: St Erik was finally revenged.³⁵² The avengers, it can be added, were those who claimed to be his political continuators. The altarpiece alluded to a notion of a Swedish political legacy from St Erik, perpetuated in the reign of Karl Knutsson and fulfilled in the regency of Lord Sten. However, as persuasive as this image may have been as a source of political authority in the Swedish realm, St Erik was at no time drawn on solely by forces hostile to the union rule. In 1517, the Danish king Christian II waged war against the rebellious Swedes in the name of St Erik.³⁵³

The historical status of Bishop Henrik is uncertain. Toni Schmid suggested that the compiler of his legend confused him with another Henrik who was a bishop of Sigtuna, in the vicinity of Uppsala, who also died abroad, and near enough in time to Erik Jedvardsson to allow for a developing of the motive of dualism.³⁵⁴ St Henrik was most vigorously venerated in Finland. He was Åbo cathedral's patron from 1296 and was considered the patron of the Finland part of the realm in the later Middle Ages.³⁵⁵ As mentioned above, he was invoked with Erik to defend Karelia, and his efficiency as intercessor in the east was still appreciated in 1475, when the two saints were paraphrased as the

³⁴⁹ Kellerman, *Jakob Ulfsson och den svenska kyrkan*, pp. 119, 121

³⁵⁰ Klemming, *Rimkrönika*, Vol. III, vv. 2388-2391: 'saa opta the swänske monde siik sankka / the saaghe eeth brynnande swärdd öffuer siik / sancte erik konungh som är sweriges wärd wanka / leeth tha wisseligha wanka siith swärd'.

³⁵¹ Helander, *Ansgarskulten i Norden*, p. 114

³⁵² Svanberg, J. & Qvarnström, A., *Sankt Göran och draken* (Stockholm 1998), pp. 39-41. The altarpiece was lost in 1702. Several of its paintings were however copied by Peringskiöld, the antiquarian; reproduced in Boëthius, G. & Romdahl, A.L., *Uppsala domkyrka 1258-1435* (Uppsala 1935), p.171-185. The above argument departs from the notion that Peringskiöld achieved his copies with accuracy.

³⁵³ Ahnlund, 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', p. 139

³⁵⁴ Schmid, T., 'Henrik den Helige', p. 653; *Idem, Sveriges kristnande* (Stockholm 1934), pp. 135-136

³⁵⁵ Maliniemi, 'Henrik S:t', cols. 453-454

foremost patrons of the realm in the context of a defence of Finland from the Muscovites.³⁵⁶ In the fifteenth century, however, the interest in Henrik's cult also increased at the arch see. A prebend was donated to his name in 1400 and the following sixty years, several of his relics were installed in the cathedral's altars. His own feast was exalted to a higher rank, and with the inauguration of the new high altar in 1466, he appeared for the first time as third patron of Uppsala, after St Lawrence and St Erik, and this implied more frequent celebration.³⁵⁷ Henrik, as mentioned above, also ranked among the patrons of the realm at this time.



Plate 7. St Erik captured by the Danes. After drawing by Peringskiöld.

St Henrik did not appear in overt political contexts like St Erik. And no written source that illuminates the fifteenth-century reception of the motive of dualism developed in his legend, which could contribute to this inquiry, has been identified. However, the account of St Erik's legend on the 1470s altarpiece, discussed above, guaranteed Henrik a prominent role. Of particular interest is the table that depicted St Erik's construction and staffing of the Uppsala church (plate 8). St Henrik loomed large in the foreground of this picture. St Erik stood behind him, covered to the half, and holding his hand. A

³⁵⁶ Ahnlund, 'Den nationella och folkliga Erikskulten', pp. 139-140

³⁵⁷ Helander, *Den medeltida Uppsalaliturgin*, pp. 245-248

scene that has no counterpart in the legends was also added for the altarpiece: a depiction of St Henrik in the act of crowning St Erik.³⁵⁸ St Erik's legend mentioned nothing of Henrik's involvement in the construction and staffing of the old cathedral but the fifteenth-century artist of the altarpiece arguably ascribed to him a crucial role. The coronation scene added to the legitimacy of St Erik as a crowned king but also displayed this legitimacy as conferred by the church.

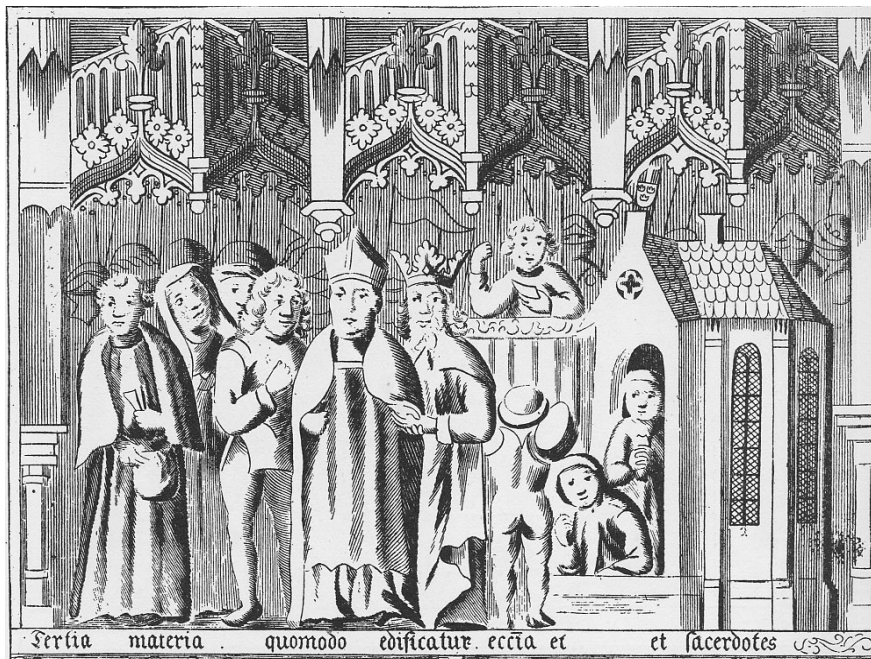
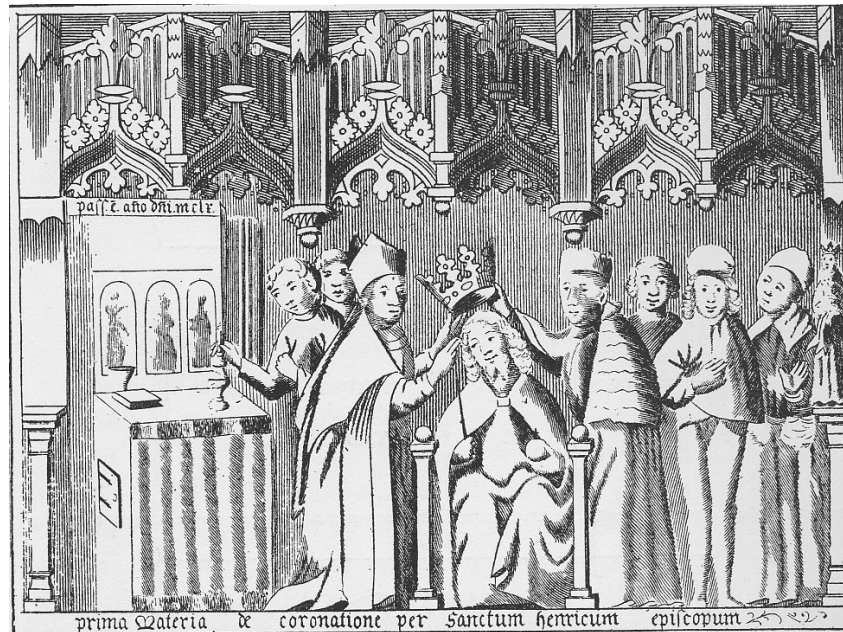


Plate 8. St Erik's coronation and the construction of the (old) Uppsala cathedral. After drawing by Peringskiöld.

³⁵⁸ The tables are reproduced in Boëthius, G. & Romdahl, A.L., *Uppsala domkyrka*, pp. 175-181

St Erik in the *Chronica regni Gothorum*

Ericus's account of St Erik is not representative of the cursory treatment generally bestowed on the older kings in the *Chronica*. The cult of St Erik was a distinguishing mark and an important asset of the fifteenth-century arch see. Ericus's discussion of his reign reflects the emotional attachment to the saint among the Uppsala clergy and the jealousy involved in their custodianship of his reputation. At two instances, Ericus referred to St Erik's cult in Uppsala. He mentioned the translation of the relics in 1273, and their transfer together with the arch see to the sight of the new cathedral in 1276.³⁵⁹ The relic of St Erik's thumb features in a dramatic event of political consequence. At the eve of the rebellion against Erik of Pommerania, Torlav Olavsson, who had been intruded at the arch see by King Erik, stole away with the royal thumb. A fierce tempest however brewed and blocked his departure, and he could not embark before the relic was restored.³⁶⁰

Ericus introduced the account of Erik's reign with his election:

In 1150, the realm of the Swedes was vacant. Erik Jedvardson, who due to his natural compassion and notable moral excellence was loved by the magnates of the land and by all of the people, was in this year unanimously chosen king and in Uppsala honourably exalted on the throne of the realm; for he descended from royal lineage as well as from the leading nobility of Sweden.³⁶¹

Erik was unanimously elected in Uppsala. He was of royal lineage and a Swedish nobleman. He had the support of both the leading men and the commoners. This was a verbatim quotation from St Erik's legend. Ericus only added the dating of the election and Erik's patronymicon. He also emphasized that there was a vacancy prior to Erik's accession by placing this bit first in his account.

Ericus had in fact not much to say about St Erik's reign. He did not even exhaust the potential of the legend to flesh out his narrative with historical detail. Instead he focused on St Erik's election and martyr death. The bulk of this account was an inquiry of the circumstances about the election, which was aimed to demonstrate the workings of providence. Ericus began by enumerating the adjuncts that advanced St Erik's royal prerogative and exalted his dignity: the greatness of the time (*temporis arduitas*); the necessity of providing a king at a vacancy (*prouidendi necessitas*); Erik's personal suitability (his *ydoneitas*); and the electors' unanimity (*concors eligencium voluntas*). But Ericus felt

³⁵⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XIX, 12: 'Anno Domini MCCLXXIII translate sunt reliquie sancti Erici, constructa ecclesia lignea intra muros inceptos in monte sancte Trinitatis, vbi quondam stetit templum trium deorum'. *Chronica* XX, 23: 'Eodem anno, videlicet MCCLXXVI, translatus est beatus Ericus et sedes archiepiscopalis de antiqua Vpsalia ad locum, vbi nunc fundata est ecclesia metropolitana'.

³⁶⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 19-20

³⁶¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 1-2: 'Anno Domini MCL, regno Sueorum vacante, Ericus Iaduardi filius, propter innatam sibi clemenciam et vite bonitatem conspicuam dilectus a principibus terre et omni populo, in regem vnanimiter eligitur ac in regni solio apud Vpsaliam honorifice sublimatur. Exstitit enim tam regali prosapia quam nobilium Suecie procerum oriundus'. Cf. Svennung, *Från senantik*, p. 142.

that these things should be explained in more detail, especially for the younger members at the arch see, the *iuniores*.³⁶²

The *temporis arduitas*, the gravity of that specific time, marked it for a divine intervention and the election of a candidate of Erik's stature. This gravity appeared from the numbers of the year, 1150. Ericus declared that 50, the jubilee year, signified 'release, restitution and absolute liberation' (*annus remissionis, restitutionis, integre libertatis*). 1000 and 100, in their turn, were the 'apex of numbers'. Ericus did not explain their significance. However, the cardinal numbers of the decimal system were associated with perfection and the eternal life, fitting perhaps, for the election of one sent by God to lead his people towards salvation.³⁶³ Ericus emphasized that '[i]t shall not be thought that there is no mystery [revealed] in the fact that in such a year of grace such a king was elected by God rather than by men'.³⁶⁴ However, that there was something extraordinary with this time that related to providence also appeared from its coincidence with the arrival of St Henrik, and his government of the church at Erik's side. Ericus described their twofold leadership in Uppsala in accordance with the account of Henrik's legend:

In the marking out of this time something that probably belongs to the sacred mysteries is conveyed, especially since also at this time the bishop St Henrik was sent from Britain to Sweden; he who was a man notable for his moral excellence and splendid in the integrity of his character and who ruled the church of Uppsala at that time, so that the people in this place, still new to the religion, with these two [Erik and Henrik] as leaders, like two big lights, would be enlightened, learned and directed towards knowledge and devotion of the true God.³⁶⁵

The *prouidendi necessitas*, the need to elect a king, lay in the dreaded consequences of a prolonged vacancy. Ericus explained that the realm without a king was like a headless body (*velud acephalum*). He provided Bible-history as an example: When Israel had no king everyone acted according to their own will, and thus the people lapsed into idolatry.³⁶⁶

As mentioned above, Ericus also had the legend's statement of a vacancy introduce his account of St Erik. This was to repel the claim of a 'small chronicle' (*quaedam cronicula*: that is the *Prosaiska*

³⁶² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 4: 'Verum quia hec iunioribus in promptu non sunt, aliqua sunt ex hiis paulisper lacius explicanda'. *Iuniores*: above, chapter I, p. 29.

³⁶³ Meyer, H., & Suntrup, R., *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (München 1987), cols. 784-785, 848. Ericus also mentioned 10, another cardinal number of the decimal system. For 50, as in the jubilee year, *Ibidem*, cols. 735-746.

³⁶⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 6: 'Non enim putandum est vacare misterio, quod tali anno gracie talis rex a Deo potius quam ab homine sit electus'. *Mysterio*: Blaise, A., *Dictionnaire Latin-Francais des auteurs chrétiens* (Paris 1955), p. 547: 'Secret du plan Divin, du gouvernement du monde révélé par une communication de la sagesse divine, révélation voilée d'un événement eschatologique'.

³⁶⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 8: Hac ergo temporis designacione verisimile est aliquid mysticum importari, maxime cum etiam eo tempore sit missus in Sueciam a Britannia sanctus Henricus episcopus, vir vite bonitate conspicuus et morum honestate preclarus, qui tunc Vpsalensem regebat ecclesiam, ut hiis duobus capitibus, quasi duobus luminaribus magnis, populus terre illius adhuc in divino cultu novellus ad veri Dei noticiam, devocionem et cultum illustraretur, dirigeretur, doceretur. Cf. quote from the *Legenda sancti Henrici* above, p. 83.

³⁶⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 9-10: 'Prouidendi necessitas ex regni vacacione perpenditur, ne tantum regnum velud acephalum sine capite remaneret. Quando enim non erat rex in Israel, faciebat unusquisque quod voluit, et sic ad ydolatriam populus est prolapsus'.

krönika) that Karl Sverkerson was already king at the time of Erik's election. Ericus did not deny the chronological precedence of Karl's election but argued that Karl was not legally king of the realm. To support this, Ericus investigated the concept of a vacancy. 'No ruler', he argued, could be understood in two different ways. The realm could be without a ruler *de iure*, or, it could *de facto* lack a ruler. The legitimate king was elected at the stone of Mora in Uppsala. This meant that the election of Karl in Östergötland, accounted for by the 'small chronicle', was only a local affair, with no authority on the level of the realm. Ericus buttressed the precedence of the Uppsala election with reference to a decision made in the reign of Olof Skötkonung that the king was called *rex Suecie* and not *rex Gothorum* and in consequence should be extolled by electors from the Svealand part of the realm. Ericus also referred to a previous statement in the *Chronica* that since the time of King Inge, all kings should be elected in Uppsala.³⁶⁷

Erik's *ydoneitas*, his suitability for the royal office, was commended by the sanctity of his livelihood (*vite sanctitas*) and his noble birth (*generis nobilitas*).³⁶⁸ Erik's exemplary morals could be discerned from his deeds (*ex gestorum et vite progressu*). Ericus described the king's religious scruples in accordance with the legend, as fervent in prayer and vigils, lavish in giving alms to the poor, and chaste. He chastised his audience with the remark that Erik's abstinence was truly noteworthy, because clerics and monks of their own present age were not as devoted to this virtue.³⁶⁹

The vacancy at the time of King Erik's accession was contested by the *Prosaiska krönika*. This vernacular forerunner to the *Chronica* also questioned the legend's straightforward account of Erik's royal blood; it stated that Erik's father Jedvard was a well-to-do farmer.³⁷⁰ Ericus, however, held the readings from the legend (*que de eo leguntur in ecclesia*): 'for he descended from royal lineage as well as from the leading nobility of Sweden' as proof enough for the *sanguinis nobilitas* of Erik Jedvardsson.³⁷¹ He stated, with a reference to Augustine, that the authority of the church, forced him to take this as the truth of the matter. The church was infallible about what was necessary to salvation; it would not err in things that were recited in public song to the glory of God.³⁷² Apparently countering charges of pious lies on behalf of the legend's compiler, Ericus added that it would have made no sense to discourse falsely on St Erik's royal descent. If Erik was indeed of common origins

³⁶⁷ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 9-14. Cf. Klemming, *Prosaiska krönikan*, p. 235. Ericus's source for the account of the precedence of the Svealand part of the realm at the time of Olov Skötkonung was probably hagiographic: the Uppsala version of the *Vita sancti Sigfridi*, *SRS*, II, p. 370, re-edited to better fit the archdiocese's aspirations: Kjöllström, 'Sigfridslegenden', p. 21. The historical decision that no one was king of the realm without election in Uppsala: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* II, 12-13 and above, chapter II, p. 75. Ericus held that also Karl Sverkerson's father was a petty king of Östergötland and specified that he was elected by the Östergötland community of peasants, the '*communitas rusticorum*': Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XIV, 10.

³⁶⁸ Heuman & Öberg *Chronica* XV, 15

³⁶⁹ Heuman & Öberg *Chronica* XV, 16-17

³⁷⁰ Klemming, *Prosaiska krönikan*, p. 235

³⁷¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 18

³⁷² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 21. Ericus communicated the same axiomatic understanding of the infallibility of the church in his introduction to the study of theology, the *Regula sacrae theologiae*: Stegmüller, pp. 397-399; Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 221

and still reached the height of honours with everyone's acclaim, this would have added to his merits and not detracted from them.³⁷³

If it were however in some instance stated that King Erik was of common birth, Ericus said that for himself he would find it fitting to acknowledge this; even emperors, he stated, are in the last instance of common stock, because it is not the nature of birth (*natura natalium*) that is the cause of difference between men (*diversitas*) but the rulings of fortune (*fortuna*). And if anyone had made the effort to pass a judgment on King Erik's immediate ancestry and had found his father to have been a farmer, taken that this was to pass for the truth, did it, Ericus asked rhetorically, exclude the possibilities of a royal progeny? Before his election, St Erik was married to the daughter of King Inge. Was it not possible that Erik's father's wife was also from a royal family and that he then derived a royal origin from his mother's line? As discussed above, the annals of Uppsala in fact supported this turn of the argument. They inferred that Erik's mother was Cecilia, daughter of King Sven. Ericus concluded his discussion of St Erik's ancestry with examples from the Bible that demonstrated how, in a final analysis, it was futile to discuss the pedigree of men. To begin with, we all derive from the same universal father. And the Lord wished Abraham to beget sons both from a free woman and a maidservant. Jacob the patriarch, in addition, had sons from two wives and two maidservants. His sons became the leaders of the multiplying tribes of Israel; no one can thereafter be certain if they descended from a freeborn woman or a maid.³⁷⁴

Ericus was brief on St Erik's martyr death. According to the legend the Danish prince Magnus, who was supported by an anonymous Swedish nobleman, killed Erik. Ericus referred to it as an opinion that Karl Sverkersson was involved in the regicide and reserved the certain blame of the killing for two Danes, the aforementioned Magnus Henrikson (d. 1161) who was now accompanied by Henrik Skadelår (his father). Ericus was clear as to the illegitimacy of their attempt to usurp the government of the realm. They intruded as fierce wolves and divided St Erik's royal residence and possessions between them. They acted as if they had also obtained the realm; they made Magnus king and feigned legitimacy by claiming his heritage from the Swedish king, Ragnvald. Ericus stated that Magnus however was nothing but a pretender, unworthy of the royal dignity. The people reacted with passion when they heard of Erik's death, as if the deceased were their own father. They defeated the usurper in a place where the church of *Danmark* was later built.³⁷⁵

Swedish royal blood and ecclesiastical liberty

St Erik was a source of authority in the public sphere of late medieval Sweden. He was a major asset to the arch see, but the Uppsala church had no control over the interpretation and use of his legacy. St Erik appeared in political discourse to legitimize various, and sometimes even contrary, institutional

³⁷³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 22-23

³⁷⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XV, 24-31. For the latter part of this discussion on descent Ericus drew on Peter of Blois: Öberg, *Prolegomena*, p. 43.

³⁷⁵ Heuman & Öberg *Chronica* XV, 1-7, 14, XIV, 15-16

interests, such as royal prerogatives over the church or the Swedish rebel cause against the union king. When Ericus chronicled St Erik's reign, this involved a reproduction of the authority conferred by the saint. It was necessary in this activity for Ericus to mend the legacy of the saint so that it only justified aspirations that he considered just. The nationalist and the dualist assumption, discussed above in chapter II, affected his shaping of this authoritative model.

In the prologue of the *Chronica*, Ericus voiced his frustration over the difficulties to trace the royal genealogies of Sweden far back in time. He claimed that foreign kings had stolen genealogical documents and that the name of royalty therefore had been removed wholly or partially from the blood of the Goths. In his own present day, Ericus thought that there was no Swedish royal bloodline any more. Ericus shared the concern of establishing royal genealogies with other compilers of national history. The depiction of an ancient and unbroken line of independent kings supported the independence of the realm.³⁷⁶ In the case of Sweden, a royal line like that could only be achieved with some ingenuity.

St Erik appeared for the first time in the *Chronica* in Ericus's account of the assassination of Inge the younger (d. c. 1125), the last king in the royal line of Stenkil. Ericus argued that St Erik was a link forged by providence between this ancient line of kings and a new:

And so the lamp in Israel was extinguished by the love of domination, and so the royal blood was exterminated from the realm. Through divine providence, however, a tiny spark lay hidden beneath the ashes, from which, in time, a seed in Israel would awake, for Christina, the daughter of Inge and his venerable wife, was spared for marriage with the glorious king and martyr St Erik. If not the lord of armies had left us this seed we would have been like Sodom. In this he who judges the countries of the earth gave power to his king, and extolled the horn of his people.³⁷⁷

Ericus inferred that Erik was elected by God to fulfill a special role in the history of the realm. Without St Erik, the realm would have turned into a second Sodom, a model of moral turpitude, instead of a second Israel. This was not only a reference to St Erik as an important saint, who, as it was stated in his versified office, led his worshippers to the kingdom of glory. It was a reference to his role as a link, through marriage, between the old royal line of Sweden and a new, and to the importance of this line for the preservation of the realm.

Further down in his account, Ericus clarified the contemporary relevance of this blend of genealogical and theological-historical concerns. He claimed that '[...] the blood of the venerable Erik

³⁷⁶ Above, chapter II, pp. 52-53, 77-78

³⁷⁷ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XIII, 44-46: 'Sic amore dominandi lucerna in Israel est extincta, sic sanguis regius exterminatus a regno. Diuina tamen prouidencia modica scintilla latebat sub cinere, vnde suscitaretur suo in tempore semen in Israel, dum filia Ingonis sueque venerande consortis Cristina gloriosi regis et martiris beati Erici coniugio seruaretur; nisi enim Dominus exercituum reliquisset nobis semen, quasi Sodoma fuisset. In illa enim qui iudicat fines terre dedit imperium regi suo et sublimauit cornu populi sui'. Ericus's notion that Inge the younger was Erik's father in law apparently stems from a fourteenth-century construction, held to be inaccurate: Gilllingstam, H., 'Inge d y' in: *SBL*, Vol. XIX, p. 781. The notion of the martyred St Erik as a seed is found in the legend: pressed down into the earth, Erik would give spiritual fruit: Svennung, 'Vita Sancti Erici Regis et Martyris', p. 145.

remained within the realm until Magnus, Sweden's last king'.³⁷⁸ King Magnus (d. 1374), as Ericus made clear, descended from St Erik via his great grandfather's (Birger Jarl) marriage with the daughter of King Erik (*Läspe och halte*), who was the great grandson of the saint king. The reference to King Magnus as the *last* king of Sweden was more obscure. But this expression makes sense yet further down in the *Chronica*, where Ericus added that all the rulers after King Magnus were in fact not kings but tyrants.³⁷⁹ Ericus portrayed the necessity of a true royal authority in the realm vividly and in accordance with contemporary organicist assumptions: without a king, the Swedish body politic was headless.

For Ericus, the royal line from St Erik was the only legitimate one in the realm. Its loss of power coincided with the loss of legitimate government at large; it was synonymous with the fall of the throne into the hands of 'foreigners', as discussed below. St Erik's legend stated that it was contrary to the custom of the realm that foreigners governed. This was codified in the national law of the later centuries, which regulated that the king of the Swedish realm was preferably inborn.³⁸⁰ A nationalist discourse on authority also appeared in Ericus's brief account of St Erik's death. It is possible that the thirteenth-century legend's statement that a Danish prince slew Erik did not reflect any anti-Danish sentiments.³⁸¹ Ericus's fifteenth-century audience, however, with all likelihood read the killing of St Erik in the light of contemporary political events. Ericus affirmed the tradition that St Erik was slain in the hands of the Danes by including it in the *Chronica*. He also increased the Danish presence at the deed (Henrik Skadelår was added to Magnus Henriksson) and he downgraded the truth claim of the legend's account of Swedish involvement in the assassination ('a certain nobleman of the realm') by referring to it merely as an opinion. Ericus's account of the martyr death in fact decried the illegitimacy of an attempt of Danish usurpers to conquer the Swedish realm by force. It was not unique for Ericus to treat the legend in this way. The *Prosaiska krönika* provided a similar account.³⁸² The altarpiece commissioned by Lord Sten, discussed above, also interpreted St Erik's martyr death as one instance in a perpetual conflict between Denmark and Sweden. It added a sacred dimension to Sten's victory over King Christian I by placing it within the context of St Erik's cult.

The symbiosis of politics and religion in the authority discourse of the *Chronica* or the Sture altarpiece was a consequence of the particular view on history shared by the authors of these works. In his appeal of 1481 for historical instruction at monastic communities, Abbot Günther of Nordhausen stated that sacred and profane history could not be set apart but were yoked together. In order to better understand the workings of divine providence, it was therefore necessary that junior (and senior)

³⁷⁸ Heuman & Öberg *Chronica* XVI, 28: '[...] sanguis beati Erici perpetuatus est in regno vsque ad Magnum regem Suecie vltimum [...]'].

³⁷⁹ Below, p. 100

³⁸⁰ Above, chapter II, p. 75

³⁸¹ Maintained by Westman, 'Erik den helige och hans tid' in: Thordeman, *Erik den helige*, p. 47.

³⁸² This was the rendering of the events also in the *Prosaiska krönika*, which is however less cautious than Ericus as to the involvement of Karl Sverkerson: Klemming, *Prosaiska krönikan*, pp. 235-236.

members of the monasteries were taught history.³⁸³ Similar didactic concerns were at hand when Ericus wrote his *Chronica*. It was difficult and perhaps even unwarranted among his interpretative community to distinguish the significance of St Erik in the history of the realm from that in the history of salvation. Ericus approached the *iuniores* members of his readers to explain that these two matters were intertwined. In his account there was no sharp dividing line between historical and theological discourses. Ericus claimed that the election, reign and martyrdom of St Erik were part of God's plan with the realm. Politics was thereby raised through theological discourse into the history of salvation and the outcome of the events appeared as providential. St Erik was martyred for the glory of God, but it was a Danish prince who killed him. For Ericus, and for the contemporaries that shared his political convictions, this struggle between the men of God and the Danes continued in his present day.

Ericus set out the focus of his compilation with clarity. He would account for the history of the realm according to the succession of kings and bishops governing from Uppsala. King Erik and Bishop Henrik were two contemporary saints residing in Uppsala; they were, as argued above, the model case for Ericus's compilation. The sources to their epoch however were thin, and, faithful to the principles of compilation, Ericus refrained from invention to fill in the resulting gaps of his narrative. It appears inconsistent, in view of the importance of the matter and the scarcity of sources, that Ericus did not include all information that was in fact at hand. The legend hallowed St Erik as a benefactor of the Uppsala church. He completed the construction of the (old) Uppsala cathedral and instituted servants for the divine cult there. He also founded the Finnish church, placed St Henrik as its leader and had priests appointed. Ericus omitted these glimpses of St Erik's relation to the church from his account.

Various reasons may account for these omissions. The legend itself was in no need of introduction to Ericus's intended audience at the arch see. Its readings were repeated throughout the liturgical year and must have been well known to the Uppsala clergy. However, another reason to neglect the references to St Erik's patronage lay in the fifteenth-century contests over royal church politics, discussed above. King Erik of Pommerania had used St Erik as an example of monarchic prerogatives over the church to legitimize his right to appoint and accept candidates to the Swedish arch see. Past experiences and apprehension of future royal initiatives made it convenient not to emphasize the patronage of St Erik over the church.

A dualist example for the relation between temporal and spiritual authorities was however set by the legend of St Henrik, whose concord with the king guaranteed the peace and well being of the realm. Ericus's introduction of St Henrik into the account of Erik's reign emphasized what was already implied in the legend: the arrival of Bishop Henrik to the realm and his government at Erik's

³⁸³ 'Traktat des Abtes Gunther von Nordhausen über den Wert historischer Aufzeichnungen' in: Frank, *Das Erfurter Peterskloster*: Verum sacra et profana historia coniungenda est, si divinam providentiam, quae cuncta gubernat, accuratius cognoscere et studiosius perspicere velimus. Merito igitur in singulis coenobiis doctus historiarum magister constituendus est, qui iuniores – at quid de iunioribus dico, immo etiam seniores; nam et hi plerique infantes sunt in hoc studio! – certis horis fideliter informet'.

side was part of God's plan for the realm. Ericus also paraphrased the legend's allegory of Erik and Henrik like two big lights leading the realm. St Bernhard referred to Peter and Paul as two big lights that God placed in the body of the church. It is possible that the compiler of Henrik's legend intended to link the Swedish saints with the image of the apostles in this way.³⁸⁴ Ericus, however, arguably included the legend's allegory of the two lights to denote the lights of sun and moon, referred to in his prologue as the great spheres of spiritual and the temporal leadership. He erected an interpretative arch back from the historical account of Erik and Henrik to the introductory statement of the *Chronica* that God instituted a twofold leadership to govern the realm from Uppsala.³⁸⁵ The theoretical understanding of secular and ecclesiastical authority that Ericus proffered in the prologue, and the historical examples he set forth with Erik and Henrik, established the ideal of concord and unity between the bishop and the king as a prerequisite for societal order and peace. At the time of the writing of the *Chronica* in the 1460s, with its constant strife between the archbishop of Uppsala and the king, the loss of this ideal was acutely felt.

King Karl Knutsson and Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson 'who could not suffer each other in one realm'

Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson and King Karl Knutsson were elected to their respective offices in 1448. When Ericus completed the *Chronica*, not long after their deaths in 1467 and 1470, Jöns and Karl had dominated the politics of the realm from the beginning of his career within the Uppsala institution. To chronicle the deeds of these contemporary lords was a very different undertaking than compiling a panegyric on St Erik and St Henrik. The task had overt political implications. In October 1471, a terminus post quem for the completion of the *Chronica*, Karl's nephew and political heir Sten Sture was the new regent of the realm and the new archbishop of Uppsala was Jakob Ulfsson. Erik Lönnroth suggested that in the new regime of these two men, Karl could not be publicly criticized while his enemy Jöns could not be lauded and that these restraints governed Ericus in his writing.³⁸⁶ In his portrait of these two men, Ericus's nationalist and dualist ideals were confronted with stark political realities and – perhaps – personal loyalties, and divisions were blurred.

The matter of recounting his near present day also demanded skills from Ericus as an historical writer. His stated intention was to produce a *compendium* to Swedish history; that is, a brief compiled from previous authoritative accounts. With the end of his main source for contemporary history, the *Karlskrönika*, in 1452, this mission was in a sense completed. After that year, Ericus could no longer compile but had to assert. The particular character of the concluding section of the *Chronica*, beginning with the portrait of King Karl referred to below, has been noted in previous research. There

³⁸⁴ This comparison was suggested by Heikkilä, *Pyhän Henrikin legenda*, p. 399 (notes).

³⁸⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* I, 1-3; above, chapter II, pp. 57-58

³⁸⁶ Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 134

is a gap in the chronological narrative of the *Chronica* between the years 1453–1456. Thereafter, only the events of 1457 receive a more extensive treatment. The gap, it has been suggested, was a result of censorship.³⁸⁷ Indeed, it can be imagined that Ericus was critical of Karl Knutsson's inquisitions into church property of 1453–1454, and in the present *Chronica*, Karl's church policies are nowhere mentioned.³⁸⁸ But without additional material evidence for a censorship, this remains speculation. The apparent sketchiness towards the end of the *Chronica*, together with other rough features of the text, could also suggest that it was never completed.³⁸⁹ Erik Lönnroth however offered a valuable suggestion to explain the compositional function of this concluding section, without references to an alleged incompleteness of the text; the struggle between Karl and Jöns was not intended as a part homogenous with the rest of the historical narrative, it was a concluding example, a theological-historical meditation on the theme of discord that arose in the realm from the ambitious character of its inhabitants.³⁹⁰

The concrete institutional context of the production of the *Chronica* also elucidates the concerns alive when Ericus crafted this final and particular part of the text. It was in this section that the political career of Archbishop Jöns came to the fore. Particular verbosity was redundant. Ericus's intended audience knew the recent events and the undertakings of their former ecclesiastical superior. It is obvious from his casual reference to the archbishop's incarceration in 1463 that this event needed no introduction.³⁹¹ It must also be taken into account that among the readership present at the arch see in the 1460s, Jöns Bengtsson was a controversial character. The chapter issued repeated complaints about his involvement in temporal affairs, and also disassociated itself from his actions. At his imprisonment, Jöns issued an interdict to put pressure on the sacrilegious king who held him captive. But he depended on the Uppsala chapter to enforce it. Due to this involvement in the politics of the realm the chapter was thus under continual coercion from King Christian on the one hand and from the Oxenstierna family group on the other, to disobey or adhere to their archbishop. At times, leading prelates of the chapter were on friendly terms with Jöns Bengtsson's enemies.³⁹² But a political heterogeneity among the members of the Uppsala chapter must not be presupposed. Ericus was one of two representatives who attended to the captive Jöns Bengtsson in Stockholm in September 1463. Jöns on this occasion handed over his episcopal duties and powers to the chapter.³⁹³ Ericus's subsequent receipt of a prebend, two weeks after Jöns's release from custody, has been taken to indicate that he was an esteemed collaborator of the archbishop.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁷ *BSH*, Vol. III, p. LXXXIX

³⁸⁸ Above, Introduction, pp. 17-18

³⁸⁹ Öberg, *Prolegomena*, pp. 14-17

³⁹⁰ Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', pp. 129-130. Cf. Ernst Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', pp. 223, 230, who argued that the concluding part was written at a later date than the rest of the text and that it was intended as an epilogue to the preceding account of Karl's fortunate history. He did not specify what indicates that Ericus considered Karl's reign fortunate.

³⁹¹ Above, chapter I, pp. 29-30

³⁹² Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', pp. 134-141

³⁹³ *HH*, Vol. VIII.1, pp. 9-12

³⁹⁴ Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', pp. 216-217; Lönnroth, E., 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 136

Tyranny and national martyrdom in the Scandinavian union

Ericus's contemporary history, the period from the 1430s to the time of the completion of the *Chronica*, was marked by political conflicts. The institutional framework for the government of the realm was complex and unstable at this time. Sweden formed part of a personal union, sharing kings with Denmark-Norway. An irregular form of authority was temporarily exercised by Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson over the Swedish forces rebelling against King Erik. When Ericus completed his work, however, Karl Knutsson had at three times ruled Sweden independently as a king. Appointed regents had also on numerous occasions governed the realm, an office that at two times was occupied by Archbishop Jöns. The issue of the union and the political legacy of the rebellion were important points of reference in contemporary political discourse. A preliminary assessment of Ericus's account of these concerns clarifies his discourse on authority in the cases of Jöns and Karl.

A critique of individual monarchs of the union was not necessarily a critique of the union as such. And Ericus's notion that sovereignty in the realm pertained to the Swedes as a people, discussed in chapter II, did not necessarily exclude a personal union with the neighboring realms; sovereignty lay with the men of the realm, but they conferred it on a prince or a group of rulers according to their wishes. They could favor a dynastic union on pragmatic grounds; united forces were perhaps, in the face of the North-European interstate competition, a better guarantor of autonomy for the men of the realm than independent government. Ericus did not explicitly denounce the legitimacy of the union. However, his accusations of arbitrary rule and outright tyranny of the union monarchs, his programmatic xenophobia and idea of a sanctified Swedish royal bloodline suggest that he considered independence the ideal. The Swedish rebellion against Erik of Pommerania appears in the *Chronica* as a legitimate rise that had divine mandate.

Ericus considered Magnus (king 1319–1364) the last legitimate king of the realm, as discussed above. Ericus put it in the mouth of Engelbrekt that only rulers until Magnus were in fact kings, because those who later ruled were tyrants:

For since the times of the last king Magnus the Swedish realm had not had kings but tyrants, whose aim it was not to preserve the realm but to tear it apart, impoverish it and make it desolate.³⁹⁵

Engelbrekt, in Ericus's account, did not refute the legitimacy of these governors on formal grounds. The rulers after King Magnus and up until the time of his alleged speech of 1434 were tyrants because they did not govern for the benefit of the realm. This accorded with a traditional notion of tyranny.

³⁹⁵ Engelbrekt addressed the Swedish councillors to win them for the rebellion against King Erik; Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLV, 4-5: 'Nam a temporibus Magni regis ultimi regnum Suecie non habuerat reges sed tyrannos, quorum studium erat non conservare regnum sed euiscerare, exhaurire et in solitudinem redigere'. Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 232, interpreted this statement to include King Magnus among the tyrants. This would be natural considering Ericus's critique against King Magnus, which contained the harsh judgment passed by St Birgitta: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XXXVII, 6-21. The paragraph however is intended to specify an earlier statement that foreign monarchs (*exteri*) introduced servitude for the realm and it is followed by an enumeration of King Albrekt, Queen Margrete and King Erik, who were indeed foreigners, and their disastrous policies. This exclusive interpretation is also supported by Ericus's emphasis on the inclusion of King Magnus as the last member in the indigenous royal bloodline from St Erik; above pp. 95-96.

Thomas Aquinas argued that tyranny was the rule of one who sought only his own good, and he considered it the most detrimental form of government.³⁹⁶ Giles of Rome (d. 1316) agreed with this definition: a king considered the public good (*bonum commune*), while a tyrant saw only to his own.³⁹⁷ An older authority on tyranny, John of Salisbury (d. 1180), described these opposites accordingly: ‘The prince fights for the laws and liberty of the people; the tyrant supposes that nothing is done unless the laws are cancelled and the people are brought into servitude’.³⁹⁸

In accordance with Swedish tradition from the 1430s, Ericus’s account of the reign of King Erik of Pommerania provided an example of the iniquous ruler: King Erik sought nothing but his own welfare, and even wished the ruin of his subjects. Like the rebel councillors had done before him, Ericus argued that the king intentionally subdued the most prominent men of the land. His wars on the continent were in fact geared to procure the submission of his Swedish knights and so was his policy of managing government (especially the distribution of castles in the realm) not with inborn men but with Danes and Germans, and impoverishing the people.³⁹⁹ In contrast, the rebels in Ericus’s account claim to wish for nothing but the up-keep of their laws.⁴⁰⁰ The specific allegations put forth against King Erik’s governmental measures concurred with widespread notions of tyranny. They resemble, for instance, what Giles in his *De regimine principum* headed as ‘What and how many are the precautions with which tyrants strive to preserve their dominion’. Giles argued that the tyrant will kill or in other ways ruin distinguished subjects (*excellentes perimere*) for they will not suffer that he governs only for his own good but instead rise up against him. He will make his subjects poor (*pauperes facere subditos*) because poverty demands that they must attend to their immediate needs, instead of conspiring against him. For similar reasons he will procure constant wars in distant lands (*procurare bella, mittere bellatores ad partes extraneas*), and he will be surrounded and protected only by strangers in the realm since he does not confide in the people.⁴⁰¹

The charges pressed against Erik of Pommerania in the 1430s were intended to legitimize the rebellion against him. They served the same function in Ericus’s historical account. Medieval political thinkers were generally cautious about rebellion as a remedy for political ills.⁴⁰² Thomas argued that the people who institute a king also have the right to take his power away. But he suggested that if the

³⁹⁶ Thomas, ‘De regno’, I.3

³⁹⁷ Aegidius, *De regimine principum*, II.III.II. 268r. In the first part of the fourteenth century, *De regimine* also appeared in a Swedish adaptation: Geete, R., ed., *Um styrilsi kununga ok höffinga* (Stockholm 1878). One extant fragment of this text suggests that it was still of interest in the politically turbulent 1430s: Moberg, L., *Konungastyrelsen. En filologisk undersökning* (Uppsala 1984), pp. 42-48. It is beyond the scope of the present inquiry to account for the position of this Swedish adaptation in relation to its Latin originals and the Swedish political tradition, but this will be addressed in my forthcoming: ‘*Konungastyrelsen* – political counsel in late medieval Sweden’.

³⁹⁸ Nederman, C. J., ed. and transl., *John of Salisbury. Policraticus. Of the frivolities of courtiers and the footprints of philosophers* (Cambridge 1990), p. 191

³⁹⁹ Above, p. 10; Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLII

⁴⁰⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVI, 17

⁴⁰¹ Aegidius, *De regimine principum*, II.III.X. 282r-283v. Giles also mentioned other typical means for the exercise of tyranny that have no explicit counterpart in the *Chronica*, for instance: he will ruin the wise that perceive his selfish motives; he prefers ignorant subjects and will not allow studies in his realm; he will infest the realm with spies to protect himself from machinations.

⁴⁰² Tyranny and resistance in the later Middle Ages: Dunbabin, ‘Government’, pp. 493-496.

tyrant's outrages were not excessive it was best to do nothing at all; rebellion could make things to the worse. One should instead turn to God. Bible history provided Thomas with examples of how God intervened against tyrants. He heard the wailing of His people in Egypt and also expelled the haughty Nebuchadnezzar from the realm.⁴⁰³ John of Salisbury, who also referred for his standpoint to Bible history, was one of few who actually legitimized tyrannicide. He put tyranny and rebellion in the context of an economy of punishment for sin. In this perspective, both tyrants and rebel leaders appeared as instruments of God:

[The Children of Israel] were afflicted at many and various times according to divine dispensation, and they were often freed by crying out loud to the Lord. And after the termination of the period of divine supervision, the death of their tyrants permitted them to remove the yoke from their necks. Not a single one of those by whose virtues a penitent and humble people was liberated is to be censured, but the memory of posterity is to recall them favourably as ministers of God.⁴⁰⁴

In the events of 1434–1436, the issue of the subjects' right to resist was brought to the fore. The Swedes had rebelled against their elected king. Within a political-theological discourse, support of the Engelbrekt rebellion demanded that Erik of Pommerania was a designated tyrant. Only in this way could the rebellion appear as a legitimate rise.

A critique of individual union rulers was not necessary a critique of the union; however, Ericus's charges of tyrannical behaviour in the union monarchs concerned more than the shortcomings of individual kings. He argued that the misrule of Erik of Pommerania was not incidental but part of a premeditated strategy to enslave Sweden under Denmark. Queen Margrete inaugurated this policy. And she passed it on through the education of her nephew, King Erik, with the intention to perpetuate the Swedish thralldom. According to Ericus, Erik continued this tradition: 'he laboured to throw the Swedish realm in everlasting thralldom under Denmark'.⁴⁰⁵ Ericus in this way echoed what the Swedish councillors who renounced their allegiance to Erik of Pommerania in 1434 had stated. They had argued, that their loss of control over the royal fiefs meant that Erik in practice could ignore the electoral rights pertaining to the realm in favour of his designated heir. This loss, they had stated, implied an 'everlasting thralldom (*ewinnerlighen traeldom*) for the realm'.⁴⁰⁶ Ericus added an historical dimension to this threat of an impending servitude by describing it as a long-time feature of the Danish-Swedish interrelations. In his account of the battle between the Swedish and the Danish king at Bråvalla (an event of uncertain historical status, possibly eight century), Ericus had King Ring, the *rex*

⁴⁰³ Thomas, 'De regno', I.6

⁴⁰⁴ Nederman, *John of Salisbury. Policraticus*, p. 207

⁴⁰⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLI, 22: 'Demum non contenta [regina] de seruitute Sueorum, subiectione et talliacione, quibus in vita sua et sub eius principatu regnum Sueorum Danis et exteris ipsius operante versucia iugo grauissimo subiacebat, cogitabat, qua arte posset hec seruitus perpetuari et continuari futurisque temporibus reseruari'. Heuman & Öberg XLV: 8: 'Rex vero Ericus Pomeranus et huius regine nepos, matertere sue moribus in Dacia educatus ac per eam de suo regimine informatus, regnum Suecie perpetue seruituti sub Dacia subiicere laborabat [...]'.
⁴⁰⁶ *DN*, V, pp. 460-461

Vpsalensis,⁴⁰⁷ incite his men to battle with a reference to the threat of an everlasting thralldom under the Danes:

King Håkan Ring kindled the hearts of his own men to battle with no less eloquence [than had the Danish king]. ‘There can be no doubt’, he said, ‘as to the severity of the disgrace that has forced us here, of how many losses and offences which have stirred us to rise, of how just the causes are for which we have taken up arms against the Danes, who in their arrogant lust for dominance have come upon us and who strive to throw us and our realm, our sons and our wives into everlasting thralldom. Because of this we are compelled by urgent necessity to take awful battle against these men. Thus, to rise up as one man with ardent hearts to overthrow these suffered wrongs, great necessity compels us, our righteous wrath demands it’.⁴⁰⁸

In Ericus’s account, Queen Margrete and King Erik made this ancient Danish policy their own. In concrete terms, as also suggested by the renunciation letter of the Swedish councillors, the ‘everlasting thralldom’ they strove to enforce over the realm was synonymous with its arbitrary rule. However, in the context of the history of the realm that Ericus supplied, the argument for a participation of Swedish men in the government did more than express an opinion in favour of a political over a monarchic regime. The participation of Swedish councilors in the government was understood as a prerequisite for the very existence of the realm as such. Ericus made this clear where he related how the Swedes reminded Erik of Pommerania of his duties as king and of their rights, specified in the oaths he had given. King Erik resisted these reminders:

For it was his whole intention to snatch away the name of realm from Sweden and to make use of the realm just as he wished, thinking that this wretched region should have no councillors, just as the Romans took away the name of realm from Judea. For in Danish matters and undertakings the parliament [consilium maiorum] was used and there he had councillors. In Swedish undertakings and matters however he had not Swedish councillors but Danes and Germans.⁴⁰⁹

Within the union, if the foreign monarchs had their way, Sweden would lose its status of an independent realm, its *nomen regni*, and be incorporated into the realm of Denmark. According to Ericus, Judea, which disappeared as a realm when the Romans subjugated it, constituted an historical parallel. This reference to Bible history and to empire was not perfunctory but permeates Ericus’s account of contemporary history. Ericus compared King Erik’s economic policies in Sweden with

⁴⁰⁷ Ring is referred to with this title in Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* IV, 47

⁴⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, VII, 32-33: ‘Rex autem Haquinus Ryngo non minori facundia [than did the Danish king] animos suorum inflammat ad bellum “Nemini”, inquit, “dubium esse poterit, quanto simus ad presens pulsati dedecore, quantis dampnis et iniuriis excitati, quam iustis causis aduersus Danos arma suscepimus, qui aduersum nos in superbia dominandi profecti nos et regnum nostrum, filios et vxores perpetue satagunt subicere seruituti, propter quod vrgentissima necessitate cogimur diros contra eos inire conflictus. Vt ergo ardentibus animis ad nostras profligandas iniurias vnanimis insurgamus, et ingens necessitas cogit et iustus dolor impellit”’.

⁴⁰⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVII, 12: ‘Erat enim tota intencio sua auferre a regno Suecie nomen regni et eo vti iuxta sue libitum voluntatis, reputans nullos esse debere consiliarios huius miserabilis regionis, sicut Romani abstulerunt a Iudea nomen regni. In causa enim et negociis Dacie vtebatur consilio maiorum et ibi consiliarios habebat, in negociis vero et causa Suecie non Suecos sed Dacos et Almanos consiliarios habebat’.

those of the Philistines, who as conquerors made sure that there were no blacksmiths in Israel so that no weapons would be made to turn against them. Through tacit Bible reminiscences from the book of Judith, Ericus also compared King Erik with the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar or the Assyrian commander Holofernes who overcame Israel. Reminiscences from the books of Maccabees, which concerned the Jewish rebellion against the Seleucid Empire, can be traced in his account of the Engelbrekt uprising.⁴¹⁰ Thomas, as mentioned above, described how God intervened when he heard the wailing of the Israelites in Egypt. Ericus argued that the oppression of the Swedes under King Erik of Pommerania was a parallel case.⁴¹¹ He also accounted for the divinely mandated overthrow of the oppressive regime.

The liberation of the *patria*

Ericus had Engelbrekt exhort the Swedish councillors to fight to liberate the *patria* from the yoke of thralldom imposed by the foreigners.⁴¹² The community of the realm of Ericus's account demanded loyalty and a readiness for self-sacrifice. Ericus attributed Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson's motivations mainly to charity towards the country people who suffered under the yoke of the wicked king. Engelbrekt was moved by the hardships endured by the people of his province and brought their case to King Erik, despite the fact that this exposed him to danger.⁴¹³ He was prepared to die for his fellow countrymen.⁴¹⁴ The reminiscences from the book of Maccabees in Ericus's account of Engelbrekt suggests an intended parallel between the Swedish rebel and the man who led Israel against the Seleucid invaders, Judas Maccabaeus. The Maccabees were also referred to as model heroes of national revolt among Swedish ecclesiastics earlier in the century.⁴¹⁵ And references to the first two books of Maccabees were common in contemporary summons to war in defence of the homeland.⁴¹⁶ They appeared also in historiography. Archdeacon John Barbour (d.1395) argued that Robert Bruce (Robert I) and his men, who fought King Edward I in the Scottish war of independence, were like the Maccabees, for they delivered the Scots from thralldom.⁴¹⁷

⁴¹⁰ The references to Bible history in Ericus's account of the Engelbrekt uprising are accounted for in Ferm & Tjällén, 'Ericus Olai's *Chronica*', pp. 85-88.

⁴¹¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLII, 27: 'Eratque clamor nedum in Vallibus sed et in toto regno, qualis aliquando fuerat in Egipto super primogenitis interfectis, non solum de casibus nunc narratis, qui contingebant, vt raro, sed de cotidianis oppressionibus et pressuris, quibus incessanter et sine misericordia, vt filii Israel in Egipto, immitissime grauabantur, illudebantur, torquebantur'.

⁴¹² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLV, 3: 'Quos omnes seriose hortatus est studium et laborem suum ad hoc conuertere, vt patriam suam liberent ab iniquo et impio iugo seruitutis, quo ab exteris premebatur, et animum darent reducere regnum Suecie ad pristinam libertatem [...]'.
⁴¹³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLIII, 1-2: 'Hic longe et graui afflictioni et calamitati Vallensium compassus causam eorum suscepit coram maiestate regia promouendam. Voluntarie igitur periculis se exponens accessit ad regem in Dacia constitutum [...]'. The concrete unsatisfactory conditions that stirred Engelbrekt and the rebellion Ericus also accounts for in Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLV, 3-16.

⁴¹⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LXVIII, 35: 'Sicque vir ille strenuissimus animoque fortissimus et regno Suecie fidelissimus, qui semper erat paratus mori pro ciuibus, a ciuibus est occisus'.

⁴¹⁵ Ferm & Tjällén, 'Ericus Olai's *Chronica*', pp. 85-88

⁴¹⁶ Housley, N., 'Pro deo et patria mori: Sanctified patriotism in Europe, 1400-1600 in: Contamine, P., ed., *War and competition between states* (Oxford 2000), p. 225

⁴¹⁷ Duncan, A.A.M., ed., *John Barbour. The Bruce* (Edinburgh 1997), p. 69, vv 465-471: 'Thai war lik to the Machabeys / That as men in the bibill seys / Throw thar gret worschip and valour / Faucht into mony stalwart stour / For to delyver thar countre / Fra folk that throu iniquite / Held thaim and thairis in thrillage'. For the adaptation of the Macchabean theme for the

The portrait of King Erik as a tyrant was a necessary backdrop for a legitimization of the Swedish rebellion. Ericus's references to Bible history supported the image of the rebellion as the legitimate rise of an oppressed people. But in the *Chronica* the war also appears as an execution of divine judgment. Ericus argued that Engelbrekt's success in throwing the foreign bailiffs out of the country was the result of divine intervention. The victory was not won by the effusion of Christian blood (*sanguinis effusione*) but was a mighty work of God; the tyrants fled Engelbrekt like an approaching fire.⁴¹⁸ Ericus claimed that Engelbrekt's quest for national liberation was part of God's plan with the realm. His recourse to theological discourse raised the struggles of the contemporary politics into the history of salvation, with the result that the outcome of the events, the renunciation of the union king, appeared as providential.

This ambiguity between the historically concrete and its relation to providence also appeared in Ericus's account of Engelbrekt's death. Engelbrekt was not killed in the war but as the result of a conflict with a Swedish nobleman, who, as Ericus reported, had acted treacherously in matters of the realm. But this was no ordinary homicide; Ericus held that it was patricide to kill that loyal father of the realm.⁴¹⁹ Ericus's account of the death of Engelbrekt was governed by a hagiographic impulse. It portrayed the death of the rebel leader as the passion of a martyr.⁴²⁰ It is hard to say for which *patria* Engelbrekt actually died, the Kingdom of Heaven or the Swedish realm. The merging of nationalist and theological notions in Ericus's justification of the Engelbrekt rebellion was not an isolated instance in medieval political discourse. It adhered to authoritative standpoints among contemporary jurists and theologians. That death *pro patria* came with a promise of celestial rewards was codified in canon law. That it was an act of altruistic love (*caritas*) was passed on as a conviction of Thomas.⁴²¹ Engelbrekt was venerated as a saint in parts of Sweden.⁴²² No proper texts for his liturgy, if there ever existed any, are preserved. But it is perhaps not unlikely that the notion of a national martyrdom that Ericus propounded derived from his cult.

However, the legitimacy of Engelbrekt's position appears not only from the references to providence and biblical parallels in the *Chronica* but also from its embedding in the framework of

Scottish cause and at the courts of Kings Robert I and Robert II: Foran, S., *Biography, romance and chivalry: John Barbour's The Bruce and Chandos Herald's La vie de Prince Noir*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Trinity College, Dublin (2006), pp. 87-91. The Engelbrekt character of Ericus's posthumous literary reception share in the late medieval and renaissance mould of national martyrdom, exemplified for instance by William Wallace or Jeanne d'Arc, accounted for by Royan, 'National martyrdom in northern humanist historiography'.

⁴¹⁸ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVI, 11: '[...] Engilbertus cum gloriosa victoria in Sueciam est regressus, prefectis et exactoribus iniquis et exteris eiectis a regno [...]. Quis autem non videat opus hoc diuine fuisse clemencie [...]?' Non enim in humani sanguinis effusione aut Christianorum strage patrata sunt ista sed diuina virtute sic terrente tyrannos impios et crudeles, vt velud a facie ignis aduentum fugerent Engilberti'.

⁴¹⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVIII, 33

⁴²⁰ The death of Engelbrekt: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVIII, 27-35. For its hagiographic impulses from the legend of St Sebastian: Ferm and Tjällén, 'Ericus Olai's *Chronica*', pp. 87-88. It can be added that Jöns Bengtsson took an interest in the cult of Sebastian, in whose honour he in 1451 inaugurated an altar: Gillingstam, *Äterna Oxenstierna och Vasa*, p. 360.

⁴²¹ Kantorowicz, *The king's two bodies*, p. 242. That love for the fatherland was founded in the root of charity was stated by the continuator of Thomas's *De regno*, Ptolemy of Lucca. Ptolemy perceived death *pro patria* as an act of *caritas* because it implied death *pro fratribus*. *Ibidem*, p. 244: 'Thus it happened that in the thirteenth century the crown of martyrdom began to descend on the war victims of the secular state.'

⁴²² The devotion of Engelbrekt: Carlsson, G., 'Engelbrekt som Helgon' *Kyrkohistorisk årsskrift* 21 (1921), pp. 236-243.

institutionalized forms of consent. Engelbrekt received an official position in the realm with an election to *gubernator regni* at a diet in Arboga. This historical election in fact concerned the position of ‘captain of the realm’ (*rikshövitsman*). But Ericus used the Latin term *gubernator* indiscriminately for both the actual regents (*riksföreståndare*) and for holders of this title of military command. However, previous to the narration of this election in the *Chronica*, Engelbrekt captured castles and concluded other acts of government in the name of the realm (*nomine regni*). He won support at first from individual landscape communities, beginning with the Darlecarlians who elected him as their leader (*Engilbertum in principem eligerunt*). As his campaign moved on, he received either the consent to contribute to his undertaking or homage from other landscape communities. But Engelbrekt’s first act of central government (alleviating taxes), which took place in Uppsala, ‘in the centre of the realm’, was done with the support of a broader social basis, that is the consent of all the nobles present. From the Swedish councillors however, who did not want to renounce their fealty to King Erik, Engelbrekt received support only after imposing threats.⁴²³

The liberation of the church

King Erik’s conflicts with the Swedish church were discussed in the introduction. The rebellion against this tyrant, as argued by some ecclesiastical pen pushers, concerned the liberty of both church and realm. As examined above, Erik of Pommerania used the precedent of St Erik to legitimize incursions into the electoral rights of the Uppsala chapter. According to Ericus it was his policy to throw the realm in everlasting thralldom, but his arbitrary rule also concerned the church; Erik of Pommerania humiliated the Uppsala-church and deprived it of its rights and liberties (*ecclesiam Vpsalensem [...] humiliavit et suo iure ac libertate priuavit*).⁴²⁴ The national cause, the challenge to ecclesiastical liberty and the more circumscribed interests of the Uppsala institution were intertwined in the *Chronica*. In the matter of King Erik’s reign and the Engelbrekt rebellion, Ericus tied these themes together. He argued that the divine intervention that spurred Engelbrekt and others to rise against King Erik first appeared when this tyrant threatened the Uppsala church:

It is remarkable that even though King Erik had governed the realm in the course of many years and accomplished much and manifold mischief he had never fallen from power until he vexed the Uppsala church with his injustice and impeded the right to elect archbishop and intruded someone unworthy of the name of archbishop.⁴²⁵

⁴²³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLIII, 9, XLIV, 5, XLIV, 11, XLV, 17-18, XLIV, 22, XLIV, 12, XLVI, 7, XLVII, 1 Lönnroth, ‘Ericus Olai som politiker’, p. 132, held that Engelbrekt’s government corresponded to the possibility envisaged by Ericus of a government of the community without the election of a king: ‘*communitate iuste regnante*’, discussed above chapter II, pp. 73-74.

⁴²⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 3

⁴²⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 1: ‘Mirum autem, quod cum idem rex Ericus multorum annorum curriculis regna ista gubernasset et multa mala perpetrasset, numquam a sua decedit potestate, donec ecclesiam Vpsalensem sua iniusticia molestasset et ius eligendi archiepiscopum impediisset et quendam indignum archiepiscopali nomine intrusisset’.

In concrete terms, the chapter's candidate, Olaus Laurentii, could not take office before God saw fit to curb King Erik through Engelbrekt.⁴²⁶ The issue of ecclesiastical liberty at the Uppsala church preceded the national cause and coalesced with it. It is significant for his attempt to portray this unity in scope of church and nation that Ericus deviated from the account of his main source for the rebel leader. In the *Karlskrönika* Engelbrekt exhorted the Swedish councilors to join forces with his popular rebellion by physical coercion of the congregated bishops. In one of the more vivid passages of this text Engelbrekt grabs hold of the bishops by their necks and threatens to throw them outside to the rebellious crowd of commoners. Ericus narrated the confrontation between the rebel leader and the aristocratic council in close adherence to the *Karlskrönika*. But he would not admit this sacrilegious blemish on his hero and omitted it from his account.⁴²⁷

King Erik's policy of depriving the church of its rights was not however isolated to Uppsala. Ericus described how other episcopal sees of the Swedish province were also harassed. King Erik coaxed Andreas Johansson, former provost in Uppsala, to intrude as bishop in Strängnäs against the will of that chapter. According to Ericus, Andreas's assent to this deceit earned him the nickname of 'caress' (*Smeek*). Ericus noted the parallel to King Magnus who was granted the same nickname because he was tricked by the Danish king to give up Scania, Gotland and Öland.⁴²⁸ Both clerics and lay men who let themselves be fooled and dominated by the Danish monarchs were mocked.

Ericus explicitly set out to narrate the history of the realm according to the succession of kings and bishops. This mirrored, as argued above in chapter II, a dualist notion of separate spheres of authority for secular and ecclesiastical leaders and the ideal of concord and cooperation between them. This ideal also appears in Ericus's account of contemporary history. He related the conflicts between Erik of Pommerania and Archbishop Olaus. But the king was forced through Engelbrekt to accept Olaus's accession. It is noteworthy that after these initial grudges, Olaus appears in the *Chronica* as a loyal pleader for King Erik with the Swedish aristocracy, untiringly labouring for his reinstatement.⁴²⁹ Olaus's successor, Archbishop Nicolaus Ragvaldi, was similarly concerned with the upkeep of royal authority in the realm. Ericus stated that Nicolaus was instrumental in the election of King Christoffer. The archbishop's reasons were that the realm did not fare well for a protracted time without a royal

⁴²⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 28: 'Nec fuit via aut modus, vt archiepiscopus Olauus ad ecclesiam suam Vpsalensem posset habere regressum, nisi quem Dominus dignatus est apperire, vt suscitato eidem regi aduersario in regno ac sic demum superbissimo principe humiliato archiepiscopum admitteret uel inuitus'. Transl.: 'And there was no way that Archbishop Olaus could have reentered his Uppsala-church, if God had not deemed it fit to let one appear, so that when an opponent of the king was stirred up in the realm and thus at last the haughty prince was humiliated he would, however reluctant, admit the archbishop'.

⁴²⁷ Klemming, *Rimkrönikor*, Vol. II, p. 40, vv 1128-1168; cf. Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLV, 1-3, 16-18

⁴²⁸ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 5: 'Blandimentis enim suis hunc electum circumueniens intrusit eum in ecclesiam Stregnensem. Cui illusioni et intrusioni ille consenciens dictus est Andreas Smeek, sicut rex ille, quem pater huius regine de Scania, Gotlandia, Ölandia et de litteris et de matrimonio filii et de relegacione consiliariorum regni et de ceteris sui pessimi regimenti callidissime circumuenit'. As bishop of Strängnäs, Andreas appeared on several occasions when property was taken from the church and transferred back to taxable lands. Losman, *Norden och reformkonsilierna*, p. 12, note 35, suggested that it was Andreas's leniency towards the queen that made him hated at the Strängnäs chapter and that the nickname disseminated by Ericus reflected this sentiment among other clerics.

⁴²⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVII, 8-9: '[S]ua [Olaus's] induccione decretum est, vt haberetur [Erik] pro rege Suecie, quoad viueret'. In addition, Olaus was murdered at a time when he was about to reinstate Erik of Pommerania: L, 8-9 and below, p. 110.

authority (that is the same *necessitas providendi* as Ericus argued for the election of St Erik) and that it was necessary to pre-empt other, less fitting candidates, from taking the opportunity offered by the vacancy that ensued after the final expulsion of Erik of Pommerania. Nicolaus's attachment to King Christoffer however does not appear in the *Chronica* as merely an expression of pragmatic calculation. The archbishop received the news of the death of King Christoffer with tears, fell ill and died within a short time.⁴³⁰ Ericus's narration of the death of Christoffer and Nicolaus heralds his account of the election and confirmation of the new archbishop, Jöns Bengtsson, in 1448. With Jöns introduced, Ericus proceeded with the election in the same year of Karl Knutsson. Between these two nationals there was permanent discord with fatal consequences for the realm.

King Karl Knutsson

For the larger part of the century prior to the completion of the *Chronica*, the personal union with Denmark-Norway was in effect. No agreement to end this arrangement preceded Karl Knutsson's election to Swedish king. He was in dire straits to defend the legitimacy of his kingship and lacked the necessary economic means to effectively secure it with arms. Karl met this challenge by centralizing governmental policies, which caused conflicts with the traditional power elites of the realm, and also through the use of propaganda.⁴³¹ Of particular interest in this context are the historiographical initiatives of his reign. The *Prosaiska krönika* is attributed to Karl on uncertain grounds.⁴³² The *Karlskrönika*, however, appears as a literary monument to his political achievements up until 1452. Into an earlier narrative devoted to the leader of the 1434–1436 rebellion against Erik of Pommerania, the so-called *Engelbrektskrönika*,⁴³³ it introduced Karl as a collaborator on a par with this hero. Karl in this historical account appeared as the leader who accomplished the quest for national liberation that Engelbrekt began. It made clear that Karl acted with divine mandate, and therefore was protected by grace against the continuous attacks of Danes, Norwegians, Germans, and Swedish 'traitors'.⁴³⁴ The account of the tyranny of the union monarchs in the *Karlskrönika* formed the necessary backdrop for the justification of Swedish independence; the reports of signs and portents served to designate Karl as God's chosen instrument for its realization.

⁴³⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LII, 5-10; 10: 'Hic [...] considerans regnum non posse sine auctoritate regia diu stare simulque perpendens, quod multa malicia esset in terra, cum quibusdam aliis animum ad hoc dedit, vt dux Christoforus sicut in Dacia sic et in Suecia assumeretur in regem'; LIII, 30; above p. 92.

⁴³¹ Above, Introduction, pp. 11, 17 and literature there referred to.

⁴³² Above, chapter II, p. 55

⁴³³ For an account of the compilatory character of *Karlskrönika* and its use of the *Engelbrektskrönika*: Schück, H., *Engelbrektskrönikan. Tillkomsten och författaren* (Stockholm 1994), *passim*.

⁴³⁴ The notion that Karl carried out God's will when he resisted King Erik of Pommerania is voiced for instance in Klemming, *Rimkrönikor*, Vol. II, pp. 190-191, vv 5550-5553: 'tha var jw thz hans fulla akt / at sta mot konungen mz al sin makt / och trodhe jw fullelica wara gudz vilia / at konungen sculle fra riket skilia'. There were numerous instances where the author intervened to recommend Karl's piety and to point to the various signs and portents that indicated that he acted with divine consent: Neuman, E., 'Karlskrönikans proveniens och sanningsvärde' *Sammlaren* (1927), pp. 111-120. Karl's protection by grace: *Ibidem*: p. 329. The author of the *Karlskrönika* dismissed all Swedish political opponents in this way as 'traitors': vv 7815-7816, 8185-8186, 8309-8312.

Engelbrekt was not the only historical example who conferred legitimacy to Karl's political aspirations. Another historiographical initiative, arguably from Karl, was the new introduction to the *Erikskrönika*, written around 1452. This text provided a genealogy for Karl that proved his ancestry from the house of St Erik.⁴³⁵ As a Swedish knight, Karl already possessed a claim to legitimacy that the union kings could not refer to. The law code, as discussed above, expressed a preference for inborn candidates.⁴³⁶ Arguably, the genealogical construction served to equip Karl for the second of the law code's requirements for royal candidacy: a royal lineage. Karl wished to appear as a member of the Swedish royal bloodline, derived from Stenkil and passed on by providence through St Erik. That Karl perpetuated this royal line in his person was a reification on genealogical grounds of the notion of a continued national political legacy from St Erik, depicted for instance in the Uppsala altarpiece, discussed above, where Karl and his nephew Sten Sture avenged the attempt of St Erik's Danish assassins to usurp the Swedish throne.

Karl Knutsson in the *Chronica regni Gothorum*

The propagandistic output of Karl Knutsson's reign suggests that St Erik and Engelbrekt were examples in the contemporary political discourse with whom he sought to link himself. The account of Karl Knutsson in the *Chronica* makes clear that Ericus considered him a failure in this aspiration to pose as a just king and a national hero. Previous scholarly assessments of Ericus's account as a carefully cloaked critique of the king are unnecessary cautious.⁴³⁷ For the contemporary history up to 1452, Ericus depended primarily on the *Karlskrönika* for his compilation.⁴³⁸ His dissent from the laudatory aim of this main source however is apparent. Ann-Sofie Ohlander established that Ericus did not slavishly copy and translate from the *Karlskrönika*. He consistently interfered with his source text in a manner that detracted from the deeds and stature of Karl Knutsson to the constant benefit of Engelbrekt.⁴³⁹

But Ericus also delivered several independent charges against Karl. The first accusation appears after the account of Engelbrekt's death. Karl issued orders that no one should press legal claims against Engelbrekt's assassin, Magnus Bengtsson, and charge him with his death.⁴⁴⁰ Ericus reports that this was done contrary to a common opinion that no one who was responsible for the death of a

⁴³⁵ Klemming, *Rimkrönikor*, Vol. I, p. 165, accounts for the descent of Karl Knutsson's grandfather, Karl Ulfsson (Sparre av Tofta) from St Erik.

⁴³⁶ Above, chapter II, p. 75 At the stone of Mora outside Uppsala, a commemorative inscription was carved at each royal election. Karl's inscription, stating his status of a '*miles nacione suecus*', proclaimed the foundation of his claim to legitimacy on national grounds and in accordance with the regulations of the law code: Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 237-238, 261. The nationalities of the kings were also notable facts to contemporary historiographers. The later entries of the catalogue of kings bound with the *Annales 1160-1336* mentioned the nationalities of the individual kings. Albrekt and Erik were referred to as Germans, Christoffer as duke of Bavaria, and Karl Knutsson as a Swede: SRS, I.1, pp. 21-22.

⁴³⁷ Cf. Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 133; Källemark, A-S., 'Ericus Olai, Engelbrekt och Karl Knutsson' *Personhistorisk tidskrift* (1974), pp. 49-50

⁴³⁸ Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 226, identified the *Karlskrönika* manuscript used by Ericus as Codex Upsaliensis C 62, which presents the text in an abbreviated version. Källemark, 'Ericus Olai, Engelbrekt och Karl Knutsson', p. 45, however claimed that Ericus drew on a more comprehensive text, similar to the edition of Klemming.

⁴³⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 49-50

⁴⁴⁰ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVIII, 36; Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 133

prince who had achieved so much for both commoners and nobility in the realm should get away with it.⁴⁴¹ At best, this account of Karl's protection of Magnus suggested that he governed contrary to common conceptions of justice. At worst, it implied that Karl was involved in Engelbrekt's death.

With Engelbrekt's death Karl was left sole governor of the realm. Ericus makes clear that he did not proceed in this position according to the example of the rebel leader. Ericus portrayed Engelbrekt as moved to act by compassion and a duty felt to liberate the fatherland, and as unselfish in this pursuit to the extent that he was prepared to die for his countrymen. Ericus suggested that Karl instead governed according to the precepts of a proverb he was told by Erik of Pommerania: 'Do not stretch the leg beyond the length of the blanket (*Vltra mensuram lodicis ne rege suram*)'. Ericus explained that Karl acted only for his own and temporal good. He assembled all the material and personal resources into the control of his own person, and did not allow for a strong aristocracy.⁴⁴²

Ericus also demonstrated Karl's policy of ridding himself of distinguished men of the realm and contenders through an illustrative series of four conflicts ensuing after Engelbrekt's death. Karl decapitated Erik Puke, a loud-voiced critic of his regime and a former close collaborator of Engelbrekt, notwithstanding a previous grant of safe conduct. He dealt treacherously with the other high official of the realm (Karl was at this time Marshal), the royal deputy (*drots*), Christiern Nilsson (Vasa). He decapitated another of the war heroes from the rebellion, Broder Svensson, who voiced displeasure with Karl's policies of enfeoffment. For Nils Stensson (Natt och Dag), who died imprisoned by Karl, Ericus adhered to the negative description handed by the *Karlskrönika*. Nils had fought on Swedish territory under the Danish banner against Karl. The *Karlskrönika* stated that Nils died of the plague. Ericus's description was more ambiguous as to the immediate cause of his death; he arguably spread suspicions of Karl's involvement, circulating contemporary to the narrated events. Moreover, it appears from Ericus's account that Karl dealt with ecclesiastical contenders in the same way as with lay. Archbishop Olaus was initially in conflict with Erik of Pommerania, but after the rebellion supported the union king. In 1438, when the position of King Erik was contested, Olaus supported his reinstatement. At this time, however, the archbishop's intention was checked. Ericus related that Olaus died on his way to Kalmar, where the issue of King Erik would be brought to a conclusion, when he received poisonous almond milk 'from someone who governed in the realm' (*quodam principante in regno*), Karl Knutsson?⁴⁴³

For the concluding section of the *Chronica*, where he treated the years closest to its completion, Ericus could not rely on a subversion of the narrative of the *Karlskrönika*. He introduced this concluding section with a sketch of Karl Knutsson:

⁴⁴¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVIII, 36. Arguably Ericus intended the death of Engelbrekt to parallel the death of St Erik. The people, who reacted passionately as if their own father had been killed, avenged St Erik's death: above, p. 94. Ericus also designated the assassination of Engelbrekt as patricide: above p. 105. The expectation that Engelbrekt's assassin ought to have been charged echoes Ericus's statement on the just retribution against the killer of St Erik: *Chronica* XVI, 7. Transl.: 'For who ever read about a persecutor of the innocent that escaped His vengeful hand that takes the life of princes?'

⁴⁴² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLIX, 2-6, also LVI, 1-2

⁴⁴³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLIX, 7-31, L, 8-9; Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 133. Nils Stensson: Fritz, B, 'Natt och Dag 6 Nils Stensson' in: *SBL*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 333-336.

By all means, King Karl was a man of a tall and handsome stature with a fine face, and by all his bodily parts he exhibited the appearance of royal dignity. He also was a man of a cunning and perceptive disposition, prudent in speech and cautious in reply, in things martial however he was less skilled than this office demanded, he was overscrupulous and cowardly and when it came to collect money and provide for himself he was more ingenious than most.⁴⁴⁴

In this abstract of his previous account, Ericus again stressed that Karl governed not for the good of all but for himself. He added overscrupulousness, cowardice and amateurishness in warfare to greed in Karl's list of personal qualifications. Ericus stated that Karl's policies in matters of fiefs and castles made him unpopular with the nobility.⁴⁴⁵ But he also explained how Karl's insufficiency was the cause of the continuous crises of his government and worked to the detriment of the realm at large. Karl's enemies knew his lack of military skill and his cautiousness and used them against him. By the constant wars or threats of wars he was exhausted. The enemies even simulated attacks. Karl, for caution, unnecessarily at all times summoned the people, and this vexed them and turned them against him.⁴⁴⁶ The military troubles impoverished the realm. The grazing of his horses throughout the poverty-struck country and the manners of his legal hair-splitting and greedy officials made him hated by the people who finally rose and threw him out of the realm.⁴⁴⁷

To summarize Ericus's critique: Karl Knutsson ruled by the advice of Erik of Pommerania. He did not govern for the common good but saw only to his own. He killed or in other ways neutralized distinguished men of the realm that opposed his selfish policies. He impoverished the realm. In the scholastic views, referred to above, and those of Ericus, Karl was a tyrant. Ericus at one point said it outright: Karl acted tyrannically (*tyrannice*).⁴⁴⁸ These accusations against Karl were not unique for the *Chronica*. Ericus adhered to previous instances of critique of Karl Knutsson that characterized his reign as a continuation of the tyrannical policies of the union government.⁴⁴⁹ Tyranny in Karl's reign was not executed by the *exteri*, but the men of the realm were nevertheless not free.

Karl's historiographical propaganda connected him not only to the legacy of Engelbrekt but also with St Erik. Ericus used most of his account of Erik's reign to tease out a paradigmatic example of a royal election. He emphasized that Erik's election was preceded by a vacancy, that it was unanimous, that it was conducted at the legitimate site, in Uppsala, and that it extolled a Swedish-born candidate who was suitable both through his royal birth and his personal qualifications. This was an account in

⁴⁴⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 1: 'Erat quippe rex Karolus homo procere et elegantis stature, pulcre faciei, et per omnia corporis organa regie dignitatis speciem pretendebat. Erat et homo callidi et sagacis ingenii, prudentis eloquii et cautus in responsis, in rebus vero bellicis minus, quam tali officio expediebat, instructus, meticulosus et timidus et ad congregandum pecuniam et sibi providendum plurimum ingeniosus'.

⁴⁴⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 2

⁴⁴⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 3-5. Karl's lack of military expertise appears also from the scarce record of military successes reported by Ericus. His Gotland campaign was unsuccessful: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLV, 10-32. In the conflict with Archbishop Jöns Karl was defeated even though he had the more numerous and better troops: *Chronica* LVI, 23.

⁴⁴⁷ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 3-10

⁴⁴⁸ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 11

⁴⁴⁹ Lönnroth, *Sverige och Kalmarunionen*, pp. 301-303

close adherence to the requirements of the Swedish law.⁴⁵⁰ Ericus introduced his relation of the election of Karl Knutsson in a manner similar to that of St Erik by stating that there was a vacancy (*Vacante regno Sueorum*).⁴⁵¹ This succinctly established that one legal prerequisite for a royal election, which stated that there could only be one king at the time, was at hand. However, the electors of St Erik had been unanimous. In Karl's case it was violently contested if it was proper to proceed with an election at all; the issue almost got out of hand and turned into an armed encounter between the two factions assembled in Stockholm. Those who were opposed to an election argued that even if it was decided to break the treaty to convene with the councils of Denmark and Norway to choose a new king, it was nevertheless impossible to honorably undertake an election at this short notice, not conducted at the time-honored site and without the announcement made in time beforehand throughout the realm. St Erik had been extolled at the stone of Mora outside Uppsala. As Ericus strongly emphasized in his account of this event, this was the only legitimate locus for legal elections in the realm. Karl's election however took place in Stockholm.

Ericus's account of the election of St Erik concerned an ideal royal candidate. The law code's prerequisites were incorporated by this saint, who was inborn and from a royal family. But his personal qualifications, proven by the stories of his deeds of moral and military excellence, also waxed his *ydoneitas* for the royal office. Ericus questioned the validity of the elections of 1448 on formal grounds. He also voiced a negative opinion about the eligibility of the candidates at hand. He stated that there were at that time plenty of 'rich and powerful knights that aspired to the crown of the realm and to the royal dignity, forgetful of their standing and untried for the calamities to come'.⁴⁵² Ericus thought that there was no royal material at hand among the nobility of the realm. And he did not exclude Karl Knutsson from this group of insufficient pretenders. That Karl fulfilled the first of the law code's exterior requirements for candidacy was not to be contested. Karl was a Swedish knight. Ericus did not comment on the second requirement or mention the claim to Swedish royal blood that Karl voiced in the new introduction to *Erikskrönika*. Perhaps this claim was unknown to Ericus. Or, familiar with the laborious task of disentangling matters of genealogy, he considered it incongruous with fact or impossible to validate. When it came to the interior qualities wanted in a king, Ericus however left no doubt as to Karl's insufficiency.

At the beginning of Karl's rise to prominence, in 1446, Bishop Thomas of Strängnäs wrote that Karl had not lived up to expectations. The ecclesiastics had thought they would be free when Swedish men governed the realm assisted by clerics. Instead, they were never in worse servitude than under the government of Karl.⁴⁵³ Ericus wrote thirty years later but apparently with the same expectations on a Swedish king and with the same disenchantment. His short sketch of Karl's character succinctly

⁴⁵⁰ Above, pp. 75, 93

⁴⁵¹ The account of Karl's election: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LV, 1-7

⁴⁵² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LV, 1: '[C]um multi essent in regno milites diuites et potentes, multi erant, qui ad coronam regni et dignitatem regiam aspirabant sue condicionis immemores et malorum instancium inexpert'.
⁴⁵³ *SRS*, II. 2, p. 167

voiced the disappointment; in appearance Karl was a king, but not in deeds. Karl, who was three times king, in fact illustrated Ericus's lamentations over the perpetual discord in the realm, where kings due to their tyranny were expelled and replaced and then called back again.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, Karl's enforced election and his insufficiency as king were also proof to Ericus's point that 'the Goths were eager to be extolled but inept to govern'.⁴⁵⁵

Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson

In 1457 and again in 1465–1466, Archbishop Jöns appeared as regent. He was on these occasions both the highest spiritual and temporal governor of the realm. In 1457, he headed a rebellion that ousted King Karl and led to the introduction of the Danish king Christian I. In 1463, Archbishop Jöns took the initiative to relieve a tax burden from the Uppland peasants. His alleged reason was to prevent an impending Swedish rebellion, but King Christian did not share this view and brought Jöns into custody, an act that clearly violated the privileges of the church.⁴⁵⁶ The career of Jöns Bengtsson raised issues of the boundaries between secular and ecclesiastical authorities as well as that of the sovereignty of the Swedish realm. Ericus's account reflects these issues but also more narrow institutional and perhaps even personal concerns.

The deeds of Archbishop Jöns were evaluated from a variety of ideological perspectives in the contemporary political discourse. The *Karlskrönika* criticized Jöns for not providing Karl with troops but instead adding to the episcopal stronghold at Stäket. Karl, in this account, punished Jöns by depriving him of his fief.⁴⁵⁷ The *Karlskrönika* passed its judgment on Jöns in his capacity of a holder of fiefs who neglected his obligations to the sovereign lord. A letter from the Swedish council in the year of the rebellion of 1457 instead outlined Jöns's motives for dissent according to the rhetoric of tyranny and resistance; Jöns liberated the realm and its inhabitants from their thralldom under Karl.⁴⁵⁸ The introduction of King Christian that followed in the wake of the expulsion of Karl also exposed Jöns to a nationalist critique. A pamphlet issued in 1466 accused him of acting according to a hidden, Danish-friendly, agenda, stating that he would never accept a foreign king and then introducing King Christian.⁴⁵⁹

Neither the *Karlskrönika*'s monarchic standpoint, the commendation of Jöns as a defender of the realm against tyranny, nor the nationalist critique took specific account of his clerical status. Jöns himself, at least when addressing the pope, stated that he had risen against King Karl to defend ecclesiastical liberty.⁴⁶⁰ Moreover, Christian's incarceration of Jöns Bengtsson could not be defended

⁴⁵⁴ Above, chapter II, p. 53; Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 130. Karl Knutsson was also implicitly condemned by the author of the Swedish chess allegory: Ferm, 'Schacktavelslek', p. 313.

⁴⁵⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* V, 1

⁴⁵⁶ Gillingstam, H., 'Jöns Bengtsson' in: *SBL*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 496-500; *Idem*, *Ätterna Oxenstierna och Vasa*, pp. 398-407

⁴⁵⁷ Klemming, *Rimkrönikor*, Vol. II, pp. 312-313, vv 9125-9160, 324, vv 9469-9470

⁴⁵⁸ Gillingstam, *Ätterna Oxenstierna och Vasa*, p. 372

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 378, 367, note 93

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 379

without taking the captive's particular status into account. In a letter to the pope, Christian posed as a crusader king; Jöns was imprisoned because he had stirred a rebellion when the king was under way with a crusade against the Russians.⁴⁶¹ Jöns, it was implied, had thereby acted to the detriment not only of the king but also of the church.

In Sweden, Christian proposed a series of articles that tackled the problem of the legal immunity conferred by Jöns's clerical status. The issue at stake, as Christian's pen pushers phrased it, was if a king (defined as a sovereign: *rex superiorem in regno suo non recognoscens*) could take a bishop who had breached an oath of fealty (*ratione feudi atque iuramenti*) or committed lese-majesty (*ratione criminis lese maiestatis*) into custody until a higher ecclesiastical judge could handle the case, and especially if his position as king, his person or the stability of the realm were threatened. According to canon law, acts of violence against clergy should result in the perpetrator's ban. But Christian's articles questioned whether ecclesiastical liberty also protected a criminal who had put it to an improper use. Is it a crime to take a bishop into custody if this measure is not 'instigated by the devil', as the title of the canon-law paragraph referred to suggested, but carried out by the discretion of a wise prince (*ratio et maturum consilium principis*) and carried out to the benefit of the realm and the subjects? According to the account of the memorial book of Vadstena, where they are preserved, the jurisperit clerics, who were summoned to comment on these articles in Stockholm at the end of August in 1463, preferred to remain silent.⁴⁶² Since Ericus attended to Archbishop Jöns in Stockholm on September 1, it is possible that he was personally at hand to witness this monarchic advance.

Jöns Bengtsson's prominence in the temporal affairs of the realm and the resultant commixing of temporal and spiritual authority also led to critique. In a letter to the Uppsala chapter of 1464, Karl Knutsson voiced his displeasure with the archbishop's appropriation of a secular title (*Sweriges förste och förstandare*).⁴⁶³ And, as mentioned above, the chapter was also dissatisfied with Jöns's meddling in the temporal government of the realm, or at least with its consequences for their institution. The reformer Olaus Petri's account of Jöns's resignation from the regency in 1466 was perhaps written under the influence of Lutheran ideals, but it may well testify to a genuine and contemporary uneasiness about how temporal and spiritual authority were mixed in the person of the archbishop; people clamoured, Olaus stated, that they did not want the archbishop as their lord and king (*the icke wille haffua Erchebispen för herra och konung*).⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 404

⁴⁶² The articles were preserved in the memorial book of Vadstena abbey: Gejrot, *Diarium Vadstenense*, pp. 246-248, and p. 246 (notes to paragraphs 733 and 735). Friedberg, E., ed., *Corpus iuris canonici. P. 1, Decretum magistri Gratiani* (Lipsiae 18979), Secunda pars, C. XVII, Q. IV, c. XXIX, col. 822: 'Si quis suadente diabolo huius sacrilegii uicium incurrerit, quod in clericum uel monachum uiolentas manus iniecerit, anathematis uinculo subiaceat [...]'. Apart from the *Quis suadente*, a thirteenth-century statute issued in Sweden was also referred to.

⁴⁶³ Brilioth, *Svenska kyrkans historia*, p. 434. Gillingstam, 'Jöns Bengtsson', p. 498, argued that also Jöns's use of the title 'förste' (apparently a translation of his title of Swedish *Primas*) in 1457 indicated his ambitions in the temporal sphere.

⁴⁶⁴ Hesselman, B., ed., *Olaus Petri. Samlade skrifter. Vol. IV* (Uppsala 1917), p. 226

Jöns Bengtsson in the *Chronica regni Gothorum*

Ericus's account gives few straightforward pointers as to the legitimacy of the political activities of Jöns Bengtsson. There are reasons to believe that he was conflicted in this matter where different ideals and personal loyalties clashed. Erik Lönnroth held that Ericus resolutely took exception to Jöns's rebellion against Karl and considered his help for King Christian a damnable affront against God.⁴⁶⁵ But the apparent ambivalence of the account of these events in the *Chronica* advise against making too clear-cut designations. To portray Jöns Bengtsson for an audience at the arch see was a delicate matter and Ericus executed the concluding section of the *Chronica* with caution. Arguably, his most pressing concern, and the one of most interest in this analysis of his authority discourse, was the accusations of treason made against Jöns.

It appears from Ericus's final analysis of the conflict that involved Archbishop Jöns, King Karl and King Christian that he considered Jöns to have failed in his duty (*deliquit*) to Karl. Jöns's loyalty (*amor*) was with King Christian. When Christian incarcerated Jöns despite this intention, this was divine retribution for the archbishop's failure to observe his true obligations to Karl; it illustrated the maxim that 'the one for the love of whom God is slighted will punish the sligher with persecution', which Ericus considered a feature repeated in the history of the realm.⁴⁶⁶ It is also clear that Ericus was opposed to the consequence of the expulsion of King Karl, which was the introduction of Christian I as king of Sweden. However, a closer scrutiny of Ericus's account of the chain of events that led to Christian's introduction suggests that Ericus was at pains to lessen Jöns's responsibility. Karl's iniquous rule, discussed above, provided the prerequisite for the justification of his expulsion. A set of well-founded personal grounds to resent Karl Knutsson, which explained why the initiative to revolt came from Jöns, were also presented in the *Chronica*. For the introduction of King Christian, Ericus indicated that Jöns was not the initiator, but a scapegoat for the actual culprits.

Ericus's succinct recapitulation of Karl Knutsson's flaws, the beginning of the end of his *Chronica*, duly explained why Karl was disliked by the nobility and hated by the commoners who eventually rose. Karl Knutsson's account of the early years of his first reign, the *Karlskrönika*, offered no explanation of Jöns's dissent; the archbishop was simply paraphrased as a traitor. But the paragraphs in the *Chronica* immediately subsequent to the account of Karl's limitations, related a number of reasons for the disagreement between the men. It was part of a long-term conflict between Karl and Jöns's family. Karl treated Jöns's grandfather tyrannically and deprived him of his castle. He enforced the election where he was made king against the will of Jöns's father, who was regent at that time. The lack of reverence for Jöns displayed by one of Karl's party-liners, the bishop of Strängnäs, added to the discord. Jöns at first refused to pay homage when Karl was elected king, but was eventually

⁴⁶⁵ Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 133

⁴⁶⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 43: 'Cuius amore Deus contempnitur, eius persecucione contempnens punitur'. As noted by Lönnroth, 'Ericus Olai som politiker', p. 129. Ericus passed the same comment on the election and disastrous government of King Magnus. In favour of the dukes, the legitimate heir was not elected but killed so that Magnus could be extolled. His reign proved a long punishment for this priority of *amor* for an individual over what was just: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XXXVII, 19-23. Above, p. 76

persuaded by his chapter to comply. Ericus's reference to Karl's suspicious nature was mentioned above. His distrust of the archbishop increased when Jöns's brother married the daughter of Magnus Green, the traitor from the failed Gotland campaign. At a closer examination of the reasons that Ericus presented for the hatred between the two men, Kristiern Bengtsson's choice of spouse is in fact the only ground that justified Karl's grudge against Jöns. But symptomatically, Ericus, who stated that Jöns in various ways had made good for it, also moderated this reason for Karl's resentment.⁴⁶⁷ Nor did Ericus's account of the spark that set off the rebellion of 1457 speak in favour of King Karl. Jöns petitioned for restitution of his losses during Karl's previous campaign. But Karl denied any obligations to reimburse and appointed judges to settle the case. These judges, however, sentenced in agreement with Jöns's claims, which caused Karl to fall out with them. When Karl, soon after his refusal to compensate for Jöns's war efforts, summoned to a new campaign, Jöns declared that he had renounced homage and obedience from the king.⁴⁶⁸

The archbishop stirred and led the rebellion. He also soon took control of Stockholm, which forced Karl into exile. But throughout Ericus's account of these events, Jöns Bengtsson was not criticized. The blame for Karl's expulsion was, somewhat surprisingly, directed against the Stockholm burghers, who Ericus held gave in too easily. As discussed above in chapter II, Ericus perceived of Stockholm as a town populated by men immigrated from various peoples; it was the prime example of the state of the *civitas convenarum* that had become of Sweden, where there was no solidarity or peace. He referred to former times, when towns of the realm had suffered years of besiegement for their lords but not gave up. But now:

Look, what manner of courage and loyalty the Swedes, or rather the inhabitants of Sweden, have when it comes to keep their faith to their princes and lords, to Swedish lords! [...] But this is the state of a society of strangers! ⁴⁶⁹

Ericus continued to ward off responsibility from Jöns in his account of Christian's introduction. Contemporary historical narratives designated Jöns the prime mover of the events.⁴⁷⁰ But Ericus blamed a group of anonymous men, driven by hopes of personal profit. Envoys with news of Karl's expulsion were sent to the Danish king. Ericus inferred that they were men who had sold property to Karl and now hoped to win it back. Nothing had been said, according to Ericus, about accepting Christian as king in Sweden because he was considered an enemy of the realm. However, when Christian under a false pretext appeared in Stockholm, those who hoped to profit from his introduction

⁴⁶⁷ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 11-16

⁴⁶⁸ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LI, 17-25

⁴⁶⁹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 28-30: 'Vide, quanti animi, quante fidelitatis sunt Sueci aut potius Suecie inhabitatores in conseruanda fide principibus et dominis suis, dominis Suecis! [...] Sed hec est condicio ciuitatis conuenarum!' Cf. above, chapter II, pp. 70-71. Curiously, Ericus's example of previous faithfulness of towns to lords concerned King Albrekt.

⁴⁷⁰ DV, 678; Klemming, *Rimkrönikor*, Vol. III, pp. 20-22, vv 567-628

found ways to bring it about. Articles were sent to Christian to ratify. Ericus considered the assurances received from Christian in this way worthless; he would have signed anything to become king.⁴⁷¹

Jöns does not appear in the *Chronica* as one of those who hoped for personal gains from the expulsion of Karl. Ericus accounted for how the archbishop at first would disassociate himself from accusations of that kind:

They [the Danes who had come with Christian] spitefully mocked all about whom it was thought that they had given counsel, assistance or favour to the expulsion of King Karl. At that time, however, the archbishop was spared, so that he was not charged with that sort of thing by them.⁴⁷²

But this was to no avail. Ericus accounted for how accusations of treason against Jöns Bengtsson were spread through mock praise of the Uppsala chapter for its assistance to the archbishop in the expulsion of Karl; the prelates who stated that they had no part in it at all repelled this. Ericus however revealed the true appreciation for Jöns Bengtsson that lay behind the ironic words of praise from the Danes by relating an argument between King Christian and a Danish bishop. The latter was reproached with a reference to Jöns: ‘Can it be that you will also do like the bishop of Uppsala’. The king, as Ericus remarked, was not even willing to call Jöns Bengtsson by his proper title of archbishop.⁴⁷³ Arguably this example was not only geared to illustrate that Jöns received no favours from King Christian, but was also intended as an oblique – but for Ericus’s intended audience evident – reference to the Danish claims of Lund’s primacy over the Swedish arch see.

Ericus did not mention whom he considered to be the actual culprits for Christian’s introduction by name. But Jöns at any rate appears in the *Chronica* as a scapegoat. The fierce protests against Jöns in 1460 or 1461 were engineered, according to Ericus, to ward off the responsibility of the previous events from this group of actual instigators of the attack against Karl:

Two or three years before the archbishop’s incarceration, the outcries of treason against him intensified from those, on whose account and sympathies the above mentioned things had been launched against King Karl. And the summer when he was captured, countless slanderous pamphlets were scattered both all over the streets and in the graveyards and the churches of Stockholm, stating that ‘the archbishop is a traitor’ and the like.⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁷¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 31-36; 35: ‘Sed quales ei possent offerri articuli, quos se non promitteret obseruare et consentiret continuo sigillare, vt rex fieret, dum neque Deus neque iudicium eius neque metus iehenne habentur pre oculis!’ Transl.: ‘But what kind of articles could have been offered to him that he would not have promised to heed and immediately confirmed in order to become king, since neither God nor His judgement nor the fear of hell were taken into account.’

⁴⁷² Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 37: ‘Amare iridentur ab eis omnes, qui putabantur in expulsione regis Karoli prestitisse concilium, auxilium vel fauorem: tunc enim parcebatur archiepiscopo, nequid ei huiusmodi imputaretur ab eis.’

⁴⁷³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 37-40

⁴⁷⁴ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 41: ‘Annis autem duobus aut tribus ante captiuacionem archiepiscopi inualuit contra eum clamor detestande prodicionis ab hiis, quorum intuitu et amore ea, que premissa sunt, contra regem Karolum fuerant attemptata. Et ea estate, qua captus est, innumerabiles libelli famosi scripti et in plateis vndique et in cimiteriis et ecclesiis Holmensis opidi sparsi fuerunt continens: “Archiepiscopus est traditor”, et alia consimilia’.

Ericus inferred that the actions of Archbishop Jöns were governed by his loyalty (*amor*) to Christian I. In itself, Jöns's loyalty to Christian does not appear as an anomalous and condemnable behavior in Ericus's account of the relations between the Swedish archbishops and the union kings. It followed the pattern set by his predecessors at the arch see, Olaus Laurentii and Nicolaus Ragvaldi, discussed above. Ericus claimed that Olaus and Nicolaus were instrumental in the introduction or preservation of their contemporary kings, Erik of Pommerania and Christoffer, and that they had remained ardent in this faith. There are no immediate grounds to suggest that Ericus held the loyalty of these archbishops to their elected kings against them. But the consequence of Jöns's loyalty to Christian was a different and still present concern at the time of the completion of the *Chronica*. Ericus could lessen the burden of blame from Jöns Bengtsson by suggesting that he did not act for selfish reasons or that there were others who bore a heavier responsibility for Christian's introduction. But he did not deny that Jöns indeed had wronged King Karl. Ericus's aversion against Jöns's policies is also suggested by the fact that he did not dismiss the articles proposed by Christian (which he considered to concern Jöns's rebellion against Karl, even though they were issued by Christian) but characterized them as troublesome and replete with significance (*difficiles et pregnantes*).⁴⁷⁵ He found it astonishing (*mirabile*) that Archbishop Jöns, notwithstanding all that he had suffered from the Danes, still adhered to them with such bonds of charity (*glutino caritatis*). This love for Christian had caused him to repeatedly vex (*vt [...] non semel tantum sed pluries [...] molestauerit*) King Karl and eventually to die himself in exile. It had put his life, reputation, body and soul, friends and family, church and clergy in extreme peril. And, most important in this context, his enmity to Karl had been used by Christian to the detriment of the realm; when Karl came back from his six years of exile, Christian released Jöns from his custody to expel him again, because 'he knew that the archbishop and King Karl could not suffer each other within one and the same realm or agree in any respect'.⁴⁷⁶

Jöns Bengtsson had in his political activities breached the dualist ideal of cooperation of secular and ecclesiastical leaders in the government of the realm. But in other respects, the mix of spiritual and temporal leadership in his person is never explicitly addressed in the *Chronica*. His position as regent, for instance, is not mentioned. But it is unsatisfactory to argue from this absence of an explicit reference that it was of no concern to Ericus, especially considering the limited space devoted in the *Chronica* to anything after 1457.

Gratian denied clerics the right to use the temporal sword themselves.⁴⁷⁷ Jöns's military activities therefore would appear as a natural source of anxiety for a dualist discourse on authority. However, a broader account of ideals for bishops, both in the *Chronica* and in other instances from the Swedish province, also suggests that Ericus and his cultural milieu would not necessarily have considered

⁴⁷⁵ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVI, 42-43. Ericus stated that Christian produced the articles to obstruct the Uppsala chapter and others from executing the interdict issued by Jöns.

⁴⁷⁶ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* LVII, 7-9

⁴⁷⁷ Friedberg, *Corpus iuris canonici*, Secunda pars, C XXIII, q VIII, c. VI, p. 954. Gratian concluded: 'Sacerdotes propria manu arma arripere non debent; sed alios ad arripiendum, ad oppressorum defensionem, atque inimicorum Dei oppugnationem eis licet hortari'. Watt, 'Spiritual and temporal powers', p. 375.

Jöns's military undertakings in themselves a condemnable breach of a dualist ideal. Archbishop Jöns may in fact not only have led troops but even carried arms. The *Sturekrönika* noted with a certain chivalrous awe that Jöns wanted to cross swords with Karl in person.⁴⁷⁸ But a favourable appreciation of pugnacious bishops also appeared in ecclesiastical historiography. Elisabeth Mornet argued in her survey of the ideal bishop, as he appears from episcopal chronicles of late medieval Scandinavia, that bishops were frequently lauded as men of action, and praise was not necessarily excluded because they carried out the defence of the church with weapons in hand. In instances from the Swedish dioceses of Linköping and Uppsala, the bishops' belligerence was deemed useful not only to protect the people entrusted in their care from tyrannical kings, but also from external enemies.⁴⁷⁹ It is noteworthy in this context that the Uppsala archbishops' list lauded Nicolaus Ragvaldi for obtaining *Almarestäket* to be used by the Uppsala church for the construction of a castle.⁴⁸⁰ The *Karlskrönika*, as mentioned above, criticized Jöns Bengtsson for adding to the episcopal stronghold instead of providing troops for Karl. It appears likely that his chapter supported Jöns in these priorities.

Some instances in the *Chronica*, however, suggest that Ericus saw a potential conflict between the occupation of an episcopal office and involvement in warfare. Ericus's account of the Danish archbishop Absalon (d. 1201) points in this direction. Absalon, according to Ericus, was a completely worldly man (*totus temporalis*). He was victorious in battle, but his manner of achievement appears condemnable in the *Chronica*; Ericus described these victories as massacres (*multam stragem fecit*). Ericus stated that he was unaware of what kind of archbishop became of Absalon, but further down in his account he described the coming to office of this *triumphator in bellis* as an eclipse of the sun.⁴⁸¹ Other accounts of bishops involved in conflicts in the *Chronica* suggest the ideal of their exercise of authority as a part of their pastoral care, where they impose penitence on the delinquents.⁴⁸² But it was perhaps a different story if the conflict was nearer home, where the alleged perpetrators were not repentant and the bishops were also holders of fiefs and castles. There is no mistake of the pride in Ericus's narration of the achievements of the 300 fighting men of (but not led by) Archbishop Olaus in

⁴⁷⁸ Jöns refuted an earlier plan of the Oxenstierna faction to murder King Karl. He preferred to cross swords with Karl on the battlefield; 'oppa markena wiil jak honom mötha': Klemming, *Rimkrönikor*, Vol. III, vv 355-368. Before Jöns took up arms, however, he laid down his vestment in front of St Erik's shrine and swore an oath to this saint that he would not take it up before Sweden was again governed by law; 'syna swäna tiil hopa kalla / [...] och giik i wpsala i koren in / ath staandha för sancte erikx scrin / och sätte sin byscops scruff aa altare nidher / ther gaffuos badhe lärde och oolärde wiidher / och sadhe mik nw saa beehagher / thz jak thenne scruff ey aather tagher / för än sweriges lagh wardha räth / än togh thz kan eke warda saa släth / och tog harnisk och banth jänss wiid sydha': *Ibidem*, vv 415-427.

⁴⁷⁹ Mornet, E., 'L'image du bon évêque dans les chroniques épiscopales scandinaves à la fin du moyen âge' *Médiévales* 20 (printemps 1991), pp. 32-38.

⁴⁸⁰ *DS*, 3834. For Jöns Bengtsson the archbishops' list mentioned that he was related by kinship to King Karl Knutsson.

⁴⁸¹ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XIV, 28-29, XVI, 34. Ericus used *strages* in the same negative sense elsewhere in the *Chronica*; above, p. 105, note 418.

⁴⁸² See the account of Bishop William who imposed penance on King Sven Estridsen: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XIII, 19-23. Ericus's source for the story was the epitomizer of Saxo: Gertz, 'Compendium Saxonis', XI, VI. It is argued that Saxo transferred the story of Bishop Ambrose of Milan who imposed penance on emperor Theodosius from Cassiodorus to achieve an example of a bishop treating the lay sovereign as a *filius ecclesiae* in the early history of the Danish church. It propagated the idea that the authority of the king operated within the confines of the church, and not above it, and that the bishop had authority to punish even an emperor, if he erred: Skovgaard-Petersen, I., 'Saxo Grammaticus: A national chronicler making use of the genre *Chronica Universalis*' in: Genet, J-P., ed., *L'Historiographie médiévale en Europe. Actes du colloque international « Medieval historiography in Europe » organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science à Paris du 30 mars au 1er avril 1989* (Paris 1991), pp. 331-340.

the siege against King Erik's troops in Stockholm of 1436.⁴⁸³ And nothing negative is said about Jöns Bengtsson's military campaign in the *Chronica*. Ericus's statement that Jöns's army defeated Karl's more numerous and better troops because the latter lacked someone who could give orders was primarily aimed to discredit Karl's martial skills, but it also spoke in favor of the archbishop's military leadership.

Conclusion

The notions of sovereignty for the Swedish men of the realm and of a division of authority between a secular and an ecclesiastical sphere appeared in various shapes as a basis for forming a judgment on political action in the *Chronica regni Gothorum*. Several instances where these two trajectories of Ericus's authority discourse are manifest can be identified. Occurrences where they intersect or conflict can also be adduced.

The notion that sovereignty in the realm belonged to the Swedes as a people was one parameter of several for Ericus's assessment of political legitimacy; a survey of his authority discourse must conclude that another, constitutionalist parameter, was also hugely important. Ericus applied the rhetoric of tyranny to arbitrary rule conducted in self-interest indiscriminately to both the union kings and to the Swedish-born King Karl. Swedish rebels appeared in his account to claim their rights according to their law or previously given oaths. The kingship of St Erik appeared as ideal because his election was described as conducted in accordance with the law, in contrast to Karl's, which diverged from legal format or, indeed, to Prince Magnus's, Erik's Danish assassin, who believed he could enforce his rule only by reference to a royal pedigree.

However, to depart from only references such as the above to the importance of the law in Ericus's account, and on those grounds and in accordance with Lönnroth designate his authority discourse as constitutionalist and republican is to obscure its ambiguities or complexity. His scattered references to kingship must also be taken into account. Withouth a king, Ericus stated, the people were headless; everyone acted according to their own will, and with catastrophic results. It is not clear how far reaching were the conclusions that Ericus drew from this corporate analogy, if he, for instance, considered the concerting will of the king as necessary for the realization of the common good. In another instance, Ericus suggested, referring for this thought to Archbishop Nicolaus Ragvaldi, that the realm could not remain for long without royal authority. It is possible that Ericus agreed and held that without a royal head, the body politic of Sweden would disintegrate. The apparent dichotomy between Ericus's notion of political authority as originating from below and legitimately exercised by a group and this conviction of the necessity of kingship for the working of the political body can also be observed among other fifteenth-century political writers, who also sometimes attempted to resolve

⁴⁸³ Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* XLVIII, 14

it.⁴⁸⁴ In Ericus's case it should be kept in mind that there can be a difference between, on the one hand, what he considered legitimate, and, on the other, what he envisaged as the ideal.

The nationalist trajectory in Ericus's authority discourse is easier to trace. Much in Ericus's account indicates that the foreign nationality of Prince Magnus or the union kings was a relevant political concern not solely because of its inconsistency with the law code's preference for inborn candidates. Contemporary receptions of the narrative of St Erik's death moulded it into an account of a defence of the homeland, a national martyrdom. Ericus adhered to this tradition of sanctified patriotism and he also applied it to his narration of the Swedish rebellion against the union kings. Ericus stated that the union rulers aimed to incorporate Sweden into Denmark; a defence against their arbitrary rule was a struggle for the survival of the realm. The biblical parallels he applied for the Swedish rise vouched for its legitimacy and described it as an outcome of providence. Furthermore, Ericus's notion of a Swedish royal bloodline perpetuated through St Erik to King Magnus, the last inborn king before Karl Knutsson, primarily discredited the union rulers.

A crucial moment in Ericus's denunciation of King Erik of Pommerania concerned his incursions on electoral rights of Swedish cathedral chapters. This king had used St Erik as an authoritative example for royal prerogatives in relation to the Swedish church. Ericus's compilation for the reign of St Erik was geared to check royal violations of ecclesiastical liberty by omitting the legend's references to his involvement in ecclesiastical appointments. But it also broke the impending caesaropapism of the image of the saint king by emphasizing the co-rule of St Erik and St Henrik as a manifestation of providence. The contemporary history of Jöns Bengtsson's treason against King Karl, a clear violation of this dualist ideal of cooperation between the two swords, was more difficult to master by such means of historiographical craftsmanship.

In the account of the so-called Engelbrekt rebellion the nationalist and the dualist trajectories of Ericus's authority discourse intersect, with an added legitimacy provided for the uprising as a result. Ericus was clear on the point that the rebellion that expelled King Erik of Pommerania from the realm broke out first when this king also incurred upon the electoral rights of the Uppsala chapter. In the *Chronica*, the matters of the liberty of the church and of the liberty of the realm were conterminous.

However, in two instances referred to above, the nationalist and the dualist parameters of justification in Ericus's authority discourse conflict. Faithful to the dualist ideal of mutual support and cooperation between secular and ecclesiastical powers, Ericus described the loyalty of Archbishops Olaus Laurentii and Nicolaus Ragvaldi to the union kings Erik of Pommerania and Christoffer. These kings Ericus perceived as tyrants who strove to subjugate the Swedish realm under Denmark, but for the men of the cloth who supported them, he had only praise. It is noteworthy that the fact that they supported kings that he deemed unfit did not detract from their stature in his eyes; they preserved kingship in the realm rather than acting on the judgment of the character of individual kings. It would

⁴⁸⁴ Burns, *Lordship, kingship and empire*, pp. 54-58

seem from this example that the idea of support and cooperation within a twofold leadership overruled a nationalist basis of justification. However, a second example of conflict between a nationalist and a dualist trajectory of the authority discourse of the *Chronica* involves further complications. Ericus described King Karl Knutsson as a tyrant. This critique was not nationalist in a conventional sense of the word; it involved an assessment of the enslavement of the Swedish men of the realm under Karl's arbitrary rule but not the incorporation of the realm into another political entity. Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson however breached his loyalty to Karl for another king, Christian I, who indeed represented that loss of independence. Jöns's actions exposed the realm to this danger and were resented by Ericus. Institutional concerns and perhaps personal loyalties however caused him to play down Jöns Bengtsson's responsibility.

IV. Dualism and monarchy in 1528

This thesis determines the relation between Ericus's discourse on authority in the realm and the contemporary needs and aspirations of the Uppsala arch see. The contemporary impact of the *Chronica* is however difficult to assess. No manuscripts dating from the time of its composition remain; nothing is known about the interest taken in the text or if it was read at all before the appearance of the oldest extant manuscript, from 1508. The previous chapters proceed by an analysis of the text. In the present chapter, the inquiry into the institutional embedding of the *Chronica* is instead undertaken by way of an historical example. It situates one instance of reception of the text at the arch see, the copying of the most complete of the remaining manuscripts, the E 3, which dates from 1528 and is the only one with a certain provenance of Uppsala. This was a time when the authority issues addressed by Ericus were brought to a definitive conclusion in the Swedish realm. The monarchic advance in the reign of Gustav I (king 1523–1560) checked eventual hopes for a restitution of the Scandinavian union, suppressed aristocratic aspirations and imposed the authority of the king over the church. It is argued in this chapter that traditionalist members of the Uppsala arch see took recourse to the *Chronica* for support of their struggle for preserved privileges and institutional autonomy.

Historical and political discourse in the reign of Gustav I

In the reign of Gustav I, a strong national monarchy was established in Sweden. This involved a definite break from the personal union with Denmark–Norway, but also a separation of the Swedish church province from Rome, a consequence of the Reformation.⁴⁸⁵ In the beginning of his reign, however, Gustav had to overcome the claim for the Swedish throne of the Danish king, Christian II. Narratives of contemporary history formed part of a propagandistic output whereby Gustav undermined the legitimacy of Christian's intent. Gustav and his pen pushers exploited the horrific events of the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath in 1520, where Christian had beheaded a large part of the Swedish aristocracy, and among them two bishops. The Danish king was portrayed as a tyrant in both vernacular and Latin accounts, and a series of plates were also produced to illustrate the Stockholm outrage. Historical proof was also looked to around this time to legitimize Swedish claims to the

⁴⁸⁵ Above, introduction, pp. 11–12, 17. Reynolds, *Kingdoms and communities*, p. 253, is dismissive of the use of the term national monarchy on the grounds that it is tautological, teleological or both. In the inter-Scandinavian context here addressed it serves to distinguish the Swedish realm as governed apart from Denmark–Norway.

provinces of Scania and Gotland, which were subject to the king of Denmark.⁴⁸⁶ This anti-Danish historiographical propaganda was not isolated to the beginning of Gustav's reign. In the 1550s, he was convinced that a Danish attack was imminent. The appearance of a pro-union Danish vernacular chronicle at this time strengthened his fears and was met with a full scale refutation; Gustav requested parish clergy all over the realm to read out a historiographical confutation (the so-called *Gensvaret*) of the Danish work.⁴⁸⁷

Gustav's concerns with historiography were a constant and a varied feature of his reign. He patronized Latin poets to write verse in his interest that propagated a Gothicism claim for the ancient dignity of the Swedish realm.⁴⁸⁸ In his later years, he had his own accession to the throne narrated by his chaplain, Peder Andreae.⁴⁸⁹ Other aspects of Gustav's preoccupation with the past appear from his everyday political communications, from his commissioning of a translation of a chronicle into the vernacular, and from his attempts to censor historical writing in the realm, discussed below.

The consolidation of a strong national monarchy in Sweden did not only work to the detriment to the union kings. It was also facilitated by means of the domestic material and ideological resources made available by the Reformation and the consequent break with Rome. In 1526, King Gustav was the first Swedish ruler to make permanent taxpayers of the clergy. And in the following year, the so-called Reformation Diet in Västerås constituted a serious blow to church property and episcopal authority in Sweden. The cathedral chapters, such as the one in Uppsala, were seriously affected since all canonries and prelacies from now on were taxable.⁴⁹⁰ Gustav's attitude towards the church challenged ecclesiastical liberty. To legitimize these policies he frequently referred to history.

In 1528, Gustav defined the respective offices of bishops and lay authorities as follows: 'The word of God is committed to the bishops and the sword is committed to the authorities.'⁴⁹¹ A recurring theme in his political communications around this time was that Swedish prelates had superseded the sphere of activities prescribed for them by dualism.⁴⁹² Historical arguments frequently appeared in the letters and speeches where he addressed this issue. The controversies between archbishop and regent of the realm in the later fifteenth and the early years of the sixteenth century are alluded to and described as detrimental to the realm. All historical information in these communications was not

⁴⁸⁶ Johannesson, K., *The renaissance of the Goths in sixteenth-century Sweden. Johannes and Olaus Magnus as politicians and historians*, transl. Larson, J. (Berkeley 1991), pp. 14-22

⁴⁸⁷ Westin, G.T., 'Peder Andreae (Svart)' in: *SBL*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 776-777

⁴⁸⁸ Karlsson, Erik XIV. *Oratio de iniusto bello*, p. 23

⁴⁸⁹ Both the refutation of the pro-union versified chronicle (from 1495 but updated in 1555) and the chronicle of Gustav's accession were written by Peder Andreae (Svart), however with decisive contributions made by the king himself. The chronicle was probably not completed until after Gustav's death: Westin, 'Peder Andreae', 775-782.

⁴⁹⁰ Andrén, Å., *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, Vol. III, Reformationstid* (Stockholm 1999), pp. 44-58; Kjellerström, S., 'Gustav Vasa och domkapitlet i Uppsala' *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 74 (1978), pp. 1-23

⁴⁹¹ Almquist, J.A., ed., *Konung Gustaf den förstes registratur* (Stockholm 1861-1916), Vol. V, p. 178: 'Biscopperne är gudz ord befallett, och offuerheetene är swärdet befallett'.

⁴⁹² *Ibidem*, Vol. IV, pp. 18-21: The church has unjustly grabbed its position from the lay people; p. 75: The clerics (*kyrkians personer*) have abused the liberties and privileges originally granted by the secular lords. They oppress the country people and have gained societal dominion (*storth herraelde*) that is not intended for them. At the Västerås diet, Gustav also defended the acquisition of church property on the grounds that it was approved by the council of the realm. This implied that the church property belonged to the people of the realm; the clergy were only administrators of the goods: *Ibidem*, p. 208.

gathered from written record. Many of the crucial events were still in living memory. In an address to the diet in Västerås in 1527, aimed to gauge support from nobility and commoners for his policies against the church, Gustav contrasted an ideal schema of a twofold social order with a tendentious rendering of past events. The result was an account of the political interests in the realm that was polarized between clerics and laity. According to Gustav, the clergy (*kyrkiones personer*) had deceived the crown, the knights of the realm and the commoners (*cronan, ridderskapit och then meneman*) and elevated themselves to lords (*herrar*). They had subdued the princes and the knights of the realm and oppressed the commoners.⁴⁹³ Gustav's appropriation of the idea of a twofold societal dominion fell on responsive ears in the diet. When the nobles acceded, this was done partly with reference to the oppression of the peasantry brought on by the existence of a twofold dominion (*tw herskap*).⁴⁹⁴

Gustav also buttressed his arguments with references to written historical works. In a letter from 1528, addressed to the exiled bishop Hans Brask, Gustav put forth normative statements about the two offices and their individual duties towards the realm. He defended his own right as king to make use of church property to aid in the defence of the realm and supported this argument with historical accounts. Gustav argued that one who takes a closer look at historical works (*historierna*) will see that the prelates on their behalf had used the same property only to challenge the true lords of the realm. Gustav also repelled Brask's use of the Bible-historical account of Daniel in his critique of the king's acquisition of church property. In a previous letter, Brask had argued that Balthazar lost his kingdom as a result of misuse of temple gold. Gustav, however, urged that Bishop Brask read the book of Daniel more thoroughly. It was pride, he argued, and not the acquisition of gold as such, that had brought on Balthazar's downfall. For a more thorough understanding of the historical events described in this book, Gustav further recommended the works of 'Xenophon and other historians'.⁴⁹⁵ In the same letter, he also touched upon the question of investiture. In this context he pleaded the precedent of universal history in support of his policies. The struggle between popes and emperors was a parallel case to that of Swedish contemporary history; the Swedish clergy had acted in a manner similar to the power-greedy popes when they challenged the rights of the emperor.⁴⁹⁶

It was not only in letters to a learned addressee such as Bishop Brask that Gustav supported his policies with reference to historical precedent. In a speech at the diet later in his reign, in 1544, a time when he tightened his grip on the church in Sweden, he legitimized the church policies by reference to 'old histories' that testified to the abuse of power by Swedish bishops: 'And it can be read in our old histories about many bishops that irascibly and with high-handed deeds rebelled against the kings and governors of the realm [...]'.⁴⁹⁷ On the grounds of such references, Gustav described the

⁴⁹³ Almquist, *Gustafs registratur*, Vol. IV, p. 209

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 219, 254

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, pp. 168-169.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 173-175

⁴⁹⁷ 'Man läser ock uti våra gamla historier om många biskopar, huru de sig av stor arghet och egenväldiga gärningar emot rikets konungar och gubernatorer sig uppsatt hava [...]'. Quoted after Westin, G.T., *Olaus Petri, Peder Svart och Gustav Vasa. Religion, politik och historieskrivning i början av 1500-talet* (Stockholm 2002), p. 35.

rebelliousness of the bishops as a detrimental constant in the history of the realm. It was perpetuated from the days of the conflict between Karl Knutsson and Jöns Bengtsson by the continuous greed for power of the archbishops, throughout the various Sture regencies and up until his own present reign.

Gustav's policies were criticised by traditionalist members of the clergy. A letter of warning and reproach sent to the Uppsala church in July 1527 makes clear that he knew of critical voices emanating from the chapter.⁴⁹⁸ The measures of the king were however not met with any uniform resistance among the canons and dignitaries in Uppsala. In the 1520s, this was a religiously and politically heterogeneous body, where both supporters of tradition and Lutheran reformers were represented. On the occasion of his coronation, in January 1528, Gustav assessed his views on clerical authority in this very Uppsala cathedral. A new formula for the coronation oath was written out by his church and prime minister, the Lutheran archdean of the chapter at the time, Laurentius Andreae. It involved substantial omissions from the traditional coronation oath. Important parts relating to the king's duties were cut out; this included the entire paragraph intended to protect the power, privileges and property of the bishops, but also the privileges of the king's lay vassals. Virtually half of the traditional oath was never uttered. The wording of this new coronation formula was surely not pleasing to Catholic traditionalist members of the chapter, who most probably were present to hear it read out on the solemn occasion. Critique for this encroachment of the formula was later voiced from both aristocratic and clerical proponents.⁴⁹⁹

Gustav's anti-clerical statements referred to above largely remain within the ideological fold of dualism. They focus on how Swedish prelates had superseded their designated role within that twofold framework and aspired for supremacy. However, in his refutation of the accusations subsequent to his coronation, Gustav virtually obliterated possibilities of future references to dualism in political discourse. He denied that privileges of the clergy required specific mention in the oath and defended his stance on the grounds that the church in juridical terms consists of nothing but Christian people, of which the clerics only form a part.:

His Grace answers that he swore as he saw himself bound to do by his office according to God's dispensation, i.e. to be benignant and loyal to the realm and wield the sword to ward off outrage and injustice. This oath, His Grace has it, is enough binding to protect the holy church and her personnel, since in juridical terms the holy church consists of nothing but Christian people [...].⁵⁰⁰

⁴⁹⁸ Almquist, *Gustafs registratur*, Vol. IV, p. 270. According to this letter, Gustav was accused of introducing a new faith in the realm. The king replied that these allegations were subterfuge on behalf of the prelates, whose real concern it was to defend their unjustified privileges. For a similar argument: *Ibidem*, p. 175.

⁴⁹⁹ Andrén, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 58; Carlsson, G., 'Gustav Vasas kröningsed' in: *Idem, Engelbrekt, Sturarna och Gustav Vasa. Undersökningar och studier* (Lund 1962), pp. 119-129

⁵⁰⁰ Svarar H. N. at han laat sueria som han förnam ath han åff siith embethe plicktugh war at göre effther Gudz skickelse, thet är at han skulle wara rikena hull och trogen och bruka swerdith till at affwäria offuerwäld och orätt; med sadane eedh menar Hans Nåde them nog plicktugh wara at beskerma then helga kyrkia och hennes personer, effther then helga kyrkie retzliga icke annad är än cristna menniskior [...]. Quoted after Carlsson, 'Gustav Vasas kröningsed', pp. 119-129.

Lumped together with the rest of the subordinates under the king in this way, the clerics were denied the status of an order of their own, with legitimate claims to societal authority and power beyond the control of the secular ruler. The coronation sermon performed by the Lutheran preacher Olaus Petri (d. 1552), proceeded in the same anti-dualist vein. Olaus delivered a sermon on the theme of the king's duty towards the people and the people's duty towards the king. Regarding the latter, Olaus followed Paul in stating that the powers that be have their authority from God, and they wield the sword to punish the wicked.⁵⁰¹ Olaus made clear that this royal duty to correct includes a dominion over clerics just as much as over lay people. The alleged contrast between this statement of Paul and the historical conflicts between temporal and spiritual authorities, universally and within the realm, formed the background of his monarchist sermon. His point was that the king was to correct not only his lay subordinates but also bishops and prelates who showed neglect in their offices:

Undoubtedly, they who have receded from obedience of the authorities through privileges and liberties and established a new lordship for themselves, as if they had nothing to do with the king, [this is] clearly contrary to what is stated by St Paul, who says that all people shall be obedient of the authorities, [and he] makes no exceptions, neither for bishops nor prelates.⁵⁰²

Gustav's coronation oath and sermon in Uppsala addressed the question of the relation of secular and ecclesiastical authorities; there can have been no doubt of its significance among the canons attending. Gustav went further than just reassessing the dualist principle along lines more supportive of the power of the king. Leaving the model of a twofold dominion of episcopal and royal exercise of authority behind, the king and his Protestant sympathizers argued along the lines of an alternative social schema, where the clerics in political matters ranked among the other subordinates.

Historiography was appropriated as a means of clerical resistance against this monarchic advance. In 1523, a versified chronicle of the bishops of Linköping appeared. This was the historiographical result of an effort of Bishop Brask to have his secretaries collect documents in support of clerical privileges.⁵⁰³ Resistance to the king was however a dangerous undertaking. After the 1527 diet, Bishop Brask went into exile. He shared this fate with another proliferate historian, the last Catholic archbishop, Johannes Magnus, who had already left Sweden the year before. In his exile, Archbishop Johannes composed both a Gothicist national history and a history of the Uppsala bishops that offered historical proof of the privileges of the arch see and was leavened with a subtle critique of King Gustav.⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰¹ Hesselman, *Olaus Petri*, Vol. I, pp. 315, 324. Olaus explicitly referred to Romans 13.

⁵⁰² *Ibidem*, p. 325: 'Vthan tuifuel the som sich här emoot medh priuilegier och friheet frå herskapens lydno vndandragit och for sich sielff itt nytt herradöme vptagit haffua, lika som the medh konungen intit skaffa hade, huilkit doch skinbarliga är emoot thet S. Pau. här segher at huar och en menniskia skall wara herskapet vnderdånig, han tager ingen vndan hearken påffua biscopar eller prelater [...]'.
⁵⁰³ Johannesson, *The renaissance of the Goths*, p. 45. One result of this historiographical activity in Linköping was the *Chronicon rhythmicum episcoporum Lincopensium*: SRS, III:2, pp. 103-112.

⁵⁰⁴ Above, chapter II, p. 56; Johannesson, *The renaissance of the Goths*, pp. 53-65.

Olaus Petri supported the king's anti-clerical rendering of Swedish history with his coronation sermon in 1528. But it is clear from his historical work, *En svensk krönika*, that he later changed his view of the role of the bishops in the history of the realm. This reorientation inevitably led him into conflict with Gustav. Olaus was put on trial, during which the views expressed in the *Svensk krönika* were held against him. It resulted in capital punishment, reduced, however, to heavy fines.⁵⁰⁵ In the wake of this intermezzo, Gustav, oddly enough, commissioned Olaus to write a history of his own accession, specifying its desired content. But again Olaus failed to fulfil Gustav's expectations. As has been made clear by Gunnar Westin, he responded to the pressures from the king by continuously reworking the *Svensk krönika*, cementing it into an even stronger support of the idea of the Swedish episcopacy as a positive and peace-seeking force in the history of the realm.⁵⁰⁶

Gustav was aware that Olaus pursued a historiographical project. A letter from 1541 illustrates how he monitored the progression of the work, and not without anxiety. There were certain examples of historical writing that Gustav exhorted Olaus to shun. He explicitly warned against leaning too heavily on the *Chronica regni Gothorum*. Ericus's fault, according to Gustav, was that he had been '[...] more obliging towards the old bishops and the ecclesiastical order and liberties than towards the kings, lords and nobility of the realm [...]'.⁵⁰⁷ The results of Olaus's rewriting of *Svensk krönika* came into the hands of Gustav after the death of its author, in 1554. The king's reaction can be gathered from letters directed to his sons, Princes Erik and Johan. Gustav demanded that all copies of the work as well as documents and registers used by Olaus when compiling should be traced and sent to him. This was to ensure that they did not remain in the hands of other insubordinate ecclesiastics. It is apparent from these letters that Gustav feared dissemination of negative press in historical works among the ecclesiastics and nobility of the realm.⁵⁰⁸

The reception of the *Chronica* in 1528

In 1527, King Gustav had his old schoolmaster, the Uppsala canon Henrik Sledorn, translate a chronicle. The commission possibly concerned Ericus's *Chronica regni Gothorum*.⁵⁰⁹ Manuscript

⁵⁰⁵ *Svensk krönika* existed in two versions. A shorter one formed the basis for Gustav's accusations: Westin, G.T., 'Olaus Petri (Phase)' in: *SBL*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 162.

⁵⁰⁶ Westin, *Olaus Petri, Peder Svart och Gustav Vasa*, pp. 32-35, 80

⁵⁰⁷ *SRS*, II:2, pp. 151-152: '[...] han [Ericus] mygitt mere benegen varit haffuer, emott the gambla Biscoper och the andeliga frijheter och wäsend, än emot Rigesens Konger, herrer och adell [...]'. Ericus was an important source for Olaus: Westin, *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri*, pp. 15-58. A recent analytical approach to the issue of literary influences on Olaus: Ferm, O., *Olaus Petri och Heliga Birgitta. Synpunkter på ett nytt sätt att skriva historia i 1500-talets Sverige* (Stockholm 2007), pp. 103-175.

⁵⁰⁸ *SRS*, II:2, pp. 152-160

⁵⁰⁹ In a letter to Laurentius Andreae concerning one of the king's bailiffs and delivery of goods etc. Gustav mentioned a translation of a chronicle; Almquist, *Gustafs registratur*, Vol. IV, p. 118: '[...] Til thet ytersta aer och vår vilie ath j förhöredh med Mesther henrich om han haffuer transfererad Cronican aen, eller hwrw langth han aer kommen ther med [...]'. Transl.: '[...] To conclude, it is our wish that you find out from Master Henrich if he has translated the chronicle yet, or how far he has progressed with it [...]'. The hypothesis that the commission concerned the *Chronica regni Gothorum*: Sjödin, L., 'Meddelanden om kanslistilar under de yngre sturarnas och Gustav Vasas tid' *Meddelanden från svenska riksarkivet* (1933), p. 116.

evidence of the *Chronica*, at any rate, suggests that Master Henrik was not alone around this time in multiplying historical works in the Uppsala scriptorium. The most complete of the extant manuscripts of the *Chronica* was brought to an end in 1528. Its scribe presented himself as the Uppsala-prebendary Laurencius Laurencii. Biographical information regarding the Uppsala clergy at the time of the early Reformation is scarce. In the economic accounts of the arch see of 1527, however, a minor canon named Lars appears as the recipient of a payment for the celebration of a mass.⁵¹⁰ He is probably identical with the Laurencius Laurencii who is known to us as an avid book collector, and with the scribe of E 3.⁵¹¹

To write out a copy of the *Chronica* was a laborious task; the text of E 3 occupies the space of 226 pages.⁵¹² The undertaking in itself suggests that there was an interest taken in the *Chronica* among some of the clergy present at the arch see at this time. Fortunately, Laurencius also inserted marginal notes into his transcript.⁵¹³ Symbols, phrases and drawings that indicate textual passages from their position in the margin of a manuscript serve study purposes; they facilitate a later recall of the text.⁵¹⁴ Readers' notes are thus testimony to how and why a text was appreciated by a particular audience. Arguably therefore, the marginalia found in the prologue of E 3 indicate the nature of Laurencius's interest in Ericus's *Chronica*.

Marginalia appear primarily in the first part of the E 3, adjacent to Ericus's prologue. They indicate sections of geographical, biblical, Bible-historical, ethnological and ecclesiological interest in the text. Most of Laurencius's marginalia mark geographical information. The places where *Gothia* (as a name of ancient Sweden), *Swecia* or *Upsala* first appear in the *Chronica* are noted by Laurencius. Most of the instances where Uppsala is designated in this way, however, relate to the Bible-theological considerations that permeate Ericus's prologue. Laurencius thereby emphasized Ericus's attempt to distinguish Uppsala as a Zion in the north, a place of special importance in the history of the salvation of the realm.⁵¹⁵ References that indicate relevant passages in scripture, such as the *Apocalypsis* or

⁵¹⁰ E 3, 113r, partly deleted: '*Ista sunt conscripta anna domini mdxxviii per me laurencium laurencii prebendatum Upsalensem*'. One prebendary called Lars is mentioned as recipient in 1527 of part of the sum stipulated as payment for celebration of the prime mass: Dahlbäck, *Uppsala domkyrkas godsinnahav*, p. 159. But this Lars is not mentioned in the tax list of holders of canonries and prelacies at the cathedral, produced around 1530: Kjöllérström, S., 'Gustav Vasa och domkapitlet i Uppsala' *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 74 (1979), pp. 1-23; nor does he appear in the list of taxed parish priests, from 1526: *Idem*, 'Prosterier, pastorat och kyrkoherdar i Uppsala stift år 1527' *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 58 (1960-1961), pp. 97-110. Cf. Nygren, 'Ericus Olai', p. 235, who referred to Laurencius as manager (*syssloman*) at the cathedral. This is possibly to confuse him with a namesake, who in 1527 was appointed by Gustav as manager in Sko: referred in Ljungs Prästregister, Stockholm, Svenska riksarkivet.

⁵¹¹ 'Laurencius Laurencii prebendatus vpsalensis' has a number of incunabula to his name. Owner notes refer to acquisitions in the years 1529 and 1537: Collijn, I., *Katalog der Inkunabeln der univ-Bibliothek zu Upsala* (Uppsala 1907), nos. 1181, 1006, 678 and 526; *Idem*, 'Svenska boksamlingar under medeltiden 3' *Samlaren* (1904), p. 212. This collection comprised a copy of Petrus Comestor's *Historia Scolastica* and Thomas Aquinas's comments on Aristotelian physics.

⁵¹² The *Chronica* appears on 113 folia, over a *schriftraum* of 20 x 15 cm, divided in 35 lines. Full manuscript description: Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica*, p. 11.

⁵¹³ The marginalia are of the same hand as the main text of E 3. They appear only in the relatively late E 3. None of them are mentioned in Öberg's edition or critical apparatus.

⁵¹⁴ Saenger, P., 'Reading in the later Middle Ages' in: Cavallo, G. & Chartier, R., eds., transl. Cochrane, L.G. *A history of reading in the West* (Cambridge 1999), p. 137.

⁵¹⁵ A reference is made from the margin, f. 3v, close to Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* II, 24-25, discussing Uppsala as a Zion, to the beginning of the prologue, where the theme of holy mountains is first introduced. Ericus's reference to the Apocalypse,

Canticum, form a second category of notes in the margins of E 3.⁵¹⁶ Laurencius also marked allusions to Bible history. Ericus wrote about the privileged position of the priests in ancient Egypt (and in Gothia) and Laurencius distinguished this section with a note: ‘*Privilegia sacerdotum in egypto tempore gentilitatis*’.⁵¹⁷ Other historical and ethnographical information regarding the Goths were also noteworthy. Laurencius marked that the Goths worshiped pagan gods in Uppsala.⁵¹⁸ And the paragraphs where Ericus discussed the constant and continuous discord among the ambitious Goths, Laurencius indicated to concern the ‘*condicio gothorum*’.⁵¹⁹ Ericus’s statement that the Goths, during their sack of Rome, spared those of the conquered Romans who sought refuge in churches and left their god and his edifices unscathed also aroused Laurencius’s interest. He commented: ‘Note that the Goths defended the temples of the gods even though they were yet pagans’.⁵²⁰

Ericus’s notion of societal authority as divided between secular and ecclesiastical authorities and the recurrence of this divinely instituted order in Uppsala, as the seat of government of the realm, received Laurencius’s particular attention. Where Ericus wrote that the disposition of the *Chronica* was made according to the notion of societal authority as twofold, Laurencius pointed this out; ‘*duplex principatus*’ can be read in the margin of this section.⁵²¹ And where Ericus made clear that this order recurred in Uppsala, this also was emphasized; a drawing of a hand with a pointed index finger designates the paragraph where Uppsala is explained to be the divinely sanctioned locus for exercising both royal and episcopal authority in the realm.⁵²²

Laurencius’s reading of Ericus’s prologue was pragmatic. It was directed towards a political end. He paid an interest to paragraphs presenting normative statements about the privileged position of clerics and the immunity of property pertaining to religious institutions. A related interest concerned paragraphs that described the societal authority as twofold and divided between secular and ecclesiastical authorities. His notes accentuated two prominent themes in the prologue: one concerned clerical authority and the inalienability of ecclesiastical property; and the other the unique position of Uppsala in the Swedish realm. Arguably, Laurencius approached Ericus’s text in its capacity of a repository for arguments in defence of the interests of the traditionalist ecclesiastical body in Uppsala. Laurencius completed his transcription of the *Chronica regni Gothorum* the year after the coronation of Gustav I, discussed above. He looked to his canon forerunner, the holy doctor Ericus, for support of an order, a divinely instituted *duplex principatus* where his Uppsala institution played an autonomous but crucial role in the government of the realm, now challenged by the king.

Ibidem, I, 19-23, in support of the allegation that Uppsala has been singled out by God, is also marked in this way, f. 1v-2r. These passages of the *Chronica* are discussed above, chapter II, p. 59, note 232

⁵¹⁶ For instance f. 1v.

⁵¹⁷ f. 5r refers to Heuman & Öberg, *Chronica* III, 20.

⁵¹⁸ f. 2r refers to *Chronica*, II, 6.

⁵¹⁹ f. 9v refers to *Ibidem*, V, 1-3

⁵²⁰ f. 5r: ‘Nota gothi defendebant templa deorum cum adhuc essent pagani’. Refers to *Chronica*, III, 14.

⁵²¹ f. 5r refers to *Chronica*, IV, 1.

⁵²² f. 5r refers to *Chronica*, IV, 2.

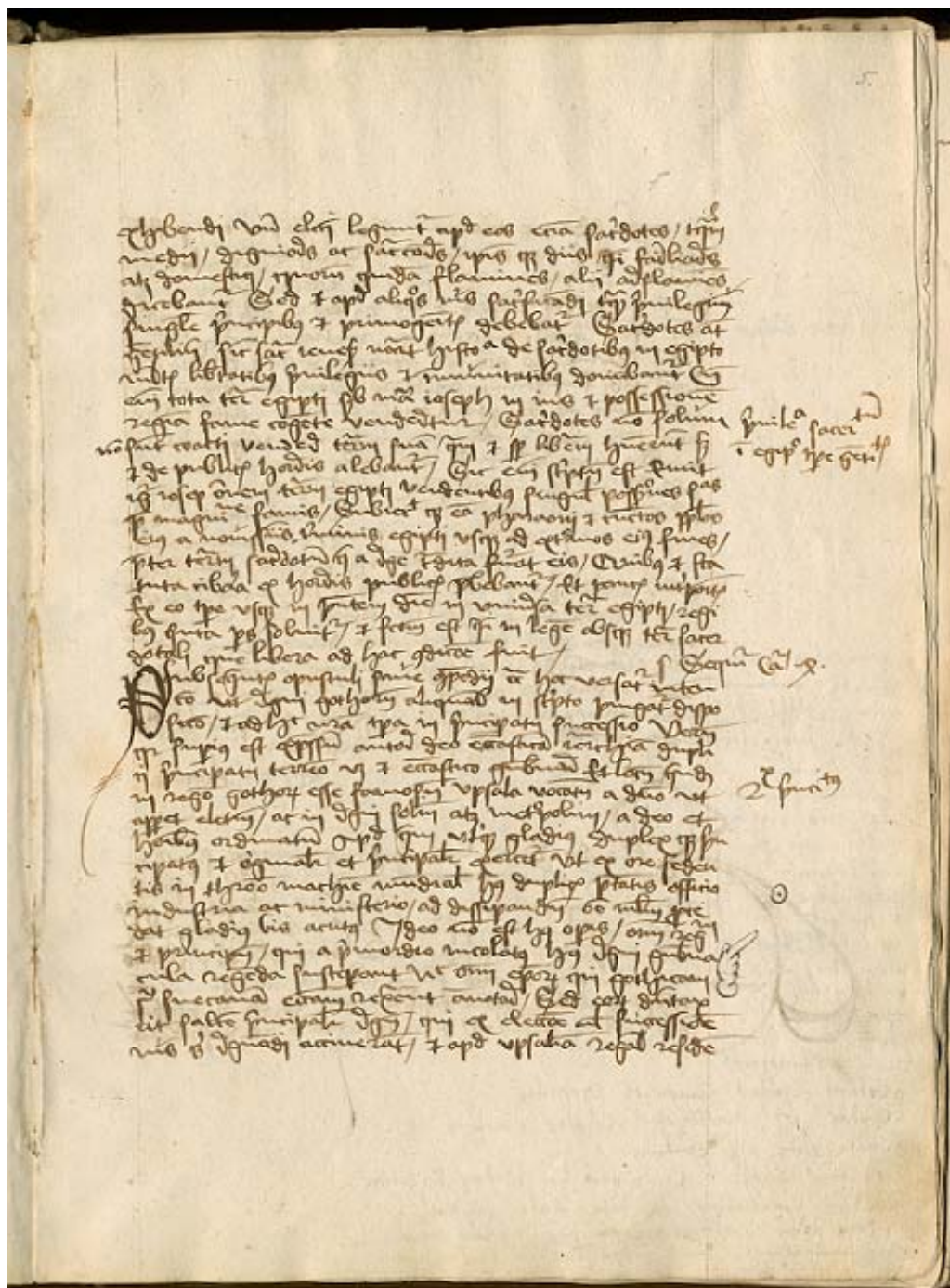


Plate 9. Uppsala universitetsbibliotek E 3, 5r (1528).

Conclusion

Ericus Olai, Olaus Petri, Gustav I and the other historians dealt with in this chapter claimed legitimacy for the authority they represented on the grounds of tradition. In this sense they were all propagandists taking recourse to historiography as a political means. The historical works they wrote or instigated

vouched for notions of a social order favourable to their long-term social ambitions. At times they also functioned as direct support of immediate political demands.

It is clear from a comparison of the historiographical output of these authors that the historical traditions on which their claims to legitimacy rested varied greatly, even if they largely concerned one and the same historical events. Gustav and Olaus Petri disagreed in their respective understanding of the role of the episcopacy in the history of the Swedish realm. Furthermore, where appreciation of historical facts and analysis of events coincided, institutional interests still decided on which lessons should be drawn from the past. Gustav readily appropriated arguments already apparent in Ericus's *Chronica*. The conflict between Jöns Bengtsson and Karl Knutsson had laid the realm open for continued Danish dominance. Ericus's apparent conclusion from these events however, as discussed in the previous chapter, was that in the interest of the Swedish realm temporal and spiritual rulers ought to restrict themselves to act within their respective spheres as ascribed by the tradition of dualism. Reasoning of this kind was foreign to Gustav's monarchic ambitions. In the interest of his royal sovereignty, Gustav wrote history anew and censored and repelled dissentient historical accounts that he feared. One of these historical accounts was the *Chronica regni Gothorum* of Ericus Olai. It was too benevolent towards the idea of authority as shared between a secular and an ecclesiastical lordship and too favourable towards the bishops in the history of the realm for Gustav's taste. It is likely that the appreciation of the *Chronica* among the traditionalist members of the Uppsala arch see differed from that of the king. Marginal notes in a transcript of the text from 1528 suggest that they appropriated Ericus's work in support of the autonomy of their institution, in the face of the contemporary monarchic advance.

Conclusion

The Swedish church was economically strong towards the end of the Middle Ages. Its leaders also held prominent positions in the secular government of the realm and were frequently at the political forefront. The discourses among Swedish ecclesiastics, which stirred, led or justified political action at their institutions, however, have so far received little attention. This thesis is intended as a contribution to this field by means of a historiographical inquiry. Sweden's first national history, Ericus Olai's *Chronica regni Gothorum* of 1471, testifies to the articulation at the Swedish arch see of the political issues dominating the contemporary politics of the realm. The subject matter of the *Chronica* was traditional. It adhered to the conventions of national and institutional historical writing; Ericus accounted for the history of the realm of the Goths and its royal and ecclesiastical government. But these concerns with secular and ecclesiastical authority in the realm also mirrored the political anxieties of Ericus's present day. The resistance of traditional power elites against a monarchic advance in fifteenth-century Sweden had pushed the concepts of *liberty of church and realm* to the centre of political debate, to which Ericus's historical inquiry attached itself. This thesis is a critical analysis of the discourse on authority in the *Chronica*. It explores the assumptions that underlie the justification of political action in Ericus's historical narrative. In particular, it aims to establish the relation of this authority discourse to its environment of production, the Uppsala arch see. This conclusion offers a summary of the analytical steps involved in the inquiry and its outcome.

Unresolved issues in Swedish political and ecclesiastical history provide points of departure for this inquiry. One such knot lies in the dichotomization of a nationalist and a constitutionalist frame of interpretation that has governed the scholarship on Swedish fifteenth-century political history. Modern historiography rejected an older interpretation of the Swedish rebellion against the Scandinavian-union king in the 1430s as a sign of a national awakening. Instead, the constitutional character of these conflicts was emphasized. The Swedish rebellion, it was argued, was aimed not against the union as such but against the arbitrary manner of the union rule; aristocrats resisted on the same constitutional grounds against later Swedish kings or regents as they had done against the rulers they considered to be foreigners. The constitutionalist tradition in Swedish historiography also has affected the scholarly reception of the *Chronica*. Erik Lönnroth argued that Ericus's history of the realm represented a 'republican conception' of the state.

The nebulous character of the concept of the realm (*regnum*, *rike*) provides a particular challenge to an historical understanding of the constitutional issues of this epoch. The research of constitutional historians suggests that in concrete terms the realm was coterminous with the Swedish political elite,

the men of the realm (*homines regni, rikets män*). They claimed sovereignty for themselves in the name of the realm and its inhabitants, the commonalty, in times of conflict with the king. In this constitutional context, summons to the *liberation of the realm* denoted a struggle to preserve privileges of the traditional power elites, not demands of independence for a Swedish nation. This conception of the realm as conterminous with the men of the realm makes sense in terms of contemporary corporation theory. However, it is felt from the outset of this thesis that this juristic definition of the realm is unsatisfactory from a cultural-historical perspective, which is inclined to ask how the bonds that sustained this community of the realm were perceived among the historical actors and on what grounds it could be mobilized or claim sovereignty. Arguably, the dichotomy imposed by the historiography on this epoch between national and constitutional concerns risks obscuring key aspects of its political culture. In view of that risk, it is crucial to this analysis of the authority discourse in the *Chronica* that Ericus in his title paraphrased the Swedish realm as pertaining to a *people*; Sweden was the realm of the prestigious Goths of whom the contemporary Swedes were the proud scions.

A second condition of the historiography on this era that merits attention is the dearth of studies of Swedish clergy as a separate power elite. This thesis develops the institutional perspective of the recent research on the *Chronica*; the analysis brings the importance of the institutional setting of production and reception, the Uppsala arch see, into focus. The monarchic advance of the later Middle Ages, namely, caused both ecclesiastical and aristocratic concerns. Lay aristocracy in Sweden decried their lost recourse to the traditional power base of the crown fiefs. Likewise, royal incursions into electoral rights of the cathedral chapters and incursions into church property are well known sources of conflicts between the king and the clergy. In the polemics of the rebellion of the 1430s, the defence of *patria* and *libertas ecclesiae* went hand in hand. It is misleading, however, to conclude from their common aims that the ecclesiastical power elite can in all dimensions be subsumed into the secular. This is particularly apparent from an analysis of political discourse. Swedish ecclesiastics resisted a monarchic advance by reference to a different set of notions than the constitutional; they argued for a divinely instituted twofold nature of societal authority, a division between secular and ecclesiastical, as grounds for limiting the prerogatives of the king. This thesis brings out the dualist argument at work in the authority discourse of the *Chronica*.

The analytical steps involved in this inquiry are presented in four chapters. Chapter I situates the practice of authoring the text. It argues that the *Chronica* must be understood in terms of the educational concerns of the Uppsala institution. Two of the remaining medieval manuscripts attribute the text to *beatus Ericus*, who was a former scholast and dean of the arch see. Internal features of the text identify the model reader of the *Chronica* as a cleric of the arch see. Juniors of an ecclesiastical institution are explicitly paraphrased by Ericus, and topics related to the internal affairs of the arch see are introduced in a manner that suggests he expected them to be known by his audience. However, as indicated by the didactic concerns explicitly voiced in the *Chronica*, Ericus also sought to educate this readership. There were institutional aspects to this intention. Education was a responsibility of the

cathedral chapter; through the task of teaching the diocesan clergy, the medieval chapters ensured the reproduction of the clergy as a social group and power elite. The initiates of the clergy whom Ericus addressed also needed political counsel; clerical careers were affected by political loyalties that they had to negotiate to promote their personal and institutional interests. A history of the vicissitudes of the realm written from the perspective of the Uppsala arch see provided principles to dispose its members to act for the benefit of their institution.

The institutional setting of the arch see also involved historiographical traditions. Historical writing flourished in Sweden in the second half of the fifteenth century. A number of historiographical initiatives concerned with royal and episcopal power in the realm also appeared in Uppsala. The annals and catalogues of kings and archbishops of this institution dwelt on the breaches of ecclesiastical liberty by the contemporary secular rulers but also buttressed its most important cult, the veneration of St Erik. A factor unique to the historiographical tradition of the arch see was that its annals of the history of the realm came bound with catalogues both of kings and bishops, a make-up that in an embryonic form heralded the national and dualist historiographical grid applied by Ericus in the *Chronica*. One important instance of hagiography from this time, which has also been attributed to Ericus, was a versified office written for a group of Swedish patron saints. It reflected the contemporary tendency in Uppsala towards ecclesiastical leadership on the level of the realm, and it portrayed this realm as a unity sanctified by God.

A wide range of notions can be identified that ground critique or justification of public actions in the *Chronica*; feudal relations governed by oaths or adherence to the law code, for instance, frequently appear as defining concerns behind the judgments passed by Ericus throughout his historical account. Chapters II and III, however, focus in particular on two prescriptive assumptions on social order that lie at the heart of the authority discourse in the *Chronica*: Ericus's historical account departed from the notion that God instituted the lay and clerical orders as parallel hierarchies of societal authority; and that He divided the world into different self-governing peoples and realms. The weight of these notions in Ericus's evaluations of justifiability contrasts to the scholarly tendencies to downgrade the importance of national thought in the fifteenth-century politics and to equate ecclesiastical with aristocratic concerns; they merit further attention.

Dualist and nationalist commonplaces already appear in Ericus's prologue, which is a forceful assessment of clerical authority, the ancient dignity of the Swedish realm and the importance of Uppsala in its temporal and spiritual affairs. The full version of Ericus's prefatory remarks, however, is now found only in the E 3 manuscript of the Uppsala University library. The section unique to this manuscript differs distinctly from the above celebrations. It introduces a theme of crucial importance for Ericus's authority discourse: domestic discord as a threat to the sovereignty of the realm.

The nationalist and dualist assumptions lie at the core of the *Chronica*'s narrative structure. They determined Ericus's explicit intentions for his work. He paraphrased his text as a *compendium*. The selective criteria for this brief to Swedish history were as follows: to narrate from the birth of Christ

and according to the succession of kings and bishops governing from Uppsala. A similar, if less ambitious, undertaking was already at hand at the arch see in the historiographical compounds of the annals and office lists, mentioned above. Another source of inspiration was the thirteenth-century chronicle of popes and emperors of Martin of Troppau. Ericus made clear how the historiographical grid applied by these forerunners and included in his *Chronica* resonated with the idea of a universal social order where God instituted two orders, lay and clerical, and in consequence a twofold government of secular and ecclesiastical authorities. In the beginning of his prologue, Ericus accounted for the role of this arrangement in the unfolding of salvation history. Jerusalem was the residence for both royal and sacerdotal leadership, and so was Rome, and this twofold feature of government also appeared with a royal throne and an arch see in Uppsala. Thus, in his national history, Ericus re-contextualized generic features of a tradition of universal history on the level of the realm. As a consequence, Uppsala was glorified as the fountainhead of salvation of this political entity. Ericus compiled a history of the Swedish realm. But his choice of narrative focus ensured that the historical institutional multiplicity of the past of this political entity was neglected. Instead, he offered a history of the realm that revolved around one axis only: Uppsala.

Notions of the two orders were likely to be of interest to Ericus's audience at the arch see. They provided a theoretical understanding of the role of their ecclesiastical institution in relation to the secular government of the realm. Ericus's theoretical ideal for the relation between the two powers can only be gleaned in fragments. The *Chronica* was not intended as an ecclesiological treatise; Ericus did not exhaust this topic and the assessment in this thesis of his position remains inconclusive. Erik Lönnroth argued that Ericus communicated a hierocratic standpoint, but also duly remarked that Ericus took exception to the personal involvement in temporal politics by Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson. Indeed, Ericus stated the superiority of the spiritual over the carnal and of papal authority over royal power. However, he did not qualify what this supremacy implied in concrete relations of government. Ericus's introduction paraphrased hierocratic statements of Boniface VIII and Innocent III, but a more striking feature is how he emphasized dualism throughout: God instituted a twofold lordship (*duplex principatus*) in Uppsala, from whence both the temporal and the spiritual 'swords' were exercised in the history of the realm. Moreover, Ericus did not argue that the temporal authority was mediated via the pope, but via the people, as discussed below. His discourse on secular and ecclesiastical authority was not extreme but can be defined within the practically oriented fold of a *via media*, between monarchic and papalist claims.

The dynastic union formed with Denmark-Norway was not a thing of the past when Ericus completed his *Chronica*, but a continued political possibility or concern well into the following century. But this was not the political entity Ericus chose to hallow with a history. He wrote about the realm of the Goths, the Swedish realm, a territorially defined area with an ancient tradition of independent government. The Gothicist tradition already had a public status in the realm. It was included in the preface of the national law code of 1442, which stated that Sweden was the one

original and perpetual homeland of the prestigious conquerors of the Roman world. Ericus adhered to this tradition. His dualist assumption, discussed above, provided a prescriptive pattern for the government of the Swedish realm through a co-rule of kings and bishops in Uppsala. The Gothicist tradition, however, served in his account to conceptualize the body politic of the realm in the terms of a people (*popolus*, *gens*, *nacio* were used indiscriminately in the *Chronica*).

Ericus wove the Gothicist tradition, as applied to Sweden, into the political-geographical and ethno-historical conceptions of biblical lore. It was a common belief that God had created the world into distinct territories inhabited by distinct peoples, whose ethnogenesis could be traced back to the sons of Noah. Ericus pointed out Sweden as a distinguishable region of this kind and the Swedes as descendents of Noah's son Japheth. More important in this context, Ericus's account expressed the political relevance of this origin myth by attaching to it a discussion on property rights. The Goths were the first to arrive and take the Swedish region into possession, and this, Ericus argued, gave them legitimate ownership and lordship, *dominium*. The argumentative stretch in the *Chronica*, where Ericus in this way harnessed Gothicism and notions on property rights to the national cause, merits particular attention. It involved a conception of political authority as dependant on consent and thus a statement of authority's popular origin and a refutation of arbitrary rule. Ericus's source for this discussion has not previously been identified. He drew on John Duns Scotus, who inquired into property rights in the context of a *quaestio* on the necessity of the restitution of stolen goods for penance. Ericus, however, adapted this inquiry to a context where it confirmed the notion that the sovereignty of the realm pertained to the Swedish men of the realm, descendants of the Goths who first came to the land. It is not previously noted and merits attention that in Ericus's authority discourse, this constitutionalist idea was intimately linked to notions of the Swedes as a people. When viewed in his contemporary terms, the dichotomy between a nationalist and a constitutionalist interpretative grid, discussed above, is confusing, because the men of the realm who did not accept arbitrary rule were understood as representatives of a people, exercising their inherited right.

The *Chronica* was not a political treatise but an historical account that would instruct and entertain the readership at the Uppsala arch see. The didactic impulse of medieval historiography was primarily conveyed through the representation of good and bad examples from the past. Chapter III explores the realization of the discourse on authority in the unfolding of the historical narrative of the *Chronica*. It presents Ericus's account of the reign and episcopacy of the patron saints from Uppsala, St Erik and St Henrik, as an example intended for imitation. The contemporary government of King Karl Knutsson and Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson, in contrast, appears as an image of the breakdown of social order to abhor. A nationalist and a constitutionalist trajectory can be identified in each case, running through Ericus's discourse on authority.

St Erik was a prestigious asset for the Uppsala arch see. His cult also was an important point of reference in contemporary political discourse. In the contested archiepiscopal election of 1432, the union king, Erik of Pommerania, referred to instances in the legend where St Erik built and staffed the

ancient Uppsala cathedral, in order to support his own contemporary claims to royal prerogatives over the church. But St Erik also appeared as the image of a just king, invoked by the Swedish rebels against the union ruler. Both of the above concerns governed the reception of St Erik in the *Chronica*.

St Erik's reign was the model case for Ericus's compilation of Swedish history according to the succession of royal and episcopal governors in Uppsala. In accordance with the legend of St Henrik, and with his expressed historiographical grid of presentation, Ericus emphasized that Erik co-ruled the realm together with the bishop of Uppsala. In addition, Ericus omitted from his account the references of the legend to the personal involvement of the saint king in church matters. But other grounds than dualist also ensured the reception of St Erik as a just king in the *Chronica*. St Erik's personal qualifications and the correspondence of his election to legal format – most crucially that he was extolled in Uppsala – made him an ideal king in the eyes of Ericus. Candidates of royal progeny were preferred by the requirements of the law code, and Ericus jealously repelled allegations that St Erik was from humble origins. From the aspect of authority examined in this thesis, however, it can be observed that Ericus's preoccupation with St Erik's family links not only concerned the importance of accordance with the law code. Ericus made clear that God chose St Erik as a link (established through his marriage with a princess) between the old royal line of Stenkil and a new dynasty. This royal blood, according to Ericus, was preserved in the realm to King Magnus Eriksson, in the mid fourteenth century. The extinction of this Swedish royal line coalesced in the *Chronica* with the loss of legitimate kingship in the realm, which, in its turn, Ericus presented as synonymous with the rule of foreigners. The establishment of an independent, ancient royal bloodline was a crucial concern to medieval national historiography. It vouched not only for dynastic claims but also for the sovereignty of the realm as such. Ericus in his prologue accused the foreign kings of having stolen Swedish genealogies, and thus obscure his nation's royal glory. Moreover, Ericus's account of St Erik's death can also be read in the light of the contemporary political conflicts; St Erik was martyred for the glory of God, but he died when defending his throne from a Danish usurper. The sacred and the political aspects were mutually reinforced in this account. Ericus applied theological discourse to history to raise the outcome of the contemporary political events – Swedish independence from the union – to the level of the providential.

Ericus's contemporary history was marked by political conflicts. The rebellion against Erik of Pommerania in the 1430s was a defining moment that stands out also in the *Chronica*. Ericus represented the rebellion as a legitimate uprising by portraying the government of King Erik in accordance with a received set of standards for tyranny and his fall as the execution of a divine judgment. The nationalist and dualist assumptions determine Ericus's treatment of these events. His notion of the men of the realm as representatives of a Swedish people with an inherent right to sovereignty did not necessarily demand a resistance to a personal union with Denmark-Norway. And critique of arbitrariness and greed of individual union kings was not necessarily a critique of the union as such. Ericus was however negative towards the rule of foreigners in the past, and both the prologue

and the endnote of his account suggest that he did not want it repeated in the future; the Swedes had introduced foreign kings because of the domestic discord, and the foreign kings had made things worse.

Ericus argued against union rule along the lines he inherited from the rebel Swedish councillors in the 1430s: Danish monarchs intended to enslave Sweden. Ericus's more rounded account, however, gives a clearer idea of what this threat of slavery implied. 'Thraldom' in the *Chronica*, indeed appeared in the context of a critique of the arbitrariness of union rulers who neglected to involve the Swedish men in government and grant them their traditional recourse to crown fiefs. In this respect, Ericus's critique of royal high handedness corresponds to the constitutionalist tendency identified for instance by Lönnroth. However, Ericus also warned of the consequences of these monarchic policies in terms that cannot be equated with aristocratic liberties alone. He claimed that Erik of Pommerania had attempted to snatch away Sweden's status as a distinct realm (its *nomen regni*) and incorporate it into Denmark. Ericus also added an historical resonance to the contemporary political struggles by representing them as a constant feature, from ancient times, of Danish-Swedish relations.

Strictly constitutional issues aside, the *Chronica* is also a source for how the union conflicts were perceived among those who sympathized with Ericus's opinions. He, for instance, clarified what he considered to be at stake in this political issue by way of Bible-historical parallels to the conflict. The nation of the Jews had fought wars to liberate themselves from the yoke of tyranny imposed by foreign conquerors; the union conflict appears in the *Chronica* as the struggle of an oppressed nation against neighbouring Danish aspirations to empire. As it can be expected, the Engelbrekt character loomed large in this account of the Swedish rising. The rebel leader Engelbrekt unselfishly laboured for the liberation of the Swedish *patria* and tacit biblical reminiscences in this narrative suggest that Ericus, and the historians he drew on for this account, modelled the Engelbrekt character on the Bible's model hero of national resistance, Judas Maccabaeus. Engelbrekt's death in the *Chronica* is a passion narrative that mirrors the contemporary veneration of the rebel leader.

Important political-ideational developments were reflected in this narrative of the Engelbrekt rebellion. Ericus's national history contributed to a conceptualization of the Swedish realm that verged towards the modern. It fostered allegiance to an impersonal, perennial political entity, a Swedish state: a common *patria* to fight and to be martyred for. Even more important in this context, Ericus managed to identify his institutional interests with these national concerns. The rebellion, he argued, concerned not only the liberation of the realm but also the liberation of the church. Ericus made clear that God first summoned Engelbrekt to rise when King Erik of Pommerania had incurred on the electoral rights of the Uppsala chapter. He represented the war fought in defence of the realm as a struggle for a divinely instituted religious, social and political order that involved the church, the saints and the laws of the realm.

The Swedish king, Karl Knutsson, attached his political achievements to the legacy of Engelbrekt in his propaganda. Karl or his pen pushers also construed a genealogy to prove his membership in the

Swedish royal bloodline continued by St Erik. Ericus's account of Karl's reign makes clear that he dismissed these attempts to pose as just king or national hero. He inferred that Karl, instead of following the examples of the forerunners with whom he sought to link his reign, governed according to the tyrannical precepts of Erik of Pommerania. Engelbrekt, as mentioned above, had acted by charity for his fellow countrymen. Karl, in contrast, was driven by greed and cared nothing for the common good. St Erik was the epitome of legitimacy, due to his lawful election and his personal qualifications. For King Karl, Ericus noted that his royal election in 1448 was not in accordance with legal format; it was not conducted in Uppsala. Karl was also a failure as a military leader. Ericus's critique of Karl, however, was moderated in a manner that could never apply to the foreign union rulers. While criticizing Karl, Ericus also censured the faint support he received as king from the Stockholm burghers. Swedes should support a Swedish king, but Sweden had become a society of people from abroad (*civitas convenarum*) where this solidarity on national grounds was lost.

It is noteworthy that Ericus felt that in 1448 there was no royal material in the realm, even though there were many (as could be expected from the ambitious character that Ericus ascribed to the Swedes) who wished to be extolled. Ericus did not spell out his interpretation, if he nourished one particular, of what was so generally amiss at this time in the realm. However, the problem of the lack of a domestic royal bloodline repeatedly surfaced in his account. Ericus's authority discourse legitimized government founded on consent and exercised by a group; that is the aristocratic council rule governing in the name of all the men of the realm, which was repeatedly the form of leadership at hand. This republican tendency of Ericus's account, emphasized by Erik Lönnroth, must not obscure his exalted view of kingship nor the instance where he agreed with St Birgitta that the legitimacy conferred by election could not overrule the demand to extol the *right* candidate. It was his expressed view that the body politic of the realm could not survive headless, without a king. These notions appear only fragmentarily in the *Chronica* and it cannot be ascertained if they formed a more systematic vision with Ericus. Arguably, pragmatic necessity challenged Ericus to furnish arguments to legitimize conciliar rule, but his political imagination disposed him to yearn for a just king. This was a position that Karl Knutsson could not fill.

Ericus's critique of Karl Knutsson was to some extent a necessary backdrop to his apology for Archbishop Jöns Bengtsson. In the contemporary debate, Jöns was charged with accusations of treason against Karl. He had ousted the king, which had led to the introduction of Christian I. The struggle between Jöns and Karl in Ericus's account exemplified how domestic discord exposed the realm to the dominance of foreigners. It inverted the good example provided by St Erik and St Henrik of cooperation between archbishop and king in the government of the realm. Previous examples in the *Chronica*, where the Swedish archbishops supported the royal authority of union kings who Ericus yet characterized as tyrants, in fact suggest that the cooperation between the secular and the ecclesiastical rulers of the realm was an overriding concern for Ericus. Ericus, as a consequence, was not sympathetic to the actions of his former ecclesiastical superior. But he still in various ways minimized

Jöns's responsibility for the outcome of the events. Jöns Bengtsson was arguably a controversial character among the Uppsala clergy, who at times were held responsible for the actions of their ecclesiastical superior. An expected cause of anxiety in a dualist discourse on authority, and an expected critique of Archbishop Jöns would concern his military undertakings. This however is in no way suggested by Ericus's account. Also contemporary bishops' chronicles from the Swedish province indicate that a pugnacious character in a bishop was not necessarily considered a fault. It was at times a prerequisite for a defence of the liberty of the church.

The contemporary impact of the *Chronica* is hard to assess because no material evidence of its early reception remains. Chapter I inquires into the place and function of authoring the *Chronica* within the organization of the arch see. Chapters II and III proceed by an analysis of the text. Chapter IV instead seeks to situate the reception of the text by a discussion of the latest of the manuscripts of interest to this thesis, the E 3, completed in 1528. This was a time when the authority issues addressed by Ericus were brought to a definitive conclusion in the Swedish realm Gustav I suppressed aristocratic aspirations and imposed the authority of the king over the church in an unprecedented manner, soon followed by the introduction of the Reformation. Gustav emphasized the duty of the clergy to obey the king and argued that they were in legal terms no different from the rest of his subjects. Gustav also frequently used historiography as a means to legitimize his radical church policies. He portrayed the struggles of Swedish kings and regents with the archbishops as a constant detriment to the realm, rooted in the power hunger of the episcopacy. In the early sixteenth century, ecclesiastics also applied historiography as a means to resist this monarchic advance.

References to the *Chronica regni Gothorum* appear in this religious and political debate. The negative opinion in which King Gustav held the old work of Ericus is well known; he recognized its clerical slant and considered it much too favourable towards the Swedish episcopacy. In contrast, the transcription of the *Chronica* at the arch see in 1528, at the time when the monarchic advance shook the foundations of this institution, can be seen as one instance of a clerical resistance. Ericus by this time was venerated as a saint in Uppsala. His authoritative opinion on society's twofold government as a divine and immutable institution would have sustained the beliefs of the remaining Catholic traditionalists among the cathedral clergy. Also, his apology of archbishop Jöns countered Gustav's charges against the Swedish episcopacy. Marginalia furnished by the scribe of the E 3 manuscript, a prebendary of Uppsala, Laurencius Laurencii, support that this was indeed sought and found in the *Chronica*. Laurencius marked Ericus's account of the special role of Uppsala as the fountainhead in the history of the salvation of the realm. The Bible-historical paragraph of the privileges of the priesthood in Egypt and the reference to the Goths sparing Christian churches when they looted Rome also provoked his interest. A hand with a pointed index finger sketched in the margin marked the section where Ericus spoke of the divine institution of a *duplex principatus* in Uppsala.

When viewed in its confessional-political context, the reception of the *Chronica regni Gothorum* in 1528 makes manifest the inherent split between the two strands of Ericus's authority discourse

primarily examined in this thesis. On the one hand, Ericus's national history legitimized the prerogatives of a secular central authority (its monarchic or republican character is of less concern in this respect). He exhorted his readers to loyalty and even self-sacrifice for the realm. On the other hand, Ericus propagated a dualist notion, in terms of which loyalty to state interest was not absolute, but only one concern within a layered framework of authority. Throughout Europe, this latter notion was increasingly challenged by the first. Writing in the 1460s, Ericus drew from his experience of contemporary history, in the light of which the liberty of the church appeared best preserved from the royal arbitrariness in the Scandinavian union by supporting a government of Swedish men. In 1528, however, this independent Swedish government was in the hands of a king, Gustav I, who had grown strong enough for arbitrary action. There is an element of historical irony to this development. The Swedish state authority that Ericus did much to support nationalized the church whose autonomy he had intended it to protect.

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Abbreviations

<i>BSH</i>	<i>Bidrag till Skandinaviens historia ur utländska arkiver</i> (Stockholm 1859-1884)
<i>DN</i>	<i>Diplomatarium Norvegicum</i> (Oslo 1849-)
<i>DS</i>	<i>Diplomatarium Suecanum</i> (Stockholm 1829-)
<i>HH</i>	<i>Historiska handlingar</i> (Stockholm 1861-1979)
<i>KLNM</i>	<i>Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid</i> (Malmö 1956-1978)
<i>LM</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> (München 1977-1999)
<i>MGH</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (Paris 1844-1864)
<i>RAp</i>	<i>Riksarkivets pergamentsbrev</i>
<i>SBL</i>	<i>Svenskt biografiskt lexicon</i> (Stockholm 1918-)
<i>SRS</i>	<i>Scriptores rerum svecicarum medii aevi</i> (Uppsala 1818-1876)
<i>ST</i>	<i>Sverges traktater med främmande magter</i> (Stockholm 1877-1934)

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