

Dick Harrison

Murder and Execution within the Political Sphere in Fifteenth-century Scandinavia

Medieval society is rumoured to have been violent. Angry young men are supposed to have beaten and killed each other more frequently than in subsequent centuries. The tiny arms of the law apparently did not reach very far outside the crenellated walls of castles and fortresses. The possibility of dying from wounds inflicted by fist, sword, dagger, axe or some other weapon would have been far greater in the Middle Ages than during the early modern period. In fact, violence forms an intrinsic part of our standard preconception of the Middle Ages—it is one of those elements that contribute to the making of the image of the medieval past. We have grown accustomed to imagining the frightened shrieks of poor, defenceless women in villages or convents under attack, the clamour of evil warriors on battle-fields littered by corpses and reeking of human and equine flesh, and the public hanging, drawing and quartering of criminals that, in our society, would have got away with a fine or a mild prison sentence. Ghastly horror stories of semi-legendary brutes like Sawny Beane, the late medieval cannibal of Galloway, and Vlad Țepeș, the Walachian impaler known as Dracula, hardly surprise us.

As has been shown by anthropological studies of history, violence was also a very public feature of medieval life. Killings often took the form of public rituals, regardless of whether the killing was an official execution ordered by the government or an act of rebellion. Heads were put on stakes, bodies were quartered, and various parts of the corpses were sent to towns and villages for public viewing. The Dutch historian Pieter Spierenburg has described this attitude in terms of *familiarity* with death—everybody believed in ghosts, and death as such (i.e., if it was a normal, expected, way to die) was looked upon in a less frightened way than is often the case today. The rulers used violence as a means of punishment in their attempts at manifesting their power over their subordinates. Ordinary people accepted it—violence was a natural part of their lives.¹

From the point of view of studies of crime and of war, this general image is not a problem: the Middle Ages *was* a violent era. Violent methods were used more easily than in later periods; they were regarded as, and used as, convenient tools of solving conflicts.² Violence is, however, a very complex social element. It is

perfectly possible for one aspect of violence, such as private murders, to flourish at the same time as another kind of violence, e.g. peasant rebellions, are entirely absent from the social arena. In fact, violence is seldom, if ever, the object of historical research *per se*. Historians (including the author of the present study) usually study violence from one specific point of view—like feuds, rebellions, wars or crimes—but rarely as a social element as such. This important fact should be kept in mind. When asking about the scale of violence in a particular historical epoch, we mostly define violence in a very narrow way, often without realising this ourselves. Hence the image of the Middle Ages as a violent era—historians arriving at this conclusion have based their assumptions mostly on studies on medieval criminality. If they instead had chosen to emphasise the purely destructive aspects of violence, the Middle Ages would have been regarded as relatively non-violent compared to the twentieth century. No semi-legendary brute from the Middle Ages came close to inflicting terror and destruction comparable to that of the Nazi *Endlösung*, the A-bomb at Hiroshima or Stalin's GULAG, although some (like Genghis Khan and Tamerlane) may have done their worst to achieve similar results.

The present study is an attempt to illuminate one particular aspect of violence that has seldom been the object of serious research: political murders and executions. The scene is fifteenth-century Scandinavia, a century that was characterised by constant political struggle, civil wars and peasant rebellions. The study does *not* deal with ordinary criminality, nor with feuds and murders among the nobility. Persons who were killed *in the course of* rebellions and wars (and not *after* the fact) have not been counted. I have deliberately avoided these issues in order to focus all attention to specific cases of killings within the political (in a narrow sense of the word) sphere, excluding only coups directed against rulers of kingdoms.³

Scandinavian violence: civil war, rebellion, feud, piracy and slave trade

From the point of view of what we know of late medieval Scandinavian society, we would expect the scale of the particular kind of violence studied in this essay—such as the beheading of rebel noblemen after decisive battles—to have been considerable.

Firstly, a quick glance at the regnal list of fifteenth-century Sweden shows that members of the nobility were at each others' throats more or less all the time, especially from the 1430s and onwards. Karl Knutsson Bonde (Charles VIII) ruled the country no less than four times, once as regent (*riksföreståndare*) and three times as king (1448-57, 1464-65 and 1467-70). The Oxenstierna, Vasa, Tott, Bonde and Sture families were engaged in a seemingly endless struggle for political prominence. At the same time, members of the peasantry developed violence as a political method of their own. As a result, one peasant rebellion

followed another, especially in the 1430s and the 1460s. This led to the killing of several men, who would normally have been considered safe (like the former bailiff Jösse Eriksson, who was abducted from the monastery of Vadstena and executed in Motala in December 1436⁴). Various noblemen often recruited peasant armies as allies against other socially heterogeneous alliances.⁵

Secondly, we have many examples of noblemen not only fighting for political influence on a national and international level, but also on a local and regional level. There are several Danish examples of feuds among magnates, especially in Jutland. The councillor and knight Jens Nielsen Løvenbalk of Avnsberg murdered Jens Jensen Brok of Clausholm.⁶ Several soldiers were killed in a Djursland feud between the Rosenkrantz family and the Bishop of Århus.⁷ Sieges were carried out and murders were attempted during another Djursland feud, this time between the families Rosenkrantz and Brok.⁸ The Bishops of Børglum were involved in a feud with Mouritz Nielsen Gyldenstjerne of Ågård. In 1457, the bishop's soldiers killed Anders Thomesen, an agent of the Gyldenstjerne family. Fifteen years later a Gyldenstjerne soldier killed Jes Kalv, an episcopal client who belonged to the lower nobility from Thy.⁹ Another big feud occurred in Sjælland during the 1480s and the 1490s, involving the Bishop of Roskilde and the Abbot of Sorø.¹⁰

A similar example from Sweden is provided by the murder of Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson. Engelbrekt, a man of the lower nobility, closely connected with the mining industry of Bergslagen, was the leader of the great Swedish rebellions against King Eric of Pomerania in 1434 and 1436. His success had, however, brought him personal enemies. One of these, Magnus Bengtsson Natt och Dag, assassinated Engelbrekt on an island in Lake Hjälmaren when he was on his way to Stockholm to attend a meeting of the national council. The murder (27 April or 4 May, 1436) was primarily a part of a private feud, not a political assassination.¹¹ As a Norwegian example of aristocratic feuds, the murder of the bailiff of Hedemarken in 1460 can be mentioned. The bailiff, an agent of Hartwig Krummedige (one of the most powerful men in the country), was murdered by order of the nobleman Alf Knutsson Tre Rosor. Alf's brother Jöns was married to a daughter of Eric Sæmundsson, who had been killed at the instigation of Hartwig Krummedige in 1450 (see below).¹²

These feuds were commonplace in most European countries during the Middle Ages, and even peripheral islands like Iceland suffered from lack of state monopoly of violence. A famous example is the fate of Jens Gereksøn (Johannes Gerechini), a Danish priest who managed to become Archbishop of Uppsala in 1408. He was eventually deposed (1421) and appointed Bishop of Skálholt (1426). He arrived in Iceland in 1430 and was soon dragged into a violent feud. On 20 July, 1433, the bishop was forcibly brought out from the church. His soldiers were killed and Jens himself was put in a sack and drowned.¹³

Thirdly, the fifteenth century was somewhat of a Golden Age for piracy in Northern Europe. Piracy could be used in various feuds between families, kings and towns. The captured pirates were mostly sentenced to death. For instance,

in 1491, the famous pirate Bertram Høike from Riga and seventeen of his men were executed in Denmark. They had been employed by Magdalena Olufsdatter, widow of Niels Brahe and daughter of Oluf Nielsson, a victim in the famous Bergen riots of 1455 (see below). Høike and his pirates were employed as a means of gaining revenge on the Hanseatic League. In the same year, four pirates were killed in Lübeck, an execution that resulted in a diplomatic crisis, since the pirates were employed by King Hans of Denmark who had intended them to go to Gotland before they were caught at Bornholm.¹⁴

Lastly, some parts of fifteenth-century Scandinavia—mainly Iceland and northern Norway (Hålogaland and Finnmark)—witnessed a specific element of violence that we seldom associate with late medieval Northern Europe: slave trade. While theoretically barred from trade (a Hanseatic monopoly), many English merchants went to Iceland during the fifteenth century. Their trade was not limited to ordinary goods. The merchants captured young Icelanders or bought them from poor parents. During the reign of Eric of Pomerania, the Danish authorities reacted and demanded of Henry V that this must end; apparently—since similar demands and complaints continued to be written until 1450—this had no effect.¹⁵

A brief outlook: political murders and executions in fifteenth-century England

Civil wars, aristocratic feuds, peasant rebellions, piracy, slave trade—the impression we get from studies of these social elements leads us to assume that fifteenth-century Scandinavia was politically violent. Yet no real study has been made of what must be regarded as one of the most important aspects of political violence: the murders and the executions of political enemies. At first glance, we would expect the scale of this aspect of violence to have been just as horrifyingly impressive as that of the other aspects. After all, it is well-known that politically active persons lived dangerous lives in other countries in late medieval Western Europe. A brief glance at the situation in England will serve to illustrate the argument.

The English kings Richard II, Henry VI and (probably) Edward V were murdered, while Richard III was killed during a battle. Henry IV had his enemies killed, for instance Archbishop Scrope of York and the Earl of Nottingham. Numerous noblemen were summarily executed after the battles of the Wars of the Roses, for instance members of the Lancastrian party after their defeat at Towton in 1461 (such as the Earl of Ormond and Wiltshire) and at Hexham in 1464 (such as the Duke of Somerset) and members of the Yorkist party in 1470 (such as the Earl of Worcester). Many noblemen, particularly of the Woodville family (including the father and the brother of the queen), were killed in 1469 during the feud between the Earl of Warwick and Edward IV. Many died during the troubled times of 1483 (like Lord Hastings and the Duke of Bucking-

ham). Henry VII was responsible for the deaths of Sir William Stanley (his own step-uncle) in 1495, the Earl of Warwick (1499) and the Yorkist rebel Perkin Warbeck (1499).¹⁶

The Lollards were dealt with in a brutal manner. In 1431, Jack Sharp, John Russell and other Lollards were hanged, drawn and quartered on charges of treason. Sharp's head was set on London Bridge as a warning to the Lollard contingent in London, and his quarters were sent to Oxford and Abingdon. In 1438, five Lollards from Tenterden (Kent) were executed for heresy at Maidstone after a minor Lollard rising. In 1440, another Tenterden Lollard was executed for treason.¹⁷

Even if we confine our search to the troubles of 1450–52, the list of Englishmen killed for political reasons is bound to become long: Bishop Adam of Chichester (killed by mutinous sailors and soldiers in Portsmouth, 9 January, 1450), the Westminster yeoman Nicholas Jakes (found guilty of treasonable language and hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, January/February 1450), the rebel Thomas Cheyne (hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn, February 1450), the wine merchant John Frammesley (overheard chanting “By this toun, by this toun, for this array the kyng shall lose his Croune”, which was sufficient to get him hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn in March 1450 on grounds of treasonable language), William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (murdered at sea outside Dover by political enemies, 2 May, 1450), Bishop William of Salisbury (killed by a mob in Wiltshire, 29 June, 1450), James Fiennes (executed by order of a commission organised by the rebel leader Jack Cade in London, 4 July, 1450), William Crowmer, sheriff of Kent (beheaded together with the thief Hawarden and a certain William Bailly by order of Jack Cade in London, 3 or 4 July, 1450), Thomas Mayn (executed near London by Cade's rebels, 5 July, 1450), Robert Russell (attacked by a mob and beheaded on the Isle of Wight, 5 July, 1450), Robert Spenser (a Kentish soapmaker who had demonstrated his support for Cade on 10 July, 1450—he was later hanged and quartered for this action), the rebel leader Jack Cade (captured on 12 July, 1450, and already dead from injuries when brought to London—nevertheless, his corpse was ritually executed), the village parson John Squyer (killed by a mob in Suffolk, 4 August, 1450), Sir John Hampden (killed in Flint castle in the summer of 1450), the Kentish rebel leader William Parmynter (executed in the autumn of 1450), the rector John Smyth (killed by a mob in Essex, 9 September, 1450), William Tresham, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (murdered in September 1450), about thirty Kentish rebels (February 1451—the trials were intended to terrorise the population into submissiveness), Henry Hasilden, a man from Sussex who agitated against the government (hanged in May 1451 together with John Herry and John Hale, two itinerant Kentish agitators, and another agitator from Sussex), the Kentish rebel Henry Bedell (hanged on 24 June, 1451), the rebel leader John Wilkyns and twenty-eight other rebels (hanged at Dartford, 28 June, 1452).¹⁸

With these facts in mind, let us now turn to the Scandinavian evidence. Below, I have listed those political murders and executions in Denmark, Sweden,

Norway and Iceland that were sufficiently important in order to be recorded and discussed.

Denmark

Abraham Brodersson (Tjurehuvud) (27 August, 1410).¹⁹ He was beheaded in 1410 outside Sönderborg by order of King Eric of Pomerania. In the summer of 1410, Abraham had accompanied Eric in a campaign against the forces of Holstein on the island of Als. After a partly victorious campaign, a temporary peace was proclaimed, but this was broken by Abraham (probably through rape). He was arrested, sentenced to death and executed on 27 August.

Abraham Brodersson was one of the wealthiest men in Scandinavia, a member of the new Dano-Swedish nobility in the border areas. He controlled all of Halland (his home province), the hundred (*härad*) of Kind in Västergötland and the Smålandian regions of Finnveden and Varend—a huge collection of fiefs encompassing c. 21,000 km². His chief residence was the castle of Varberg. He owned approximately 200 farms and villages, many of which he had acquired by unlawful means. Abraham Brodersson was also a member of the Danish national council. It is impossible not to take his economic and political strength into consideration when studying the way he died. When ordering his death, Eric of Pomerania demonstrated his power in front of the aristocracy and in front of the real regent of Scandinavia, Queen Margaret I, who was known to be an old friend of Abraham.

Representatives of Eric of Pomerania (1439).²⁰ A Dutch source informs us that representatives of King Eric were beheaded in Lübeck. After having been deposed as King of Denmark in the summer of 1439, Eric started to negotiate with Duke Philip of Burgundy. However, his messengers never reached Duke Philip, since they were captured and beheaded in Lübeck.

Peder Oxe (1440).²¹ Peder Oxe was a Danish aristocrat who, among other things, was valuable to the king due to his connections in the eastern Baltic area. In 1440, however, he was murdered by a Livonian merchant.

Henrik Tagesen Reventlow (12 June, 1441).²² Henrik Tagesen was an aristocrat in Jutland who joined (for private reasons) the peasant upheaval in the early 1440s and became its leader. When the rebellion had been crushed, Henrik was executed (12 June, 1441) in Ålborg. We do not know how many peasants were killed (all our sources provide exaggerated numbers).

An embassy from Hamburg (in the middle of the century).²³ During a meeting with an embassy from Hamburg, Wulf Pogwisch, son of the knight Henning Pogwisch in Tønder, was enraged and killed the ambassadors.

Peasants in Schleswig (September 1472).²⁴ In September 1472, Christian I defeated his brother, Count Gerhard of Oldenburg, who tried to gain a foothold in Husum by an alliance with the people of southern Sönderjylland—members of all social strata, especially the wealthy North Frisian peasants, appear to have participated in the rebellion. Gerhard escaped, but Christian punished many of his allies severely. The rebel leader Edlef Knudsen—one of the richest peasants of Nordstrand—and his son-in-law Knud Lauesen were executed, and many others shared their fate.

Anders Renteskriveren (1494).²⁵ Anders, a royal official (*renteskriveren*) was tortured by order of King Hans and forced to confess crimes of which he was probably innocent. Afterwards, Hans had him executed. A short time later, Hans went temporarily insane, and some explained this as God's punishment for the execution of Anders.

Sweden

Broder Svensson (Tjrehuvud) (October 1436).²⁶ Broder Svensson was of Hallandian extraction, of the same family as Abraham Brodersson. He owned several farms in western Sweden and Denmark, and he served as a successful privateer in the war against the Hanseatic League. In 1432, he was defeated near the island of Bornholm. In the course of the Swedish rebellion against Eric of Pomerania in 1436, he became a close ally of Engelbrekt, at least during the Hallandian part of the campaign. At a meeting at Söderköping in October, Broder Svensson requested many fiefs in return for his services during the rebellion, but the marshal, the ambitious aristocrat Karl Knutsson Bonde, responded by having him arrested and beheaded.

Four peasants (December 1436).²⁷ They had participated in the Puke Feud (see below) and were burned at the stake in Västerås by order of Karl Knutsson Bonde.

Eric Puke (late January or early February 1437).²⁸ Eric Puke was the son of Nils Gustavsson, *lagman* ("lawman", leading juridical official) of Uppland and one of the most influential men in central Sweden. Both Puke and his father joined Engelbrekt in the rebellion of 1434, and Puke was personally responsible for a successful campaign against the castles of northern Sweden. Later, he was accepted as a member of the national council. After the assassination of Engelbrekt in 1436, Puke was, probably correctly, regarded as an enemy by another of the leaders of the Swedish rebellion, Karl Knutsson Bonde. Puke raised a rebellion of his own (commonly referred to as the Puke Feud) among the peasants. It would seem that he was disappointed at not having reaped the same benefits from the previous rebellion as others had; furthermore, he regarded

himself as Engelbrekt's heir with regard to the leadership of the peasants. Karl Knutsson responded with a campaign—he was successful in the regions around Lake Mälaren, while Puke based his strength on Dalecarlia. Not far from Västerås, Karl Knutsson's advance was halted by Puke's forces, and Karl Knutsson pretended to be willing to negotiate. Puke accepted an invitation to negotiations in Västerås and was granted safe-conduct. Together with his ally Hans Mårtensson, the bailiff of Dalecarlia, Puke went to the town, where he was betrayed and imprisoned. Mårtensson was executed and Puke was sent to Stockholm, where he was sentenced to death and beheaded.

Hans Mårtensson (25 or 26 January, 1437).²⁹ Formerly in the service of Karl Knutsson Bonde, Hans Mårtensson used his position as Dalecarlian bailiff to help Puke in his rebellion. He was betrayed together with Puke in Västerås and immediately tortured to death by order of Karl Knutsson.

Snare (in the beginning of 1437).³⁰ Formerly in the service of Karl Knutsson Bonde, Snare joined Puke's rebellion in 1436. In 1437, he was caught in Hälsingland and taken to Stockholm, where Karl Knutsson had him tortured to death.

Torsten Ingelsson and Jösse Hansson (1438).³¹ Torsten and Jösse were the two main leaders of a Värmlandian peasant upheaval in 1437-38. When the rebellion was crushed by Arvid Svan, an agent of Karl Knutsson Bonde, both leaders were burned at the stake. Torsten Ingelsson had previously served under Karl Knutsson.

Suspected murders and known executions ordered by Karl Knutsson Bonde (1438-39).³² The suspected murders include the death of Archbishop Olof in 1438 (poisoning—but he might have died from natural causes) and Nils Stensson, Karl Knutsson's political enemy, in 1439. Nils Stensson himself is said to have succumbed to plague during captivity, although rumours stated that he was murdered. However, nine of his followers were beheaded in Söderköping, and their heads were put on stakes.

Arvid Svan? (1453?).³³ The squire Arvid Svan, *lagman* of Tiohärad, deserted to the Danes during the war of 1452. Later (15 September, 1453), he and many other noblemen were accused of high treason and sentenced to death by Karl Knutsson's government. We know that all of them, except Arvid Svan, went into exile. Actually, we do not know what happened to Arvid Svan. He is not mentioned in the records after this, but the author of the *Sturekrönika* mentions the execution of a certain Arvid Svan, although at a much later date and in circumstances that make the record highly unreliable. The execution is, however, also related in the *Karlskrönika*—without the mention of Arvid Svan's name—in chronologically better circumstances.

Tord Karlsson Bonde (Whitsun 1456).³⁴ Tord Karlsson was King Karl Knutsson's cousin, marshal of Sweden and one of the most important leaders in the war against Christian I of Denmark and Norway. After having defended Småland and Västergötland, Tord advanced into Bohuslän (a Norwegian province), where he founded the stronghold of Karlsborg. During Whitsun 1456, Tord was murdered at Karlsborg while asleep. The murderer was his own captain of the castle, Jösse Bosson, who probably acted on behalf of Christian I.

Possible deaths from torture (March 1463).³⁵ In the middle of March 1463, many persons who were suspected of being partisans of Karl Knutsson (who lived in exile in western Prussia) were arrested in Stockholm. We know the names of the following persons: Dr. Claus Rytting (who had been Karl Knutsson's chancellor), the prominent burghers Nils Pedersson, Sander Leksson and Bertil Gramsow, the knight Örjan Karlsson Skanke and the squire Sten Bengtsson Ulf. The prisoners were tortured, especially the burghers, perhaps at the instigation of the Danish councillor Claus Rønnow and (according to the *Sturekrönika*) the noblemen Ture Turesson Bielke and Magnus Gren. Nothing was revealed during the interrogations, but some persons appear to have died from wounds inflicted upon them by the torturers.

Johan Lindorm and eight other peasants (26 August, 1463).³⁶ Lindorm was one of the leaders of a peasant upheaval that was crushed by Christian I (King of Sweden 1457-64) at Stockholm. He was executed together with eight other peasants.

Gödeka Varg (1470).³⁷ Gödeka Varg was a follower of Eric Karlsson Vasa in his rebellion against Karl Knutsson (king for the third time 1467-70).

Jösse and Nils Pedersson (1470).³⁸ These two Norwegian brothers appear to have participated in the rebellion of Eric Karlsson Vasa. Trying to escape, they were captured and later executed in Stockholm together with Gödeka Varg. A letter from Hans Bardun, a burgher of Danzig, indicates that the two brothers had previously been attacking Hanseatic ships travelling to and from Bergen.

Otte Torbjörnsson (1475).³⁹ The son of a *härads hövding* (judicial leader of a hundred) in Vadsbo, Otte became bailiff of Värmland in 1458 and *härads hövding* in 1463. He led the peasants of Västergötland in the victorious campaigns against the Danes in 1469 (resulting in the capture and destruction of the castle of Axvall) and in 1471 (resulting in the capture of the castle of Älvsborg). He was rewarded with the position of commander of Älvsborg, which made him the most important man in western Sweden (1471-72). Just like many other important commanders, Otte took to piracy. In the middle of August 1472, his captains captured two ships from Danzig on their way to Amsterdam. The Hanseatic League complained to the council of Stockholm. The council carried

the complaint to the national council of Sweden, with the result that Otte was discharged from his post by the regent Sten Sture, although he kept some of his political influence. During 1473, it became clear that Otte would not recompense Danzig for the loss. He was eventually arrested and imprisoned in Stockholm. In July 1475, he was sentenced to death. Otte was probably executed later the same year.

The main reasons for killing Otte, who had been a loyal follower of Sten Sture, were probably: (1) the alliance (political and mercantile) between Danzig and Sweden, and (2) Sten Sture's wish to show his former allies and present rivals, the Tott family (who also employed pirates), his own strength and capability. Otte was very popular among the peasants of western Sweden, who complained about his arrest and refused to pay taxes to the new bailiffs. According to himself, Otte had used piracy as a means of gaining the necessary resources without burdening the peasantry.

Five peasants (1486).⁴⁰ The peasantry in some districts of Västergötland, especially the hundreds (*härader*) of Mark and Kind had, according to the national council, for three years refused to pay taxes, destroyed fiery crosses, planned to besiege the castle of Öresten in Mark and openly spoken against the council and the regent. Due to this, Lindorm Björnsson, the *lagman* of Västergötland, condemned six captured rebels to death in February 1486 (one of them was already dead).

Norway

Local conflicts (1444-46).⁴¹ Many persons were killed in local conflicts in the middle of the 1440s. The peasants rebelled in Hardanger, Telemark and the Gudbrand valley. The gravest incident was the death of the knight Bengt Harniktsson Gyldenløve (killed by peasants in the Gudbrand valley in 1445). At the court of Ullensvang, the bailiff Bengt Pust was responsible for the killing of some peasants after having been attacked by them (1445 or 1446).

Eric Sæmundsson (in the autumn of 1450).⁴² Eric was one of the leading Norwegian partisans of Karl Knutsson of Sweden, who was briefly King of Norway in 1449-50 before being ousted by Christian I of Denmark. Apparently, he was killed by order of Hartwig Krummedige, one of the leading partisans of Christian I.

The killings in Bergen (1-2 September, 1455).⁴³ Oluf Nielsson, the commander of the royal castle of Bergen, had gradually become an object of hatred among Hanseatic merchants, since he favoured English merchants and attacked Hanseatic ships. During negotiations in Bergen, the Hanseatic representatives (led by the councillor Godeke Burmeister of Lübeck), suddenly received news

about three Hanseatic ships that had been captured by Oluf and his men. Apparently, a conspiracy between merchants and sailors was quickly formed, and on 1 September the Germans began to plunder Oluf's own ship. Oluf escaped to the monastery of Munkeliv. Bishop Thorleif of Bergen joined him with his men, but the Germans followed the Norwegians, broke into the monastery and attacked them. Oluf and Bishop Thorleif were killed, as were Oluf's brother Peder and Niels Olufsson and many others, including members of the clergy. All in all, about sixty persons were killed, and the Germans went on to plunder Oluf's farm Tolga.

It is important to remember that Bergen was a comparatively violent town. Especially the Germans were often reported to have been guilty of plunder and killings.⁴⁴ During a riot in Bergen in 1494, a bailiff was killed.⁴⁵

A bailiff and a lagmann in Bohuslän (1493).⁴⁶ These were killed by peasants.

Lasse Skjold and three peasants (1497-98).⁴⁷ Three peasants were beheaded in Oslo after a peasant upheaval in Romerike (1497) that had resulted in the killing of Lasse Skjold, bailiff of Romerike. The three peasants had probably agitated against the payment of fines that the Romerike peasants had been sentenced to pay as retribution for the upheaval.

Arild Kane and peasants in Sunnmøre (1496-98).⁴⁸ After a peasant upheaval in Sunnmøre in 1496, the peasants were sentenced to severe punishment (1498). Some had to pay large fines, and all the peasants responsible for the killing of the councillor Arild Kane at the court of Sunnmøre—the most conspicuous act of the upheaval—were sentenced to death. However, we do not know how many were actually killed.

Iceland

Björn Torleivsson (1467).⁴⁹ Merchants from Lynn, who were illegally trading with Iceland, were confronted by Björn Torleivsson, the leading royal official of Iceland, who came to their camp at Rif and ordered them to cease trading. The merchants responded by killing Björn and seven of his men and capturing his son. They threw Björn's corpse in the sea, plundered and burnt his farm, took the royal taxes and ravaged the country. However, Björn's widow soon appeared on the scene with many men. She released her son and inflicted a bloody revenge upon the merchants.

Getting away with treason

If compared with the situation in other Western European countries, like England, the Scandinavian examples related above are conspicuously few. In fact, it could easily be argued that I have been too generous in allowing some incidents to be included in the list at all, since they did not occur in Scandinavia (like the beheadings in Lübeck in 1439) or may be regarded as killings during the course of (that is, per se part of) a violent conflict (as may have been the case in some of the Norwegian examples above). Furthermore, many of the killings were linked to specific events and persons. For instance, it would appear that Karl Knutsson Bonde was more ruthless than most of his Scandinavian contemporaries when dealing with political enemies—his behaviour (which would have been perfectly normal during the Wars of the Roses) is atypical within a Scandinavian context. Also, many of the persons who were actually killed were peasants who were punished for taking part in a rebellion. Politically active noblemen could apparently get away with a lot more than was possible for politically active peasants, even if they lost a battle and were caught. The killing of a Scandinavian aristocrat during the fifteenth century was an extraordinary event. The context becomes even clearer if we look at some of those who actually got away with treason.

Eric Karlsson Vasa (d. 1491; King Gustavus I's father's cousin) supported the Danish forces in Sweden in 1467 and was forced to submit to King Karl Knutsson. In 1469, he rebelled against the king. After a successful beginning, he was defeated by the Dalecarlians in January 1470 and forced to escape. He returned to Sweden with Danish soldiers in May 1470 and raised a new rebellion. After another defeat, he escaped to Kalmar. He accompanied the army of Christian I in 1471 and fought for the Danish king in the battle of Brunkeberg (yet another defeat). However, in 1472 he was able to make peace with the Swedish regent Sten Sture, thereby losing most of his fiefs but keeping much of his influence. During the 1470s and the 1480s, he was one of the leading defenders of Finland against Russian attacks.⁵⁰

Ture Turesson Bielke (d. 1489 or 1490) was a personal enemy of King Karl Knutsson. He escaped to Denmark in the autumn of 1452, in the middle of the war between Karl Knutsson and Christian I. Karl Knutsson regarded this as an act of high treason, and Ture was condemned to death on 15 September 1453 (together with many others; see above on Arvid Svan). During the following years, he was a fervent supporter of Christian I. He reaped more benefits than any other native Swedish nobleman when Christian acceded to the Swedish throne in 1457 (especially the ranks of Swedish marshal, captain of the castle of Stockholm and holder of the fief of Kalmar). He is referred to as *allmogens köttmånger* ("the butcher of the peasantry/the people") due to his ruthlessness during the peasant rebellion in 1463. During the war of 1464-65, he did his best to uphold Christian's regime in Sweden, keeping and defending the castle of Stockholm for many months after the real defeat of the Danish cause and

remaining in control of Kalmar. In 1467 and 1469, he plundered Värend and captured some important partisans of Karl Knutsson; he also supported anti-Swedish privateers in the Baltic. Ture appears to have been captured by the Swedish regent Sten Sture in the battle of Brunkeberg in 1471, but for some reason he was allowed to return to Kalmar. Sten Sture besieged his fortress in 1472, and Ture finally surrendered on 30 March. He was immediately allowed to re-enter the Swedish national council, eventually losing some lands but keeping his political influence.⁵¹

Magnus Gren (d. between 1475 and 1480), an outspoken enemy of Karl Knutsson already in 1439, was one of the leading Swedish noblemen during the reign of King Christopher of Bavaria (1441-48). Christopher was succeeded by Karl Knutsson, who initially employed Magnus in the capacity of commander of the Swedish forces on Gotland. Having failed to prevent Christian I from seizing the island, Karl Knutsson blamed Magnus and stripped him of important fiefs. Magnus went into exile and established himself as a pirate in the Prussian part of the Baltic. He was arrested and brought to Lübeck, where Christian I managed to have him released. Thereafter, Magnus Gren was one of Christian's most loyal supporters. He fought for Christian in the war against Sweden in 1452 and was sentenced to death by Karl Knutsson in 1453. The same year, Magnus was elevated to a prominent political position in Norway. He became royal commander of Bergen and appears to have collaborated with the Hanseatic merchants who murdered his successor Oluf Nielsson in 1455 (see above). He conquered Öland in 1456 and was generously rewarded by Christian I on his accession to the Swedish throne in 1457. Magnus continued to support Christian during the troubled years after 1464. In 1469, he joined Ture Turesson Bielke in his piratical activity on behalf of Christian, and he fought for Denmark at Brunkeberg in 1471. Just like Ture Turesson, Magnus Gren made peace with Sten Sture in 1472. He suffered no harm and remained a member of the national council.⁵² Magnus' son, Ivar Gren (d. after 1495) was one of the leading rebels in the revolt against Christian I in 1464 and also opposed Karl Knutsson in the civil war of 1464-65. His military actions against Karl Knutsson, the Tott family and other groups eventually made him a supporter of Christian, and he joined the rebellion of Eric Karlsson Vasa in the summer of 1470. He accompanied Christian's army to Brunkeberg, and—like his father—made peace with Sten Sture after the defeat. He remained a member of the national council of Sweden until his death.⁵³ It might be added that the third generation of the family was not as lucky as the first two: Ivar Gren's son, Måns Gren, was beheaded for political reasons during the bloodbath of Stockholm (8 November, 1520).⁵⁴

Seen from the point of view of their victorious enemies, Eric Karlsson Vasa, Ture Turesson Bielke, Magnus Gren and Ivar Gren were definitely dangerous. They repeatedly attacked Sweden, both with regular armed forces and by way of piracy. They plundered the country, organised peasant rebellions, recruited privateers and occupied strategically important castles—but eventually, they all lost. Their enemies had ample opportunity to get rid of them once and for all.

If Ture Turesson had faced Edward IV instead of Sten Sture, he would undoubtedly have been beheaded. Let us also keep in mind that Sten Sture's position was weak compared to the position of the Kings of England and France. Although he controlled the country as regent (*riksföreståndare*) during the years 1470-97 and 1501-03, he was never crowned, and he could never trust his rivals within the nobility. In other words, he had very good reasons (at least from the point of view of Niccolò Machiavelli) to kill rival noblemen, especially if these were recently defeated enemies whose deaths were politically and morally justified. More than that, we know for certain that Sten Sture was a ruthless *Realpolitiker*, both politically and economically.⁵⁵ Still, he let his enemies live and did not deprive them of their political influence. Why?

This question can not be answered simply by analysing Sten Sture's personal tactics (for instance by suggesting that he allowed Vasa, Bielke and Gren to live in order to achieve a balance of power in the national council). The tendency to spare the lives of enemies is evident all over Scandinavia during the fifteenth century, not only in Sweden during the years 1471-72. The phenomenon must be regarded as a *structural* feature of Scandinavian politics. In order to solve the problem, we must look closely at how the value of noble human lives within the political sphere was conceptualised by political actors. Whatever the solution to the problem, we can be fairly certain that some basic elements of society were only of marginal importance. Most significantly, it would seem that the basic social structure was relatively unimportant within this context. Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Swedish society was characterised by the comparatively strong position of the free peasantry (that owned c. 50 percent of all lands⁵⁶). Despite this similarity, the value of a politically active human life was considerably lower in the sixteenth century than in the days of Sten Sture.

Three hypotheses

This study has been an attempt to illustrate what happens when we seriously consider violence as a historical category per se. It is not enough simply to describe a certain historical period as particularly violent, since violence is a complex social phenomenon with a number of diverse manifestations. When looked upon in this way, the cultural complexity of violence becomes increasingly clear. Although late medieval Scandinavian society was characterised by wars, rebellions, coups and piracy, there appears to have been very few political murders and executions. In other Western European countries, like England, the situation was completely different. The conceptualisation of violence as a political tool was structurally different in Scandinavia if compared with other countries. Furthermore, it was also structurally different if compared with other eras of Scandinavian history (like the early modern period).

At present, the problem can hardly be solved, since extremely little research has been carried out. Despite the enormity of the question—the value of the

human life—no thorough study of the subject has yet been published. Nevertheless, some questions and hypotheses should at least be presented for the benefit of future research:

- (1) Was the conception of the value of human lives within the political sphere linked to secular ideological patterns, such as the spread of ideas of chivalry? In other words, was it fashionable to be nice to defeated noblemen?
- (2) Was the situation linked to the weakness of the monarchy? It could be argued that it is necessary to be (or to believe oneself to be) in a position of considerable power before wiping out one's enemies. It should be kept in mind that the structural pattern of the fifteenth century changed drastically in the sixteenth century. Powerful kings like Christian II, Gustavus I, Eric XIV and Charles IX cared little for the lives of their political enemies. The bloodbaths of Stockholm in 1520 and of Linköping in 1600 had no parallels in fifteenth-century Scandinavian history, although the basic political history of the fifteenth century was in many ways more turbulent than that of the sixteenth.
- (3) Was the situation linked to a specific social need, i.e. the need for able administrators and councillors? The Scandinavian nobility was small. It was difficult to govern a medieval kingdom if too many noblemen died, a fact that may perhaps explain some of the problems in Norway after the ravages of the Black Death. Sten Sture may have felt that he *needed* Eric Karlsson Vasa as a soldier and Ture Turesson Bielke as a diplomat; he certainly employed them as such after 1472.

Abbreviations

- BSH *Bidrag till Skandnaviens historia*, ed. C.G. Styffe, 3 (Stockholm 1870), 4 (Stockholm 1875).
- DBL *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon*, Bd. 1, Copenhagen 1923.
- DCP *Diplomatarium Christierni Primi*, ed. C.F. Wegener, Copenhagen 1856.
- DN *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, Bd. 1:2, eds. C.C.A. Lange and C.R. Unger (Christiania 1849), Bd. 2:2, eds. C.C.A. Lange and C.R. Unger (Christiania 1852), Bd. 3:2, eds. C.C.A. Lange and C.R. Unger (Christiania 1855), Bd. 5:2, eds. C.C.A. Lange and C.R. Unger (Christiania 1861), Bd. 6:2, eds. C.R. Unger and H.J. Huitfeldt (Christiania 1864), Bd. 7:1, eds. C.R. Unger and H.J. Huitfeldt (Christiania 1869), Bd. 9:1, eds. C.R. Unger and H.J. Huitfeldt (Christiania 1878), Bd. 10:2, eds. C.R. Unger and H.J. Huitfeldt (Christiania 1880), Bd. 13, eds. C.R. Unger and H.J. Huitfeldt-Kaas (Christiania 1891).
- DV *Diarium Vadstenense. The Memorial Book of Vadstena Abbey*, ed. C. Gejrot, Stockholm 1988.
- EO Ericus Olai, *Chronica regni Gothorum*, eds. Ella Heuman and Jan Öberg, Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* 35, Stockholm 1993.
- Grautoff 2 *Chronik des Franciscaner Lesemeisters Detmar*, ed. F.H. Grautoff, Bd. 2, Hamburg 1830.
- HH *Historiska handlingar* 8, Stockholm 1879.
- HR *Hanserecense*, Abt. 2, ed. G. von der Ropp, Bd. 4 (Leipzig 1883), 6 (Leipzig 1890); Abt. 3, ed. D. Schäfer, Bd. 1 (Leipzig 1881).
- HSH *Handlingar rörande Skandnaviens historia* 5, Stockholm 1818.
- HUB *Hansisches Urkundenbuch*, ed. W. Stein, Bd. 9 (Leipzig 1903), 10 (Leipzig 1907).
- Huidtfeld 3 Huidtfeld, A., *Chronologia*, part 3, Copenhagen 1603.
- Huidtfeld,
Chr. I Huidtfeld, A., *Historisk Bescriffuelse om huis sig haffuer tildraget under den Stormectigste Første oc Herre, Herr Christiern, den Første aff det Naffn...*, Copenhagen 1599.
- KK *Karlskrönikan*, ed. G.E. Klemming, SSFS 17:2, Stockholm 1866.
- Korner *Die Chronica novella des Hermann Korner*, ed. J. Schwalm, Göttingen 1895.
- LECUB *Liv-, Est-, und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, Abt. 1, Bd. 9, ed. H. Hildebrand, Riga and Moscow 1889.
- Missiver *Missiver fra Kongerne Christiern Is og Hans's Tid*, ed. W. Christensen, Bd. 1, Copenhagen 1912-14.
- OP *Olai Petri Svenska Krönika*, ed. G.E. Klemming, Stockholm 1860.
- Paulsson Paulsson, G., *Annales Suecici Medii Aevi*, Lund 1974.

- RK 1452–1520 Rimkrönikan 1452–1520, ed. G.E. Klemming, SSFS 17:3, Stockholm 1867–68.
- SBL *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*, Bd. 4 (Stockholm 1924), 5 (Stockholm 1925), 6 (Stockholm 1926), 17 (Stockholm 1967–69), 20 (Stockholm 1973–75).
- SRS *Scriptores rerum Svecicarum Medii Aevi*, Bd. 3:1–2, ed. C. Annerstedt, Uppsala 1871–76.
- SSB *Stockholms stadsböcker*. Ser. 2. Tänkeböcker. 1 (1474–1483), ed. E.Hildebrand (Stockholm 1917); Ser. 3. Räkenskaper. 1: Stockholms Stads Skottebok 1460–68, ed. J.A. Almquist (Stockholm 1926).
- SSFS *Skrifter utgivna av svenska fornskrift-sällskapet*.
- StK Sturekrönikan, ed. G.E. Klemming, SSFS 17:3, Stockholm 1867–68.

Noter

1. Spierenburg, P., *The Broken Spell. A Cultural and Anthropological History of Preindustrial Europe*, Basingstoke and London 1991, pp. 129–34, 207–10. See also, for examples, Harvey, I.M.W., *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450*, Oxford 1991, pp. 65–66, 73 (Thomas Cheyne, Nicholas Jakes and the Earl of Suffolk).
2. Given, J.B., *Society and Homicide in Thirteenth-Century England*, Stanford (California) 1977; Hanawalt, B., *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348*, 1979.
3. Of course, it is sometimes impossible to say whether a specific crime is to be interpreted as a political murder or as an ordinary, private murder in local society—for instance, the murder of Jon Jonssen, *staller* of Eiderstedt, in 1461, by Poppen Sweyn and his men. See Eiderstedische Chronik, ed. A.L.J. Michelsen, *Staatsbürgerliches Magazin*, Bd. 9, Heft 4, Schleswig 1829. See also a letter from the Bishop of Schleswig to the king, printed in Panten, A.A., “Zur Beteiligung von Nordfriesen am Streit zwischen Christian I. und Gerhard von Oldenburg (II.)”, *Nordfriesisches Jahrbuch*, Neue Folge, Bd. 13, 1977, pp. 139–41.
4. Gillingstam, H., “Jösse Eriksson”, SBL 20, pp. 557–58.
5. Harrison, D., Bondeuppror och allianser på 1460-talet, *Folkets Historia* 23:2–3, Stockholm 1995. On the general background, see Bøgh, A., Würtz Sørensen, J. and Tvede-Jensen, L. (eds.), *Til Kamp for Friheden. Sociale oprør i nordisk middelalder*, Ålborg 1988; Kraft, S., *Senare medeltiden II. Tidskedet 1448–1520, Sveriges historia till våra dagar*, vol. 3, Stockholm 1944; Olesen, J.E., *Unionskrige og Stændersamfund. Bidrag til Nordens historie i Kristian I's regeringstid, 1450–1481*, Århus 1983; Rosén, J., *Svensk historia I. Tiden före 1718*, fourth ed., 1978.
6. Dahlerup, T. *De fire stænder 1400–1500, (Danmarks historie, Bind 6, Gyldendal and Politiken, ed. O. Olsen)*, 1989, pp. 271–73.
7. Dahlerup 1989, pp. 274–76.
8. Dahlerup 1989, pp. 276–78.
9. Dahlerup 1989, pp. 279–81.
10. Dahlerup 1989, pp. 281–88.
11. The literature on Engelbrekt is immense. See especially (sources) DV 440; EO, XLVIII: 30–32; Huidtfeld 3, pp. 569–70; KK, vv. 2634–2702. See (secondary works) Carlsson, G., *Senare medeltiden I. Tidsskedet 1389–1448, Sveriges historia till våra dagar*, vol. 3, Stockholm 1941, pp. 341–43; Larsson, L.-O., *Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson och 1430-talets svenska uppror*, Stockholm 1984; Rosén 1978, pp. 234–35; Sallnäs, B. (ed.), *Twistefrågor i svensk historia* (containing articles on Engelbrekt by E. Lönnroth and G. Carlsson).
12. Benedictow, O.J., *Fra rike till provins 1448–1536, Norges Historie*, Bd. 5, Oslo 1977, p. 65; Olesen, J.E., *Unionskrige og Stændersamfund. Bidrag til Nordens historie i Kristian I's regeringstid, 1450–1481*, Århus 1983, p. 132.
13. Hasund, S., *Tidsrummet 1280 til omkring 1500, Det norske folks liv og historie gjennom tidene*, Bd. 3, Oslo 1934, p. 243; Kjersgaard, E., *Borgerkrig og Kalmarunion 1241–1448, Politikens Danmarks Historie*, Bd. 4, Copenhagen 1963, p. 497; Taranger, A., *Norges historie*, Bd. 3:1, *Tidsrummet 1319–1442*, Kristiania 1915, pp. 287–88.
14. Taranger, A., *Norges historie*, Bd. 3:2, *Tidsrummet 1443–1537*, Kristiania 1917, pp. 202–03.
15. See for instance *Norges Gamle Lover 2*, R. II, no. 30 (26 November 1450). See also Hasund 1934, pp. 237–38, 260, 286–87; Imsen, S. and Sandnes J., *Avfolkning og union, Norges Historie*, Bd. 4, Oslo 1977, p. 346; Olesen, J.E., *Rigsråd, Kongemagt, Union. Studier over det danske rigsråd og den nordiske kongemagts politik, 1434–1449*, Århus 1980, p. 251; Taranger 1915, pp. 267–69; 306; Taranger 1917, pp. 50–52, 87, 132.
16. See general studies on late medieval English history, for instance Keen, M.H.,

- England in the Later Middle Ages*, 1973; Lander, J.R., *The Wars of the Roses*, 1990; Thomson, J.A.F., *The Transformation of Medieval England 1370–1529*, 1983.
17. Harvey 1991, pp. 28, 30, 124.
 18. Harvey 1991, pp. 63–66, 70, 73, 86, 92–94, 98–100, 120, 123, 127–28, 137, 143, 152–53, 156–57, 165, 180.
 19. SOURCES: *De ældste danske Archivregistraturer*, Bd. 4, eds. T.A. Becker et al., Copenhagen 1885, pp. 24–25; DV 190; EO, XLI: 31; Ex Chronico Holtzatie, SRS 3:1, cap. 35 (p. 276); KK, vv. 210–19; Huidtfeld 3, pp. 192–93; Nyi annáll 1393–1430, *Annales islandici posteriorum saeculorum*, Annálar 1400–1800, Bd. 1, Reykjavik 1922–27, p. 16; OP, pp. 163–64; Paulsson, p. 291 (Annales 266–1430), 309 (Annales 1298–1473), 325 (Chronica Visbyensis 815–1444), 341 (Annales 31–1463), 373 (Ex Chronica regni Gothorum), 400–01 (Annales 826–1415). SECONDARY WORKS: Bruun, H., “Abraham Brodersen”, (*Dansk*) *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 11. Række, 3. Bind, Copenhagen 1950–52; Bruun, H., “Baad, Abraham Brodersen”, DBL 1, pp. 584–85; Carlsson, G., “(Bielke), Ture Stensson”, SBL 4, p. 149; Carlsson 1941, pp. 115–16; Dahlerup 1989, p. 51; Härenstam, C., *Finnveden under medeltiden*, Lund 1946, pp. 69–78, 164–65, 327–32; Kjersgaard 1963, pp. 427–29; Kumlien, K., *Karl Knutssons politiska verksamhet 1434–1448*, Stockholm 1933, pp. 269–71; Larsson 1984, pp. 52, 55–56, 110; Lönnroth, E., “Slaget på Brunkeberg och dess förhistoria”, *Scandia* 11, Lund 1938, p. 167; Munktel, I.-M., *Gods, godsägare och landbor 1450–1520. Studier i de senmedeltida frälsegodsens funktion*, Gothenburg 1982, p. 30.
 20. SOURCES: *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis van den Oostzeehandel*, Eerste deel, Bd. 1–2 (1122–1499), verzameld door H.A. Poelman, S’Gravenhage 1917: I, 1, no. 1448, fol. 66v, 69v, pp. 385–86. SECONDARY WORKS: Olesen 1980, p. 129.
 21. SOURCES: LECUB 9, nos. 682, 715, 729; *Repertorium diplomaticum regni Danici mediaevalis*. I Række, 3 (1401–50), ed. K. Erslev et al. (in Selskabet for udgivning af Kilder til dansk Historie, Copenhagen 1899–1912. See 4898 with erroneous date—it should be 6 February, 1441); *Verzeichniss livländischer Geschichtsquellen in schwedischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, ed. C. Schirren, Dorpat (Tartu) 1861–68, p. 141, no. 447. SECONDARY WORKS: Olesen 1980, p. 149.
 22. SOURCES: Barner, K., *Familjen Rosenkrantz’s Historie I. Fra de ældste Tider til Begyndelsen af det 16de Aarhundrede*, Copenhagen 1874, dipl. nos. 68, 71. Compare with Grautoff 2, p. 84. SECONDARY WORKS: Dahlerup 1989, p. 76; Kjersgaard 1963, p. 559; Olesen 1980, pp. 185–89; Würtz Sørensen, J., *Bondeoprør i Danmark 1438–1441*, 1983, pp. 64, 84–87, 91, 93.
 23. Kjersgaard, E. and Hvidtfeldt, J., *De første Oldenborgere 1448–1533, Politikens Danmarks Historie*, Bd. 5, Copenhagen 1963, p. 54.
 24. SOURCES: Die Chronik der nordelbischen Sassen, *Quellensammlung der Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Geschichte*, Bd. 3, ed. J.M. Lappenberg, Kiel 1865, pp. 148–50 (“Dar worden de Uresen gerichtet; etlike uan den uorreders worden geradebraket unde gelecht uppe ueer raden, etlike worden de koppe afgehouden.”); Eiderstedische Chronik, pp. 712–13: first on Edlef Knudsen, then “Ein dochterman wart gerichtet mit deme swerde, unde andere vele uth deme Strande worden de koppe affgehouden...”; Grautoff 2, pp. 347–49. SECONDARY WORKS: Gregersen, H.V., *Slesvig og Holsten før 1830, Politikens Danmarks Historie*, Copenhagen 1981, pp. 193–94; Kjersgaard and Hvidtfeldt 1963, p. 64; Olesen 1983, p. 362; Panten 1977; Poulsen, B., “Bonden overfor det europæiske marked. Et slesvigsk oprør 1472”, *Til Kamp for Friheden. Sociale Oprør i Nordisk Middelalder*, eds. A. Bøgh, J. Würtz Sørensen and L. Tvede-Jensen, Århus 1988; Sauer, H., *Hansestädte und Landesfürsten*, Quellen und Darstellungen zur Hansischen Geschichte, Neue Folge, Bd. 16, Cologne and Vienna 1971, p. 31.
 25. Kjersgaard and Hvidtfeldt 1963, p. 108.
 26. SOURCES: DV 463; EO, XLIX: 31–33; Huidtfeld 3, p. 593; Korner, p. 569; OP, p. 198. SECONDARY WORKS: Carlsson 1941, pp. 335–36, 369–70; Erslev, K., “Baad, Broder

- Svensden”, DBL 1, pp. 585–86; Kumlien 1933, p. 81; Larsson 1984, pp. 101, 218; Lönnroth 1938, p. 167; Lönnroth, E., *Sverige och Kalmarunionen 1397–1457*, Gothenburg 1969 (orig. publ. 1934), pp. 167, 336–37; Tunberg, S., “Broder Svensson”, SBL 6, p. 325.
27. SOURCES: KK, vv. 4070–4103; OP, p. 193 (“some peasants”). As for secondary works, see below in the note on Eric Puke.
28. SOURCES: EO, XLIX: 7–13; “Pukevisan”, *Danmarks gamle folkeviser*, ed. S. Grundtvig, Bd. 3, Copenhagen 1862, no. 161 (see also Hildeman, K.-I., “Pukevisan”, *Politiska visor från Sveriges senmedeltid*, Uppsala 1950); Huidtfeld 3, p. 584; KK, vv. 4423–4427; Korner, p. 569; OP, pp. 192–94. SECONDARY WORKS: Carlsson 1941, pp. 387–88; Hildebrand, B., “Esbjörn Blåpanna och hans arvingar. Medeltidsstudier kring handlingar i Ribbingska huvudmannarkivet”, *Personhistorisk tidskrift*, årgång 35, Stockholm 1934, pp. 52–59, 81–86; Hildeman 1950, pp. 90–106; Kumlien 1933, pp. 81–98; Lindkvist, T. and Ågren, K., *Sveriges medeltid*, Stockholm 1985, p. 116; Lönnroth 1969, pp. 167–68, 336–38; Rosén 1978, p. 236; Westin, G.T., *Historieskrivaren Olaus Petri. Svenska krönikans källor och krönikörförfattarens metod*, Lund 1946, pp. 100–01, 234.
29. SOURCES: EO, XLIX: 11–15; Huidtfeld 3, p. 584; KK, vv. 4420–4422; OP, p. 193. As for secondary works, see above in the note on Eric Puke.
30. SOURCE: KK, vv. 4402–4416.
31. SOURCES: KK, vv. 4975–4986. SECONDARY WORKS: Carlsson 1941, pp. 388–92, 410–11; Hildeman 1950, p. 101; Kumlien 1933, pp. 101–10, 138; Larsson 1984, pp. 231–34.
32. SOURCES: EO, XLIX: 29, L: 9; Huidtfeld 3, pp. 592, 594; KK, vv. 6514–6515, 6522–6525; OP, pp. 198–99; *Chronicon de episcopis et archiepiscopis ecclesiae Upsalensis*, SRS 3:2, p. 102. SECONDARY WORKS: Carlsson 1941, p. 470; Kumlien 1933, pp. 117–18; Lönnroth 1969, p. 337.
33. SOURCES: BSH 3, no. 31; StK, vv. 379–386 (chronologically incorrect). SECONDARY WORKS: Härenstam 1946, pp. 86–88; Olesen 1983, p. 40; Styffe 1870 (BSH 3), pp. LXXIV, CCLIX.
34. SOURCES: BSH 3, no. 73; DV 669; Ek, S., “Visan om Tord Bondes mord”, *Göteborgs högskolas årskrift*, Bd. 26, Gothenburg 1920, pp. 33–41; HSH 5, p. 5 (“Danske Kong Christierns Handel”); Huidtfeld, Chr. I, p. 54; OP, p. 220, RK 1452–1520, vv. 4223–4272; StK, vv. 149–212. SECONDARY WORKS: Carlsson, G., “Bonde, Tord Karlsson”, SBL 5, pp. 322–25; Hagnell, K., *Sturekrönikan 1452–1496. Studier över en rimkrönikas tillkomst och sanningsvärde*, Lund 1941, pp. 172–73; Hildeman 1950, pp. 229–41; Kraft 1944, p. 53; Lönnroth 1969, pp. 300, 333; Olesen 1983, p. 77.
35. SOURCES: DV 728; Grautoff 2, p. 263; HSH 5, pp. 12–13 (“Danske Kong Christierns Handel”); StK, vv. 689–726. See also the relation of the events in OP. SECONDARY WORKS: Olesen 1983, pp. 172–73; Styffe 1870 (BSH 3), pp. CXLIV–CXLV.
36. SOURCES: DV 731; Grautoff 2, pp. 263–64; HSH 5, pp. 8–9 (“Danske Kong Christierns Handel”); HH 8, pp. 14–19; Huidtfeld, Chr. I., p. 135; Missiver I, no. 35; OP, p. 228; Paulsson, p. 312 (*Annales 1298–1473*), pp. 346–47 (*Annales 31–1463*); Rasmus Ludvigssons excerpter, SRS 3:1, p. 81; SSB 3:1, pp. 251, 386; StK, vv. 845–852. SECONDARY WORKS: Hagnell 1941, pp. 138–42, 193–95; Harrison 1995, p. 69; Olesen, J.E., “Oprør og Politisering i Sverige 1463–1471”, *Til Kamp for Friheden. Sociale Oprør i Nordisk Middelalder*, eds. A. Bøgh, J. Würtz Sørensen, L. Tvede-Jensen, Ålborg 1988, pp. 185–87; Westin 1946, pp. 304, 350–52, 376–87, 532–47.
37. SOURCES: Huidtfeld, Chr. I, p. 214; OP, p. 265 (saying that “some peasants” were also killed); SSB 3:1, p. 432; StK, v. 1776. SECONDARY WORKS: Bergström, G., *Arboga krönika I*, Medeltidsminnen, Örebro 1892, p. 45; Hagnell 1941, pp. 234–35; Westin 1946, pp. 421, 560.
38. SOURCES: HUB 9, no. 721; OP, p. 265; SSB 3:1, p. 432. SECONDARY WORKS: Hagnell 1941, pp. 234–35.

39. SOURCES: BSH 4, nos. 16–19, 22–24; HR 2:6, no. 573; HUB 10, nos. 158, 165, 189, 197, 206, 234, 336; SSB 2:1, pp. 17–19, 28; *Västergötlands fornminnesförenings tidskrift*, del 2, häfte 4, Mariestad 1904, pp. 60–62. SECONDARY WORKS: Olesen 1983, pp. 367–68; Rebas, H., “Otte Torbjörnssons Hinrichtung 1475. Ein schwedisches Drama mit nordeuropäischem Hintergrund”, (*Svensk Historisk tidskrift* 1984, Stockholm 1984; Sjögren, P., *Åtten Posses historia intill år 1500*, Uppsala 1950, p. 169; Styffe 1875 (BSH 4), pp. CX–CXIII.
40. SOURCES: BSH 4, nos. 74–75 (compare with no. 143); OP, pp. 279, 352; StK, vv. 2896–2913 (according to this source, eight peasants were executed). SECONDARY WORKS: Andersson Palm, L., “Det starka bondesamhället. Sjuhäradsbygden 1434–1529”, *Folkets historia*, årgång 19, 1991:1, Stockholm 1991, pp. 14–18 (Andersson Palm also discusses other deaths, but it is doubtful whether these can be included in the same political category as the ones in 1486); Hagnell 1941, pp. 290–91; Westin 1946, pp. 313–14.
41. SOURCES: DN I:2, no. 927 (Bengt Harniktsson); DN III:2, no. 789 (Bengt Harniktsson); *Nye Danske Magazin* VI, publ. by Kgl. Danske Selskab for Fædrelandets Historie og Sprog, 1836, p. 25 (Ullensvang). SECONDARY WORKS: Imsen, S., “Bondemotstand og statsutvikling i Norge ca. 1300 til ca 1700”, *Heimen* 2:1990, Trondheim 1990; Imsen and Sandnes 1977, p. 390; Koht, H., *Norsk bondereising. Fyrebuing til bondepolitikken*, Oslo 1926, pp. 35–36; Olesen 1980, p. 324; Taranger 1917, p. 56.
42. See (secondary works): Benedictow 1977, p. 45; Hasund 1934, p. 267; Olesen 1980, p. 418; Olesen 1983, pp. 131–32; Taranger 1917, p. 86.
43. SOURCES: DCP, no. 59; DN 3:2, no. 830; DN 7:1, no. 483; Grautoff 2, pp. 179–80; HR 2:4, nos. 349–52; HR 3:1, no. 61. SECONDARY WORKS: Benedictow 1977, pp. 59–60; Dahlerup 1989, p. 205; Hasund 1934, pp. 283–84; Kjersgaard and Hvidtfeldt 1963, pp. 24–25; Olesen 1983, pp. 123–27; Schreiner, J., *Hanseatene og Norges nedgang*, Oslo 1935, pp. 142–43; Taranger 1917, pp. 123–26.
44. Benedictow 1977, pp. 177–82; Hasund 1934, pp. 285–86; Schreiner 1935, pp. 113–14, 148; Taranger 1917, pp. 161, 163.
45. Hasund 1934, p. 303; Taranger 1917, p. 204.
46. SOURCE: DN 5:2, no. 960; SECONDARY WORKS: Imsen 1990. See also Hasund 1934, p. 309.
47. SOURCES: DN 2:2, no. 996; DN 9:1, no. 440; DN 13, nos. 162, 164. SECONDARY WORKS: Benedictow 1977, p. 247; Hasund 1934, pp. 310–11; Imsen 1990; Koht 1926, pp. 56–57, 61; Taranger 1917, p. 217.
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54. Gillingstam, H., “Gren, Måns”, SBL 17, pp. 264–65.
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56. Lindkvist and Ågren 1985, p. 30.