

# Swedish Litigations before the Sacra Romana Rota in the Late Middle Ages<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

The Sacra Romana Rota was the highest ecclesiastical tribunal working at the papal curia in the Middle Ages. It handled, among many other things, litigations concerning disputed marriages, possessions of benefices and financial issues. The litigants who took their disputes before the Rota originated from all over Christendom, also from the province of Uppsala.

This article examines the Swedish litigations before the Rota from the mid-fifteenth century until the Reformation, and the material has never before been discussed in a Swedish context. The study is based on medieval documentation preserved in the archives of the Sacra Romana Rota, nowadays kept in the Vatican Secret Archives,<sup>2</sup> and it is supplemented with Swedish source material.

## The Sacra Romana Rota

The Sacra Romana Rota, officially known as the *Audientia sacri palatii*, was the supreme court at the papal curia. Even though its jurisdiction was defined much later, in 1331, through the promulgation of the constitution *Ratio iuris* by Pope John XXII (pontiff 1316–1334), the origins of this still functioning tribunal can be found already in the twelfth century. The jurisdiction of the Rota increased throughout the Middle Ages and the tribunal met the apex of its influence in the Reformation period.<sup>3</sup>

The medieval and early modern Sacra Romana Rota had a twofold competence. First and foremost, it was the highest court of appeal in

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<sup>1</sup> This article deals only with the Rota processes mentioned in the Rota archives. I am currently working on the rest of the material and will publish a more holistic picture of the medieval Swedish Rota processes.

<sup>2</sup> Vatican City, ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum*, 1–150.

<sup>3</sup> Killermann 2009; Ingesman 2003; Salonen 2012a.

the ecclesiastical court system to which Christians could appeal if they wanted to contest a sentence pronounced by a local ecclesiastical court. The source material of the Sacra Romana Rota from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that these Rota processes concerned ecclesiastical institutions and clergy or were issues of ecclesiastical nature, such as individuals' right to choose their burial place or validity of a marriage. Second, the Rota functioned as a tribunal of first instance (and of appeal, too) for persons who were subjects of the diocese of Rome or of the Papal States. In addition to ecclesiastical issues, the Rota's jurisdiction in the role as local tribunal included also certain civil issues, *causae profanae*, such as property litigations between laypeople.<sup>4</sup>

The organization and "Geschäftsgang" of the Rota was simple. A plaintiff sent to the pope a petition with a request that his or her cause could be handled by the Rota. After the pope – or later the vice-chancellor – had approved the petition, the handling of the cause was referred to one of the twelve Rota judges, called auditors. In principle, each auditor resolved individually the litigations entrusted to him but in difficult cases or in cases of doubt he could consult the opinion of his peers. Each auditor had in his services four notaries, who took care of the practical side of the tribunal's activity. For example, the notaries wrote down the acts in each litigation process entrusted to them and made sure that all documents relevant to the process were composed in a correct way. Additionally, the notaries often assisted the auditors in the interrogation of witnesses or examination of documents. Beside the auditors and the notaries, who were officially employed by the papal curia, persons litigating in the Rota needed the services of advocates and procurators; the advocates represented their clients and took care of their interests before the tribunal, while the procurators helped the advocates in practical issues. The advocates and the procurators were not employed by the Rota but received their salary directly from their clients.<sup>5</sup>

According to the fifteenth and sixteenth-century Rota sources,<sup>6</sup> the tribunal mainly handled benefice litigations, while other juridical issues remained in minority. The great majority of Rota processes (80%)

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4 Salonen 2012a, pp. 98–104.

5 Salonen 2012a, pp. 64–92; Ingesman 2003, pp. 111–135.

6 This analysis is based on the study of all existing material in the Rota *manualia* from four sample years, 1466 (275 processes), 1486 (171 processes), 1506 (1,265 processes) and 1526 (1,703 processes), and on the *manualia* of one Rota auditor, Johannes de Ceretanis, from 1471–1492 (2,025 processes). They include roughly 27,000 entries concerning 5,439 Rota processes. ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 1, 1A, 2, 3, 6, 9, 12–16, 24, 57–68 and 139–150.

concerned disputes over benefices. These were litigations between two (or sometimes even more) clerics who both claimed their rights to the same ecclesiastical position. The second most common kind of dispute before the Rota was property litigation (14%). These processes concerned either money, immovable or movable property or rights to a certain income. Somewhat surprisingly, marriage disputes, which were the most common litigation category in the episcopal courts,<sup>7</sup> were only very rarely handled by the Rota (1%). In these cases the task of the Rota was to judge whether a contested marriage was valid or void. The rest of the disputes handled by the Rota (5%) were very heterogeneous. They included disputes over ecclesiastical authority or prestige, such as the right of patronage, the right to make visitations or the right over ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Additionally, the Rota handled disputes about the right to a burial place or the right to build churches or transfer ecclesiastical institutions as well as disputes about ecclesiastical punishments or misbehaviour of clergy.<sup>8</sup>

The Rota sources testify that individuals from all over Christendom turned to the authority of the tribunal, but the Rota's clients did not come evenly from all parts of the Latin West. Most Rota processes originated from the territory of Italy (31%), followed by processes from the Iberian Peninsula (28%). Slightly fewer but still numerous processes originated from the Holy Roman Empire (20%) and France (18%). From Eastern Europe (2%) and the British Isles (1%) there were only a few processes, not to mention Scandinavia with only a handful of litigations (0%). These numbers show that most Rota processes originated from territories relatively close to the centre of ecclesiastical administration in Rome. This is not surprising at all; the central territories were also most densely populated and similar trend has been noticed among the clients of other papal offices such as the Apostolic Penitentiary or the Apostolic Chamber.<sup>9</sup>

### Rota and the Province of Uppsala – an Overview

The late medieval archival material of the Rota contains references to twelve processes originating from the Swedish ecclesiastical province of Uppsala, dated to between 1487 and 1516. Such a small number of

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<sup>7</sup> See for example, Donahue Jr. 2007; Helmholz 1974.

<sup>8</sup> Salonen 2012a, pp. 98–122.

<sup>9</sup> Salonen & Schmugge 2009, pp. 26–68; Tewes 2001, pp. 21–109.

Swedish processes results from the fact that the archives of the Rota are very badly preserved and therefore the records regarding other Swedish Rota processes have simply not survived to our days.<sup>10</sup>

The Rota sources regarding the twelve Swedish processes are in most cases relatively scarce and reveal only a few details about the litigants or the content of the disputes. Nevertheless, they allow us to study three important facts in each process: the type of the dispute, its provenance and its duration.

The Swedish Rota material fits well to the general picture of the Rota handling of four different types of litigations, viz. benefices, property, marriages and other kinds of issues, of which the benefice litigations were the most common. Eight Swedish Rota processes deal with ecclesiastical benefices, while two concern property and two other kinds of issues. The Swedish material does not include marriage litigations.<sup>11</sup>

Geographically, the Swedish processes originate from almost all of the dioceses within the ecclesiastical province, viz. Uppsala, Linköping, Skara, Strängnäs, Turku, Västerås and Växjö. Five processes originate from the diocese of Linköping, three from the diocese of Turku, two from the archdiocese of Uppsala and one from the dioceses of Strängnäs and Västerås each, while there are no processes from the dioceses of Skara or Växjö. The spread indicates that not only people from the central areas of Sweden turned to the Rota but that the tribunal and its faculties were known and used by people from all over the country.

The handling of a Rota process followed the rules of the Romano-Canonical process, which required even in the simplest process at least ten meetings before the auditor before the cause could be closed. Typically a cause was not closed after only ten meetings because a proper handling required much more work. Considering ten court meetings as a minimum for a proper litigation, we can observe the dynamics of the Swedish Rota processes: were they fought seriously or not? Since each register entry refers to one meeting before the auditor or notary, a process with less than ten entries cannot have reached a conclusion. According to the Rota sources only three Swedish litigations include more than ten register entries, which means that the other nine Swedish processes (75%) may never have been brought to an end. In fact, three processes consist of only one register entry and six processes of two

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<sup>10</sup> Salonen 2012a, pp. 298–301.

<sup>11</sup> Per Ingesman's studies about the Danish Rota processes demonstrate that the same result implies also to the Danish material: benefice litigations (86%), other kinds of issues (9%) and property disputes (5%), see Ingesman 2003, pp. 416–417.

entries. These are references to the beginning of the process, and the entries finish there indicating that the processes were initiated but never carried further. This is not a surprising result, since it is well-known that a large number of medieval court processes were never legally settled, mostly due to the fact that the parties reached a compromise outside the courtroom. This observation corresponds also to the general trend in the Rota material demonstrating that a large number of litigants began a Rota process probably without an intention to fight them until the end.

### Swedish Rota Processes

Above were presented the general trends in the Swedish Rota material but what do the preserved sources tell us about the Swedish litigations handled by the Roman tribunal? In the following the content of each of the twelve Swedish Rota processes is described. The titles follow the wording in the Rota sources.

#### *Opsalen. iniuriarum*

The chronologically earliest Swedish Rota cause in the Rota archives, dating to March 1487, concerns the archdiocese of Uppsala and it is a process between Sten Sture (the Elder), members of the Swedish Council of Realm and of the city council of Stockholm on the one side and Otto Brakel, a cleric from the diocese of Lübeck, on the other.<sup>12</sup>

The two entries in the Rota sources do not reveal any details of the dispute but the issue is known through numerous local sources. According to them, the German merchant Otto Brakel had in 1483 participated in counterfeiting coins together with Hans Grave, a German mint-master in Stockholm. In addition, Brakel was accused of not having paid custom fees of goods he had imported from Germany to Stockholm. The dispute between Sten Sture and Otto Brakel started in January 1484 in Stockholm with the imprisonment of Brakel. When Brakel realized that he had no chance to fight against his adversaries, he fled Stockholm and left for Rome, where he entered the clerical stand and started his cause against Sten Sture.<sup>13</sup>

In his biography of Hemming Gadh, the Swedish historian and Hemming Gadh expert Gottfrid Carlsson mentions a document stating that

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<sup>12</sup> See APD, vol. V, no. 3554 and APD, vol. VII, no. 6134.

<sup>13</sup> Carlsson 1915, pp. 27–31.

Otto Brakel's case would be referred to one of the Rota auditors. It is not sure, however, if Carlsson knew about the Rota process, but the Rota sources testify that the dispute was indeed handled by the tribunal. Unfortunately, the Rota sources include only two entries regarding this process. They originate from the middle of the litigation process and tell about the interrogation of Otto Brakel's witnesses before the court.<sup>14</sup> Thus the Rota documentation does not reveal anything about the outcome of the process but the litigation seems to have ended unfinished.

#### *Arosien. prepositure*

The second Swedish Rota process concerns the position of provostship at the cathedral of Västerås. The two entries, dated to September 1488, are not very detailed and only inform that the Rota auditor started the handling of the cause. The entries reveal the name of the plaintiff, Andreas Olavi, but do not disclose the identity of his adversary.<sup>15</sup> Andreas Olavi is known from many medieval sources and apparently he must have won the process – most probably outside the courtroom, though – as he eventually obtained the position of provost in Västerås, which he held until his death in early 1496.<sup>16</sup>

There are, however, several possibilities when it comes to the identification of Andreas's adversary. When the provost of Västerås, Bengt Jönsson, died in November 1486,<sup>17</sup> Andreas Olavi was elected as his successor by the cathedral chapter of Västerås. Due to a delay in applying for a papal confirmation for the position, several other persons managed to apply for the same position before Andreas Olavi did, viz. Timme Jönsson Svinhufvud and Hemming Gadh from Sweden as well as the papal indulgence seller Antonius Masth.<sup>18</sup> The process most likely involved at least one of these persons.

#### *Aboen. parrochialis ecclesie Wirms*

The third Swedish Rota process, which I have described fully elsewhere, was fought between the German benefice-hunter Henricus Meyer and the aforementioned Sten Sture between March and December in 1491.

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14 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 15, fol. 59v–60r and 61r.

15 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 15, fol. 301v–302r.

16 Ekström 1939, pp. 434–437.

17 Ekström 1939, p. 434.

18 Ekström 1939, pp. 434–435.

This was one of the real Swedish Rota processes with fourteen source entries. Henricus Meyer started the process in order to obtain the parish church of Mynämäki (Sw. Virmo) in the diocese of Turku but he never succeeded in his cause.<sup>19</sup>

### *Strenginen. decimarum*

Another long Swedish Rota process was fought between Bishop Konrad Rogge of Strängnäs and the convent of the Hospitallers in Eskilstuna over the rights to collect certain tithes around Eskilstuna. The first entry in the Rota sources dates from November 1492 whereas the last one is dated to August in the following year.<sup>20</sup>

The twenty source entries give a somewhat detailed picture of the litigation: it began on 5 November when the process was referred to the auditor Achilles de Grassis. The early stages of litigation went on in Rome relatively quickly until early December. Then it took a break until mid-April 1493, when it restarted with interrogating the witnesses of the Eskilstuna convent. The interrogation of witnesses and examination of other testimonies took place until late June, when the process had proceeded so far that the parties could finally agree upon closing the case in July 1493. The last entries in the Rota sources from August that year refer to the execution of the sentence and expedition of the documents to Sweden, but do not reveal the outcome of the process.

The litigation over the rights to tithes between the Bishop of Strängnäs and the Hospitallers was not the first twist between these two parties. The controversies are known also through numerous Swedish sources, which reveal that Bishop Konrad of Strängnäs and the Hospitallers were also quarrelling about their right to collect fines from their subjects, which the Bishop had contested. With the help of his supporter Sten Sture and his representative in Rome, Hemming Gadh, the prior of the convent of Eskilstuna, Laurencius Misener, had taken the dispute to Rome and to the Rota. In the end the two parties reached a compromise in their controversies.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> The process is described in Salonen 2012a, pp. 315–330.

<sup>20</sup> ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 25, fol. 156r–v, 158r, 160v, 172r, 222r, 224r, 227v, 232v, 235r–v; 30, fol. 21v, 28r, 29r and 30v–32r.

<sup>21</sup> Collmar 1977, pp. 92–104 and 592–593; Kellerman 1935, pp. 339–345.

### *Aboen. prepositure*

The sole entry regarding the litigation over the provostship of Turku, dated to March 1493, does not give any information about the litigants or details of the process; it only states that a process over the possession of the office of provost in Turku had been started and that a citation to appear before the Rota had been sent to Turku.<sup>22</sup>

I have elsewhere presented a hypothesis that this process could be related to another litigation, during which the whole cathedral chapter of Turku was excommunicated, and it is evident that someone wanted to take advantage of that situation and to use the Rota process in order to rule out Laurentius Suurpää, the then provost of Turku. If that hypothesis is correct, the plaintiff must have been someone who had useful contacts in the papal curia so that he could be well-informed of the excommunication and the consequent irregularity of the provost. This process did, however, not result in anything because Laurentius Suurpää received an absolution from the Apostolic Penitentiary and the case lapsed.<sup>23</sup>

### *Lincopen. parrochialis in Svartatorp*

The sixth Swedish Rota process was benefice litigation over the parish church of Svarttorp in the diocese of Linköping. The Rota sources contain two entries from September 1496 regarding this process.<sup>24</sup> The information in the two entries is scarce and tells that the plaintiff was a priest called Magnus Magni. Presumably, he must have been in Rome when he started the process: the entry states that he had taken an oath of poverty, which can be taken only in the curia.<sup>25</sup>

The Rota sources do not tell what the outcome of the litigation process was or who the adversary of Magnus was. Since later local sources mention Magnus as the parish priest of Svarttorp, he must have won the cause. However, since there is no further documentation, it is very unlikely that the cause proceeded to a sentence pronounced by the Rota. Probably, Magnus scared off his adversary by starting a Rota process, after which they reached an agreement outside the tribunal and Magnus received the position.<sup>26</sup>

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22 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 25, fol. 206v–207r.

23 Salonen 2012b, pp. 77–79.

24 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 26, fol. 464v–465r.

25 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 26, fol. 465r.

26 Stockholm, RA, KHKS, nos 15000804 and 15030328.

*Lincopen. iniuriarum seu Upsalen*

The seventh Swedish Rota process includes two entries, dated to June 1496. The entries do not tell anything about the content of the process, but mention as plaintiff *dominus* Hemming Gadh. Neither do the entries reveal who was his adversary or what was the reason behind the process.<sup>27</sup> Even Gottfrid Carlsson, the Swedish expert on Gadh, does not mention anything of this in his biography of Hemming Gadh.<sup>28</sup>

*Lincopen. Calmarnen prebende trium regum*

The eighth Swedish Rota process consists of only one entry in the Rota sources. The entry is dated to October 1500 and reveals that the plaintiff in this benefice litigation over the prebend of three kings in the church of Kalmar in the diocese of Linköping was the priest Wernerus Nicolai whereas his adversary was a certain Laurentius. The entry also mentions that the procurator of Wernerus was Hans Brask, the later bishop of the same diocese.<sup>29</sup>

Wernerus Nicolai should be identified as the one who later became archdeacon of Linköping, but the identity of his adversary, Laurentius, remains unknown. The entry does not either answer the question what happened in the litigation. No sources mention a Wernerus Nicolai holding a prebend in Kalmar.<sup>30</sup>

*Lincopen. erectionis claustrum in hospitali leprosororum  
extra muros Sudercape*

The ninth Swedish Rota process, dated to August 1512, concerns the erection of a *claustrum* in the leper hospital outside the city walls of Söderköping. The plaintiffs in this litigation were the provost Hans Brask and the cathedral chapter of Linköping. Again, the Rota entries do not reveal much about the process but do mention a very curious fact: on 21 August, the procurator of the plaintiffs asked for a *mandatum* to arrest the officials of the Apostolic Chamber responsible for sealing papal letters and registering them into the copy books of the curia because they were holding back a papal letter which should have been expedited long time ago.<sup>31</sup>

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27 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 33, fol. 326v.

28 Carlsson 1915, pp. 10–62.

29 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 47, fol. 28r. Stobaeus 2008; Stobaeus 2010.

30 Westerlund & Setterdahl 1919, pp. 227–228.

31 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 78, fol. 459r–v.

Numerous local sources tell about the litigation between the church of Linköping and the hospital of the Order of Holy Spirit in Söderköping over the right to collect tithes (called paupers' tithes – *fattigtiondet*) in the area. The process about the erection of a *claustrum* in Söderköping must be part of this larger controversy but the Rota sources do not reveal how.<sup>32</sup>

### *Linköpen. prepositure*

The tenth Swedish Rota process is one of the long real processes. The dispute, consisting of 26 entries, started in the spring of 1514 between two well-known Swedish clerics, Gustav Trolle and Jöns Magnusson (Johannes Magni), and it concerned the position as provost in the cathedral of Linköping after provost Hans Brask had been appointed bishop of Linköping. According to the Rota sources, the process was initiated in mid-May 1514, while the last entry dates to June 1515.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, the entries finish with the Rota volume and the following volume of the auditor Paulus de Capisucchis, has not been preserved so that the Vatican sources cannot tell us how the process finished.

The litigation between Gustav Trolle and Jöns Magnusson is, however, well-known through other sources. Gustav Trolle was appointed provost of Linköping in December 1512 and in April 1513 he received a papal confirmation. It is possible that he lost interest in this position in the spring of 1515 when he was appointed archbishop of Uppsala. In any case, it seems as if the controversy was not settled by the Rota but that the men reached a compromise outside the court. At least the local sources tell that Jöns Magnusson eventually received the provostship in Linköping, after having paid 100 florins to Gustav Trolle.<sup>34</sup>

### *Upsalen. archidiaconatu*

The two entries regarding the eleventh Swedish Rota process are dated to October 1515 and January 1516. The process is benefice litigation about the position as archdeacon in the cathedral of Uppsala after Ragvald Ingemundsson had retired in September 1514.<sup>35</sup> The Rota sources refer

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32 Stobaeus 2010, pp. 177–178.

33 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 88, fol. 250v, 251r, 252r, 255v, 256v, 258r–259r, 265v, 286r–287r, 385r, 386v, 388r–389v, 392r, 396v, 400v, 406r, 410v, 413v, 415v, 418v and 455r.

34 Westerlund & Setterdahl 1919, pp. 42–43 and 173; Schück 1959, p. 471.

35 Hedberg 2014, pp. 140–143.

to Jon Eriksson (Johannes Erici) as the plaintiff but do not reveal the identity of his adversary.<sup>36</sup> Jon Eriksson was a well-known person in Uppsala: he was a canon of the cathedral chapter and also served as the chancellor of archbishops Jakob Ulfsson and Gustav Trolle. He was appointed as the successor of Ragvald Ingemundsson but was never installed in office. He stayed in Rome in years 1515–1516.<sup>37</sup>

The unmentioned adversary of Jon Eriksson must have been Erik Nilsson Swede, who was appointed archdeacon by a papal bull dated to May 1516. As compensation, Jon Eriksson received the Bälunge canonry as his prebend. It is evident that also these men reached a solution outside the Rota.<sup>38</sup>

### *Aboen. archidiaconatu*

Finally, the sole entry in the last Swedish Rota process is dated to February 1516. The entry mentions priest Johannes Petri as the plaintiff in this benefice litigation over the archdeaconate in Turku.<sup>39</sup> The sources do not reveal the name of Johannes Petri's adversary, neither do the local sources provide any further information in this question.

According to the Finnish church historian Kauko Pirinen, Johannes Petri was eventually appointed as archdeacon of Turku, but not until the 1520s when the position became vacant after a certain Jacobus Johannis. This indicates that also this Rota process ended unfinished.<sup>40</sup>

## Conclusions

This article showed that the Swedish Rota processes followed the general trend noticed in the whole Rota material in two respects: first, the Swedes mainly turned to the tribunal for benefice matters, as did the majority of the Rota's clients from all over Christendom; second, only a few Swedish processes seemed to be real, while the majority of Swedish litigants only initiated a process before the Rota without the intention to have it settled there and with the litigant parties reaching an agreement outside the court.

The names of the identified litigants reveal that the Swedish Rota

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36 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 100, fol. 20r and 82r.

37 Hedberg 2014, pp. 267–270.

38 Hedberg 2014, pp. 144–145.

39 ASV, *S. R. Rota, Manualia Actorum* 101, fol. 22r–v.

40 Pirinen 1956, p. 243.

litigants were members of the upper social strata. Most of them belonged to the higher clergy, like Hemming Gadh, not least because many of the litigations concerned important ecclesiastical positions in the Swedish church province. At the same time, the presence of the nobleman Sten Sture (the Elder) in the Rota material demonstrates that, when necessary, also the Swedish nobility used the services of the Rota. The presence of well-educated men belonging to the higher clergy or to the upper social strata is a familiar phenomenon in the Rota processes in general. Consequently, the Rota was a tribunal used by men who had good knowledge about and contacts inside of the papal curia rather than by poor litigants who wanted to have justice after their causes had failed back home.

Sammanfattning:  
*Svenska processer inför Sacra Romana Rota  
under senmedeltiden*

Sacra Romana Rota var den högsta kyrkliga domstolen vid den påvliga kurian. Den behandlade, bland mycket annat, tvister rörande äktenskap, beneficier och finansiella frågor. De personer som drog sina tvister inför Rota kom från hela den latinska kristenheten, också från den svenska kyrkoprovinsen.

Denna artikel presenterar tolv svenska rättstvister vid Rota från mitten av 1400-talet fram till reformationen. Analysen är genomförd utifrån den bevarade medeltida dokumentationen i Rotas eget arkiv, förvarat i Vatikanarkivet, vilken aldrig tidigare har behandlats i en svensk kontext. Studien kompletteras med källmaterial från den svenska kyrkoprovinsen.

Artikeln visar att de svenska processerna följde den i hela Rota-materialet tydliga allmänna trenden: för det första, svenskarna – liksom majoriteten av domstolens klienter från hela kristenheten – vände sig oftast till domstolen med tvister rörande beneficier; för det andra, endast ett fåtal svenska processer tycks ha varit verkliga. Artikeln visar också att de svenskar som vände sig till Rota hörde till det övre sociala skiktet. De flesta av dem, som till exempel Hemming Gadh, var medlemmar av det högre prästerskapet, men även personer ur det svenska frälset, t.ex. Sten Sture (den äldre), begagnade sig av Rotas tjänster.

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