

Medieval Swedish Pilgrims in the Charter Material

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Introduction

Medieval pilgrimage, either as public penance or as an expression of private piety, involved travelling. The subject deserves a thorough and long presentation, but here, my aim is more limited. I intend to look at pilgrims from a particular angle using only one type of source material, the Swedish medieval charters and letters. By looking at some basic facts and statistics and a limited number of examples I will try to find answers to some of these questions: What do we know about the pilgrims mentioned? In what connections do we meet them in the charters? Who were they? What were the direct reasons for the pilgrimages? Where did they travel? By the end I will present some conclusions and point to a development seen in the source material. But let us start by looking at once at a striking example of an extensive pilgrimage.

In 1421, a remarkable document was issued by a man living in the Swedish town of Nyköping. His name was Pável Mäg, and in the preserved parchment original, written in Old Swedish, he declares that he has now done everything which was demanded by a man called Olof Nilsson (see Fig. 1). These demands had forced Pável to spend years on distant pilgrimages. In the document, he reveals that he had visited many places, some of them several times. He had been to Rome and to Santiago de Compostela. He had visited pilgrim centres in Aachen, Cologne and Wilsnack, in fact three times each (“trin sinom”). He had been to Maastricht and to Einsiedeln. But this was not enough: he had also visited the most important pilgrim sites in Scandinavia:¹ Saint Olof (in Trondheim or Nidaros), Saint Erik (in Uppsala), Saint Eskil (in Eskilstuna), Vadstena, Saint Nils (Hermansson) in Linköping and Saint Enevald in Lister (Sölvesborg). Pável ends this exhausting list with the somewhat surprising comment that there are more places that he “cannot mention” or remember at this time (“oc flere stads som jac ey kan næmpnæ”).

His seal with a mark below the document is an indication that Pável was a burgher or a craftsman in the town of Nyköping on the Swedish east coast, the town to which he now returns. Why did Olof Nilsson force Pável to go through all this? The most plausible explanation is that Pável had killed someone in Olof’s family and that Olof and perhaps other family members had decided the punishment which can be seen as a final agreement between the perpetrator and the victim’s relatives. We will return to this quite common practice later.

1. For a survey of pilgrim churches and holy places in Scandinavia see Andersson 1989. For a general presentation of Scandinavian pilgrims and pilgrimages see Krötzl 1994, 99–363.

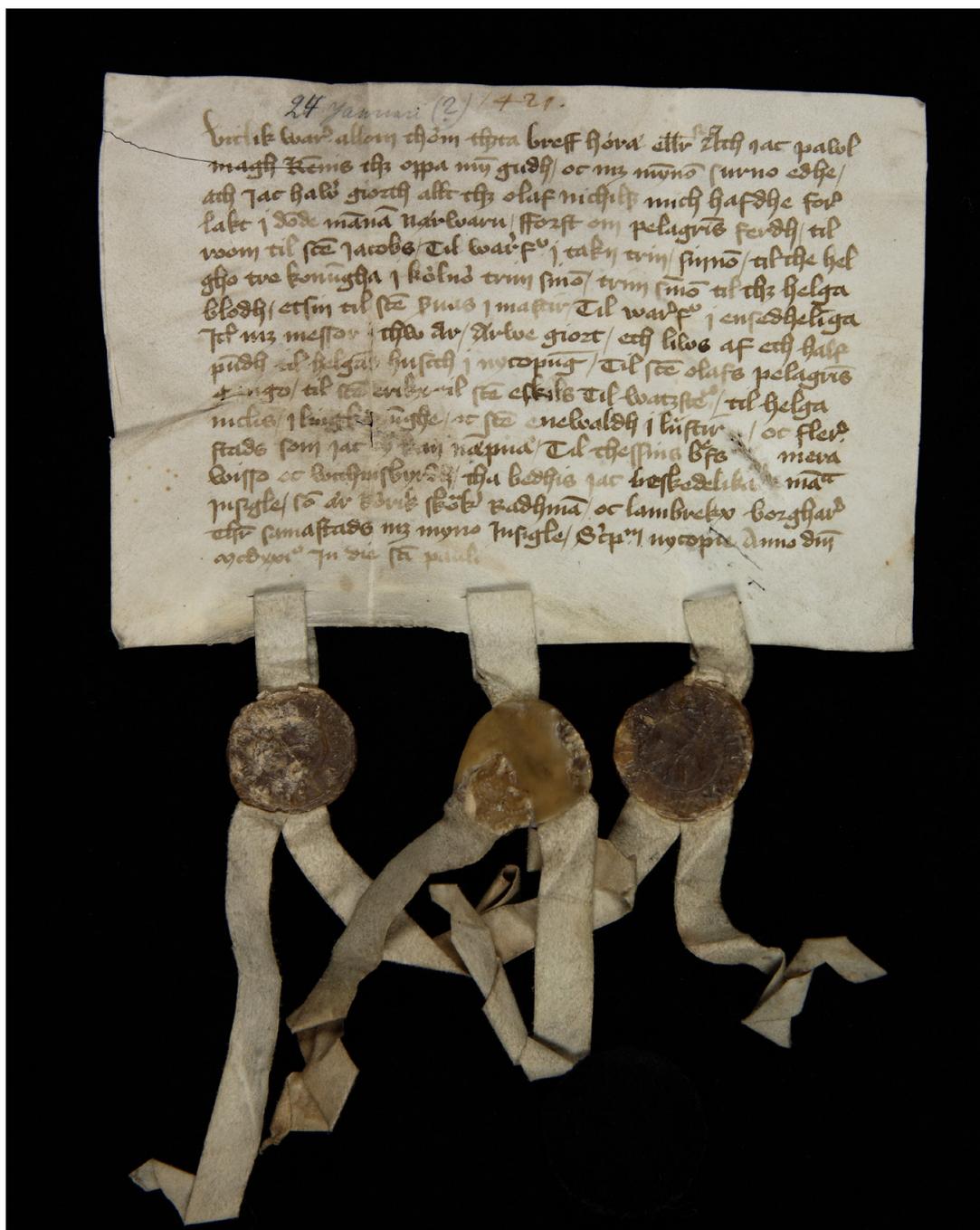


Fig. 1. Pâvel Måg: pilgrimage as penance. Nyköping, 25 January 1421. SDHK 19602; original on parchment (in Old Swedish), National Archives, Stockholm. Photo: National Archives.

In these cases, it is not unusual to find the most famous and frequented international locations like Santiago de Compostela, Rome or the Holy Land as targets for pilgrimage, and the Scandinavian holy places are usually common alternatives. Pável in fact had to do both. We can only guess that his wanderings as a pilgrim had taken several years of his life.

The source material

This brings us to a brief presentation of the material used for this study, the Swedish medieval charter collection. All in all, there are about 45 000 registered charter texts from medieval Sweden, and most of these texts are today in the National Archives in Stockholm. About half of the collection is extant in the form of original parchment and paper documents. The remaining texts are known to us through transcriptions of various kinds. The earliest original charters in the collection are from the 1160s. From this time, we have only a small quantity of texts preserved, but the frequency increases during the Middle Ages. The largest amount of preserved texts originates from the fifteenth century.

Why have I chosen to use this source and not other texts, like legends and chronicles? There is an obvious advantage in using charters and other official documents: If authentic, they represent the reality. Thus, the contents of these texts normally reflect things that have actually happened, which is not always the case with legendary material. Another reason is that only few studies about pilgrims seem to have been based on the charter material.² Most scholars have used for instance miracle collections or chronicles and legends.

The best way to reach information about these charters is to use the online resource *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek* (“The main register of *Diplomatarium Suecanum*”), abbreviated SDHK.³ This database covers the preserved Swedish charter material in its entirety. There are obvious limitations. The SDHK only gives a more or less complete picture of a first period of charters, that is from the 1160s to 1380. The texts until this year have been published and analysed in the chronological *Diplomatarium Suecanum* edition series. As for the rest, for instance in the case of most of the numerous fifteen-century charters, the texts have not yet been published, and the contents are therefore only partially available in the SDHK.

I have chosen to look at 120 charters and letters in the Swedish material that mention pilgrimage, generally or specifically, in various contexts.⁴ This is a limited text material, and it is

2. An important contribution is Nevéus 2002. The (eight) cases mentioned by Nevéus have been marked with “CN” in the list (Appendix 1).

3. URL: sok.riksarkivet.se/SDHK.

4. See the appendix below for a chronological list of these documents. The documents often deal with other matters as well, and the mention of pilgrims may be only a minor detail in a longer text.

important to see the statistics here as preliminary. In reality, it is just a selection of examples probably representing only a fraction of what could be found. However, these examples can be used to strengthen theories based on other sources.

The pilgrims and the reasons for pilgrimage

The persons (pilgrims) involved in these documents can be divided into three different categories. We have about twenty cases dealing with bishops, priests and monastic people. A second group, formed by nobility and royals, also amounts to some twenty cases. The remaining cases deal with the common people, farmers, burghers and merchants, and here we also find more general letters, for instance papal decisions concerning groups of people.

Two main types of medieval pilgrimage can be discerned in our material. The first category, penitential pilgrimage or pilgrimage of penance, can be found in twenty or so cases. The penitential pilgrimage can be defined as a compulsory pilgrimage imposed by a confessor or a court of law. The second category may be described as pious or voluntary pilgrimages, undertaken as acts of personal piety after making a promise, perhaps to a confessor or only to one self. This is the type most common in our material, and we find about 100 cases that would fit in with this type. As Jonathan Sumption points out, the division between the two types can also be said to be between the public or private results of someone's sins.⁵ The reasons for the voluntary pilgrimages cannot be public as the sins remain a secret between the confessor and the sinner. The penitential pilgrimages, on the other hand, are public and often the result of an impossible situation in the home environment. A sentence as a result of a crime committed could force the sinner to set out on a penitential pilgrimage, but perhaps merely slander and gossip could be enough pressure. However, since the aim is the same in both the public and private pilgrimage (to atone for one's sins), the difference between the categories can often be weak.

There are several subcategories. In our material, we find three cases of pilgrimage by proxy or vicarious pilgrimage. This became more common in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, especially in the Hanseatic area.⁶ We have ten cases of transferring one's promise (*commutatio voti*), i.e. the possibility to change the penitence (pilgrimage) into some kind of payment or pious action. This made it possible for other social classes to take part in the pilgrimages, as a sinner who was rich enough could pay for someone to make a pilgrimage as a substitute.⁷ There is a single case in

5. Sumption 1974, 98–99.

6. Andersson 1989, 198–199. Two important Danish documents reporting on a large donation by Queen Margaret for pilgrimage by proxy to a number of locations have not been taken into account in this paper. The documents are printed and translated in the *Diplomatarium Danicum* online resource (see diplomatarium.dk, nos. 140501412002 and 14111208003).

7. On this practice, especially in the Scandinavian countries, see KL vol. 13, cols. 294–301.

the material of a person being cured from illness after visiting a pilgrim church, in other words, a pilgrimage as thanks for miracles performed or because of a wish for miracles to happen.⁸ This type of cause for a pilgrimage is rare in the charter collections. In fact, it would be more natural to find them in legends and miracle collections. I have found one mention of spiritual pilgrimages, i.e. when someone is hindered from making a pilgrimage for legitimate reasons but is allowed the same benefits after making the pilgrimage as a mental exercise.⁹

The origins of penitential pilgrimage seem to be found in Ireland in the sixth century.¹⁰ Later the idea spread to other parts of Europe. In the eleventh century it had become an accepted way of pardoning crimes of various kinds around Christian Europe. In Swedish sources penitential pilgrimages become visible especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was an easy way of dealing with the problem of fair punishment. It did not make a difference if you could pay your fines or not. The pilgrimage was something that could be performed by rich and poor. In Swedish cases (as in other European countries), we can often see that the civil court has left it to the victim or the victim's family to decide upon a suitable penance or punishment. This kind of judicial pilgrimage often took the form of fines combined with a forced pilgrimage.¹¹ It is indeed probable that the many visits to the holy places of Europe undertaken by the sinner we met above, Pål Måg from Nyköping, were decided by a representative of the family of someone he had killed. His letter can be seen in the light of the fact that it was not easy to evade a sentence of pilgrimage. Any escape and return to the vicinity of home would be easy to detect. When a person returned from having completed the decided judicial pilgrimage it was necessary to issue a certificate showing that the imposed sentence had been fulfilled. This is exactly the function of the preserved document.

As Sumption points out, the judicial pilgrimage could be worse in theory than in reality. Usually the sinner could be released from the travelling by paying a fee to the king or to the injured party. Quite a small sum could suffice.¹² But this was of course something that divided the poor from the rich. Those who were not able to pay could be sent on a pilgrimage instead. An example from 1458 can be used to illustrate this. A man was sentenced to fines by a civil judge for sleeping with a neighbour's daughter (who became pregnant). Because of his poverty these fines

8. SDHK 40537. These categories are treated in Krötzl 1994, 244–363.

9. On the concept of spiritual pilgrimage, see Craig 2009, 240ff. The relevant charter (SDHK 13630) is from the year 1390: *deuoti ... qui habent propositum visitandi Romam mentaliter, ex quo non possent corporaliter, indulgenciam habeant*; “this indulgence [which were meant for pilgrims to Rome] may be given to pious people who have the intention to visit Rome spiritually (mentally) because they cannot do it personally (corporally)”.

10. On the development of penitential pilgrimage, see Sumption 1974, 99ff.

11. Sumption 1974, 106–107.

12. E.g. SDHK 302 (from 1204). A farmer is permitted to pay a sum “according to his means” instead of making a pilgrimage.

were transferred into making a pilgrimage to three Scandinavian locations, including Vadstena in Sweden.¹³

Where did they go?

Saints' graves and holy cities were natural targets for all pilgrims. It is interesting to see the distribution between the larger international pilgrim locations and the Scandinavian sites. Of course, it can only be expected that many pilgrims preferred to stay closer to home, even if the route to St Olof in Nidaros was long and arduous for people from Denmark and from the southern parts of Sweden. The towns, churches and holy places found in our selection of documents are listed below, in order of frequency.¹⁴

Outside Scandinavia

Rome (39)
Holy Land (17)
Santiago de Compostela (12)
Aachen (6)
Wilsnack (5)
Cologne / Köln (2)
Einsiedeln (2)
Maastricht
Paris
Provence (Mary Magdalene's cave)
Riga
St Theobald in Thann
Gubbio (St. Ubald)
Trier
Basel
Bari
Monte Gargano

Within Scandinavia

Vadstena (24)
Nidaros/Trondheim, St Olof (13)
Uppsala, St Erik (7)
Linköping, St Nils (4)
Stockholm, Helga Lösen¹⁵ (3)
Eskilstuna, St Eskil (2)

13. SDHK 27135.

14. If a pilgrim site occurs more than once in the material, this is marked within brackets.

15. An image of the Deposition from the Cross, placed in the Dominicans' church in Stockholm.

Åbo/Turku (2)
Floda (2)
Sölvesborg (Lister)
Skokloster
Sigtuna
Munktorp
Værne
St Olof in Skåne
Rengo/Renko
Jönköping

It should come as no surprise that Rome and Vadstena are heading the lists. Rome had long been one of the most popular goals for almost all pilgrims in Europe. Vadstena Abbey was founded in the 1370s as the first and most important monastery in the Birgittine Order, soon after Saint Birgitta's death in Rome in 1373, and with papal approval. With the relics of Saint Birgitta as its most precious and famous treasure Vadstena quickly became important as a pilgrim site, and in the fifteenth century the monastery and the town that was built around it reached a position as one of the most visited places in Scandinavia.¹⁶

A pilgrim's report

We will now turn to one of the more detailed texts in the material. It is a letter in Latin, undated, but, as we will see, most probably written in 1437. It is preserved in a fifteenth-century Vadstena copy book, today in the National Archives in Stockholm.¹⁷ Here, we have to do with a pilgrimage that is private, pious and voluntary. The letter gives us a possibility to follow the travel routes of one pilgrim in more detail. The writer is an anonymous priest, perhaps from Denmark, who has set his mind on making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He writes something like a report to an unknown *pater*,¹⁸ perhaps the confessor general of a Birgittine monastery. The letter is undated but carries the valuable piece of information that the writing priest had been taking part in the political negotiations in Stockholm between the union king (Erik of Pomerania) and his councillors from the three Nordic countries. This must refer to the well-known meetings in Stockholm which

16. For a biography of Saint Birgitta see Morris 1999. On Vadstena Abbey as a pilgrim site see Fritz 2000, 110–118.

17. SDHK 22683 (preserved in Cod. A 21, fols. 92r–v, National Archives, Stockholm).

18. The narration in the letter can be compared to the tradition of late medieval travel literature, often dealing with pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It seems a safe guess that the letter writer (who as we will see never reached his original goal) had wished to write primarily about visiting Jerusalem and other holy locations nearby. On this kind of travel writing see for instance Legassie 2017, 109–140.

ended with an agreement on 14 October 1435.¹⁹ The writer is active there as one of the king's negotiators, and when the meeting is over he asks the king for permission to travel. His narration then goes on to mention the necessary preparations:

I asked the king, my lord, for permission to travel to foreign countries as I wanted to undertake a pilgrimage. I received his permission and prepared myself carefully, with my small means, as I had a firm wish to go first and foremost to the Holy Land, that is, to Jerusalem and other places in the vicinity, in order to honour the Lord's passion and for the remission of my sins. I gathered a sufficient amount of money for my travelling costs, and then I started the tiresome and difficult journey in God's name. On the day before Mary Magdalene [21 July 1436], I finally came to the city of Padova, where there is a fine university specialising in canon law and civil law. I was now only two days from Venice. Here I met some messengers who gave me news about the ships that every year cross the sea to the Holy Land. Now, they told me, there was no trace at all of these ships in Venice.²⁰

Our pilgrim is devastated by the news. All his innermost wishes and his efforts have come to nothing. He decides, reluctantly, as it seems, to change his plans and go to another holy place – Rome. Perhaps he had been there before:

When I realized that I could have no success in this journey that I had promised to undertake, I decided to go to Rome instead – our common homeland – although this was done with much sadness in my heart. So, there I visited the graves of Saint Peter and Saint Paul and the churches of other saints and in this way dutifully fulfilled my promise of pilgrimage.²¹

Heading north again, our pilgrim suddenly makes a short break and goes to Bologna where the curia is at the time.²² He has to take care of some urgent matters concerning both himself and some of his friends. But soon he is back on his way to other pilgrim sites:

19. The charter recording the agreement (which is preserved in transcription) was issued and sealed in Stockholm on this day (see SDHK 22453). On the complicated political situation (with the Swedish rebellious leader, Engelbrekt, as one of the king's opponents), see Carlsson 1950 and 1953. Losman 1970, 246 note 26, has previously connected our pilgrim's letter with the meeting in Stockholm in 1435.

20. *Jbique a domino meo prenominato licencia ad extraneas partes gracia peregrinacionis me transferendi petita et obtenta ad viam exeundi me pro modulo modo diligenter preparavi firmam habens voluntatem primo et principaliter Terram sanctam, scilicet Iherosolimam et alia loca sancta circumiacencia, ob reuerenciam passionis Dominice et remissionem meorum peccaminum Domino dirigente visitare. Paratus itaque pecuniisque pro sumptibus in via sufficienter cumulatis itineris labores et fatigas incepti peragere in nomine Domini. Tandem ad ciuitatem Paduanam, ubi optimum vigeat studium in iure canonico et lege ciuili, in profesto sancte Marie Magdalene veni, ad duas dietas de Veneciis, ubi nuncij michi occurrerunt nunciantes, quod naues, que per mare versus Terram sanctam annuatim consueuerunt pertransire, Venecias minime poterint reperiri.*

21. *Videns autem me in illo proposito non posse prosperari iter versus Romam, que communis est patria, quamquam dolenter arripui. Ibidem liminibus sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum aliorumque sanctorum ecclesiis per me visitatis votoque peregrinacionis illic solemniter peracto et completo versus Bononiam, in qua tunc vigeat curia, pro negociis aliquibus me et amicos meos concernentibus ibi expediendis redeundo de Roma transitionem feci.*

22. The papal curia resided in Bologna from 22 April 1436 to 22 January 1438 (for the dates see Schwarz 2013, 154–158). This present letter and the visit to the curia is briefly mentioned in Losman 1970, 246 (but the contents of the letter are misunderstood by the author).

I arrived at Einsiedeln which is near the Rhine. Here my sins were confessed and forgiven. And then I continued down the Rhine until I reached Basel. From Basel I went down along the Rhine until I reached Cologne, where all Christians, as is fitting, should show the utmost reverence and honour for the bodies of the holy kings and the relics of the holy eleven thousand virgins. Now, my pilgrimage was finished and I had visited the saints' relics – even if I was unworthy of this!²³

Our pilgrim then spends a lot of money on a horse. He rides through Westfalia and arrives safely, but without much money, in Lübeck. Here, he stays during the cold winter months, until Easter time (1437). He describes how he lost the rest of his money “in his vanity” – *inaniter* – and comes to Scandinavia (Denmark) later that year as a poor man. This is when he decides to become a Birgittine brother.

Conclusion

We have seen that the Swedish charter material might give us glimpses of medieval pilgrimage and show some of the reasons for undertaking pilgrimages. The list in the appendix makes it clear that there is a wealth of material to be studied. Here, I will make only a few remarks as a conclusion. The anonymous pilgrim letter from 1437 provides us with several facts about pilgrimage in the fifteenth century. One detail, mentioned in passing, can be used to illustrate the development of pilgrimage. The letter gives us evidence of the pilgrim ships sailing between Venice and the Holy Land, even if they did not appear as they should when our letter writer arrived. This kind of shipping activity – perhaps something close to organised pilgrim tourism – can also be seen in another document in our material, in a letter from 1501. Through this text we learn that a ship filled with pilgrims is sailing from Stockholm to Santiago de Compostela and back.²⁴

Yet another example taken from these documents can stimulate further studies. During the fifteenth century there seems to have been a growing demand in Rome for priests who spoke the pilgrims' own languages. A document from 1435 in the investigated charter material displays a need for Swedish-speaking priests in Rome. In this case, a Swedish priest obtained the right to absolve pilgrims speaking the Scandinavian languages.²⁵ In Rome, minor penitentiaries were

23. *Quibus inibi ad nutum meum omnino expeditis cupiens ad patriam nativam remeare veni ad beatam virginem Mariam in Ensiedelen circa Renum ubi omnibus bene contritis et vere confessis datur plenum omnium peccatorum remissio. Et sic descendendo per Renum veni ad Basileam. De Basilea ulterius descendendo per Renum ad Coloniā, ubi corpora sanctorum magorum et reliquie sanctorum xi milium virginum a christifidelibus in maxima reuerencia et honore sicut dignum est habeantur. Peracta vero ibidem peregrinatione mea et sanctorum reliquiis per me indignum visitatis per Vesfaliā equitando bursa quasi euacuata ad ciuitatem Lubyensem Deo duce incolumis perueni atque sanus.*

24. SDHK 34325. On this document see Krötzl 1987, 198–199.

25. SDHK 22338.

instructed to receive the pilgrims in one of the penitential basilicas in Rome and help the arriving people, listen to their confessions and absolve them in their own languages. We can assume that there were Swedish (or at least Scandinavian) speaking priests in the large basilicas or in Birgitta's House for most of the late medieval period.²⁶

These mentions of pilgrim ships and Swedish-speaking priests in Rome are indications of a change in the voluntary pilgrimages that can be discerned when studying and analysing the material, and these findings seem to corroborate what earlier scholars have said about the European situation.²⁷ Medieval pious pilgrimage moved from a first level where mostly nobility and priests went out to the holy places. In the later Middle Ages, pilgrimage involved instead larger masses of people in need of transportation, local guides and facilities during the journeys and at the pilgrim sites. Add to this the fact that Gutenberg's invention led to the mass printing of letters of indulgence to be sold at the pilgrim locations. Indeed, in the later Middle Ages, the voluntary, private pilgrimage changed from a strictly pious endeavour to a social activity where piety was combined with tourism.

26. On the minor penitentiaries and the language situation, see Risberg & Salonen 2008, 7. On Birgitta's House in Rome and function for pilgrims, see Risberg 2017.

27. Cf. e.g. Andersson 1989, 199 ff.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

KL = *Kulturbistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*

SDHK = *Svenskt Diplomatariums huvudkartotek*

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Appendix

Examples of pilgrims in the Swedish charter material (Source: SDHK)

SDHK-number	Year	Source language	Type	Destination	Brief summary
302	1204	Latin	penitential	Rome	Farmer who has cut off the nose of his priest was forced to go to Rome, but the pope changes this to support for the Holy Land – according to his means
306	1206	Latin	penitential	Rome	Pope Innocentius III to archbishop of Lund: slaves who had attacked men of the church but failed to come to Rome for absolution should be able to commute the penance
313	1207	Latin	pious	not stated	Archbishop of Lund is absent on a pilgrimage
359	1217	Latin	change of promise	not stated	Papal permission to change pilgrimage into support for the Holy Land
368	1218	Latin	change of promise	not stated	Papal permission to change pilgrimage into support for the Christians of Prussia
387	1220	Latin	penitential	Rome	Papal permission for sinners in Skara to abstain from pilgrimage because of the laborious and long journey; not valid for serious crimes
401	1221	Latin	penitential	Rome	Papal permission for sinners in Uppsala to abstain from pilgrimage because of the distance and lack of resources; not valid for serious crimes
603	1248	Latin	pious	Holy Land	Mention of nobleman's last will before pilgrimage
771	1259	Latin	pious	Holy Land	Mention of nobleman's last will, died during pilgrimage, cf. SDHK 603
919	1272	Latin	change of promise	Holy Land	Nobleman pays 20 marks as subsidy for the Holy Land instead of pilgrimage

954	1274	Latin	change of promise	not stated	Papal permission to change pilgrimage into support for the Holy Land
965	1275	Latin	by proxy	Nidaros	Priest pays 1 mark for a substitute pilgrim
1070	1279	Latin	pious	Swedish churches	Archbishop of Uppsala concerning the treatment of foreign pilgrims in Swedish churches (confirmation in SDHK 1822)
1223	1282	Latin	pious	Holy Land	Dean from Linköping to the Holy Land. Deposits valuables in monastery Thosan on his way out
1239	1283	Latin	pious	Holy Land	Nobleman sells farm in order to pay for pilgrimage to the Holy Land
1292	1285	Latin	by proxy	Riga and Nidaros	Nobleman's last will; pays for three pilgrims
1516	1291	Latin	pious	Paris	Statutes of Swedish students' house in Paris. Students must not receive visiting pilgrims
2097	1305	Latin	pious	Rome	Priest settling affairs before pilgrimage to Rome
2253	1308	Latin	change of promise	not stated	Papal permission to change pilgrim vows to support for the Holy Land
2383	1310	Latin	penitential / by proxy	Santiago de Compostela and Rome	Agreement reached after case of manslaughter; four men sent as pilgrims
2511	1312	Latin	pious	Holy Land	Nobleman's last will before pilgrimage. Gifts to Nydala monastery only valid if he does not return alive
3098	1321	Latin	pious	Rome	Nobleman's last will before pilgrimage; gifts to Uppsala cathedral
4949	1344	Latin	change of promise	Nidaros	Archbishop of Uppsala decides what should be done instead of pilgrimage to St. Olof in Nidaros
4979	1344	Latin	change of promise	Nidaros	Archbishop of Nidaros complains about decision mentioned in SDHK 4949
5244	1345	Latin	change of promise	Santiago de Compostela	Noblewoman is allowed to change promise of pilgrimage to other pious acts

5500	1347	Latin	pious	Holy Land	King Magnus Eriksson asks for papal permission to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land with an entourage of 100 men
5493	1347	Latin	pious	Holy Land	King Magnus Eriksson receives papal permission to go as a pilgrim to the Holy Land with an entourage of 100 men
5543	1348	Latin	pious	Aachen	Queen Blanche of Sweden pilgrim in Aachen (accounts)
6017	1350	Latin	pious	Rome	Two Swedish priests on Jubilee year pilgrimage to Rome (1350) die there
5965	1350	Latin	pious	Rome	Mention of archdeacon of Linköping having died in Rome in 1338
6427	1352	Latin	pious	Rome	Mention of canon of Västerås having died in Rome on Jubilee year pilgrimage (1350)
9267	1368	Latin	pious	Rome	Canon of Linköping remembers his "pilgrim companions" in last will; Lady Birgitta (Birgersdotter, the future Saint Birgitta) has sold relics to him in Rome
9560	1369	Latin	pious	Bari and Monte Gargano	Papal letter of protection for the pilgrimage of Birgitta Birgersdotter and her family
9667	1370	Latin	pious	St Teobald (Alsace)	Priest from Visby who died on pilgrimage on his way south deposited his money in Lübeck. The priest's mother now wants it back
10073	1371	Latin	pious	Holy Land	Birgitta Birgersdotter mentions her pilgrimage with family members
10509	1374	Latin	pious	(Holy Land)	Woman's last will (in Lübeck) before pilgrimage to <i>sancta loca</i>
10554	1374	Latin	pious	Vadstena	The king permits food to be sold to Vadstena pilgrims in the small village Starby just outside the town
39691	1374	Latin	pious	Rome	Woman's last will (in Lübeck) before her pilgrimage to Rome

10800	1376	Swedish	penitential	Rome, twice to St. Ubald (Gubbio), Aachen, Nidaros, Vadstena	Nobleman's pilgrimage for manslaughter; Nevéus 2002, 302
41431	1377	Latin	pious	Rome, St. Theobald in Thann, Trier, Aachen, Stockholm (?)	Woman's last will (in Lübeck) with bequest to pilgrims
11056	1377	Latin	pious	Sancta Maria in Sigtuna	Bishops give indulgence for visiting pilgrims
40537	1378	Latin	miraculous cure of illness	Vadstena	Man goes to Vadstena to be cured after St. Birgitta was drawn three times in a row in a lottery between three Nordic saints (Birgitta, Olof and Henrik)
42787	1379	Latin	pious	Rome	Katarina Ulfsdotter describes herself as a pilgrim
11415	1379	Latin	pious	Rome	Birgitta's pilgrimage to Rome is mentioned
42787	1379	Latin	pious	Rome	Birgitta's pilgrimage to Rome is mentioned
11413	1379	Latin	pious	Rome	Birgitta's pilgrimage to Rome is mentioned
11412	1379	Latin	pious	Rome	Birgitta's pilgrimage to Rome is mentioned
13007	1385	Swedish	penitential	Aachen, Nidaros, Uppsala, Vadstena	Manslaughter; Nevéus 2002, 302
13630	1390	Latin	spiritual	Rome	Spiritual pilgrimage, jubilee indulgence
15882	1402	Swedish	penitential / by proxy	Rome, Aachen, Wilsnack, Nidaros, Uppsala, Vadstena (four times)	Manslaughter. The Scandinavian places can be visited by proxy; Nevéus 2002, 302–303
16653	1406	Latin	pious	Rome	Archbishop of Uppsala decides that all Swedish parishes are to support the Birgitta House, a guesthouse in Rome designated to receive Swedish pilgrims in Rome

16785	1406	Latin	pious	Vadstena	English nobleman mentioned as a pilgrim to Vadstena
41582	1408	Latin	change of promise	not stated	Permission by the major penitentiary to change promise of pilgrimage into other pious acts
17643	1411	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Archbishop of Uppsala permits the Vadstena brothers to absolve pilgrims from his diocese
17860	1412	Swedish	penitential	not stated	Notification of pilgrimage made (manslaughter)
17882	1412	Latin	pious	Floda	Archbishop of Uppsala: indulgence for visiting pilgrims
17787	1412	Latin	pious	Linköping	Indulgence for visiting pilgrims
17912	1412	Latin	pious	Åbo	Indulgence for visiting pilgrims
17913	1412	Latin	pious	Åbo	Indulgence for visiting pilgrims
17759	1412	Latin	pious	Linköping	Indulgence for visiting pilgrims
17861	1412	Latin	pious	Linköping	Indulgence for visiting pilgrims
17853	1412	Latin	pious	The Birgitta House in Rome	Indulgence for visiting pilgrims
18096	1413	Swedish	penitential	not stated	Manslaughter; pilgrimage and the cost for masses
17999	1413	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Papal statutes give the Vadstena brothers the right to absolve pilgrims
18185	1413	Latin	pious	Floda	Bishop of Strängnäs: indulgence for visiting pilgrims
18263	1414	Swedish	penitential	Vadstena, Uppsala	Manslaughter; pilgrimage and the costs for the funeral; Nevéus 2002, 303
18680	1416	Latin	penitential	Vadstena	Certificate of woman's pilgrimage (murdered child)
18769	1416	Latin	pious	Rome	Letter of recommendation for Birgittine brother on pilgrimage to Rome
18768	1416	Latin	pious	Rome	Letter of recommendation for layman on pilgrimage to Rome
18676	1416	Latin	pious	Rome	Gardener of the Vadstena sisters on pilgrimage to Rome
18727	1416	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Certificate of pilgrimage (pilgrim from Åbo)
18762	1416	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Mentions indulgences for visiting pilgrims

18829	1416	Latin	pious	not stated	King Magnus Eriksson's pilgrimage is mentioned
18902	1417	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Bishop of Åbo permits the Vadstena brothers to absolve pilgrims from his diocese
18968	1417	Latin	pious	Sko kloster	Archbishop of Uppsala: Skokloster; indulgence for visiting pilgrims
19173	1418	Swedish	penitential	not stated	Manslaughter; farmer killed his neighbour's son; Nevéus 2002, 303
19028	1418	Latin	pious	Rome	Pass for pilgrimage to Rome (staying at the Birgitta House)
19154	1418	Latin	pious	Rome	Mentions Swedish pilgrims in the Birgitta House in Rome
19082	1418	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Seven cardinals' indulgence for visiting pilgrims
19060	1418	Latin	pious	not stated	Priest's last will with bequest to pilgrim
19212	1419	Latin	pious	Helgeandshus (hospital) in Stockholm	Four cardinals' indulgence for visiting pilgrims
19293	1419	Latin	pious	Jönköping	Bishop of Linköping: indulgence for visiting pilgrims
19602	1421	Swedish	penitential	Rome, Santiago de Compostela, Aachen, Cologne, Wilsnack, Maastricht, Einsiedeln, Nidaros, Uppsala, Eskil, Vadstena, Linköping, Sölvesborg	Påvel Måg's certificate that he has fulfilled what Olof Nilsson demanded of him. Visited places all over Europe "and many more" (see above); Nevéus 2002, 304
41012	1422	Swedish	pious	Uppsala	Confessor general of Vadstena issues passes for two women as pilgrims to St. Erik in Uppsala
20408	1425	Latin	pious	Holy Land	King Eric of Pomerania back from pilgrimage
20901	1427	Swedish	change of promise	Nidaros	A married couple's donation of land to a monastery (Eskilstuna) instead of a promised pilgrimage
22067	1434	Latin	pious	Santiago de Compostela	King of Castille: letter of protection for Scandinavian pilgrims

22164	1434	Swedish	pious	Nidaros	Priest issues a pilgrim's pass for his servant
22338	1435	Latin	pious	Rome	Priest from Linköping diocese obtains the right to absolve Scandinavian pilgrims
22683	1437	Latin	pious	(Holy Land), Rome, Einsiedeln, Basel, Cologne	Pilgrim to the Holy Land finds there are no ships from Venice and changes his route (see above)
23053	1438	Swedish	penitential	Nidaros, Uppsala, Skokloster, Eskilstuna, Munktorp, Vadstena	Manslaughter; man from Åland killed in Danderyd; sentence: pilgrimage and 60 marks in fines and masses
42061	1439	Latin	pious	not stated	Apostolic penitentiary permits priest from Skara on pilgrimage to "various countries" to celebrate mass anywhere he likes
23583	1440	Swedish	penitential	St. Olof in Skåne, Wilsnack, Uppsala, Stockholm (Helga Lösen), Vadstena (30 times!)	Certificate of pilgrimage; Nevéus 2002, 304
23356	1440	Latin	pious	Rome	Confessor general of Vadstena issues a pass for a pilgrim
23966	1441	German	pious	not stated	Payment for a horse will be received after Swedish pilgrim's return
24819	1445	Latin	pious	Rome	Abbess of Vadstena issues a pilgrim's pass for Ericus Vastonis
24821	1445	Latin	pious	Rome	Abbess of Vadstena appoints Ericus Vastonis as director of the Birgitta House in Rome; responsible for the reception of pilgrims there
24785	1445	Latin	pious	Vadstena	Bishop of Växjö gives the brothers of Vadstena permission to absolve visiting pilgrims from his diocese
25553	1449	Latin	pious	Rome	Minor penitentiary: certificate of pilgrimage (man from Skara diocese)

25756	1450	Latin	pious / change of promise	Rome, Santiago de Compostela	Apostolic penitentiary permits Swedish noble couple to change pilgrimage promises to other pious acts, except for promises to go to Rome and Santiago
25683	1451	Latin	by proxy	Vadstena	Oxford chancellor recommends English pilgrim (as substitute for Thomas Gasgoigne)
27135	1458	Norwegian	penitential	Vadstena, Nidaros, Værne	Norwegian man for sleeping with a neighbour's daughter who is now pregnant: sentence: fines changed to pilgrimage because of his poverty
27319	1458	German	pious	Wilsnack	Archbishop of Uppsala declares that his servant, on his way home from a pilgrimage, is wrongly held in Danzig
29274	1471	Swedish	penitential	Wilsnack, Vadstena	Man sentenced to pilgrimage because of manslaughter; 30 marks in fines
30582	1479	Swedish	pious	Rome	A nun sells property to pay for pilgrimage
30487	1479	Latin	pious	Santiago de Compostela	King of Castille: letter of protection for Swedish pilgrims
31183	1482	Norwegian	penitential	Nidaros (twice), Vadstena	Man sentenced to pilgrimage because of manslaughter; must be made within three years
32049	1488	Swedish	pious	Holy Land	Nobleman writes to relative about his planned pilgrimage
42355	1491	Latin	change of promise	Holy Land	Apostolic penitentiary permits nobleman's widow to change the deceased man's promise of pilgrimage to other pious acts
42398	1495	Latin	penitential	Holy Land, Santiago de Compostela, Provence (Mary Magdalene's cave), Rome	Apostolic penitentiary gives dispensation to priest from Åbo diocese guilty of stealing. He has previously received papal absolution but had decided himself that he must make pilgrimages to atone for his crime
43833	1495	Latin	penitential	Holy Land, Santiago de Compostela	(Renewed) papal absolution for priest from Åbo diocese for sins committed in youth (same man as in SDHK 42398); Nevéus 2002, 304
43318	1496	Latin	pious	Holy Land	The pope permits two canons (from Lund and Åbo) to make pilgrimage

34089	1500	Swedish	pious	Santiago de Compostela	Mention of people travelling from Stockholm to Santiago at the time of Lent
34325	1501	Swedish	pious	Santiago de Compostela	Mention of ship with pilgrims sailing from Stockholm to Santiago and back
36612	1509	Swedish	pious	Santiago de Compostela	Mention of noblemen travelling to Santiago
36891	1511	Swedish	pious	Finland (Renko)	Mention of a German pilgrim on his way to St Jakob in Rengo/Renko (Finland)
42479	1513	Latin	penitential	Rome	Apostolic penitentiary refers a case to another judge: concerning man from Västerås who had murdered his wife
37550	1514	Swedish	pious	Santiago de Compostela	Nobleman applies for a pilgrim's pass for himself and his family
38488	1521	Swedish	pious	Vadstena	Vadstena town has built a hospital and a guesthouse for visiting pilgrims
38610	1524	Swedish	pious	Vadstena	Noblewoman donates a bath house intended for visiting pilgrims