



Kirsi Salonen, Anna-Stina Hägglund & Claes Gejrot (eds.): *Scandinavia and the Vatican Archives. Papers from a Conference in Stockholm 14–15 October 2016*. Kungl. Vitterhets historie och antikvitets akademien Konferenser 106. ISBN 978-91-88763-34-1. Stockholm 2022. 207 pp.

### Reviewed by Espen Karlsen

The contact between the papacy and Scandinavia in the Middle Ages has received much interest in recent years internationally, *inter alia* in the important monograph by Francesco D'Angelo (2017) on the contact between the papacy and Norway, reviewed in the present journal in 2018 (Brégaint 2018). The volume under review takes a different approach, as it focuses on the work of Scandinavian scholars in the Vatican Archives since access to the archives was granted in 1881. The book under review consists of an introduction and articles on Scandinavia and the Vatican Archives, in the following referred to under their present name from 2019, the Apostolic Archive (Archivio Apostolico). Six contributions are revised papers from a conference in Stockholm in 2016. The conference had two main purposes, 1) 'to highlight and exemplify the lively contacts between the Nordic countries and the papacy during the Middle Ages', and 2) 'to draw attention to the great efforts made during the first half of the last century to go through the collections of the Vatican Apostolic Archives in order to find documents relevant to Scandinavian history' (the introduction, p. 7). The Scandinavian expeditions resulted in 'abundant archival material (copies, photographs, transcripts, and excerpts)'. Some material has been published, but the collections are 'still difficult to access, even though we are dealing with a central source category for medieval researchers' (the introduction, page 7). Three contributions in the volume concern the Vatican collections of photographs and transcripts in the National Archives in Oslo (Jo Rune Ugulen Kristiansen), Helsinki (Kirsi Salonen), and Stockholm (Peter Ståhl), whereas the Danish contribution concentrates on preserved papal material in Danish archives (Peter Bruun Hansen), respectively. Moreover, there are two more studies of a general character and four specialised studies. The present reviewer has more experience with material concerning Norway than the other countries, and this will be reflected in the review.

The first article, by Claes Gejrot, editor-in-chief of *Diplomatarium Suecanum* (National Archives of Sweden), serves as an introduction to the Scandinavian efforts in the Apostolic Archive between 1920–1939 and their prehistory (pp. 11–31). The contact between the Scandinavian kingdoms and the Roman curia ended abruptly at the Reformation. The Apostolic Archive opened to scholars in 1881, and regular

contact between Scandinavian scholars and the Apostolic Archive began. The earliest contact happened in 1858, when the Norwegian scholar P.A. Munch (1810–1863) was granted permission to access the archives.<sup>1</sup> Following the opening of the Apostolic Archive in 1881 several Scandinavian scholars – among them the Norwegians Gustav Storm (1845–1903) and Alexander Bugge (1870–1929) – worked on material in the Apostolic Archive. For the Norwegian part, this led to the publication of *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* (in the following: DN), vol. xvii (1902–1913), to which also the Swedish scholar Karl Henrik Karlsson (1856–1909) contributed.<sup>2</sup> Gejrot gives a detailed account of the seven expeditions between 1920 and 1939. The initiative came from the Swedish archivist Ludvig Magnus Bååth (1874–1960) who in 1919 wrote a letter to the Norwegian scholar Oluf Kolsrud (1885–1945), who had visited the Apostolic Archive in the 1910s, and to the Danish librarian Alfred Krarup (1872–1950). To conclude, Gejrot gives a substantial account of the history of the expeditions, of the scholars' methods and how they approached the material. There is also useful information on the volumes in the Apostolic Archive that still need to be examined, which are estimated to be between 500 and 800 volumes (pp. 28–29). An unfortunate omission in this otherwise excellent article is the early contact between Norwegian scholars and the Apostolic Archive, whose prefect Marino Marini (1783–1855) in the 1840s transcribed material there that appeared in DN (vols. I and III) and in the edition of the medieval Norwegian laws *Norges gamle Love*, first series (1847–1895) (see Karlsen 2024: 94–95 and 98–99). Marini transcribed 74 documents for DN and received a royal order for his work for Norwegian historians.

Of the material surveyed from Munch's time and through the later expeditions until 1939, we learn that most texts have been published in the respective national series of medieval sources (p. 30). Krarup published *Bullarium Danicum* ('Danish collection of bulls'), 1–2, 1931) and the large supplementary vol. 7 of *Acta Pontificum Danica* ('The popes' Danish acts'), and Bååth edited two large volumes (divided into three) from the archive of the Apostolic Chamber, i.e., the papal treasury (1936–1957). For Norway's part, it is mostly DN, volume xvii (1902–1913), that collects the results of the expeditions to the Vatican prior to that time (cf. Gejrot, p. 14 and p. 30). After 1913, nothing from the Apostolic Archive has been published in DN.<sup>3</sup> On

<sup>1</sup> Munch's work in the Apostolic Archive led to an edition of account books kept by papal *nuntii* in Scandinavia 1264–1334 with an appendix of charters, published the year after his death (Munch 1864), as well as two earlier editions of material related to Denmark and Sweden, respectively. More on Munch's work below.

<sup>2</sup> By far, the largest volume in DN (xvii + 1467 pages).

<sup>3</sup> Except for the archive of the Papal Penitentiary, which was only opened to researchers in 1983 (pp. 29–30). More on this below.

p. 30 it is said that most of the texts of which there are excerpts or photostat copies in the Vatican collection in Oslo have been published in DN. Does this mean that the seven expeditions from 1920 to 1939 led to few discoveries for Norway? And why is there so little Norwegian material? This would certainly call for a discussion. I will return to this topic below.

Gejrot's article on the Scandinavian expeditions is followed by four presentations of material pertaining to the Apostolic Archive in the four National Archives in Copenhagen, Helsinki, Oslo and Stockholm, respectively.

The second article, by Peter Bruun Hansen, editor of *Diplomatarium Danicum*, the Danish national edition of charters, concerns 'Papal Documents in Danish Archives' (pp. 33–52). There is no formal connection between *Diplomatarium Danicum* (in the following: DD) and the Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet). Hansen aims to a) give an overview of some important archival collections, 2), to introduce the basic printed aids, as well as 3) to make a catalogue of original papal bulls and other curial documents from 1440 until the Reformation in 1536 in Danish collections. Hansen tells a complex story of the ecclesiastical and other archives of medieval Denmark, a story of bad luck, as he calls it (p. 34) He goes systematically through the preserved material from the eight medieval dioceses and the collegiate chapters of Copenhagen and Schleswig.

Hansen also presents three important editions for the study of papal documents in Denmark. The most important is *Acta Pontificum Danica* (in the following: APD) vols. 1–7, covering material from the Vatican Archives between 1316 and 1536. Hansen warns about the weaknesses of the edition. Documents published earlier are only referred in the edition regardless of the source or the quality of the older edition. Most texts are considerably abridged without abridgments being marked, thus including only the pertinent information. *Bullarium Danicum* includes documents between 1198 and 1315. Contrary to APD, it includes material printed earlier. And finally, there is DD which includes charters from and about Denmark.

There is only one box preserved with photographs taken in the Vatican Archives (no. II), made for APD, vol. 7 (p. 44, footnote 37).<sup>4</sup> It covers material between 1361 and 1403. Hansen concludes his article with a catalogue of papal bulls and curial documents in Danish archives from 1440 until 1536. It consists of 93 entries. To conclude: Hansen has created a useful introduction to papal material relating to Denmark and provides useful comments on the relevant editions.

<sup>4</sup> Transcripts by Krarup are preserved in the Vatican collection in the National Archives of Norway, as well as two boxes containing his card index of papal documents (1948–1949), prepared for a planned volume of papal acts in DN. More on this below.

Jo Rune Ugulen **Kristiansen** introduces the Vatican collection in the Norwegian National Archives (pp. 53–60). There are ten only original papal letters in the collection of medieval charters dating from between 1189 and 1520.<sup>5</sup> Here we have a story of even worse luck than in Denmark. Why is there so little material? This would call for a discussion.

The Vatican collection in the National Archives (in the following: NRA) in Oslo was created by the Norwegian Institute for Historical Sources (Norsk Historisk Kjeldeskrift-Institutt, in the following text NHKI) and consists of c. 3200 photographs.<sup>6</sup> There are transcriptions of approximately half the number of photographs. A large portion of the photographs and transcripts have only nominal connection to Norway (p. 55)<sup>7</sup>, and only a few remain to be published, Kristiansen says (p. 59). However, the conclusion that there is little material with relevance for Norway left to edit, is hasty.<sup>8</sup> The archive series for *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, also created by NHKI,<sup>9</sup> contains additional material omitted by Kristiansen. Still after Kolsrud's early death in 1945, work on material from the Apostolic Archive continued, by Lilli Gjerløw (1910–1998) and Alfred Krarup, who spent much time in Norway after 1945.<sup>10</sup> In a letter to Gjerløw of 6 September 1945, Bååth speaks of the well advanced work by Kolsrud on the *Acta Pontificum Norvegica*, which was meant to appear as a thematic volume in DN, and Kolsrud had already mentioned to Bååth the need for financial support for the printing.<sup>11</sup> As Kolsrud had died on 17 June 1945, he

<sup>5</sup> In addition, there is a rare original letter issued by the papal penitentiary to the bishop of Stavanger (1400), reproduced in Jørgensen & Saletnich (1999: 39), as well as a letter concerning the Bridgettine house of Mariebo from Pope Martin V (1417–1431) to the bishop of Roskilde. It is removed from a binding and kept in the collection of Latin fragments (Karlsen & Weidling 2023: 36). The text is complete but has no relevance for Norway.

<sup>6</sup> Archival reference is NRA EA-4054 Samlinger til kildeutgivelse, Vatikansamlingen, Kjeldeskriftavdelingsens samlinger.

<sup>7</sup> Kristiansen appears to follow *Håndbok for Riksarkivet* ('Handbook for the National Archives'), pp. 544–545.

<sup>8</sup> I am highly indebted to the late Dr. Jon Arild Olsen (1965–2024) of the National Library in Oslo. He went through a comprehensive material in the Vatican collection and the archive for *Diplomatarium Norvegicum* in the reading room of the NRA in early 2023 to identify unpublished material for the project Dictionary of Norwegian Latin and made some very substantial discoveries I briefly report here.

<sup>9</sup> Archival reference is NRA S-6117, series Hd.

<sup>10</sup> He died in Norway in 1950.

<sup>11</sup> Kolsrud had already mentioned in a letter to Bååth that he was planning to apply for funding of the printing.

encourages Gjerløw to complete the edition; Krarup is already at work in the [university] library [in Oslo], Bååth says. Gjerløw continues the work. In the archive of DN, there is a list prepared by Gjerløw of unpublished papal correspondence, a copy of which was sent to Cardinal Mercati (in office 1936–1957) in the Apostolic Archive on 16 October 1945 (Ill. 1, following page).<sup>12</sup> The list was drawn up as preparation for *Acta Pontificum Norvegica*.<sup>13</sup> This list contradicts Kristiansen's claim that there is little material to add. This claim is also contradicted by Krarup's earlier report in a Danish historical journal, where he presented findings made in the preceding years in the Apostolic Archive (Krarup 1925: 200–202).<sup>14</sup> In the NRA, there is a card index by Krarup in two boxes, one covering material until 1410 and the other beginning in 1411,<sup>15</sup> as well as his handwritten transcriptions made for DN. And there are further transcriptions by Munch, Kolsrud, and Gjerløw.

Kristiansen mentions several editions, particularly DN XVII, which contains the most material. Some older editions are important and deserve to be added.<sup>16</sup> Marino Marini transcribed 74 documents for DN in the 1840s, but allegedly his exemplar was an eighteenth-century transcript of the original registers (DN I, p. VIII). Munch's (1864) posthumous edition of the account books and diaries kept under the collection of tithes in Scandinavia is the earliest edition concerning Norway made from originals in the Apostolic Archive, and it has a supplement of 86 charters, 66 of which are from the Apostolic Archive. Further transcriptions by Munch were published posthumously in DN, especially in vols. VI (231 numbers) and VII (129 numbers).

<sup>12</sup> NRA S-6117, series Hd, L0035 Arkivundersøkelse i Vatikanarkivet V: Lister over foto og fotobestillinger, over utrykte pavebrev o.a.

<sup>13</sup> It appears that when Jonas Jansen (1900–1975) became director of the Norwegian Institute for Historical Sources in 1953, work on DN broke off and it was resumed shortly after Jansen retired in 1970. The planned volume with Vatican material was not taken up again, but Jansen's successor Steinar Kjærheim (in office 1973–1990) mentioned it in conversations in the late 1980s as a project to be completed.

<sup>14</sup> According to Krarup, the discoveries in 1920–1921 led to an increase of c. 5% added to the Danish material already known for the period 1316–1360 in the Apostolic Archive, and the numbers were approximately the same for all three Scandinavian kingdoms. During the second expedition 1921–1922, c. 350 papal letters concerning Denmark were identified, about one half of them concerned all the three Scandinavian kingdoms or at least two of them.

<sup>15</sup> The card index dates from 1948–1949. Since Krarup's card index is three or four years later than Gjerløw's list, it may represent a later stage in the work on *Acta pontificum Norvegica*.

<sup>16</sup> Gustav Storm published a volume with material from the Apostolic Chamber (186 numbers) (Storm 1897), a result of his visit to the Apostolic Archive in 1895–1896. The texts in this volume, however, were later included in DN XVII.

Utrykte latinske, især pavebrev.

(2)

[1200 august - september]

Nidrosiensi archiepo.

Sacris est canonibus institutum...

A) Decr. Greg. IX ... tr. DN XVII. 10.

B) Reg. Vat. 1 A, rubrica, f 1 r, f 5 r.

1203 desember 9

Celestino abbati S. Columbe de Hy insula..

A) DN VII, 4. "Religiosam vitam..."

B) Indice 25, f 1 r, 2 r: In registro Sexti Anni [Innocentij III]:  
Item quod Monasterium sancte Columbe.. tenetur ad censum duorum  
Bisantiorum.

1213 april 19 [Innoc. III: innbydelse til Laterankonsilet]

Uineam domini Sabaoth... Reg. Vat. 8, f 142 r v.

Dipl. Suec. I, 145-146, Bull. Dan. 84.

[1213 april 19-29]

Universis xpisti fidelibus per Maguntinam prov. const.

Quia major nunc...

In eodem modo per Norwegiam...

Reg. Vat. 8, f 140 v - 141 v, e. 28, 23.

Act. Pont. Suec. Cam. I, 12, Bull. Dan. 85.

[1213 april 19-29]

De Salem etc. abbatibus..

Pium et sanctum propositum...

In e. m. Nidrosiensi archiepo...

Reg. Vat. 8, f 141 v - 142 r.

Dipl. Suec. I, 149, Bull. Dan. 87.

[1215 februar 22-1216 juli 16]

Archiepo. Nidrosien ut nonnullos sue diocesis..

Reg. Vat. 8 A, rubrica Ann. III, IV deperdit., f (4) v.

[1216, efter juli 16] Honorius III

Alia insinuatio noue promotionis Romani pontificis.

Etsi ambulans in lege...

Arm. XXXI. t. 72, f 72 r v.

1216 november 21. Honorius III

Panormitano archiepo....

Inter cetera..

In e. m. Nidrosiensi archiepo.

Reg. Vat. 9, f 25 r-26 r.

Acta Pont. Suec. Cam. I, 14, Bull. Dan. 112.

1217 februar 28

Episcopis per Campaniam const.

Approbante generali concilio...

In e. m. Archiepo. Nidrosien.

Reg. Vat. 9, f 81 r v.

Acta Pont. Suec. Cam. I, 15.

[1217-1218]

Stationaria pro ecclesia que reparatur de nouo.

Loca ... (Comes Ca. in xpisto filius N.H. Regis illustris avunculus)

[norsk?]

Arm. XXXI, t. 72, f 259 v.



Ill. 1. Page 2 of Lilli Gjerløw's list from 1945 over unpublished papal correspondence covering the early 1200s. The list was drawn up as preparation for *Acta Pontificum Norvegica*. Note, e.g., the entry for 21 November 1216: Honorius III archiep(iscop)o Panormitano (*Honorius iii to the Archbishop of Palermo*). Further below it is added: In e(odem) m(odo) Nidrosiensi archiep(iscop)o ('In the same manner to the Archbishop of Nidaros'). The first Latin phrase is the abbreviated inscription of the letter, whereas the second phrase is found after the letter text indicating that it was also sent to the Archbishop of Nidaros. Circular letters were common (there are five of them on the reproduced page), and a list of the addressees follows the letter text in the register volume in the Vatican. Photo: Lars Schanke Aamodt, National Archives of Norway.

Something should also be said on the quality of the edited texts. DN XVII (1902–1913), a huge volume that was mainly the work of Alexander Bugge and Gustav Storm, received harsh criticism upon completion in 1913, and Kolsrud and Krarup, both of whom had minor contributions to the volume, admitted that it was problematic.<sup>17</sup> Storm died already in 1903, and the volume was completed by Bugge.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Head librarian Vilhelm Munthe wrote of DN XVII in the Norwegian daily *Aftenposten* on 3 August 1913: 'Unfortunately, one went to work far too unprepared . . . It is by no means the reviewer's intention to complain over all these mistakes, . . . but it must be clear that such a volume should never have been published . . . Then we would have avoided seeing this oversized volume — 500 pages larger than its predecessors — stand out as an eternal reminder of a mistake by the men whose names now can be read with sadness on the title page. And Norwegian historical scholarship would have been spared the hard blow it has now undoubtedly received in the esteem of foreign scholars.' Kolsrud wrote in his reply in *Aftenposten* on 2 September 1913: 'The fact that the text in the main series has so many errors is largely due to Gustav Storm; this can be seen from the edition, as it is stated at each number who copied it . . . Those who have the most important share in the publication of the collection are Storm and Bugge, who have provided the material. It is not appropriate for me, as Bugge's colleague, to comment on his work.' Krarup commented as follows in his report from 1925: 'The Norwegian transcriptions were published in *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vol. XVII, by Prof. Bugge and various others, but the edition was not particularly good: there were serious errors in the dating of the letters and in the treatment of the language. The Latin was often hard to read and difficult to understand, and it [i.e., the Latin in the edition] was not quite satisfactory' (Krarup 1925: 199). Storm worked in the Apostolic Archive in 1895–1896 and Bugge in 1897–1898. Given the size of the volume, this may indicate that it was made in a hurry.

<sup>18</sup> It is evident also from Bugge's edition of the Norwegian part of the register of Archbishop Henrik Kalteisen (in office in Nidaros 1452–1458; † 1464) that he was a sloppy editor (cf., e.g., Karlsson 1901). A grotesque example of a nonsense word or rather more correctly, a random series of letters, is *inoaeientum*, which Bugge admitted into the text of a charter in DN XX, no. 798 (p. 76): *si quis subditorum suorum contra fecerit puniet cum tanquam sibi Rebellem et inoaeientum* . . . This makes no sense. The passage is repeated on the next page, where we find *inobedientem* ('disobedient') for *inoaeientum*. Still, *cum* makes no sense either, although

*Ill. 2. A page of DN XVII corrected ca. 1905 in the Apostolic Archive. The handwritten text between nos. 526b and 526c belongs to another hand than the other corrections, probably the Danish scholar Alfred Krarup. The corrected text was originally transcribed by Alexander Bugge. His texts are remarkable by the many mistakes. Photo: Lars Schanke Aamodt, National Archives of Norway.*

The Latin in Munch's transcriptions in earlier volumes appear more trustworthy. A copy of DN XVII with frequent corrections to the text (pp. 12–212, 224–236, and 241–480) has on average from five to fifteen or twenty errors a page (see *Ill. 2*).<sup>19</sup> Ironically, Marini's transcriptions from an eighteenth-century transcript of the original registers are — despite their errors — superior to the work of Storm and Bugge to judge from documents proofread by Kolsrud.

Having referred to DN XVII, it is strange not to mention that due to the low quality of the edition many texts in that volume were improved and published among the ecclesiastical material in *Norges gamle Love, Anden Række 1388–1604* ('The ancient laws of Norway, second series 1388–1604'), mixed with other material, in vol. 1 (pp. 308–726, 52 numbers in all), in vol. 2 (pp. 315–626), and vol. 4 (pp. 339–483). The work on improving DN XVII began early, when Giuseppe Herzen in the Apostolic Archive collated against the originals already published documents for the first volume of *Norges gamle Love*, second series (1912).<sup>20</sup>

it is an existing word. On the next page, we read *eum* ('him'), which fits well in the context in the place of *cum*. These two corrections make it possible to give a meaningful translation of the sentence: 'If any of your subordinates does otherwise, he will punish him as a rebel and disobedient'. Dr. Ingrid Sperber, who is preparing a new edition of DN XX, has kindly sent me a picture of the handwritten original, and there is no doubt about the readings *eum* and *inobedientem*. Bugge had no qualms about printing an incomprehensible sentence without comment. Or did he work too fast to spot these errors?

<sup>19</sup> The copy in question was recently (re)discovered in the NRA among the materials from NHKI. On the back of the cover of fascicle 2 there is a note: *Romae receptum die 5 Julii 1905* ('Received in Rome on 5 July 1905'), probably in another hand than the corrections. A pencil note in Italian in a third hand on p. 12 (no. 12 in fascicle 1) states that the corrections start here (nos. 1–11 are taken from printed books). On the cover there is a note in German. Who was the corrector? It is likely that the corrections were made in the Apostolic Archive. Dr. Giuseppe Herzen (see Kolsrud's introduction to DN XVII, p. XIII) improved many documents, but as there is a Scandinavian expression a few times ('I Randen' = *in margine*), we may rather have to do with a Scandinavian scholar. On p. 418 there is an annotation in Danish in another hand than the corrector. This handwriting appears to belong to Alfred Krarup. Could the corrector be identical with Krarup's Danish colleague in Rome, Johannes Lindbæk (1872–1919) (DN XVII, p. IX), who was working on *Acta pontificum Danica* with Krarup?

<sup>20</sup> Kolsrud's corrections of Munch's texts in his interpaginated copy of DN are few compared to the anonymous corrections to DN XVII (see *ill. 2*).





The article is a useful, albeit incomplete, first introduction to the Vatican collection in the National Archives of Norway, and there is a list of the boxes containing photographs. Kristiansen states that most documents are included in DN XVII and there are few documents relevant to Norway left to edit. This is a conspicuous mistake. The author is apparently unaware of Kolsrud's and Gjerløw's plans for the thematic volume *Acta Pontificum Norvegica* in the DN series, of which there is documentation in the archive for *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, an archive that contains valuable supplements to the Vatican collection. And it would be useful to know more about how many unpublished transcriptions are found in the Vatican collection for this volume. Their connection to Norway is, as it appears, in many cases more than just nominal. There are also important editions of material from the Apostolic Archive that are not mentioned.

Kirsi **Salonen**, professor of medieval history at the University of Bergen, presents the Vatican collections in the Finnish National Archives. There is very little medieval material preserved in Finland. The reasons for this are that the Reformation rendered much of it unnecessary and it was thrown away, and later many archives and charters were destroyed through war. Some material ended up in Stockholm as Finland was united with Sweden until 1809. The only original papal letter is an original petition from 1460 that was approved by the papal penitentiary. There are seventeen boxes with photostat copies from the Apostolic Archive an inventory of which is given by Salonen.

Peter **Ståhl**, editor of *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, gives an overview of the transmission of medieval archival material from Sweden. Sweden has the most extensive collection of preserved material in Scandinavia. The king's chancellors were often bishops of Uppsala, Linköping, and Strängnäs, and state documents were often kept at these three bishoprics. At the Reformation, the crown gained control of church property, and archival material documenting property relations was transferred to the crown in the 1540s and 1550s and kept in the chancellery in Stockholm. Much medieval material was transcribed in the early modern period and is preserved in copybooks. This material is now in the National Archives in Stockholm. There are 248 original papal bulls and briefs preserved, by far the largest number in Scandinavian collections.

Ståhl presents the original charters and bulls in the National Archives (p. 68–71), the earliest from 1167. Many are from the councils of Konstanz and Basel.

Moreover, Ståhl outlines some work on original archival material which was carried out in the Vatican in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries. Gaetano Marini, prefect of the Vatican Archives, transcribed altogether 324 papal letters for the

Swedish king's Master of Ceremonies Carl Fredric Fredenheim (1748–1803). The first volume of *Diplomatarium Suecanum*, the Swedish national edition of medieval documents relating to Sweden, began in 1829. The series is chronological and includes papal letters. The subseries *Acta Pontificum Suecica* includes material from the Apostolic Chamber (1936–1957) and the Penitentiary (2008).

In sum, Ståhl has produced a clear and useful presentation of the Vatican material in the Swedish National Archives that will come in handy for its users.

These four presentations of material are followed by Kirsi Salonen's 'Medieval Source Material from the Papal Curia' (pp. 83–123). Papal documents are, as Salonen states, difficult to interpret as they are written in difficult handwriting and with many abbreviations. Also, in printed editions such documents are not easily accessible, 'because the papal letters contain certain phrases that remain unclear for readers who are not familiar with the papal phraseology and curial practices' (p. 83). Salonen's aim is to offer tools to read and better understand medieval papal documents' (p. 83). The article is divided into two parts. In the first part, 'Structure, decision-making and sources' (pp. 83–102), Salonen goes pedagogically through the structure of the papal curia, in Salonen's words 'the most effective administrative system in the medieval world', and its different units, e.g., the Apostolic Chamber, which was responsible for the economy, and the Apostolic chancery, which issued letters in the name of the pope. Then Salonen introduces the Vatican source material (pp. 88–102) and its division in archival units, such as the Register of supplications (7366 vols. containing material from the 1400s until c. 1900), the Vatican Registers of outgoing letters (2032 vols., mostly containing material from the 11th century until 1572),<sup>21</sup> and the Avignon registers (353 volumes covering the years 1316–1417). Much material is also connected with the Apostolic Chamber (pp. 95–99). Salonen discusses the relevance of the different series. Not all of them contain much material concerning Scandinavia. Salonen makes an important point when she states that the volumes do not contain material concerning the local ecclesiastical administration or 'shed light on the age of Scandinavian churches or monasteries or on the daily life of bishops, priests, or persons in monastic vocation. Such material must be sought in local archives' (p. 89). Unfortunately, such material has rarely survived in local archives in Scandinavia. Salonen gives much practical information on how volumes in the different archival units are organised and on how to approach the material.

Part two of the article concern 'various document types in the main register series of the Vatican Apostolic Archives' (pp. 102–123). Here, the various types of document

<sup>21</sup> These are the oldest surviving registers from the Roman Church. The early volumes only record the most important outgoing correspondence.

types are surveyed, such as various types of provisions for ecclesiastical positions, supplications, various kinds of dispensations ('an act whereby in a particular case a lawful superior grants relaxation from an existing law') etc. All in all, Salonen's chapter constitutes a useful introduction to the Vatican archives and has the character of a small handbook that will come in handy for scholars working with medieval material in the Apostolic Archive.

Then follows four more specialised studies. Markus **Hedemann**, editor-in-chief of *Diplomatarium Danicum*, discusses a lost notary instrument the text of which was printed in Copenhagen in 1792. It concerns the attempt by three Holstein counts to liquidate a sentence by the Roman king Sigismund of Luxembourg made in 1424 in which the Duchy of Holstein was adjudicated to the Danish king Erik of Pomerania. The three brothers from Holstein were deprived of their hereditary fief. The sentence was a triumph for Erik. The attempt at liquidation was made by an appeal to the papal Curia, and a process of nullity was opened. A Danish representative was appointed, and a notarial instrument including the original sentence was composed in Vordingborg 20 October 1424. The complex procedure is characterised by extreme formalism: 'One could not argue against the content of what was presented in a correct form.' The cardinal in charge was about to pass a verdict of nullity in favour of the Holstein party, but Pope Martin V interrupted the case in a bull of retraction, and the case went back to King Sigismund. Hedemann has found no evidence of this process in the Apostolic Archive, and the principal source is a printed version of a lost notary instrument. He poses the question whether it would 'raise the level of knowledge of the Holsten process in the Curia significantly if the original notary instrument showed up as a result of, let us say, a Scandinavian scholarly effort?' Newly discovered documents are likely not to, Hedemann thinks, but the significance of the find lies 'lies in its being an expression of an ongoing, necessary dialogue with history, a dialogue that not even a scholar as distinguished as Alfred Krarup is entitled to abort by claiming that scholarship has reached a level of knowledge that makes further efforts more or less superfluous' (pp. 138–139). I will return to Krarup's pessimism below.

Kurt Villads **Jensen** discusses 'Papal Crusade Bulls and Preaching to Scandinavia' (pp. 140–156). The material is too broad to cover exhaustively, and the author's aim is to present some of the source material and 'to exemplify how papal crusade bulls and crusade preaching influenced daily life in Scandinavian cities and the religious-military expansion throughout the Middle Ages' (p. 141). Jensen introduces the first crusade sermon, i.e., the famous sermon by Pope Urban II in Clermont in 1095, which inspired the crusades and led countless individuals to march towards the Holy Land.

His main interest is papal bulls commissioning individuals or institutions to preach crusades, as well as crusading sermons. 'The bulls' introductions were composed as a sort of mini-sermons or a compressed collection of exempla to support the preacher, and they thus give directions for how the papacy wanted specific crusades to be preached' (p. 144). Crusade preaching led to changes in the liturgical life in churches, Jensen tells us, and in public life in towns from the 1200s until the end of the Middle Ages. There were Danish crusades against the pagan Wends in northern Germany and the Baltic, especially in Estonia in the 1100s and 1200s and in Lithuania. The article gives an interesting glimpse into the rôle of crusade preaching and processions in the towns of Scandinavia and provides an important first step into the study of papal bulls concerning crusades in Scandinavia.

Torstein Jørgensen's (Stavanger) 'Between Theology and Jurisdiction: Some Aspects of Petitions to the Papal Penitentiary' is the only contribution concentrating on the Apostolic Penitentiary. Scholars were given access to the archive of the Penitentiary in 1983. Earlier attempts by Scandinavian scholars at accessing the archive were unsuccessful. Jørgensen discusses texts in which clerical violence was central, especially clerical killers in cases from Norway. Excommunication from the Church was not a punishment, 'but of leading the lost soul back to the fold' (p. 159). Jørgensen discusses the demarcation line between ecclesiastical and civil law in Norway considering the treaty between King Magnus the Lawmender and Archbishop Jon Raude in 1277 (*Sættargjorden*; in the Latin original called *Compositio et finalis concordia*). He then discusses Norwegian cases of clerical homicide. Homicide was extremely consequential to the King and to the Church alike. The King lost one of his subjects, and a priest committing homicide became automatically irregular. The priests who had committed murder were probably excluded in their home dioceses, and the absolution granted was not only a legal pardon of a crime, but it was also a theological remission of sins (pp. 167–168). The article gives an interesting glance into archival material with more spectacular content than the standard material from the papal chancery and the Apostolic Chamber.

Salonen's article 'Papal Provisions: Process, Sources and Problems — The Case of the Praepositura in Linköping in 1512–1515' deals with the different stages in the papal appointment process and analyses the case in question using material from the Apostolic Archive and the National Archives in Stockholm. A petitioner for a benefice would, if his petition was successful, take the appointment letter to the bishop in the relevant diocese hoping that the local authorities were not preferring another candidate. If so, this might lead to a process before the highest ecclesiastical court in Rome, the Roman Rota. This is exemplified by the process between two well-known



Swedish clerics Gustav Trolle (archbishop of Uppsala from 1515) and Jöns Månsson (provost in Linköping from 1515, later bishop). The conflict is well known, but the evidence of the Apostolic Archive is used for the first time. Salonen concludes that it is still possible to discover unknown material from the Apostolic Archive about cases that are already known from local sources. She combined the local sources with material in the Vatican Collection in the Swedish National Archives. And, interestingly, she concludes that it is possible to study late medieval history in the Vatican Collection without going to Rome.

The lecture of Andreas Meyer (1955–2017) (University of Marburg), '*Improbitas importuna petentium* — The Annoying Dishonesty of Petitioners', is included in the book as it was read at the conference, without footnotes and references. He fell ill and was prevented from reading his paper himself at the Stockholm conference in 2016 and died a few months later. As with Salonen's introduction to the Apostolic Archive, this is a contribution of a more general character and serves as an introduction to the petitions to the Holy See from c. 1100 until the Reformation. Celibacy for priests became obligatory c. 1100 to prevent church property from passing into private hands through inheritance. In the twelfth century ecclesiastical benefices emerged, which had to be redistributed each generation. Consequently, 'there evolved in the 12th century an increasingly sophisticated system for the granting of ecclesiastical offices with a tendency to strongly standardize and centralize' (p. 179). The article provides background for typical texts found in the Scandinavian material in the Apostolic Archive, such as the granting of benefices, expectancies (i.e., options on non-vacant offices), as well as indulgences, absolutions, and *litterae confessionales* (bestowing the right on personal confessors to receive confessions in the place of the local priest<sup>22</sup>). The article provides a useful and compact introduction to the papal administration and its document production. In the thirteenth century, the chancery had around one hundred scribes that may have produced about 50 000 charters a year (pp. 183–184). The register volumes never contained the complete outgoing correspondence, and many preserved original charters are not found in the registers. Meyer thus makes an important point for scholars using Vatican sources.

Most of the present volume has the character of a handbook. This goes for the article on the Vatican expeditions (Gejrot), the presentation of papal documents in Denmark (Hansen), the three presentations of the Vatican collections in Oslo, Stockholm, and Helsinki (Kristiansen, Ståhl, and Salonen), Salonen's introduction to the medieval source material from the papal Curia, and Meyer's discussion of petitions

<sup>22</sup> It was important for travelling persons who could not access their local priest for their obligatory annual confession to bring their personal confessor. There were several thousand *litterae confessionales* issued under each pope in the second half of the fourteenth century.



and the papal administration. The four specialised studies successfully illustrate different approaches to the material. In sum, the authors have produced a useful tool of reference.

Hedemann (p. 116 and 117) cites in English translation in his article a statement made by Alfred Krarup in 1925 (Krarup 1925: 203), after the first two expeditions in the 1920s:

‘What is all of this good for? Do these letters provide us with a completely new view on the status of the church here in Denmark, its relation with the state, and its relation with the pope during these centuries? The answer cannot be anything but no: that kind of knowledge has not been provided to us by the letters, and it is for a good reason that the results of all this are viewed with a good deal of scepticism. Now, let me refrain from acting like the *advocatus diaboli* defending the papal letters in every aspect; nevertheless I should say that even though they cannot meet very high expectations . . ., despite the monotony of the various graces that often make them quite tiresome, a lot can be learned from them in detailed aspects of topography and personal relations, as is acknowledged by Archivist Thiset and Dr. Bobé. They shed a sharper light over the details of ecclesiastical politics of the 15th century, as Lindbæk showed in his dissertation on the period of King Christian I and King John (Hans), and let me as a field of particular interest draw attention to the papal fiscal policy that was already a major point in the book of Dr. Moltesen: now, one can see much clearer than ever before, to what extent the Curia used the appointment of various offices to pull money out of the country.’

Gjerløw’s list of unpublished papal letters could easily inspire the same question today that Krarup posed in 1925, namely what is the point of all this? Krarup was probably right in suggesting that much of the unpublished material will not give new sensational information. The many entries about payments to the Apostolic Chamber, the supplications from clerics for vacant churches in Scandinavia, the provisions of bishops to this or that diocese and the intricacies of canon law are likely to appear rather tedious to the general reader. To the cognoscenti, however, the yet unpublished material will fill in gaps concerning the gradual integration of Scandinavia into the Roman church, and they will be able to delve more deeply into the frequent contacts between Scandinavia and the papacy, not to mention into ecclesiastical administration in general. The material will give new insights in prosopography, and local historians will be proud to find mentions of their local church in the Apo-

stolic Archive. In any case, as the Apostolic Archive has comprehensive written evidence concerning medieval Scandinavia,<sup>23</sup> it is important that all material appears in good editions and, as far as edited material is concerned, that older, sloppy editions are replaced by new, reliable ones.<sup>24</sup> Further studies are certainly not superfluous, as Krarup feared in 1925.

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<sup>23</sup> See, e.g., Karlsen (2021: 23–30) on the extensive losses of archival material from medieval Norway. The extreme loss of medieval sources in Norway makes the Vatican material even more important.

<sup>24</sup> I speak on behalf of the Norwegian material. Denmark, Finland and Sweden may be better off.

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