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Fragments Re-Connected. Identifications of leaves stemming from the same twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century missals now divided between the collections of the National Library of Finland and the National Archives of Sweden

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Fragments Re-Connected. Identifications of leaves stemming from the same twelfth-century or early thirteenth-century missals now divided between the collections of the National Library of Finland and the National Archives of Sweden

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Introduction

The fragment collections of the National Archives of Sweden and National Library of Finland (comprising over 21,000² and circa 6,600³ individual manuscript and incunabula fragments respectively) provide a wealth of still largely unstudied historical evidence on high- and late-medieval book culture. These collections not only offer valuable material for the study of the Nordic Middle Ages, but also preserve remains of thousands of imported books from England, France, the Low Countries, Germany, and Italy. The research use of this material is however far from straightforward. One fundamental feature, which all attempts at utilising them must take into account, regards their shared history: both collections are products of the same early modern history of recycling. Even though they have their own characteristics, they constitute, in many ways, a single collection.

One practical consequence of their common history is that leaves from one medieval manuscript are often divided between the Stockholm and Helsinki collections. Many such connections have been documented in previous studies and catalogues. Nevertheless, as will become evident, the work is hardly done, and it can, because of the very large numbers of fragments, only proceed

¹ I wish to express my thanks to Emilia Henderson-Roche, Seppo Eskola, Maria von Herzen, Susanna Rämö and the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful input in various stages of the writing of this article.

² At present, the MPO (*Medeltida pergamentomslag*) database contains 22,909 fragments, of which 22,559 are registered as being in the collections administered by the Swedish National Archives (Riksarkivet, Slottsarkivet, Krigsarkivet; note that also the fragments registered as belonging to the Kungliga Biblioteket are in fact at Riksarkivet). However, an unknown number of fragments (most likely several hundred), have been entered twice in the database. These duplicate registrations are often, although not always, mentioned in the 'Anmerkungen' field of the metadata, e.g.: 'Dasselbe Fr wie Fr 29786'.

³ This figure is a well-informed estimate that constitutes c. 5,440 manuscript fragments and c. 1,160 incunabula fragments. These numbers are based on ongoing research of the *Books of the Medieval Parish Church* (BOMPAC) project, led by the author; see <https://www.helsinki.fi/en/researchgroups/books-of-the-medieval-parish-church> (the references to online sources in this article give URLs as they were in April–May 2023). Note that in previous literature, the quantity of the material in Helsinki has usually been expressed in number of leaves, not fragments, as the figures for the fragments have not been available (cf. e.g.: Tuomas Heikkilä, 'From fragments towards the big picture. Reconstructing medieval book culture in Finland', in Åslaug Ommundsen & Tuomas Heikkilä eds., *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments. The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, Routledge: London and New York 2017, 83).

step by step. The principal aim of this article is to constitute one such step forwards. Focusing on missal fragments dated to the twelfth or early thirteenth century, it seeks to establish a series of new inter-archival connections between fragments stemming from the same book. In addition, this article will also present preliminary observations on how the recycling history helps us to contextualise the fragments preserved in Finland as historical evidence.

Background

From the late 1530s until circa 1630, the activities of the fiscal administration of Early Modern Sweden led to the formation of one of the largest collections of recycled medieval parchment anywhere in the world. Throughout the Swedish realm, which at the time included most of present-day Finland, virtually all records created by the crown's cameral book-keeping were bound inside parchment leaves taken from medieval books and archived in the royal castle in Stockholm. At the time when this practice was discontinued (apparently because supplies of medieval parchment had largely been exhausted) the cameral records contained circa 39 000 booklets with recycled parchment covers. Each of them was typically bound inside a bifolium or, if the manuscript recycled as cover material was large enough, a single folio cut-off and folded. In 1802 and 1807 the Chamber Archive was hit by fire, which brought the number of units down to its present extent, that is circa 27 000 booklets.⁴

Since 1810–1812 this collection has been split in two. After Sweden lost the so-called Finnish War (1808–1809), it was forced to cede the Finnish territory to the Russian Empire. The peace treaty stipulated that all the records having to do with the administration of the former Finnish part of the realm were to be handed over to the new governing authorities. Hence the early-modern cameral records dealing with Finland were also shipped over to Turku, where they remained until 1819, when they were taken to Helsinki by a caravan of sleighs travelling over four days in reportedly rather wet winter conditions.⁵ This division of the cameral records created two separate collections of medieval parchment leaves with a uniform early modern history of recycling: one in Helsinki and one in Stockholm.

Since then, these two collections of parchment fragments have been handled and catalogued differently. In Finland, all leaves were detached from the accounts in the 1840s and 1850s and moved from the Senate Archives (now, National Archives) to the Helsinki University Library (now, the National Library). Leaves that were judged to derive from the same book were filed and stored

⁴ On the history of the collection, see Jan Brunius, 'Landskapshandlingarna i Kammararkivet: från kammarens register till databas', *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning* (2000), 7–27; Jan Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers: Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*, Riksarkivet: Stockholm 2013, 21–7; Jan Brunius, 'The Recycling of Manuscripts in Sixteenth-Century Sweden', in Åslaug Ommundsen & Tuomas Heikkilä eds., *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments. The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, Routledge: London and New York 2017, 66–81. The figures are estimates, based Brunius's articles and on-going research in the *Books of the Medieval Parish Church* project.

⁵ One additional instalment of Finnish accounts was taken from Stockholm to Helsinki in 1864. The most concise account of the formation of the Finnish collection of the so-called bailiffs' accounts (fin. *voudintilit*, swe. *fogderäkenskaper*) and their covers is: Seppo Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability: Cameral Bookkeeping in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Sweden and the Duchy of Johan (1556–1563)*, PhD thesis, University of Helsinki: Helsinki 2020, 22–8, <http://urn.fi/URN:ISBN:978-951-51-6872-6>.

together. In the University Library they were catalogued as reconstructed books in various cataloguing efforts over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.⁶ In contrast, the bulk of the Stockholm leaves remain *in situ*, still serving as covers for the cameral records in the National Archives of Sweden. Unlike the Finnish fragments, which have all been catalogued only as reconstructed books, each Swedish fragment has its own archival identifier, the so-called fragment number (e.g., Fr 1217). In addition, most of them have also been catalogued as reconstructed codices. This has taken place in two separate cataloguing efforts, and hence there are two (sometimes overlapping) series of codex identifiers for the reconstructed books in the Stockholm collection.⁷

As previous scholarship has demonstrated, the medieval provenance of the book fragments aligns with that of the cameral records to some, not yet quantified, extent.⁸ Since much of the parchment was sourced locally by the bailiffs, leaves from books kept in Finnish churches often ended up serving as covers for accounts from Finland. However, as also is well known, this was not always the case. Books and separated quires were also moved around by officials in need of binding material. It would appear that by far the most significant instance of such movement was the sourcing of books from churches and religious houses relatively close to Stockholm (and, indeed, located in Stockholm itself), which were taken to the central chamber of the Royal Castle. This was where, for most of the period, the records were annually audited and where they were bound and archived. Records arriving at the chamber without a wrapper typically received one from the books confiscated to the chamber, and these books consequently became connected to accounts from all different parts of the realm.⁹

As a result, leaves from the same medieval book are, in many cases, now divided across the Stockholm and Helsinki collections. Over the years, scholars have identified numerous books that have leaves in both collections and these observations have been recorded in various published and unpublished catalogues and articles. These connections, or at least their vast majority, are brought together in the two fragment databases: *Medeltida pergamentomslag*¹⁰ (henceforth, MPO) of the National Archives of Sweden and *Fragmenta membranea*¹¹ of the National Library of Finland. Since the Finnish database is later and its makers had access to MPO, its coverage in documenting the observed connections between the two different repositories is more complete.

⁶ Eskola 2020, 26–8. The cataloguing of the Canon and Roman law fragments is still not yet fully finished. Some other catalogues also remain unpublished and are accessible only as drafts in the National Library, but their core content is provided by the metadata of the digital collection, see <https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>.

⁷ Brunius 2013, 34–48.

⁸ On the recycling, see Brunius 2013, 24–33. This topic will be examined in some more detail below, in the part discussing the historical significance of the findings of this article.

⁹ The two modes of repurposing – local and central – can often be distinguished from one another based on the temporal and geographical pattern of the accounts; see p. 26 below.

¹⁰ <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/MPO>.

¹¹ <https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>.

The aims and methods of the present contribution

While the observations that follow are not without historical interest, it must be stated at the outset that the main goal of this article is a technical one. It will present a series of additions to the above-mentioned cross-archival reconstructions of codices between the Stockholm and Helsinki collections. Its scope is limited to one part of the collection, that is, the missals dated to or before the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This selection of material encompasses the two first chronological groupings established by the first cataloguer of the Helsinki collection, Toivo Haapanen, covering the F.m. (*Fragmenta membranea*) shelfmarks I.1–I.41.¹²

This article will not examine in detail the connections that have already been established in the catalogues and databases by earlier scholars. However, in order to facilitate the reference use of this article, these F.m. shelfmarks have been listed in an appendix (Appendix A). Lists of connected MPO fragments have not been provided there since their numbers are very large for some of the F.m. shelfmarks. However, they can easily be accessed in the *Fragmenta membranea* database metadata, to which the appendix provides links.

The new identifications were pursued in two stages. Firstly, use was made of the codicological information in the MPO database and Haapanen's catalogue of the Missals to narrow down the potential fragments for comparison.¹³ For each reconstructed book in the Helsinki collection (each F.m. shelfmark) an MPO database search was carried out with such codicological features as are available for the fragments and can be most easily quantified: the number of lines and the size of the written area.¹⁴ Then, the search results were filtered in the MPO portal by dating (including manuscripts dated as late as the thirteenth century) and book type (missal).¹⁵ This method does, admittedly, have some limitations. All data on the features used to narrow down the options are not available for all the fragments, and the conventions for recording these features display some variation, especially in the MPO database. Nevertheless, while it is probably inevitable that some fragments were missed in this process, this approach allowed creating lists of potential matches for each F.m. shelfmark, varying greatly in number (3–479). While rather elementary, a similar mapping exercise has not been, to our knowledge, attempted before.

In the second stage, the digital images of the missal fragments with same number of lines, similar written area and similar dating were compared. Attention was paid to as many different features of the execution of the book as were available for comparison: script, rubrics, decoration, musical notation, layout, ruling, and quire signatures. Later medieval additions, such as miscel-

¹² Haapanen divided the collection into four broad chronological categories: material datable to 1) '11. oder 11.-12. Jh.', 2) '12. oder 12.-13. Jh.', 3) '13. oder 13.-14. Jh.', and 4) '14. oder 14.-15 (16.) Jh.'; Toivo Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors – 1, Missalia*, University Library: Helsinki 1922, xix. It appears that categories 1–3 cover one century (plus manuscripts datable to the turn of the century), but category 4 contains everything datable to the fourteenth century or later.

¹³ Unfortunately, the *Fragmenta membranea* database itself does not contain detailed codicological descriptions.

¹⁴ Size of folio is much less reliable, since many of the fragments are mutilated. Furthermore, because of the impossibility of measuring the original folio size consistently, data on this are often not supplied in the existing catalogues. For instance, Haapanen's catalogue only gives the size of the written area.

¹⁵ The MPO database allows filtering the material by century by tagging boxes.

laneous marginalia, added quire signatures, and added lesson numbers were also examined. The palaeographical and codicological features which we consider characteristic of the reconstructed codices, and by which leaves from a particular manuscript may most readily be recognized, have been described below for each individual book.

This examination, of course, makes no claims to exhaustiveness regarding even the earliest missals in the Helsinki and Stockholm collections. This is an impossible goal for any single study when working with fragments, as has been vividly demonstrated, for instance, by the seemingly endless process of bringing together the leaves of the so-called Beauvais Missal, a book dismembered and scattered as recently as the twentieth century.¹⁶ Certainly it is also possible that some of the connections suggested here will be severed by future scholars. The study of fragments is by its nature an iterative process.

Besides its technical contribution to reconstructing fragmentary codices, this article also presents a few concluding observations on the potential historical significance of the established connections. These mostly arise from what the recycling history of the leaves suggests about their medieval provenance. The conclusions are presented after the descriptions.

The Manuscript Descriptions

The following discussions are intended to make explicit the grounds on which the connections between specific fragments have been drawn, not to replace their existing catalogue descriptions. Regarding fragments in the National Library of Finland, they were described by Toivo Haapanen in his 1922 catalogue.¹⁷ More skeletal metadata can also be found in the digitised collection.¹⁸ These are mostly based on Haapanen's catalogue, but they do also occasionally refer to other publications or judgements of individual scholars communicated to the library. For the Helsinki fragments, references both to Haapanen's catalogue and the database have been provided in footnotes in the descriptions.

With regard to the Stockholm fragments, catalogue descriptions have only been published in the MPO database.¹⁹ Some of the fragments have also been catalogued in the earlier *Catalogus codicum mutilorum* (CCM) card catalogue, which can be consulted at the National Archives of Sweden. For the most part, the information found on the CCM cards has however been included in the MPO database metadata as well.

The entries in the MPO database do not have permanent identifiers and the links pointing to specific search results are unwieldy, so we lack a convenient way to reference them. For this reason, it has not been possible to provide direct online catalogue references for the Stockholm fragments. A reader wanting to consult them will need to search for the fragments, which is easiest to do by using the individual fragment number, in the MPO database. However, images of the fragments,

¹⁶ The ongoing work can be followed at <https://brokenbooks2.omeka.net/>. See also: Lisa Fagin Davis, 'The Beauvais Missal: Otto Ege's Scattered Leaves and Digital Surrogacy', *Florilegium* 33 (2016), 143–66.

¹⁷ Haapanen's catalogue is also available digitised at <https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/handle/10024/1696>.

¹⁸ <https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/>.

¹⁹ <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/MPO>.

when they exist (only a portion of the fragments have images in MPO), do have identifiers of permanent nature. When at least one image of a fragment is available, a link to the first image has been provided in the footnotes. Furthermore, to facilitate locating the physical material in the Swedish National Archives, the full archival shelfmark of each fragment or – more accurately in most cases – of the account to which the fragment is attached, has been provided.

For making the descriptions more concise, the following abbreviations have been used of the main archival institutions:

Kansalliskirjasto (National Library of Finland): KK

Riksarkivet (National Archives of Sweden): SRA

SRA has been used as the designation of all the MPO fragments that are preserved in the main site in Marieberg. The one Stockholm fragment referred to in this article that is not housed there (Fr 26761) has been referred to by its physical location (Stockholm, Slottsarkivet). It too is included in the the SRA's archival information system (Arkis) and MPO database.

1. KK F.m. I.4 + SRA Fr 1217 + SRA Fr 27648

Missal, 8 ff. *Saec.* xii.²⁰ Written area: 26–26,5 x 17 cm. Number of lines: 35. Number of columns:

2. Order of leaves: Fr 1217 – Fr 27648 – F.m. I.4

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.4 ²¹	-	-
SRA	Fr 1217 ²²	-	Västergötlands handlingar, 1574:13:1
SRA	Fr 27648 ²³	Mi 739 ²⁴	Upplands handlingar 1567:21:3 ²⁵

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

A book copied in a German-style protogothic hand. The overall morphology of the letters is consistently the same. The similarity of handwriting is clearly discernible, e.g., in punctuation, the form of the ampersand (not only morphologically similar, but also showing similar fine variation in its manner of execution), and the common abbreviation sign taking the form of a wave. The general aspect of the scribal hand in Fr 27648 may appear somewhat different at first glance, but this seems to be the result of a different cutting of the nib and, possibly, of different preservation history affecting the colour of the ink.

Many of the rubrics were written in a hand that is slightly too large for the space reserved,

²⁰ Dated variously in previous catalogues. Haapanen gives the date as '(11.–) 12. Jh.', while in MPO database Fr 1217 is dated to '12. Jh.' and Fr 27647 to '11.–12. Jh.'. I would suggest a dating to the twelfth century, most likely to its first half.

²¹ Described in Haapanen 1922, 4–5. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0004>.

²² Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1001217>.

²³ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1027648>.

²⁴ Note that Fr 1217 and Fr 27648 are not currently connected in the MPO database. Fr 1217 is catalogued only as a single fragment, whereas Fr 27648 is connected to the codex Mi 739. The fragment numbers indicate that Fr 1217 was catalogued in the MPO-cataloguing project, whereas 27648 was catalogued in the earlier CCM project; see Brunius 2013, 42–46. The MPO project did not systematically attempt to connect newly catalogued leaves to CCM shelfmarks, and it is thus to be expected that several newly found connections, such as this one, will be established between the MPO-catalogued and CCM-catalogued parts.

²⁵ Note that there exist two archival units with the identifier 'Upplands handlingar 1567:21:3'. The other, which is physically part of a larger unit (1567:21:1–4), has the present reference code SE/RA/5121/5121.01/1567: 21 and contains accounts for Väst Silvberg, Nya gruvan, 1566. This is the original set of accounts of the *lanskapshandlingar* corresponding to Uppland, 1567:21. However, it is a different tax record from the one around which Fr 27648 is bound, even though it has an archival identifier of precisely the same format. I suspect that the reason for this is related to the fact that the record with Fr 27648 as its cover was transferred from another archival series to the *lanskapshandlingar* in 1938 (a pencil note at the bottom of f. 1 of the account reads: 'Från Slott och gårdar Örbyhus / dec. 1938 / Uppl. 1567 nr 21). The record apparently has no reference code in the current archival system (Arkis) and is not available digitally.

resulting in a cramped appearance. Identical instructions for the rubrics, at times preserved in the margin.

Red initials in the text parts, with some decorative elements, such as rondels and thin lines cutting the stroke perpendicularly placed at the narrowest parts of the strokes. Like the rubrics, the initials are often executed in a size that is large relative to the available space, contributing to the cramped appearance.

Chants have ink-drawn initials, at times with added decorative elements in red. Neumatic notation, without staves. Straight red line fillers in chant texts, often rising slightly upwards.

Chronology of recycling

Fr 27648	Uppland, 1567:21:3.
F.m. I.4, fols. 1 & 2	Inventarium till Nyslott (Savolax), 1570.
F.m. I.4, fols. 3 & 4	<i>Tyskornes utspisningar...</i> 1572 (Satakunda). Rubric unclear, but corresponds to Helsinki, National Archives of Finland, Voudintilit (Bailiffs' accounts), Satakunda, KA 145.
Fr 1217	Västergötlands handlingar, 1574:13:1.

The fact that the leaves have been used as covers for various Swedish provinces points towards recycling at the central chamber in Stockholm and a Swedish provenance of the book. At the same time, the timespan of recycling (1567–1574) is relatively long. The first use (Uppland, 1567) could be connected to the late medieval home of the book.

2. KK F.m. I.11 + SRA Fr 8540 + SRA Fr 9207 + SRA Fr 10446 + SRA Fr 26094 + SRA Fr 27838

Missal, 12 ff. *Saec.* xii. Written area: 23 x 16 cm. Number of lines: 30. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: Fr 27838, f.1 – Fr 26094, f.1 – Fr 8540, ff. 1 & 2 – Fr 26094, f. 2 – Fr 27838, f. 2 – F.m. I.11, ff. 1 & 2 – Fr 9207, f. 1 – Fr 10446, ff. 1 & 2 – Fr 9207, f. 2.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.11 ²⁶	-	-
SRA	Fr 8540 ²⁷	Mi 37, Mi 873, Codex 1311	Kaperiräkenskaper 1564:3:1.
SRA	Fr 9207 ²⁸	Mi 37, Mi 873, Codex 1311	Gärderäkenskaper 7:3, 1563.
SRA	Fr 10446 ²⁹	Mi 37, Mi 873, Codex 1311	Kyrkors, skolors och hospitals akter 6:4, 1564.
SRA	Fr 26094 ³⁰	Mi 37, Mi 873	Smålands handlingar 1563:11. Simon Jonssons räkenskap för Torforsens fiske.
SRA	Fr 27838 ³¹	Mi 37, Mi 873	Smålands handlingar 1563:13:3. Fatbursräkenskap, Borgholms gård.

Note that the reconstruction of the manuscript in the MPO database contains complications. Fragments 8540, 9207, and 10447 have all been connected to three different codex identifiers: Mi 37, Mi 873, and Codex 1311. At the same time, Fr 27838 is connected only to Mi 873 and Mi 37, and Fr 26094 only to Mi 37.³²

²⁶ Haapanen 1922, 7. Digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0011>.

²⁷ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1008540>.

²⁸ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1009207>.

²⁹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1010446>.

³⁰ Image: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1026094>.

³¹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1027838>.

³² The reason for this complicated arrangement must lie in the history of cataloguing. It would appear that during CCM cataloguing Fr 26 094 was first labelled as Mi 37. The connection between Fr 26094 and Fr 27838 was however initially missed by the cataloguer(s), and Fr 27838 was given the shelfmark Mi 873. Later on the connection was noted (but perhaps just tentatively?) and the Mi 37 identifier was added to the metadata on Fr 27838. Later still, during MPO cataloguing, the shared origin of Fr 8540, Fr 9207, and Fr 10 446 was recognized and they were labelled as Codex 1311. Yet later still, the connection between them and Mi 37 and Mi 873 was noticed, and this observation was recorded by adding these shelfmarks to the records of Fr 8540, Fr 9207, and Fr 10 446. The resulting complicated metadata situation was, however, left unresolved.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

Competent and consistent protogothic handwriting. Letter morphology is of English or Northern French type. The relatively heavy-set execution could point toward the Continent rather than England. Note the scribal habits of placing the upper component of *punctus elevatus* slightly off to the right and to extend the diagonal stem-stroke of the ampersand a little below the baseline. e-caudata is used relatively systematically. Near-contemporary corrections and additions in a different hand using a lighter shade of ink.

Simple Romanesque initials in red, pale matt green and (less often) blue. Few and simple flourishes. Zigzagging or straight reserved line (employed especially for letter **I**) is the most typical decorative motif. Pen-drawn initials in the chant texts but not elsewhere.

Roundish quadratic notation sloping to the right. Also, occasional neumatic forms (at least *liquiescent*) are in use. Notice the bar line-like separators, often curved, and executed in hairline, which are at places used to separate phrases and connect words to notes. Four-line stave, in red ink that has often faded. Only **C** and **b** clefs seen.

Chronology of recycling

F.m. I.11	Savolax, 1563. Erik Arvidssons räkenskap för Nyslott.
Fr 26094	Smålands handlingar, 1563:11. Simon Jonssons räkenskap för Torforsens fiske.
Fr 27838	Smålands handlingar 1563:13:3. Fatbursräkenskap, Borgholms gård.
Fr 9207	Gärderäkenskaper 7:3, 1563.
Fr 8540	Kaperiräkenskaper 3:1, 1564.
Fr 10446	Kyrkors, skolors och hospitals akter 6:4, 1564.

All leaves recycled within two years. Many of the accounts (Gärderäkenskaper; Kaperiräkenskaper; Kyrkors, skolors och hospitals akter) are of central nature, pointing towards Stockholm as the location where the accounts themselves were penned. The book has almost certainly been dismantled in the Stockholm chamber, and this must have been where the association of the leaves with the Savolax account has taken place. Note also the very neat handwriting, and the central placement in the bottom margin of the medieval book, of the rubric on F.m. I.11, consistent with the scribal practices of the central chamber.

3. KK F.m. I.12 + SRA Fr 967 + SRA Fr 7651 + SRA Fr 7929

Missal, 10 ff. *Saec.* xii^{2/2} or xii/xiii. Written area: 23–24 x 16,5–17 cm. Number of lines: 33. Number of columns: 2. Order of Leaves: Fr 7929 – Fr 967 – Fr 7651 – F.m. I.12.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.12 ³³	-	-
SRA	Fr 967 ³⁴	Codex 1055	Provianträkenskaper, 1568, Vadstena.
SRA	Fr 7651 ³⁵	Codex 1055	Räntekammarböcker 48:2, 1570.
SRA	Fr 7929 ³⁶	Codex 1055	Provianträkenskaper 5:12, 1569; Södertörn, landtog.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

Protogothic script employing **g** in the shape of 8, an English-style ampersand, and **a** with a very small head. The upper stroke of *punctus elevatus* punctuation takes a convex u-shape, tilted to the right. Style of script points towards Northern France or the Low Countries. England cannot be excluded, but the overall aspect, shape of **a**, execution of *punctus elevatus*, and the fact that capitals are decorated with added lines (rather than drawn by pen) tilt the scales towards the continental Channel coast region in my appreciation. There is some variation in the hue of ink, making the handwriting appear more varied at first glance than it actually is. Letter morphology is very consistent.

Initials (red, green, or more rarely, blue) have simple Romanesque shapes, with straight, wavy, or jagged reserved line decoration and small rondels as the most common decorative motifs. Some initial **I**s executed in two colours, in puzzle style.

Note the similar treatment of the letters following the initial **I** in lessons starting ‘In illo tempore’ and ‘In diebus illis’, with letter **N** written in *capitalis* with thickened and added decorative strokes, often with similar (and similarly bent) serifs, and ‘illo’ or ‘illis’ always similarly abbreviated, with an abbreviation sign cutting through **ll** and curving upwards to the right.

Instructions for rubrics visible in both margins, written either horizontally or vertically.

Rubricator often had to fit the abbreviated chant rubrics (esp. *psalmus*, *versus*, *graduale*) into small spaces left within the text, sometimes overlapping the text slightly, or sometimes had to write them in the margins.

Roundish quadratic notation written on a four-line stave (in red), and employing **C**, **b**, **D**, and **F** clefs.

³³ Described in Haapanen 1922, 7–8. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0012>.

³⁴ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1000967>.

³⁵ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1007651>.

³⁶ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1007929>.

Later medieval (possibly *saec.* xiv) foliation visible in the top margin of some leaves. This takes the shape of a letter and a Roman numeral (e.g., ‘a xlviii’ or ‘c xxii’). References employing this system added in many places to all the fragments, in the same late-medieval hand, apparently indicating where a prayer or chant referred to by incipit may be found in more complete form. This offers further corroboration for connecting the fragments, as it indicates they were consulted as a complete book in later Middle Ages.

Chronology of recycling

F.m.I.12, fols. 1 & 2	Karelen, 1562–1563. Hospitalet och sjukstugan i Viborg.
F.m.I.12, fols. 3 & 4	Karelen, 1567, Lapvesi och Taipale socknar.
Fr 967	Proviantränskaper, 1568, Vadstena (Östergötland).
Fr 7929	Proviantränskaper 5:12, 1569, Södertörn (Södermanland).
Fr 7651	Räntekammarböcker 48:2, 1570.

Mostly special accounts, and most of the recycling clearly of central character. Nevertheless, the attachment of the chronologically first account from Viborg precedes the central recycling by some years. The book could have been first dismantled in Viborg, but an exclusively central recycling history is equally possible.

4. KK F.m. I.17 + SRA Fr 5591 + SRA Fr 10132 + SRA Fr 26100 + SRA Fr 26101 + SRA Fr 26102 + SRA Fr 26103 + SRA Fr 26104

Missal, 24 ff. *Saec.* xiii. Written area: 24,5 x 17 cm. Number of lines: 30–32. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: Fr 5591 – Fr 26103 – Fr 10132 – Fr 26101 – F.m. I.17, ff. 1–2 – Fr 26100 – Fr 26104 – F.m. I.17, ff. 3–10 – Fr 26102.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.17 ³⁷	-	-
SRA	5591 ³⁸	-	Smålands handlingar 1561:10:3.
SRA	Fr 10132 ³⁹	Mi 42	Frälse- och rusttjänstlängder 3:1:17, Södermanland 1562.
SRA	Fr 26100 ⁴⁰	Mi 42	KB, b 94. ⁴¹
SRA	Fr 26101 ⁴²	Mi 42	KB, b 331. ⁴³
SRA	Fr 26102	Mi 42	S 53. ⁴⁴
SRA	Fr 26103	Mi 42	Fogdarnas restantieräkenskaper 4:12, 1560 Östergötland, Vifolka.
SRA	Fr 26104	Mi 42	Adeln och dess gods 10, Nils Bielkes räkenskaper 1602–164.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

Untidy late protogothic script, employing both round and straight-backed **d** as well as both amper-sand and crossed tironian *et*. Bow of **a** often closed. Ascenders and the top of round **d** often have added elements (hairlines, hat-like horizontal stroke, forking). No biting, apart from **pp** (e.g., combinations of round **de** and round **do** always written as two distinct letters).

Initials in deep red, bright red, green, yellow, and blue. Initials in Romanesque shapes, with relatively simple and sloppy flourishes. Larger and rather idiosyncratic multi-colour initials on Fr 26100 (7 lines high), F.m. I.17, f. 5^r (4 lines high), and F.m. I.17, f. 6^v (4 lines high).

Square notation on a four-line stave drawn in brown ink. **C**, **b**, and more rarely **F** clefs employed. Red line fillers used regularly.

³⁷ Described in Haapanen 1922, 9–10. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0017>.

³⁸ Note that, unlike other MPO fragments belonging to this manuscript, Fr 5591 has not been connected to Mi 42. Its fragment number indicates it was catalogued during MPO cataloguing.

³⁹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1010132>.

⁴⁰ Image: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1026100>.

⁴¹ A detached fragment received from Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket.

⁴² Image: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1026101>.

⁴³ A detached fragment received from Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket.

⁴⁴ A detached fragment, previously connected to 'Kristoffer Torstenssons räkenskap för löner till Älvsborg 1562'.

Medieval foliation in Roman numerals in the middle of the outer margin of the verso of each folio.

Fr 26100 has been attributed a Swedish (?Uppsala) origin, on grounds not made explicit in MPO.

Chronology of recycling

Note that several of the MPO fragments have been detached from the accounts.

F.m.I.17, fols. 4 & 5 Karelen, 1551, Viborgs stad.

F.m.I.17, fols. 9 & 10 Karelen, 1553, Viborgs stad.

F.m.I.17, fols. 7 & 8 Karelen, 1554, Viborgs stad.

F.m.I.17, fols. 3 & 6 Karelen, 1555, Viborgs stad.

F.m.I.17, fols. 1 & 2 Nyland, 1560, Borgå och Pernå socknar och Artsjö fjärding.

Fr 26103 Fogdarnas restentieräkenskaper 4:12, 1560, Vifolka (Östergötland).
The content of the account suggests that it was probably made later than 1560.

Fr 5591 Smålands handlingar 1561:10:3.

Fr 26101 A detached fragment. Recycling year 1561 according to MPO.

Fr 10132 Frälse- och rusttjänstlängder 3:1:17, Södermanland, 1562.

Fr 26102 Kristoffer Torstenssons räkenskap för löner till Älvsborg, 1562.

Fr 26104 Adeln och dess gods. Nils Bielkes Räkenskaper. Årliga ränta i Småland 1602.

Fr 26100 A detached fragment, no information on the cameral provenance.

Two clear stages to the recycling. First, used locally in Viborg (1551–1555), and then apparently in the Stockholm Chamber, from c. 1560 onwards. The book was clearly dismantled in Viborg and later taken to the central chamber. Viborg seems like the probable medieval home of the book. The Swedes established a permanent military presence there in 1293, while the book was most likely copied c. 50 (or more) years earlier. This chronology suggests the possibility that the book could have been taken to Viborg from the Swedish mainland as the Swedish crown took control of the surrounding regions at the end of the thirteenth century. The Swedish colonization of Nyland and Karelia was mostly conducted from Uppland, which is also the suggested area of origin of this manuscript.

5. KK F.m. I.21 + SRA Fr 7984

Missal, 6 leaves. *Saec.* xii^{2/2} or xii/xiii. Written area: 24,5 x 17 cm. Number of lines: 31. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: F.m. I.21, ff. 1–2 – Fr 7984 – F.m. I.21, ff. 3–4.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.21 ⁴⁵	-	-
SRA	Fr 7984 ⁴⁶	-	Provianträkenskaper 27:2; Stockholm, 1565–1567.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

A neat late protogothic hand. Letter morphology compatible with England or North of France. Both round and straight-backed forms of **d** appear. Virtually no bitings. Ampersand (English style) used frequently; tironian *et* not observed. Capital form of **R** often used in medial position. **N**-abbreviation for *enim* used. The presence of many English saints suggests English origin.

Plain Romanesque initials in red, green, and blue, sometimes with simple flourishes in contrasting colour.

Roundish square notation on a four-line stave drawn in red ink. Only **C** clef visible in the fragments.

Medieval foliation, consisting of a letter and a Roman numeral, visible in the top right corner of most recto sides. Many chants, especially those for which only incipits are given, have been supplied with references to folios in the same system, indicating where the complete and notated version of the chant is to be found. The foliation and the references are in a Gothic bookhand, probably from the thirteenth century. Possibly the same hand wrote liturgical additions in the bottom margin of F.m. I.21, f. 4.

⁴⁵ Described in Haapanen 1922, 11. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0021>.

⁴⁶ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1007984>.

Chronology of Recycling

- F.m. I.21, ff. 1 & 2 Finland, 1566. A nearly faded headline, mentioning two bailiffs, Joen Persson known to have been active in Finland in 1560–1563, and Olof Persson, active in 1567–1568. The point of connection could be Haga Gård (Åland), for which Joen Persson was responsible for part of 1560 and which was Olof Persson’s district in 1567–1568. Joen Persson had a troubled career which ended in his execution in 1564. His records may well have required later revision by another bailiff.⁴⁷
- F.m. I.21, ff. 3 & 4 1569, unknown locality in Finland. A headline which does not specify place and is thus almost certainly local. Finnish personal names in the margin. Also contains a later rubric (Karelen 1571), which shows that the cover was soon re-recycled.
- Fr 7984 Provianträkenskaper 27:2; Stockholm 1565–1567.

Unclear history of recycling. Seemingly, the first use took place in Finland, possibly in Åland, where Joen Persson and Olof Persson are known to have been active. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that the covers were sourced from the central chamber since the accounts covered by Fr 7984 most likely originate from Stockholm.

⁴⁷ Joen Persson Västgöte and Truls Persson; see Johan Axel Almquist, *Den civila förvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630, fjärde delen*, Kungl. Boktryckeriet & P. A. Norstedt et söner: Stockholm, 1922–1923, p. 103 and p. 191.

6. KK F.m. I.27 + SRA Fr 8656 + SRA Fr 9635

Missal, 6 leaves. *Saec.* xii (after 1170).⁴⁸ Written area: 25,5–26 x 16,5–17 cm. Number of lines: 30–31. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: Fr 9635 – F.m. I.27, ff. 1–2 – Fr 8656.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	I.27 ⁴⁹	-	-
SRA	Fr 8656 ⁵⁰	Codex 1379	Skeppsgårdshandlingar 34:9; Kalmar 1578.
SRA	Fr 9635 ⁵¹	Codex 1379	Strödda kamerala handlingar 106:1; Finland 1556–1558.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

Protogothic script of Continental type. **a** has a distinctly small head (if at all), **g** is straight-backed. Note the so-called dip-and-curve ampersand, appearing in many manuscripts from the Low Countries.⁵² **e**-caudata is in use.

Initials in dark red/purple, bright red, greyish blue and green, with yellow also appearing in the simple flourishes. Capital letters often highlighted in red.

Roundish square notation, with several neumatic elements still in use. The ink used for the notation is blackish and darker than that employed in the text. Four-line stave drawn in red ink. **C**, **F** and **b** clefs used.

The litany (Fr 9635) lists several Swedish saints, and the manuscript is thus highly likely to be of Swedish origin.

⁴⁸ While the script of the manuscript displays some conservative traits, such as the use of *e*-caudata, the litany mentions a St Thomas who is likely to be Thomas Becket (Fr 9635, f. 1v). This is suggested by the context. The passus where he appears reads ‘...Sancte Olaue, Sancte Thoma, Sancte Bothuuide, Sancte Eskille...’, i.e., Thomas appears in a list of relatively recent saints. Other parts of the litany contain traditional Roman saints or Biblical characters. This passus, in other words, appears to be a later (local?) addition to a list being copied from an earlier source.

⁴⁹ Described in Haapanen 1922, 15. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0027>.

⁵⁰ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1008656>.

⁵¹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1009635>.

⁵² Synnøve Midtbø Myking, *The French Connection: Norwegian Manuscript Fragments of French Origin and Their Historical Context*, PhD thesis, University of Bergen: Bergen 2017, 80–3. Link to the on-line version: <https://hdl.handle.net/1956/15566>.

Chronology of recycling

Fr 9635	Strödda kamerala handlingar 106:1, Finland 1556–1558.
F.m. I.27	Österbotten, 1558; Årliga rentan aff Salo, Pedersöre, och Karleby socknar. Lars Fordell.
Fr 8656	Skeppsgårdshandlingar, 34:9; Kalmar 1578.

Earliest use is associated with Finnish records (both made in 1558), followed by a long temporal gap before leaves became associated with records dealing with Kalmar, which could indicate (Stockholm-based) re-recycling for Fr 8656. It is a possibility that the manuscript's recycling started in Finland, possibly in Turku, where there was a separate chamber in 1557–1563.

7. KK F.m. I.34 + SRA Fr 5603 + SRA Fr 7756 + SRA Fr 27831 + SRA Fr 27834

Missal, 13 leaves. *Saec.* xii4/4 or s. xiii^m. Written area: 26–28 x 19 cm. Number of lines: 36. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: Fr 27834 – Fr 27835 – Fr 7756 – F.m. I.34 – Fr 5603 – Fr 27831.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Archival shelfmark
KK	I.34 ⁵³	-	-
SRA	Fr 5603 ⁵⁴	-	Smålands handlingar, 1561:22:2
SRA	Fr 7756 ⁵⁵	-	Varuhus och handling 20:6; Stockholm 1556.
SRA	27831 ⁵⁶	Mi 869 ⁵⁷	Smålands handlingar 1561:15:1.
SRA	Fr 27834	Mi 869	Smålands handlingar, 1561:12(:4?). ⁵⁸
SRA	Fr 27835 ⁵⁹	Mi 869	Smålands handlingar 1561:11:2

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

Relatively round late protogothic hand, not unlike some seen in the Low Countries. Both amper-sand (with the tongue arising from the right-side lobe) and un-crossed Tironian *et* in use. Round **d** dominant, but no biting of **de** or **do** visible. Head of **a** often trails close to belly.

Roundish square notation, with some neumatic elements, on a four-line stave in red ink. **c**, **f**, **h**, and **cb** clefs used.

Initials in red, blue, and green. Fairly complex pen-flourishes, making use of late-twelfth-

⁵³ Described in Haapanen 1922, 17–18. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0034>.

⁵⁴ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005603>.

⁵⁵ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1007756>.

⁵⁶ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1027831>. In MPO, the images of Fr 27831 are bundled together with those of Fr 27381, probably by human error due to the similarity of the fragment number. The MPO database entry for Fr 27381 contains no images but would seem to contain the correct metadata for this fragment.

⁵⁷ Note that the present reconstruction of Mi 869 in MPO also contains Fr 27833 (Smålands handlingar 1561:22:1, Lasse Håkansson's spannmålsräkenskap) and Fr 27835 (Smålands handlingar, 1561:11:1, Kristiern Ivarsson's räkenskap). Neither fragment has images attached to it in MPO. When the fragments are examined, it is however obvious at a glance that the covers of these accounts do not belong to the same book. They stem from two later, probably fourteenth-century, books, and their connection to Mi 869 in MPO must be a technical mistake. See fn. 59 below for the particularities of the 1561:11:1 account.

⁵⁸ In MPO, the cameral shelfmark of this account is given as 'Smålands handlingar 1561:12:1 / Lyder Perssons räkenskap', but on the protective sheets of the physical item one finds the two inscriptions '1561:12' and '4', which suggests the formulation '1561:12:4'. The account heading on this fragment is the same as in MPO, so it appears clear that both refer to the same item, even though MPO has no images for it.

⁵⁹ At present, the images of Fr 27835 are connected to the wrong set of metadata (Fr 23542, a *saec.* xiv breviary). This must result from the confusion of archival shelfmarks close to one another (Smålands handlingar 1561:11:2 for Fr 27835; Smålands handlingar 1561:11:1 for Fr 23542).

century Parisian motifs in a creative way, characteristic of the Channel area.⁶⁰

In the style of its handwriting and its initials, and also its size, the book closely resembles a missal known from the Danish and Norwegian collections, referred to as Mi 56 and studied most recently by Synnøve Midtbø Myking, who observed its similarity to F.m. I.34.⁶¹ Mi 56 may have belonged to the Danish monastery of Ringsted (Zealand), an important early Benedictine centre which held the relics of Knut Lavard and functioned as the family mausoleum of the Valdemarian dynasty. However, while the similarity between the leaves that can be connected to F.m. I.34 and the Danish/Norwegian Mi 56 is striking, it seems clear that they are by different scribes, and hence it is best to assume that they are separate books.⁶² It seems, however, possible, perhaps even likely, that the manuscripts stem from the same context of production, which might be the Ringsted scriptorium.

Chronology of recycling

Fr 7756	Varuhus och handling 20:6; 1556, Stockholm (?).
F.m.I.34, fol. 1 & 2	Tavastland, 1560. Mustila gård, Jöran van Borgs Räkenskap.
Fr 27831	Småland, 1561. 'Hans Hanssons räkenskap för fetalie partzeler på Calmarne Slott pro anno etc. 1561'. ⁶³
Fr 5603	Smålands handlingar, 1561:22:2; Lasse Håkanssons spannmålsräkenskap.
Fr 27834	Smålands handlingar, 1561:12:1; Lyder Perssons räkenskap.
Fr 27835	Smålands handlingar, 1561:11:2; Kristienn Ivarssons räkenskap.
F.m.I.34, fols. 3 & 4	Unclear rubric, from the 16th century.

First recycled for use on accounts most likely produced in Stockholm. The subsequent association with records from several provinces suggests central recycling, despite the fact that several leaves are associated with accounts from Småland. This apparent emphasis probably results largely from the fact that the fires of 1802 and 1807 destroyed the accounts of the early 1560s of many major provinces either completely (Uppland) or near-completely (Västergötland, Östergötland), whereas the Småland and Finland accounts from those years survive intact.

⁶⁰ Cf. e.g., Uppsala, Universitetsbibliothek, MS C 691, a manuscript originating at St Omer.

⁶¹ Synnøve Midtbø Myking, 'Norwegian, Danish – or French? A Scattered Missal and its Provenance', *Digital Philology*, forthcoming.

⁶² As Myking describes, Mi 56 is copied by two scribes, one of whom wrote the text and another who wrote the rubrics. That the scribal hand of this entity (i.e., F.m. I.34 + SRA frs) is neither of these is indicated, e.g., by the consistently different form of ampersand, different treatment of the round d, and different ways of handling the abbreviations of *In illo tempore* and *In diebus illis*.

⁶³ According to MPO, the archival reference is Småland 1561:15:1, but it should be noted that this account is not found amongst the *landskapshandlingar* catalogued and digitised under that shelfmark.

8. KK F.m. I.36 + SRA Fr 1023 + SRA Fr 5664 + SRA Fr 5692 + SRA Fr 5706 + SRA Fr 5761 + SRA Fr 5774 + SRA Fr 5797 + SRA Fr 7797 + SRA Fr 7887 + SRA Fr 8521 + SRA Fr 10461 + SRA Fr 11771 + SRA Fr 26760 + SRA Fr 26761

Missal, 30 leaves. *Saec.* xii. Written area: 27,5–29,5 x 17–18,5 cm. Number of lines: 40. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: Fr 5692 – Fr 5664 – Fr 5706 – F.m. I.36 – Fr 5761 – Fr 10461 – Fr 7797 – Fr 26760 – Fr 5774 – Fr 7797 – Fr 11771 – Fr 7887 – Fr 8521 – Fr 5797, f. 1 – Fr 26761 – Fr 5797, f. 2 – Fr 1023.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Cameral Shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.36 ⁶⁴	-	-
SRA	Fr 1023 ⁶⁵	Mi 280, Codex 772	Västergötlands handlingar 1566:19.
SRA	Fr 5664 ⁶⁶	Mi 280, Codex 772	Smålands handlingar 1563:17:1.
SRA	Fr 5692 ⁶⁷	Mi 280, Codex 772	Smålands handlingar 1564:2:3.
SRA	Fr 5706 ⁶⁸	Mi 280, Codex 772	Smålands handlingar 1564:16:1.
SRA	Fr 5761 ⁶⁹	Mi 280, Codex 772	Smålands handlingar 1565:22:2.
SRA	Fr 5774 ⁷⁰	Mi 280, Codex 772	Smålands handlingar 1566:6:1.
SRA	Fr 5797 ⁷¹	Mi 280, Codex 772	Smålands handlingar 1566:20A:2.
SRA	Fr 7797 ⁷²	Mi 280, Codex 772	Varuhus och handling 36:7, Stockholm 1565.
SRA	Fr 7887 ⁷³	Mi 280, Codex 772	Varuhus och handling 82:8, Kalmar 1567.
SRA	Fr 8521 ⁷⁴	Mi 280, Codex 772	Diplomaträkenskaper 1:10, 1562.
SRA	Fr 10461 ⁷⁵	Mi 280, Codex 772	Medicinalväsen 4:1, 1567.
SRA	Fr 11771	Mi 280, Codex 772	Västergötlands handlingar 1566:12A:1.

⁶⁴ Described in Haapanen 1922, 18–19. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0036>.

⁶⁵ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1001023>.

⁶⁶ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005664>.

⁶⁷ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005692>.

⁶⁸ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005706>.

⁶⁹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005761>.

⁷⁰ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005774>.

⁷¹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005797>.

⁷² Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1007797>.

⁷³ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1007887>.

⁷⁴ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1008521>.

⁷⁵ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1010461>.

SRA	Fr 26760 ⁷⁶	Mi 280	A 103. ⁷⁷ (Längder på knektar på Gullberg 1570).
Stockholm, Slottsarkivet	Fr 26761	Mi 280	Klädkammaren A:29:14, 1564 Hans Olssons räkenskap för Kalmar.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

A late protogothic script with visible breaking. Fusions and biting of round **d** with **e** occur but are not a systematic feature. **a** has a small head, **g** is straight-backed, with the upper lobe tilting to the left. Both ampersand and tironian *et* appear, but word *et* is overall only very rarely abbreviated. Rubrics by a different hand.

Roundish square notation, with some neumatic elements. Notation in brown ink darker than that of the text on a four-line stave drawn in ink. **C**, **Cb**, **F** clefs used.

Simple Romanesque initials, without any flourishes, in dark red, bright red, and blue, some with reserved line decoration. Two larger, more elaborate two-colour initials on Fr 5761, f. 1vb (Assumption of Mary).

Chronology of Recycling

Fr 8521	Diplomaträkenskaper 1:10, 1562.
Fr 5664	Smålands handlingar 1563:17:1.
Fr 5692	Smålands handlingar 1564:2:3.
Fr 5706	Smålands handlingar 1564:16:1.
Fr 26761	Klädkammaren, A:29:14, 1564. Hans Olssons räkenskap för Kalmar.
Fr 5761	Smålands handlingar 1565:22:2.
Fr 7797	Varuhus och handling 36:7 Stockholm 1565.
Fr 5774	Smålands handlingar 1566:6:1.
Fr 5797	Smålands handlingar 1566:20A:2.
Fr 1023	Västergötlands handlingar, 1566:19.
F.m.I.36, fols. 3 & 4	Österbotten, 1566. Christoffer Blomes Räkenskap för Norrland 1566.
Fr 7887	Varuhus och handling 82:8, Kalmar (Småland) 1567.
Fr 10461	Medicinalväsen 4:1, 1567.
Fr 11771	Västergötlands handlingar 1566:12 A:1.
Fr 26760	Längder på knektar på Gullberg, 1570.
F.m.I.36, fols. 1 & 2	No information on recycling.

At the point in which leaves from this book became associated with the Finnish accounts, it was clearly being used as cover material in the central chamber in Stockholm. Since the earliest connections are predominantly with Småland accounts, it is a possibility that the recycling of the manuscript could have started there. However, this apparent emphasis on Småland may also be a result of losses suffered by the accounts of other major regions (see the discussion on the fragments connected to F.m. I.34 above).

⁷⁶ Image: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1026760>.

⁷⁷ A detached fragment received from Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket.

9. KK F.m. I.38 + SRA Fr 5285

Missal, 5 leaves. *Saec.* xii. Written area: 29–30 x 18–18,5 cm. Number of lines: 33. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: F.m. I.38 – Fr 5285.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Cameral Shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.38 ⁷⁸	-	-
SRA	Fr 5285 ⁷⁹	-	Smålands handlingar 1545:14.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

Relatively heavy-set protogothic minuscule of continental appearance. **a** has a relatively small head and a triangular belly. **g** is 8-shaped. Ampersand, tilted forwards so that the normally diagonal stem stroke is near-vertical, used regularly. Tironian *et* not seen. **d** is mostly straight-backed, but occasional round form occurs as well well. No bitings or fusions of letters.

Early Gothic notation on a four-line stave drawn in red ink. **C** and **F** clefs; sometimes both are given at the beginning of a line.

Simple Romanesque initials in red, with few flourishes.

Chronology of recycling

Fr 5285 Smålands handlingar 1545:14.

FM. I.38 At least one earlier rubric (date: 1596) has been erased. At present, the rubric that is easily visible is from 1611.

Since only two covers survive, a decisive analysis of the recycling is not possible. The first (and comparatively early) use in Småland accounts and the presence of at least one earlier rubric on the leaf used as covers for Finnish accounts strongly suggests that the attachment of the cover to the Finnish accounts took place in Stockholm, probably via re-recycling of covers.

⁷⁸ Described in Haapanen 1922, 19. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0038>.

⁷⁹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1005285>.

10. KK F.m. I.41 + SRA Fr 2758

Missal, 4 leaves. *Saec.* xii^{2/2} or xiii^{1/2}. Written area: 28 x 19,5–20cm. Number of lines: 26. Number of columns: 2. Order of leaves: F.m. I.41 – Fr 2578.

Full shelfmarks

Institution	Shelfmark	MPO codex identifier(s)	Cameral Shelfmark
KK	F.m. I.41 ⁸⁰	-	-
SRA	Fr 2758 ⁸¹	-	Ångermanlands handlingar 1552:3:2.

Distinctive palaeographical and codicological features

An idiosyncratic late protogothic or early Gothic minuscule of rustic appearance, difficult to date accurately. **a** has no head, **g** is 8-shaped and the bottom loop is usually closed by a hairline. The descender of **q** tapered. Only round form of **d**, with a shaft with a hairline drawn across its top. Occasional (but rare) biting of round **d** and **e/o**; overall, the handwriting is relatively widely spaced. Simplified form of ampersand consisting of elements similar to a tilted **q** and round **r**.

Chant texts written in a smaller script, with more interlinear space, possibly meant to accommodate neumatic notation, which has not been executed.

Simple initials in red or brown ink, plain or with simple flourishes.

Note that Fr 3887⁸² and Fr 3888⁸³ are by the same scribe as this entity, and they too have been used as covers for accounts from Ångermanland, just as Fr 2758. Unlike Fr 2578, which comes from a missal, Fr 3887 and Fr 3888 are however from a breviary. Thus, it seems that there existed a set of (at least) two books copied by the same scribe, probably both used in the same church in Ångermanland.

Chronology of recycling

Fr 2758 Ångermanlands handlingar, 1552:3:2.
FM.I.41.1 Savolax, 1571; Vesulax, Pellosniemi.

Given that the recycling of this book for Ångermanland accounts precedes the recycling for the Finnish accounts by c. 20 years, and that also fragments from another book copied by the same scribe were used as covers for Ångermanland (and only Ångermanland; see above), it appears highly likely that Ångermanland was the medieval home of this missal. One may suspect that the

⁸⁰ Described in Haapanen 1922, 20. Link to the digital collection item: <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0041>.

⁸¹ Images: <https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/R1002758>.

⁸² Stockholm, SRA, Ångermanlands handlingar 1559:20B:4. MPO manuscript identifiers connected to the fragment: Codex 541.

⁸³ Stockholm, SRA, Ångermanlands handlingar, 1560:9B:5. MPO manuscript identifiers connected to the fragment: Codex 541.

Finnish cover is a re-recycled one, probably stemming from a discarded Ångermanland account. The Finnish 1571 rubric was written on erased text, at the top of the first recto of the bifolium. Looking at the Ångermanland covers coming from the same missal and the breviary by the same scribe, their cameral rubrics were clearly positioned similarly on the recycled bifolium. Thus, if there was a similar Ångermanland rubric on F.m. I.41, f. 1^r, it would now be covered by the later Finnish rubric.

Preliminary thoughts on the historical significance of the new connections

The establishing of connections between the Stockholm and Helsinki fragments is certainly not a finished exercise. However, the results of this article, especially when taken together with those connections already documented in the catalogues and databases (see Appendix A), allow for some observations of historical interest. These concern primarily the administrative recycling of the manuscripts and need to be framed by consideration of previous work on this topic.

Starting with Haapanen's pioneering work, it has been established that books were recycled as covers in two main contexts: central and local.⁸⁴ Central recycling took place in the Crown's Chamber (most commonly in Stockholm), to which the records of the bailiffs were annually brought for an audit. Many of the records received their parchment cover only at this stage, supplied from a codex (or stack of quires) that had been brought to the Chamber for this purpose. This mode of repurposing is easily identifiable, if several fragments from the same book survive, since it resulted in the same book appearing in the covers of multiple accounts from different parts of the realm in the same year or consequent years.

Other records, in contrast, were brought to the Chamber already supplied with parchment covers, typically taken from the same locality that the records concern. In such a case, the cover could have been already stitched in place but, perhaps more often, it was initially used as a portfolio inside of which the records and supporting documentation were carried.⁸⁵ A clear sign of this kind of recycling is the occurrence of leaves from the same book as covers for accounts from one locality over a longer period of time.

Regarding the recycling of the ten books examined in this article, we note that six of them certainly or most probably first became associated with the Finnish accounts in Stockholm.⁸⁶ In some of these cases, the recycling of the manuscript book may have begun locally in mainland Sweden before the book – or just some of its leaves – ended up in the Chamber in Stockholm. This appears particularly likely for the reconstructed codex no. 10 (F.m. I.41 + Fr 2758), a manuscript which seems to have been in use in Ångermanland, and which may have become associated with Finnish accounts via re-recycling of a cover from (perhaps discarded) Ångermanland accounts. However this may be, the most important general conclusion is that many twelfth-century missal leaves, now in Helsinki, originally came from books that were in use in mainland Sweden – not in the Finnish part of the realm. Indeed, if we include also those seven twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Helsinki missals to which Stockholm leaves have been connected in existing catalogues and databases, this phenomenon becomes even more prominent. While I have not analysed the seven previously inter-archivally reconstructed missals (listed in the appendix) as systematically as the newly connected ones presented in this article, it appears that all of them were associated with Finnish accounts in Stockholm. These observations suggests that the temptation to use the oldest

⁸⁴ Haapanen 1922, xxiv–xxvi; Ilkka Taitto, *Graduale Aboense 1397–1406: näköispainos käsikirjoituskatkelmasta*, SKS: Helsinki 2002, 221–6; Brunius 2013, 27–33.

⁸⁵ This idea, which has later been referred to as 'the portfolio theory', was first introduced by Toivo Haapanen; see Haapanen 1922, xxv.

⁸⁶ Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.4, F.m. I.11, F.m. I.12, F.m. I.34, F.m. I.36, F.m. I.38, and F.m. I.41.

layer of the National Library fragment material as evidence for the earliest ecclesiastical history of Finland, simply because it became attached to Finnish tax accounts, should be resisted. Effectively, they question the rationale of the approach in regard to the twelfth-century material.⁸⁷

Moreover, if we look at those missals that most probably were used in Finland, it appears likely that some of them arrived there quite some time after they were copied. This is probable, in particular, for the manuscripts linked to Karelian accounts. The recycling of entity no. 4 (KK F.m. I.17 + SRA Fr 5591...) started in Viborg (Karelia), and it stayed there for five years before parts of the book ended up in the Stockholm Chamber. Its history thus appears clearly Finnish. A Karelian provenance appears possible also for entity no. 3 (KK F.m. I.12 + SRA Fr 967), although the evidence is less conclusive. Considering the historical background, the fact that two manuscripts manufactured around, or slightly before, 1200 were available in Viborg at first seems puzzling. While we lack precise starting dates for Swedish activity in many parts of Finland, we do have reliable information for Viborg; a fortification was first established there in the 1290s as a base for Swedish military operations in Karelia. Around the same time, several parishes seem to have been established in the surrounding countryside. The most logical explanation would appear to be that priests arriving in the region circa 1300 brought with them books that were produced some fifty or hundred years earlier. These could, for instance, have been books copied for (or imported for use in) newly established churches on the Swedish mainland, now available for use in another destination because they had since been supplanted by a new generation of liturgical books.⁸⁸ Certainly, some liturgical books would have been required from the very start. The Swedish invasion of Karelia had crusade-like features and military personnel and settlers arriving there must have been accompanied by ecclesiastics from the earliest stages onwards.⁸⁹

Only two of the missals discussed in this article are potential candidates for books that could have been brought to Finland already around 1200. F.m. I.21 may have started its recycling life on the island of Åland, a region which had at least a few parish churches by the end of the twelfth century (though central recycling in Stockholm also remains a possibility). On the other hand, it seems unambiguous that F.m. I.27 was first used for covers in Turku, during the period that Duke Johan (later King Johan III of Sweden) had his own Chamber there (1556–1563). Other parts of it, then, only became associated with accounts from mainland Sweden much later, possibly via re-recycling (see above). There was evidently at least one – and probably several – modest church(es) in the Turku region at the end of the twelfth century, and the missal could thus theoretically have a

⁸⁷ While for instance Samu Niskanen, 'Lähetyskauden kirjalliset jäänteet', in Tuomas Heikkilä ed., *Kirjallinen kulttuuri keskiajan Suomessa*, SKS: Helsinki 2010), 81–6, contains a dose of healthy skepticism in this regard, the results of this article call for still more distrust.

⁸⁸ Properly local diocesan liturgies were established first in the second half of the thirteenth century, and this was probably accompanied by relatively large-scale book production, though the phenomenon remains largely unstudied.

⁸⁹ See King Birger Magnusson's description of the Swedish activities in Karelia, referring also to the founding of Viborg in 1293, in a letter sent to Lübeck in 1295: DF 217 (SDHK 1649), published in *Finlands medeltidsurkunder*, Reinhold Hausen (ed.), Finlands Statsarkiv: Helsingfors, 1910, pp. 80–81 and <http://df.narc.fi/document/217>.

Finnish provenance that need not be much later than its production date.⁹⁰

To conclude, this article highlights, firstly, the importance of detailed analysis of the recycling history of the Helsinki and Stockholm fragments. The understanding of this phenomenon provides our best, and often only, way of trying to place the books in a historical context. As regards the earliest missal fragments preserved in Helsinki, the main results of this preliminary analysis are in some sense disappointing ones: many of the books were used as binding material centrally in Stockholm and cannot be traced to Finland or, in many cases, any specific locality in Sweden either. Nevertheless, the analyses also allow us to identify some books that were most likely used in Finland and, in the case of the books recycled in Karelia, to tentatively suggest a historical context for their arrival.

From a palaeographical point of view, it is also worth pointing out that this early material does not form a coherent stylistic group. Rather, its nature is compatible with the assumption that most of the twelfth-century books used in this period of the Swedish realm (not just in the Finnish part) were imported from various parts of Western Europe (England, Germany, the Low Countries, and Northern France) or copied in Sweden by scribes who had moved in from these European areas (or, at least, who were trained by ones who had done so).⁹¹ Indeed, all of the main regions from which scribes and scribal influence are thought to have arrived are represented in the fragments examined in this article.

It should be underlined that the above conclusions, both on the recycling history and the palaeography, concern only the earliest missal fragments in Helsinki. Later books, and books representing other genres, will show us different patterns of recycling and palaeography. As we have seen, the devil is in the details.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the findings of this article advocate the importance of continuing the reconstruction work of codices amongst the Helsinki and Stockholm fragments. The approach adopted here, consisting of mechanical mass comparisons based on basic codicological data (number of lines, size of the written area), followed by visual paleographical examination of fragments representing same genre and similar dating, presents one viable model for such research. Similar examination of other parts of the Helsinki and Stockholm collections would virtually certainly bring forth other new connections.

⁹⁰ One archaeologically identified church site (Ravattula, Ristimäki) can be dated to the last quarter of the twelfth century or c. 1200. See Juha Ruohonen, 'Ristimäki in Ravattula: On the Remains of the Oldest Known Church in Finland', in Tanja Ratilainen et al. eds., *Sacred Monuments and Practices in the Baltic Sea Region: New Visits to Old Churches*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing: Newcastle upon Tyne 2017, 46–60.

⁹¹ See Brunius 2013, 49–67.

Appendix A. Early missals (shelfmarks F.m. I.1–41) of the F.m. collection of the National Library of Finland, with leaves in the National Archives of Sweden

The list gives both those shelfmarks identified previously and those presented in this article. The associations presented for the first time in this article have been set in bold. For the earlier identifications, lists of connected SRA fragments can be found in the metadata of the digital collection items, links to which have been provided in the footnotes.

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.4

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.6⁹²

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.10⁹³

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.11

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.12

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.17

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.21

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.24⁹⁴

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.27

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.30⁹⁵

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.31⁹⁶

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.32⁹⁷

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.33⁹⁸

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.34

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.36

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.38

Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m. I.41

⁹² <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0006>.

⁹³ <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0010>.

⁹⁴ <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0024>.

⁹⁵ <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0030>.

⁹⁶ <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0031>.

⁹⁷ <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0032>.

⁹⁸ <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fd2011-fra0033>.