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Articles

Research Notes

The Provenance of the Swedish-Finnish Manuscript Fragment Collection:

A Case Study of Early Modern Parchment Reuse

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Abstract: A significant portion of the books of medieval Sweden survive as fragments. This is due to the early modern practice of reusing their leaves as soft covers for tax accounts, resulting in ca. 30,000 fragments from over 10,000 parchment books preserved today. The process of reuse left discernible traces on the fragments and has long been considered key to solving the issue of their medieval provenance, which underpins most research that utilises them. Uncovering their provenance would clarify the books' historical context and significantly increase the fragments' value as historical sources. This article analyses the provenance of approximately one hundred manuscripts through their reuse, expanding the evidentiary base to include not only the fragments themselves, but also the tax books they covered, and the officials responsible for the process. The results suggest that the long-standing puzzle of the fragments' provenance may, in fact, be solvable.

Keywords: administrative fragment reuse, provenance, medieval Sweden, sixteenth century

The largest surviving body of written material from medieval Sweden consists of parchment leaves from books repurposed as soft covers for tax records in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Now divided primarily between the Swedish National Archives and the Finnish National Library, this collection comprises over 30,000 individual parchment fragments—or approximately 54,000 leaves—from manuscripts and early printed books dating from the eleventh century to the Reformation.[1] Originating from across

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medieval Sweden, the collection offers a unique glimpse into the book culture of a realm on the threshold of the Reformation, serving as a material record of Christianisation and medieval Christian life. It is remarkable not only for its scale but also for its composition: the fragments come predominantly from liturgical books of parish churches—material that survives poorly across much of medieval Christendom.[2]

The fragments have been studied for nearly 200 years, the collection enabling scholarship across a range of topics.[3] Yet almost

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1 Most of these fragments are catalogued in the *Medeltida pergamentomslag* (MPO) (https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo) and the *Fragmenta membranea* (FM) (https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/) databases.

2 See J. Tahkokallio, "Lots of Fragments from Sweden: A Representative Sampling of the Manuscript Books of One Medieval Realm?", *Digital Philology* 14:1 (2025), 107–26.

3 The oldest publications date to the 1840s and 1850s. For an overview of literature and collection history, see Å. Ommundsen and T. Heikkilä (eds.), *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments: The Destruction and Reconstruction of Medieval Books*, Abingdon 2017, and J. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers. Medieval Book Fragments in the Swedish National Archives*, Stockholm 2013. The following non-comprehensive list highlights a variety of themes studied with the help of the fragments over the past two decades: S. Supponen, *Alphabetum distinccionum of Master Mathias of Linköping: its composition, use and literary context*, Helsinki 2023; J. Tahkokallio, "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", *Mirator* 23:1 (2023), 1–29; S. Raninen, "Make Do and Mend: Reworking Liturgical Parchment Manuscripts in Post-Reformation Sweden", in *Disiecta Membra Musicae. Studies in Musical Fragmentology*, ed. G. Varelli, Berlin 2020, 185–204; J. Keskiaho, "En grupp handskrifter från Nådendal? Nya rön", in *Nådendal – Vallis Gratiae. Finlands Birgittakloster*, ed. C. Cederbom, O. Ferm, and S. Nyström, Stockholm 2019, 51–67; J. Hannikainen and E. Tuppurainen, "Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-Singing in Reformation-Era Finland", in *Re-Forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North*, ed. T.M.S. Lehtonen and L. Kaljundi, Amsterdam 2016, 157–178; G. Björkvall, *Liturgical Sequences in Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Swedish National Archives: Repertorial Investigation, Inventory, and Reconstruction of Sources*, Stockholm 2015; V. Walta, *Libraries, Manuscripts and Book Culture in Vadstena Abbey*, Helsinki 2014; A. Wolodarski, "Klemming och jakten på de försvunna inkunablerna", in

all research on the fragments is, to some degree, underpinned by an unresolved question: their provenance. The fragments originate from over 10,000 books, each typically surviving as only a few leaves, and—with a handful of exceptions—their medieval places of use remain unidentified. The potential benefits of localising them are clear: each fragmentary book would gain historical context, enhancing its value as a source and offering insight into themes such as parish development, church construction, liturgical life, and the spread of literary culture. Annotations have allowed a small number of books to be linked to specific churches, while liturgical evidence has offered broader indications of diocesan affiliation.[4] However, it has long been apparent that tracing the provenance of most books must rely on the evidence left by the early modern process of reuse. Some progress has been made, and there is now broad consensus on the general outlines of the phenomenon. Given the potential gains, every effort should be made to meet the challenge of localising the manuscripts.[5]

In this article, I address this problem by analysing the provenance of over one hundred manuscripts, all reused within the same administrative context: the Duchy of Johan Vasa (later King Johan III), second-eldest son of Gustav I (1523–1560). The duchy, which existed in south-western Finland from 1556 to 1563, provides a setting limited in scope but rich in evidence, enabling a comprehensive

Fragment ur arkiven. Festskrift till Jan Brunius, ed. M. Lennersand, Å. Karlsson, and H. Klackenberg, Stockholm 2013, 191–210; T. Heikkilä, "I ett medeltida scriptorium i Åbo", *Historisk Tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 253–284; J. Tahkokallio, "Handskrifter från ett scriptorium i Åbo från mitten av 1400-talet?", *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 285–317; J. Brunius, *Atque Olavi: Nordiska helgon i medeltida mässböcker*, Stockholm 2008; M. Gullick, "Preliminary observations on Romanesque manuscript fragments of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)", in *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden*, ed. J. Brunius, Stockholm 2005, 31–82.

4 On the annotations, see, e.g., Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 100–108; on the liturgical evidence, e.g., T. Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsingfors: I: Missalia*, Helsingfors 1922, XXVIIff.

5 Some scholars have doubted the feasibility of this goal (see, e.g., Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 32), while informal discussions often reveal equal measures of optimism and pessimism.

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examination of manuscript reuse. I expand the evidentiary basis to include not only the fragments themselves, but also the bookkeeping records they once covered and the officials involved in their production. This makes it possible to move from the analysis of individual manuscripts to groups of books linked through the actions of identifiable agents. As I will show, the surviving evidence is consistent enough to allow, with reasonable confidence, the assignment of a likely medieval provenance—often within a cluster of a few parishes or administrative districts—to over 90% of the manuscripts studied. While the findings may not be universally applicable, they provide a valuable reference point for the collection as a whole, and suggest that the long-standing puzzle of fragment provenance may, in fact, be solvable.

The conditions for studying the provenance of the fragments have improved markedly in recent decades. A century of cataloguing work has reached near-completion in both Sweden and Finland,[6] and online databases have made both metadata and digital images widely accessible, though work remains to be done in this area.[7] The archival history of the fragments following their reuse has also been clarified, allowing for, e.g., a better assessment of how fires have affected the representativeness of the material and a clearer understanding of the structure of the archival collections.[8] In addition, the

6 The Swedish fragments were catalogued first by the *Catalogus Codicum Mutilorum* (CCM) project from the 1930s onwards, with the work then continued by the *Medeltida pergamentomslag* project (1995–2003). The Finnish fragments have been catalogued in stages since the 1910s. The results of these efforts have, for the most part, been incorporated into the online databases on the fragments. For a brief history of the cataloguing see, e.g., S. Eskola and J. Tahkokallio, "How many fragments? The original extent, nineteenth-century losses, and present size of the Swedish-Finnish medieval book fragment collections", *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 114 (2024), 13–48, at 36–37.

7 The Finnish fragments have been digitised almost completely, while many of the Swedish ones still lack images.

8 Approximately a quarter of the fragments have been lost in fires, though the Finnish ones survive near-completely. On this and the history of the archival collections more generally, see Eskola and Tahkokallio, "How Many Fragments"; J. Brunius, "Landskapshandlingarna i Kammararkivet: från kammarens register till databas", in *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning*, 2000:1, 7–27; H. Wichman, "Branden i Kammararkivet 1807", *Arkiv, samhälle och forskning*

study of the bookkeeping records—long underutilised in fragment research—has progressed in ways that directly benefit provenance analysis.[9] Research focused specifically on the question of provenance—to be discussed in the next section—has likewise advanced. The improved conditions, however, have not yet been exploited to take steps in determining the provenance of the fragments.[10]

1991:2, 33–46; and M. Kerkkonen, *Suomen arkistolaitos Haminan rauhasta maan itsenäistymiseen*, Helsinki 1988.

9 See especially S. Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability: Cameral Bookkeeping in Mid-Sixteenth-Century Sweden and the Duchy of Johan (1556–1563)*, Helsinki 2020, and S. Eskola, *Catalogue of the Bailiffs' Records of Nyland (1540–1634)*, Helsinki 2023.

10 The question of the fragments' provenance has a long historiography, appearing already in the earliest studies on the fragments, though only in a limited way. See, e.g., E. Grönblad, "Tvenne medeltidshandlingar", *Suomi, Tidskrift i fosterländska ämnen* 6 (1846), 202–260; and E.J.W. Brunér, "Notiser om typografiska sällsyntheter och medeltids-handskrifter på universitets-bibliotheket i Helsingfors", *Öfversigt af Finska vetenskaps-societetens förhandlingar* VII (1865), 159–172. The first substantial debate on parchment reuse took place in the 1910s. In 1914, Isak Collijn showed that fragments could become associated with accounts already at the local administration or later at the central chamber. In contrast, Vilhelm Gödel argued that most were added in the seventeenth century, after archiving, but his view was criticised and Collijn's accepted. See I. Collijn, *Redogörelse för på uppdrag af Kungl. Maj:t i Kammararkivet och Riksarkivet verkställd undersökning angående äldre arkivalieomslag*, Stockholm 1914, 17–27; V. Gödel, *Sveriges medeltidslitteratur. Proveniens. Tiden före antikvitetskollegiet*, Stockholm 1916, 134–148; I. Collijn, "Vilhelm Gödel, Sveriges Medeltidslitteratur. Proveniens. Tiden före antikvitetskollegiet", *Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen* IV (1917), 353–62; J.A. Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630: med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen*, I, Stockholm 1917, 122–123, n. 1; V. Gödel, *Svar till Isak Collijn med anledning av hans anmälan av Vilhelm Gödel: Sveriges medeltidslitteratur*, Stockholm 1918; Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, XXI ff. As with these studies, most comments and analysis of fragment reuse is still to be found in introductions and footnotes rather than as the main topic of a study. The few articles that appear to focus solely or mostly on the reuse of the fragments in the Swedish-Finnish collection are J. Brunius, "The recycling of manuscripts in sixteenth-century Sweden", in *Nordic Latin Manuscript Fragments*, 66–81; S. Eskola, "Tracking manuscript fragments in sixteenth century Finland", in *Fragment ur arkiven*, 220–31; J. Brunius, "De medeltida bokfragmenten och deras proveniens", in *Ny väg till medeltidsbreven. Från ett medeltidssymposium i Svenska Riksarkivet 26–28 november 1999*, Stockholm 2002, 390–403; and J. Brunius, "Kammaren, fogdarna och de medeltida böckerna. Studier

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This article proceeds as follows. First, I review what has previously been said of the provenance of the fragments and the early modern administrative reuse of manuscripts. Second, I analyse the reuse of parchment fragments in the Duchy of Johan, and third, I identify the likely medieval provenance of the manuscripts. In the conclusion, I discuss the broader significance of these findings for the fragment collections and suggest steps to establish provenance on a wider scale. The data used in the analysis is available in an online repository, along with analyses of each manuscript discussed.[11] I use the term *fragment* to refer to physically distinct pieces of parchment originating from medieval books (in most cases bifolia or large single folios), while *manuscript* refers to handwritten books, regardless of the—here typically highly fragmentary—state that they survive in today. All manuscripts discussed belong to the *Fragmenta membranea* (FM) collection of the National Library of Finland, with the exception of two that consist of leaves from the *Medeltida pergamentomslag* (MPO) database of the Swedish National Archives. In several cases, however, FM manuscripts contain supplemental leaves from the MPO or, indeed, from other Helsinki shelfmarks. Manuscripts are cited principally by their main Helsinki shelfmark; for additional leaves, please consult the dataset.[12] As for place names,

kring pergamentomslagen i Riksarkivet", in *…Och fram träder landsbygdens människor… Studier i Nordisk och Småländsk historia tillägnade Lars-Olof Larsson på 60-årsdagen den 15 november 1994*, Växjö 1994, 390–403.

11 For the data, see S. Eskola, *The-Reuse-of-Fragments-in-the-Duchy-of-Johan* [Dataset], 2025. Zenodo: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17511273. This dataset is the source for the tables and Maps 2–4 in this article. This article has been prepared within the framework of the *Books of the medieval parish church* (BOMPAC) project, hosted by the National Library of Finland, and draws on the metadata produced therein. For this metadata, see S. Eskola, J. Tahkokallio, and H. Kaasik, Stockholm-Helsinki-Frs-Combined-BOMPAC [Dataset], 2025. Zenodo: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.17511106x. See also the introduction in this issue, "Fragments Combined", pp. 233–240. I wish to thank my colleagues and acknowledge the collaborative effort involved in compiling the project's metadata on the Swedish–Finnish fragments, with several scholars and research assistants taking part over several years. The identification of the corpus studied in this article would not have been possible without the project's broader dataset.

12 Shelfmarks of the form *F.m.temp.x* refer to the uncatalogued portion of the *Fragmenta membranea* collection (the "DIG" shelfmarks). These 319 shelfmarks

Finnish provinces are referred to by their English names where these are established (e.g. *Finland Proper*, *Åland*), and otherwise by their Finnish names (e.g. *Satakunta*, *Raasepori*).

Current understanding of administrative parchment reuse

The large-scale administrative reuse of parchment in Sweden took place—with minor exceptions—between c. 1540 and 1630. The fiscal administrative system behind the reuse is well known. As part of his efforts to strengthen the Crown, Gustav I reformed the tax system at the end of the 1530s, creating a system where the country's over twenty provinces were divided into administrative districts known in English as bailiwicks (Swe. *fögderi*) which were led by bailiffs (*fogdar*) directly accountable to the king. In the following decades the number of such districts quickly grew from a few dozen to over two hundred. The central administration was formed around the chamber (*kammaren*), serving as a treasury and—importantly for parchment reuse—being responsible for auditing the accounts of local officials. When Gustav later founded duchies for his sons, they retained the local administrative structures while supplementing them with their own regional chambers.[13]

The parchment fragments used to cover early modern Swedish tax records are estimated to originate from over 10,000 medieval books.[14] With a few exceptions—such as certain Slavonic manu-

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have been provisionally organised into approximately 250 manuscript reconstructions within the BOMPAC project by Jaakko Tahkokallio. Exact references for all fragments associated with these provisional shelfmarks are provided in the dataset (see previous footnote).

13 A detailed description of the local administration can be found in J.A. Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630: med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen*, vol. 1–4, Stockholm 1917–1923. See also M. Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket: lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid*, Stockholm 2001.

14 For the most recent estimates, see S. Eskola and J. Tahkokallio, *How-Many-Fragments* [Dataset], 2024. Zenodo: https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.13879587. At present, the metadata identifies more than 12,000 distinct books, though this number will almost certainly need to be revised downward

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scripts acquired through Sweden's Baltic conquests and conflicts with Russia—there is every reason to believe that these books were present in Sweden at the onset of the Reformation.[15] They constitute a broad, if uneven, sample of medieval books: most of the fragments, approximately three in four, come from liturgical manuscripts, while the remainder primarily derive from works of higher learning, particularly theology and law. Given the predominance of liturgical material, most fragments inevitably originate from the numerous churches and ecclesiastical institutions within the Swedish realm, especially parish churches. By the end of the medieval period, there were approximately 1,700 parish churches in Sweden, each of which would have held several liturgical volumes, a significant portion of which are now represented among the surviving fragments.[16] The remainder of the books likely stemmed chiefly from the libraries and collections of the seven cathedrals and roughly fifty convents and monasteries of medieval Sweden.

Despite the vast scale of administrative parchment reuse, narrative sources remain remarkably silent on the practice, offering only anecdotal evidence. The few known mentions include the king's men confiscating "innumerable books" from the library of Vadstena Abbey in 1543; further volumes taken to the bailiff of Vadstena castle (and ending up as covers for the town's accounts) at the eventual closing of the Abbey in 1595; Duke Karl requesting parchment books for binding purposes from Strängnäs Cathedral in 1590; and a deputy bailiff (*underfogde*) cutting leaves from a parchment book in

as codex reconstruction advances. These figures refer solely to manuscripts; the number of early printed books represented among the fragments has not yet been established, but is perhaps in the range of one to two thousand.

15 On refuting the sometimes-voiced theory (mostly in seminar settings) that the books were imported to Sweden in the sixteenth century for the very purpose of reusing their parchment, see Tahkokallio, "Lots of Fragments", 110.

16 For estimates on the number of books in medieval Scandinavian churches, typically estimated between three and ten, see (for Sweden) Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 40, and C.-A. Moberg, *Die Liturgischen Hymnen in Schweden*, Band I, Uppsala 1947, 46; (for Finland) J. Keskiaho, "Bortom fragmenten: handskriftsproduktion och boklig kultur i det medeltida Åbo stift", *Historisk tidskrift för Finland* 93 (2008), 209–52, at 212ff., and (for Norway) Å. Ommundsen, *Books, Scribes and Sequences in Medieval Norway*, Bergen 2007, 68ff.

Östergötland.[17] Such morsels of information tell us that the central administration acquired complete volumes for its use, while local authorities could (at least partly) address their needs by sourcing individual leaves. Concerning manuscript provenance, they serve to verify the self-evident existence of administrative parchment reuse, but not much more. Their very scarcity indicates, however, that the process was so mundane as to not merit systematic written documentation.

Given the dearth of narrative sources, manuscript provenance must primarily be approached through other means. Based on a handful of fragments bearing medieval annotations that securely link them to specific churches, it is evident that a book's medieval provenance often correlates with the region discussed in the accounts that its leaves were used to bind. Drawing on previous research, twenty-five such fragments—with both annotations and account information suitable for comparison—can be identified.[18] In twenty cases, the fragments were used to cover booklets from the same province that the leaves originated from. As these fragments effectively represent a random sample of the broader collection, the fact that four in five show a correlation between the fragments' medieval provenance and the geographical focus of the associated accounts strongly suggests that parchment for covers was commonly acquired locally and that bookkeeping data can in many cases be used to identify a manuscript's medieval provenance.

Evidence pointing to a similar conclusion—but on a much broader scale—is offered by manuscripts or printed books that represent the liturgical tradition of a specific diocese. Consider, for instance, two printed missals: *Missale Upsalense novum* (printed 1513) and *Missale Aboense* (for the Diocese of Turku, 1488). The data for the first are incomplete, as many—perhaps most—of its leaves have been removed from the booklets they once covered and are not included in the MPO database. Even so, the available evidence is suggestive: 67% of the fragments from *Missale Upsalense novum*

17 Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 24–27, and A. Sandberg, *Linköpings stifts kyrkoarkivalier till och med år 1800*, Lund 1948, 54.

18 Of the 25 fragments, 23 are listed in Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 100–108, and two in Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, XXXIV–XXXV.

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cover accounts from the diocese of Uppsala. The data for *Missale Aboense* is much more complete, showing that as many as 97% of its leaves were used to cover records from Finland.[19] Again, this clearly indicates that parchment for accounts was often sourced locally or by regional administrative bodies and that there is a significant correlation between the medieval and 'bookkeeping' provenances of fragments.[20]

As informative as these observations are, they offer only general (liturgical use) or limited (annotations) evidence. To deepen our understanding of the medieval provenance of the manuscripts, the bookkeeping process and the traces it left must be considered. In brief, bookkeeping took place in two phases: first, in the bailiwicks,

19 The exact figures are 205 of 306 fragments with the necessary account metadata for the *Missale Upsalense novum* and 658 of 676 for the *Missale Aboense*. These figures are derived from the MPO metadata and a survey of early printed fragments in the National Library of Finland (Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Rv.dupl./Rv.kk/H.ink) as well as the bound *Missale Aboense* manuscripts (constructed from fragment leaves) in the Jyväskylä University Library (*Jyväskylän yliopiston kirjasto*) and the National Library in Stockholm (*Kungliga biblioteket*). The lower figure for the Uppsala Diocese is likely explained by its proximity to the Stockholm-based central administration, causing its fragments to be associated with accounts from across the realm. The same diocesan bias can be seen in manuscripts from various Swedish dioceses; see Brunius, "*The Recycling of Manuscripts*", 76.

20 Another securely localised group are the Russian and Baltic manuscripts, often in Church Slavonic, which typically cover Baltic accounts (the area was ruled by Sweden to varying degrees from the 1560s onwards), offering further evidence of local sourcing of parchment. See Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 68–73. The prominence of *Missale Aboense* leaves in the Helsinki collection was noted already in the nineteenth century by Jaakko Gummerus prompting him to suggest that most leaves in the collection are of Finnish medieval provenance. J. Gummerus, "Jäännöksiä keskiajan saarnakirjallisuudesta Suomessa", *Teologisk tidskrift – Teolooginen aikakauskirja* (1896), 204–218 and 277–296, at 205–206. Isak Collijn likewise observed that printed liturgical books were generally reused within their dioceses (Collijn, "Vilhelm Gödel, Sveriges Medeltidslitteratur", 360). Biases can also be seen in some archival series: for instance, Brunius notes the prevalence of theological and legal fragments in records that are known to have been bound in Stockholm—such as records for the Stockholm toll or those of the royal court. This very likely reflects the availability of books from monastic libraries and mendicant houses in Stockholm after the Reformation. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 31–32.

with various registers, cadastres, and concept accounts formulated and updated as necessary throughout the year, and second, at the chamber, where bailiffs and their scribes submitted their records for annual audit. At the chamber, the locally prepared records were supplemented with finalised fair copies of accounts, with some of the local records preserved and others discarded as redundant. Parchment covers could be introduced to the process at either phase, and differentiating between these two contexts is key to tracing the provenance of the reused parchment fragments.

The most effective method for understanding how a manuscript was reused has been the comparative analysis of leaves from the same book. Scholars observed early on—before the principle was clearly formulated—that when leaves from one manuscript appear as covers for accounts from different parts of the country, often within just a few years, this strongly suggests central reuse. Conversely, leaves linked to records from a single area over a longer period have been seen as evidence of local reuse.[21] Although this method of identifying 'patterns' that reflect the functioning of the local and central administrations is sound, it has mostly been used illustratively rather than to determine provenance on a larger scale.[22] It also has its limitations: covers were sometimes reassigned during the auditing process—obscuring their original association with a particular account—while any mistakes in the reconstruction of a manuscript can also lead to mistaken analyses.[23] Moreover, the reliability of the evidence has traditionally been linked to the number of surviving leaves—the more that survive, the stronger the con-

21 Studies employing or referencing such deduction are, e.g., Eskola, "Tracking Manuscript Fragments"; Brunius, "De medeltida bokfragmenten", 396; T. Schmid, "Undersökningen av medeltida Svenska bokfragment", *Scandia* 6 (1933), 103–115, at 106; Gummerus, "*J*äännöksiä keskiajan saarnakirjallisuudesta", 205–206; Brunér, "Notiser", 171. The list is not exhaustive but is intended to illustrate the long historiographical arc.

22 An exception is Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 33, which cites over three hundred manuscripts he considers locally reused. He does not, however, attempt to establish their provenance beyond the provincial level.

23 Some reconstructions in the Swedish–Finnish collection almost certainly require dismantling, though the extent of this problem appears limited. Conversely, many reconstructions will likely need to be expanded as further leaves are identified.

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clusions drawn. Jan Brunius has suggested that at least four or five covers are required to identify any meaningful pattern.[24] As will be demonstrated in the next section, however, even smaller numbers of leaves, when combined with other forms of evidence, can yield credible results, significantly expanding the range of manuscripts to which this method can be applied.

Another approach has focused on bookkeeping markings, mainly account headlines, written on the parchment fragments and used them to determine the context the fragments were reused in. This evidence can be fruitful: it has been pointed out, first, that different kinds of bookkeeping records were written in different contexts. For instance, week-by-week salary registers were inevitably written on-site, while fair copies were written during audit.[25] Second, it has been shown that the composition of the headlines reflects the different priorities of scribes in local and central administrations. Local scribes aimed simply to keep their own documents in order, while chamber scribes worked to stay on top of records from several bailiffs, requiring much more exact information on the account headlines. Therefore, vaguely defined headlines, which, e.g., do not name a bailiff or define the time and place the account concerns, have been taken to suggest local bookkeeping and parchment reuse. While certainly useful, the application of these methods has been scant and left too much uncertainty to reliably determine manuscript provenance. Considering the evidence of the bookkeeping records themselves—not simply the cover headlines—would give weight to this approach.[26]

24 Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 32.

25 On the production of bookkeeping records, see Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability*, and Brunius, "Kammaren, fogdarna och de medeltida böckerna", 117–118; on headlines indicating local reuse, see Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, XXIV–XXV; on identifying local and central scribal hands in the fragments and accounts (rarely discussed), see L. Sjödin, "Några skriftstudier i Kammararkivets landskapshandlingar", in *Donum Boëthianum. Arkivvetenskapliga Bidrag Tillägnade Bertil Boëthius 31.1.1950*, ed. O. Jägerskiöld and Å. Kromnow, Stockholm 1950, 387–407, at 395ff.

26 Analysis of the accounts and bookkeeping system allows the writing context of virtually all records to be established. See Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability*, esp. 65ff.

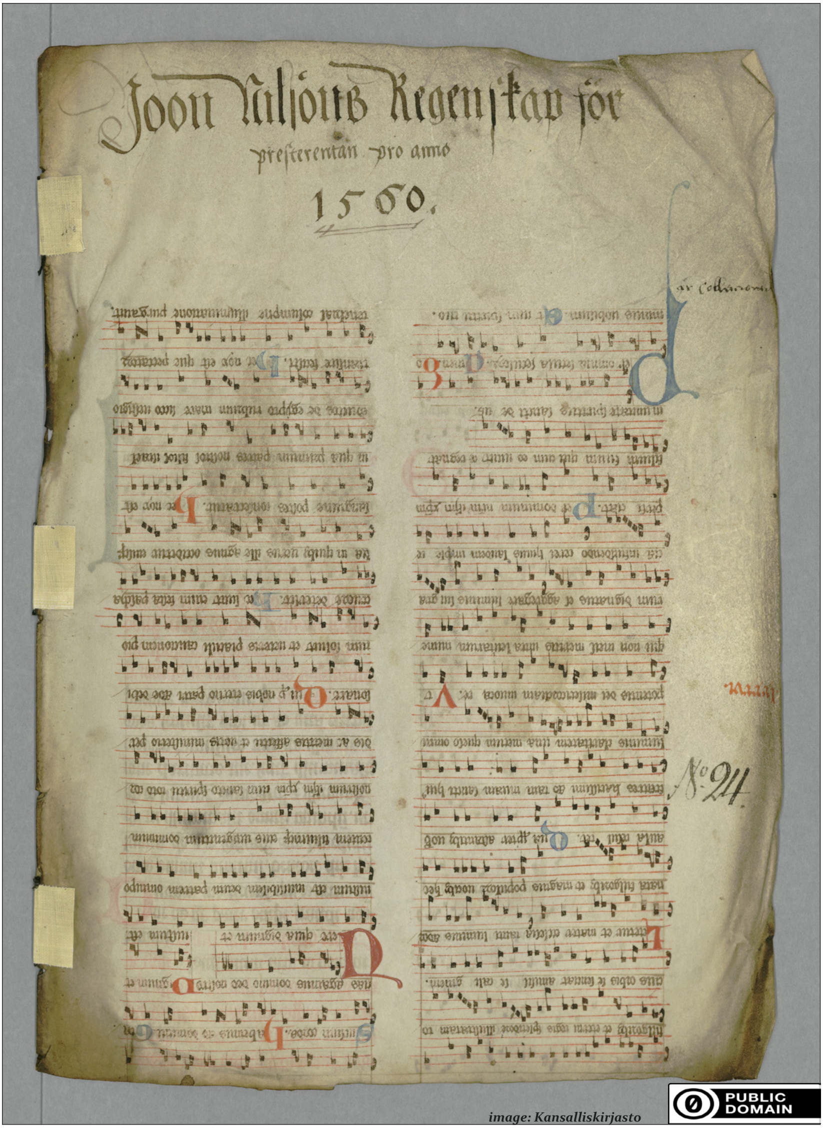

Figure 1: An account cover made from a reused bifolium Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Fragmenta membranea, MS F.m.I.55, ff. 32–33 (image f. 33v); missal saec. XIII$^{2/2}$ – XIV$^{1/2}$. The bifolium has been turned upside down to use the space of the larger lower margin for the account headline which reads: "Joon Nilsons Regenskap för presterentan pro anno 1560" [*Jon Nilsson's account of the 'priest rent' pro anno 1560*].

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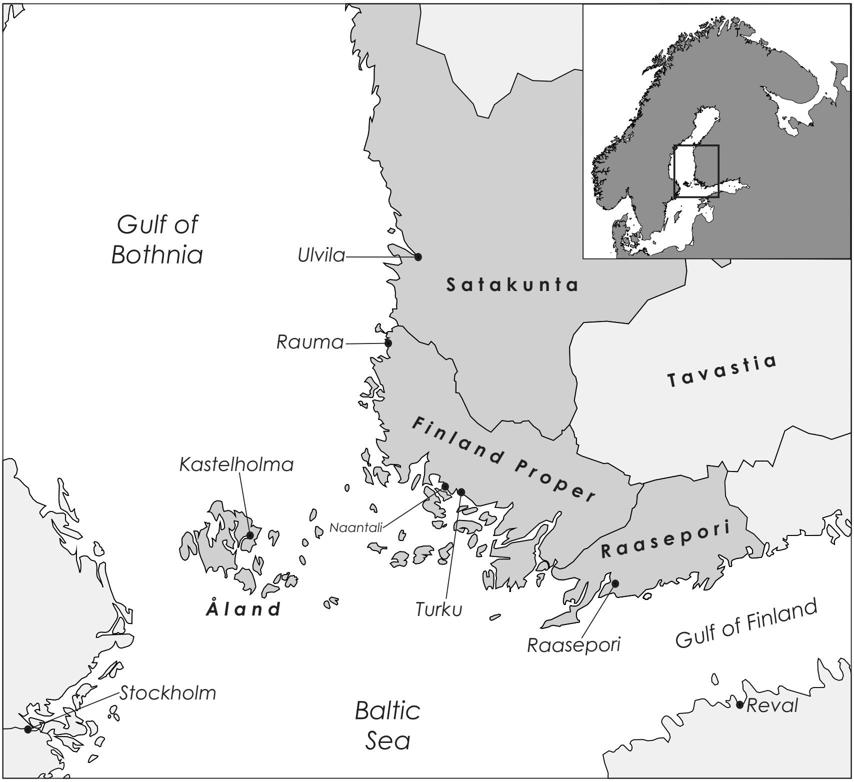
Taken together, previous research suggests that there is enough evidence to trace manuscript provenance: it only needs to be analysed comprehensively, and the methods developed further. As it stands, the reuse of books surviving as many fragments—i.e., with lots of evidence—can often be understood quite well. When, on the other hand, only one or two fragments survive, research has effectively ended in a cul-de-sac. It is important to keep in mind that, across the entire corpus, some 8,000 fragments survive as singletons, each representing a separate book. While these account for less than a third of the total number of fragments, they represent as much as three-quarters of all books. Therefore, to address the provenance of most books in the corpus, all evidence must be considered and new methods for analysing the traces of the process of parchment reuse introduced.

Manuscript reuse in the Duchy of Johan

The Duchy of Johan (1556–1563) comprised the provinces of Finland Proper, Satakunta, Åland, and Raasepori (from 1557), with an administrative centre in the cathedral city of Turku. To determine the provenance of manuscripts reused by the duchy's officials, three steps are required: first, identifying the relevant codices; second, establishing the administrative context in which each book was reused; and third, considering further evidence to determine the provenance of each book. A review of the Finnish fragment collection has identified 1,115 parchment covers from 115 manuscripts reused in the duchy, as well as one incunable (*Missale Aboense*, 1488) with twenty covers.[27] To enable the ensuing analysis, the year

27 This includes all manuscripts with covers originating from the duchy's accounts between 1556 and 1562, as well as those deemed to have been reused locally for accounts of 1563. The duchy was dissolved mid-fiscal year in 1563, and any central reuse of covers thereafter would have taken place in Stockholm. Under the terms of the peace treaty concluding the war of 1808–1809, Sweden was required to transfer all Finnish accounts to Finland. In principle, therefore, all of the Duchy's accounts and their parchment covers should now be in Helsinki. Some, however, remain in Stockholm, and two manuscripts with leaves only in the MPO were also identified. Concerning the incunable, although *works* such as the *Missale* and *Manuale Aboense* have been



Map 1: The Duchy of Johan, 1556–1563

of reuse, the associated bailiwick, and the bailiff responsible have been established for each cover. The fragments in the Finnish collection were detached from their accounts in the nineteenth century, and, whenever possible, the connections between fragments and accounts have also been re-established.[28] Based on two recent

reconstructed from Finnish fragments of early prints, no specific copies have previously been identified. The copy discussed here was identified through a survey of *Missale Aboense* fragments, based on account markings. Of the 777 covers examined, only twenty-nine were reused before 1560. Of these, twenty were employed for accounts from Satakunta between 1550 and 1557, while the remainder show no discernible pattern. Such a strong geographical concentration strongly suggests that the fragments derive from a single copy.

28 The separation took place in the mid-nineteenth century when the accounts were first being catalogued. Today, the accounts are preserved in the National

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catalogues, the accounts themselves have then been categorised as locally or centrally produced.[29]

Let us first consider the reuse of manuscripts in the central administration in Turku. The survey of the Helsinki fragment collection allowed for the identification of several books that can confidently be determined as having been used by the central administration. These determinations have primarily relied on identifying what may be called 'patterns of reuse'—discussed above—which have been supplemented by other methods as needed. To reiterate, a central pattern of reuse is one where leaves from one manuscript have been used to cover accounts from several separate areas in quick succession. Such a pattern logically arises from chamber scribes auditing accounts arriving yearly from different provinces. Consider, for instance, MS F.m.I.55, a missal dated to the second half of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century, which survives as thirty-seven covers used to bind accounts from all four provinces of Johan's duchy (and nowhere else) over a period of just two years (1559–1560), or MS F.m.v.TH.AA.87, a mid-fourteenth-century exegetical work by Franciscus de Abbati, which survives as twenty-six covers and was used for four years (1556–1559), also to bind records from every province of the duchy. Both manuscripts are among the clearest examples of central administrative parchment reuse and allow virtually no room for alternative interpretations.

In total, fifteen books—comprising 514 covers—were identified as fitting this pattern. Their year-by-year use is illustrated in Table 1. As the table demonstrates, there is a clear progression between the manuscripts: in any given year, leaves from approximately five to ten books were in circulation, and as one manuscript was exhausted, a new one was introduced. The first two manuscripts, as

Archives and the fragments in the National Library. Although connections between the two were not documented at the time, in most cases they can be reconstructed from account markings on the covers.

29 See the catalogue appendix in Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability* and Eskola, *Catalogue of the Bailiffs' Records of Nyland*. These catalogues cover the accounts of the Duchy of Johan and the province of Nyland (1540–1634). In the ensuing quantitative estimates on the writing contexts of accounts, only fragment-covers originating from accounts included in the catalogues are considered.

Manuscripts			Covers by year													
			Pre		Duchy							Post			Un-clear	Total
Genre	Type	Shelfmark	1554	1555	1556	1557	1558	1559	1560	1561	1562	1563	1564	Later		
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.277	1	5	1	1						1				9
Law	Canon Law	F.m.Temp.65	2	10	19	7	1	3	1	1					5	49
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.305	1	1	12	24	4	1		1				1		45
Law	Canon Law	F.m.Temp.117		4	18	5									3	30
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.281		2	13	1										16
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.276		1	8	3	1									13
Liturgy	Breviary	F.m.III.13		1	5	33	1							1		41
Theology	Exegesis	F.m.V.TH.AA.87			2	9	3	12								26
Theology	Bible	F.m.V.BI.1				15	20	1		1					8	45
Theology	Exegesis	F.m.V.TH.AA.26				6	42	1	2		1	1			4	57
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.283					9	15	4					2		30
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.137					2	21	2					1		26
Liturgy	Missal	F.m.I.55						11	24		1				1	37
Theology	Hagiography	F.m.VII.18							9	30	1	2			2	44
Theology	Exegesis	F.m.V.TH.AA.38									4	10	23	7	2	46
		All	4	24	78	104	83	65	42	33	7	14	23	12	25	514
			∑ 28								∑ 412				∑ 74	

Table 1: Reuse of manuscripts by year, the chamber in Turku, 1556–1562. Fragments at Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; London, British Library

well as the last, have been separated from the rest, as their context of reuse—while still central—likely differs from that of the others. The first two appear to be associated with Gustav I's visit to Finland in 1555 and 1556, during which he travelled with chamber staff, while the final manuscript was likely reused in Stockholm after the dissolution of the duchy. This is suggested by the reuse of the first two partly predating the duchy and not being limited to its territory in any way (while still being used for Finnish accounts only) and the use of the last one mostly postdating the duchy and its leaves also covering many accounts from various Swedish provinces outside Finland.[30] The remnants of the first two seem to have been passed on to the duke's chamber, while the last manuscript may never have been in the Diocese of Turku at all. Many of the other

30 The manuscripts are MS F.m.I.277, MS F.m.Temp.65, and MS F.m.V.TH.AA.38. As Table 1 shows, some leaves from other manuscripts also cover records predating the duchy. This is to be expected as travel delays often led to late audits.

books contain audit markings which tie them unambiguously to the duchy's chamber.[31] For analysis of each manuscript, see the dataset.

The number of leaves surviving from these manuscripts is exceptional, as all but three survive as twenty-six or more covers. In the Finnish collection, fewer than fifty books—out of 1,500—survive with as many leaves, and the average number of covers per manuscript is only approximately four. The high number of covers can be explained by the books' association with the central administration in general—it being systematic in its use of parchment—and with the Duchy of Johan in particular, as it existed at a time when bailiwicks were small and numerous, resulting in an exceptionally high annual output of account booklets.[32] The manuscripts used by the central administration provided 412 covers for the approximately 800 accounts that survive from the duchy—i.e., for roughly half of them.[33] Further examination reveals that the chamber officials primarily provided covers for records written by themselves: in approximately 82% of the cases, the parchment leaves acquired by the chamber have covered sets of records that were at least partly produced in the chamber, most often including fair-copied final accounts. The remaining covers were used to bind locally written accounts, suggesting that the chamber was not only self-sufficient in its parchment needs but also capable of supplementing the materials brought in by local scribes. As will be shown, this has important implications when compared with the way parchment from locally sourced manuscripts was used.

In addition to the manuscripts reused by the chamber, a small group of codices reused in a different—but still central—administrative context can be identified. These six manuscripts—MS F.m.I.150,

31 Audit markings are common but absent from most covers. Names frequently encountered include Tomas Henriksson, Mats Wiborg, and Anders Månsson, all known officials of the chamber. See at least MS F.m.I.55, MS F.m.I.137, MS F.m.I.283, and MS F.m.VII.18. For the chamber's staff, see K. Kiuasmaa, *Suomen yleis- ja paikallishallinnon toimet ja niiden hoito 1500-luvun jälkipuoliskolla (vv. 1560–1600)*, Helsinki 1962, 291–294.

32 On the volume of account production over time, see, e.g., Eskola and Tahkokallio, "How Many Fragments?", 18.

33 On the number of accounts produced in the Duchy and their relationship to the Finnish accounts as a whole, see Eskola, *Archives, Accounting, and Accountability*, 28–36.

MS F.m.III.140, MS F.m.V.BI.22, MS F.m.Temp.70, MS F.m.Temp.105, and MS Codex-1334 (MPO)—survive as just 18 covers combined. All but three covers were used for records dating to 1555–1557 and concerning matters beyond the routine affairs of tax bookkeeping. Six relate to the possessions of the king and church in Finland, four to military or royal provisioning, three to the handling of cloth and money, and two summarise the economy of the duchy. One cover lacks bookkeeping markings, and two others were used later, in 1565 and 1576, for records of Turku Castle. With one or two exceptions, the accounts associated with these fragments are written notably skilfully, reflecting the importance of their content. These records suggest an administrative setting separate from the chamber, where scribes worked directly for the king and duke and had their own supply of parchment. In terms of reuse patterns, these manuscripts combine characteristics of both central and local practice: they covered high-level records yet survive in small numbers and were used in a narrowly defined context. Within the wider fragment collection, identifying such specific instances of reuse can help clarify otherwise ambiguous evidence, but requires focused analysis of codices from well-defined spatiotemporal contexts.

Let us now consider the manuscripts proposed to have been reused locally. As discussed in the previous section, many such manuscripts follow a recognisable pattern: their leaves were used over an extended period to bind accounts from a single region. It is difficult to see such a pattern arising through central use. In the local context, it suggests either that the book stayed in place—perhaps in a church—with leaves detached or cut off as needed, or that the book was confiscated by a bailiff or his associates and then repurposed for covers (and potentially other uses). The following examples illustrate how local reuse can be observed through the parchment covers.

First, MS F.m.VII.70, a liturgical manual from the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, survives as four covers used for the records of Haga estate and Kastelholma Castle, both on the island province of Åland, over a period of seven years (1559–1565). Such a pattern can only result from local reuse, and the book's medieval provenance was surely in Åland. Second, MS F.m.I.144, a fourteenth- or

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fifteenth-century missal, survives as seven covers, six of which were used in 1562 or 1563 for the records of one Håkan Anundsson, bailiff in a part of Finland Proper; the seventh was used a decade later for records of the same general area. It is likely that the manuscript's medieval provenance was within Anundsson's bailiwick. Third, and perhaps most strikingly, MS F.m.III.68, a breviary from the second half of the thirteenth or the first half of the fourteenth century, survives as twenty-three covers. Nineteen were used to cover accounts from the Halikko district in Finland Proper, across three periods: 1560–1561 (four covers), 1567–1577 (fourteen), and 1601 (one). Of the remaining four covers, two relate to accounts from Savo and Satakunta respectively, while two lack sufficient markings for attribution. The consistency of the reuse pattern clearly points to local reuse in Halikko, where the book was dismantled and used leaf by leaf for binding. The two outliers likely reflect covers being redeployed during audit—a phenomenon discussed in more detail below.

In total, I have identified ninety-five books, comprising 583 covers, as having been reused locally. This yields an average of approximately six covers per manuscript, in contrast to thirty-four among centrally reused books. Twenty-one of these manuscripts survive as a single cover, and twelve as two. Forty-seven have between three and ten covers, while fifteen survive with more than ten. The highest number of covers from a locally reused manuscript is twenty-six. Many of these cases are relatively straightforward to identify, as they explicitly follow the pattern of local reuse.

Overall, however, identifying locally reused books is more challenging than identifying centrally reused ones. This is due, first, to the more limited evidence available per manuscript, and second, to the occasional repurposing of covers during audit, which can obscure the traces left by local bookkeeping. Such repurposing is closely related to the idea that, in the local context, manuscript leaves were often used as loose wrappers or dust jackets, rather than as covers—a term which implies a more permanent, bound state. This kind of use has previously been discussed in connection with the so-called 'portfolio theory'.[34] In the following, I address the repurposing of parchment leaves through two approaches: first, by examining a case that illustrates how covers were handled in the chamber, and second, by presenting a quantitative analysis of locally reused books.

The way that covers were sometimes moved during audit at the chamber is well exemplified by MS F.m.v.TH.AA.40. The surviving leaves of the manuscript—a copy of *Historia Scholastica* by Petrus Comestor now consisting of ten leaves (or five covers)—were used, first likely as loose wrappers, for the records of bailiff Nils Birgersson of Lower Satakunta in 1561. Their story is revealed through two layers of headlines, both still visible on the fragments. The original headlines, written in a single informal hand, show that Birgersson (or rather his scribe) used the wrappers to protect the following locally produced bookkeeping records: a tithe register, a description of annual taxes, a cadastre, a fine register, and a draft of a storage account. However, when the records were submitted for audit, some of the wrappers were repurposed, evidenced by a formal headline—characteristic of chamber scribes—added to one cover, adjustments made to Birgersson's original headlines (notably in different ink),

34 The portfolio theory, formulated above all by Ilkka Taitto, rests on the idea that in the local administration loose wrappers were often more practical than fixed covers. Locally produced records needed to remain accessible for updates and comparisons during the fiscal year, and were subject to correction, trimming, or disposal at audit. A loose wrapper was therefore an ideal means of protection—though this does not exclude a degree of local binding. Clear cases of fragments being reused more loosely than as sewn covers are known: for example, a fragment first used in 1579 for a record from Savonlinna was reused two decades later (1599) for another record from the same castle, still locally, as shown by the name of a scribe active there between 1595 and 1605. Taitto has also pointed out leaves with sewing marks, suggesting they once formed envelope-like wrappers. See I. Taitto, *Graduale Aboense 1397–1406: näköispainos käsikirjoituskatkelmasta*, Helsinki 2002, 13; I. Taitto, *Catalogue of Medieval Manuscript Fragments in the Helsinki University Library: Fragmenta membranea 4:1, Antiphonaria: Text*, Helsinki 2001, 18; and I. Taitto, "Bertill Tönson Nylandh", *Helsingin yliopiston kirjaston tiedotuslehti* 8 (1992), 171–176, at 175–176. The theory is sometimes attributed to Toivo Haapanen, who noted that leaves were occasionally re-reused by the same scribe, but Taitto appears to have first formulated it properly. See Haapanen, *Verzeichnis 1: Missalia*, xxv.

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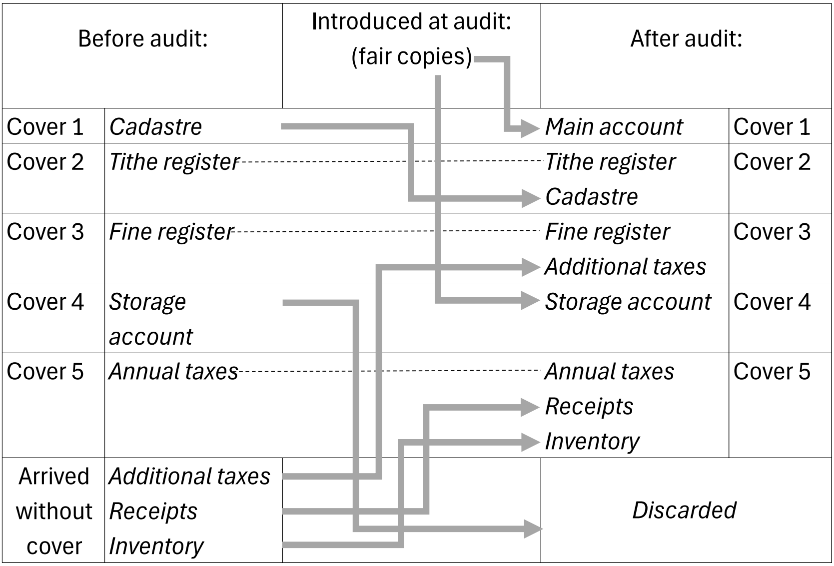

Figure 2: The redeployment of the covers of MS F.m.v.TH.AA.40 Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, Fragmenta membranea

and the composition of the surviving accounts.[35] The chamber produced a main account, reusing the cadastre's wrapper for it, and a fair copy of the storage account, discarding the earlier draft and transferring its wrapper to the new version. Birgersson also brought additional records without assigned wrappers; these, along with the cadastre that had lost its cover, were now bound together with the other records, and the headlines were adjusted accordingly [Figure 2].

While it is rare to be able to follow the handling of covers in such detail, the irregularities often seen within otherwise consistent patterns of reuse suggest that moving and rearranging covers for convenience was not especially uncommon.[36] This means that when considering manuscripts reused locally, we cannot always expect to see a fully uniform picture.

35 The accounts covered are at the Finnish National Archives. See Helsinki, Kansallisarkisto, Voudintilit 2114–2118.

36 Sjödin, based on hands-on work with the accounts and fragments, is also aware of this phenomenon. Sjödin, "Några Skriftstudier", 391.

Shares of leaves from one area		Admin. context	
		Local	Central
100 %	=	40	
90 %	≥	5	
80 %	≥	7	
70 %	≥	3	
60 %	≥	8	
50 %	≥	10	1
35 %	≥	1	4
35 %	<		10
Total mss.		74	15

Table 2: Manuscripts based on the concentration of their leaves on accounts from any single area

While the reassignment of covers during audit can at times make the account markings harder to interpret qualitatively, quantitative analysis should be able to bring out differences between locally and centrally reused manuscripts. In what follows, I analyse the manuscripts identified as locally reused using two indicators: first, the concentration of their covers on records from a single area, that is, their adherence to a local reuse pattern; and second, the distribution of their covers between locally and centrally produced accounts. Let us begin with the first indicator. Table 2 compares seventy-four local manuscripts (excluding the twenty-one that survive as single fragments) with the fifteen used by the chamber based on the concentration of their covers on records of a single area.[37] As shown, the local and central manuscripts fall at opposite ends of the spectrum: all manuscripts with at least 60% of their covers concentrated on one area are local, while all those with less than 35% are central. Only in the middle range is there any overlap between the groups. This pattern thus appears to be a strong—though not an absolute—indicator of a manuscript's context of reuse.

37 A 'single area' is here defined as no more than four bailiwicks clustered together. In practice, this means that the smaller provinces of Satakunta, Raasepori, and Åland qualify as single areas, while Finland Proper must be treated in smaller divisions. A single area may also consist of adjoining bailiwicks from two provinces.

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Further evidence can be drawn from the second indicator: the type of bookkeeping records each manuscript was used to cover. As noted earlier, 82% of the covers from centrally reused manuscripts were used for records that were fully or partly produced at the chamber. For manuscripts identified as locally reused, the situation is reversed, with only 14% of covers used for records produced at the chamber and 86% for those written entirely at the local level. This suggests that when wrappers were brought to the chamber by local scribes, only a small minority—one in seven—were reassigned to central records. While some movement of covers certainly occurred, it was more the exception than the rule. In most cases, wrappers appear to have retained their association with the records they originally accompanied into the chamber.

This finding further supports the use of account information in determining provenance. Taken together, the two indicators form a robust evidentiary base: locally reused manuscripts tend to be strongly concentrated on records from a single area and overwhelmingly used for locally written accounts, while centrally reused books were used across multiple regions and primarily for records produced at the chamber.

Within the group of locally reused manuscripts there are, however, half a dozen that appear to contradict some of the conclusions outlined above and therefore require explanation. For instance, MS F.m.Temp.60 and MS F.m.Temp.239 each survive as two covers, all of which have been used to bind records written at least partly in a central capacity. MS F.m.IIb.4 survives as five covers, the first two showing signs of central reuse and the latter three of local reuse. Could these not be examples of centrally reused manuscripts that happen to survive in unusually small numbers? While this possibility cannot be entirely ruled out, it appears highly unlikely.

Consider, for example, one further book, MS F.m.VII.25, which survives as three covers. One headline is unreadable, but the other two appear to have been written centrally, and the fragments were used to cover centrally produced records from Åland in 1559 and Pohjanmaa in 1566. If this were a case of central reuse, the first cover would have been used by the Duchy of Johan's chamber in Turku, and the second by the royal chamber in Stockholm. It is highly implausible that a manuscript would begin to be reused in Turku in 1559, remain unused for several years, be transferred to Stockholm, and still survive as only three covers. A more credible explanation is that the manuscript was reused locally, and that the covers were later repurposed in the chamber to bind newly produced records. This interpretation also accounts for similar cases, which would otherwise require accepting unnecessarily complex—or simply unrealistic—scenarios. It should also be noted that, for the purposes of determining provenance, any further consideration may often ultimately be moot: if all surviving leaves were moved within the chamber and no trace of their original use remains, the provenance information conveyed by the account markings is already lost. The key, rather, is to recognise when a cover shows signs of movement or reuse within the chamber and to treat any associated provenance evidence with appropriate caution.

Finally, manuscripts that survive as one or two covers only—the group with the least evidence—merit brief separate consideration. Within the wider fragment collection, this category is of particular importance: single folio survivals account for approximately 70% of all books and 30% of manuscript fragments currently identified in the Swedish-Finnish fragment collection, while manuscripts with two fragments constitute around 13% of books and 12% of fragments.[38] Identifying their provenance would therefore substantially advance efforts to map Sweden's medieval book culture regionally. Previous research has said little about the provenance of these fragments; in some cases, it has even been suggested that nothing can be said at all.[39]

In the Duchy of Johan, none of the manuscripts surviving as one or two covers appear to have been reused at the chamber. Twenty-two manuscripts survive as single fragments and thirteen as two. Of the single-fragment survivals, eighteen carry locally written headlines and covered locally produced records. One was used by the scribes working in the central administration but separately from the chamber (which, for the purposes of the discussion on provenance, can be

38 The figures are based on fragments listed either in the MPO or FM with early print fragments excluded.

39 Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 32.

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considered local use), and three bear centrally written headlines and were used to cover accounts produced centrally—covers likely reassigned during audit. Among the thirteen manuscripts represented by two fragments, both covers relate to accounts of the same general area or context in ten cases. The majority of the fragments carry locally written headlines and have covered locally produced records, and the indications of central reuse can plausibly be attributed to later handling during auditing.

The provenance of the manuscripts

With the reuse contexts of the manuscripts established, we can now consider how far their medieval provenance can be traced—and how this may inform our understanding of provenance across the wider collection. The number of books available for reuse within the duchy would have been substantial. At the time of its existence, systematic administrative reuse was still a relatively recent development, and most medieval volumes were likely still *in situ* in churches and libraries. The vast majority would have been held in the duchy's nearly 90 parish churches, the Bridgettine monastery in Naantali (Nådendal), and the Cathedral in Turku. Although the Franciscan convents in Rauma and Kökar and the Dominican convent in Turku had been closed by the late 1530s, their libraries—or parts of them—may still have remained on site. It is possible that the duchy's administration received some parchment from Stockholm or dismembered books from Finnish parishes outside the duchy, but there is no indication that such cases were more than incidental. Most of the books reused in the duchy, it is clear, had their medieval provenance within it.

Let us begin with the provenance of the books used by the central administration. As established in the previous section, twenty-one manuscripts fall into this category: twelve were acquired by the chamber of the Duchy of Johan, six by scribes working centrally but outside the chamber, two by the retinue of Gustav I during his visit to Finland, and one likely by the Royal Chamber in Stockholm. Since the provenance of the latter three is likely outside the Duchy, the following discussion focuses on the remaining eighteen.[40] These contain nine liturgical and nine non-liturgical books, with both groups contributing nearly equal numbers of covers (211 and 217, respectively). This ratio is noteworthy, given that in the wider collection liturgical books outnumber non-liturgical ones by four to one.

The apparent overrepresentation of non-liturgical books in this context likely reflects two factors: first, the ready availability of such material in Turku; and second, the earlier obsolescence of non-liturgical texts, which made them more susceptible to reuse.[41] The administrative break with Rome following the Reformation was more immediate and definitive than the gradual liturgical shift away from traditional forms of worship, and many liturgical books—especially song books—retained their practical use long after the initial stages of reform.[42] It is therefore unsurprising that non-liturgical manuscripts were favoured for reuse in the early stages of administrative parchment reuse.

The books used in Turku were most likely acquired from within the city or its immediate surroundings. The most probable sources include Turku Cathedral, several significant nearby parish churches, the Dominican convent of St. Olaf, and the Bridgettine monastery of Naantali, located some 15 kilometres away. The manuscripts in this group are listed in Table 3, and several contain features that support their association with these institutions. Among the liturgical books two Bridgettine missals—MS F.m.I.276 and MS F.m.I.281—have been tied to the monastery in Naantali on liturgical grounds and may have

40 The two books reused by chamber staff accompanying the king are MS F.m.I.277 and MS F.m.Temp.65, while MS F.m.v.TH.AA.38 appears to have been reused in Stockholm after the duchy's dissolution. The origins of all three—a missal, a canon law manuscript, and an exegetical work—might best be looked for in the Stockholm area.

41 Analogously, Brunius observes that Stockholm-produced accounts are frequently bound in parchment from theological or legal manuscripts, likely acquired from nearby convents and monasteries. Brunius, *From Manuscripts to Wrappers*, 31–32. Many of these books were reused early on.

42 On the continued use of liturgical books, see e.g., Raninen, "Make Do and Mend", and a forthcoming article by the present writer and Jaakko Tahkokallio.

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been confiscated from there by officials of the duchy's chamber.[43] MS F.m.I.283, a missal dated to the second half of the fourteenth or first half of the fifteenth century, belongs to a group of books identified as having been produced within the Diocese of Turku, most likely at the convent of St. Olaf.[44] Two further missals—MS F.m.I.55 and MS F.m.I.305—also follow the liturgical tradition of the Diocese of Turku,[45] leaving only two—MS F.m.I.137 and MS F.m.I.150—without obvious ties to the diocese. In addition to these missals, the liturgical books include MS F.m.III.13, a breviary dated to the second half of the twelfth or the first half of the thirteenth century—one of the oldest in the Finnish collection and thus suitable for the Turku region—and MS F.m.III.140, a fifteenth-century psalter.

The non-liturgical books include a group of five theological books: two thirteenth-century Bibles (one possibly from the twelfth century), a fourteenth-century exegetical text by Nicholas de Lyra,[46] a mid-fourteenth-century postil on Sunday Gospels by Franciscus de Abbati, and a thirteenth-century *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine. In addition, there are four manuscripts of canon law dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that contain, among other material, the *Decretals* of Gregory IX. While it is difficult to assign precise provenance beyond the general Turku area, the postil by Franciscus de Abbati is known to have been used by the Bridgettines, and a copy was certainly held by Vadstena Abbey.[47] It is therefore plausible that this manuscript, like the two Bridgettine missals, was taken from Naantali.

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43 V. Walta, "Naantalin Luostarin Kirjasto", *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja* 100 (2010), 33–70, at 42–43; A. Maliniemi, *Der Heiligenkalender Finnlands: seine Zusammensetzung und Entwicklung*, Helsinki 1925, 97–102.

44 Heikkilä, "I ett medeltida scriptorium", 282–83.

45 Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, 26–29 and 253–55.

46 In addition to use in the chamber, a fifth of this manuscript (MS F.m.V.TH. AA.26) appears to have been reused in the Tavastia (Häme) province. This likely reflects a bailiff taking part of it from the chamber, rather than the manuscript originating in Tavastia. See the analysis in the dataset.

47 R. Andersson, "Messenger manuscripts and mechanisms of change", in *Continuity and change. Papers from the Birgitta conference at Dartington 2015*, ed. E. Andersson et al., Stockholm 2017, 24–40, at 28.

Liturgical manuscripts						
Type	Shelfmark	Dating	Covers	Leaves	Liturgical use	Origin
Missal	F.m.I.55	Saec. XIII$^{2/2}$-XIV$^{1/2}$	37	76	Turcu Diocese	
Missal	F.m.I.137	Saec. XIV$^{2/2}$-XV$^{1/2}$	26	47		
Missal	F.m.I.150	Saec. XIV	2	4		
Missal	F.m.I.276	Saec. XV ex.	13	28	Bridgettine	
Missal	F.m.I.281	Saec. XV med.	16	30	Bridgettine	
Missal	F.m.I.283	Saec. XIV$^{2/2}$-XV$^{1/2}$	30	53	Turcu Diocese	
Missal	F.m.I.305	Saec. XV med.-ex.	45	72	Turcu Diocese	
Breviary	F.m.III.13	Saec. XII$^{2/2}$-XIII$^{1/2}$	41	76		Germany?
Psalter	F.m.III.140	Saec. XV	1	2		

Other manuscripts						
Type	Shelfmark	Dating	Covers	Leaves	Author	Origin
Bible	F.m.V.BI.1	Saec. XIII$^{2/2}$-XIV$^{1/2}$	45	81		France
Bible	F.m.V.BI.22	Saec. XII$^{2/2}$-XIII$^{1/2}$	3	3		England
Exegesis	F.m.V.TH.AA.26	Saec. XIV (post 1320)	57	115	Nicholas de Lyra	France
Exegesis	F.m.V.TH.AA.86	Saec. XIV med.	26	41	Franciscus de Abbatibus	France
Hagiography	F.m.VII.18	Saec. XIII	44	76	Jacobus de Voragine	France?
Canon Law	F.m.Temp.117	Saec. XIII	30	63		
Canon Law	F.m.Temp.70	Saec. XII$^{2/2}$-XIII$^{1/2}$	4	8		
Canon Law	F.m.Temp.105	Saec. XIII	4	4		
Canon Law	Codex-1334	Saec. XIV	4	5		

Table 3: Centrally reused manuscripts with likely provenance in the Turku area Fragments at Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; London, British Library

Taken together, the composition of the centrally reused books—with connections to the Bridgettines, the Dominican convent in Turku, and the diocese more generally—suggests that the duchy's officials acquired books for reuse from several sources, perhaps reflecting a reluctance to strip any single institution of its entire library.

With the locally reused manuscripts, we can expect to trace provenance from across the duchy. Maps 2 and 3 suggest a provenance for all but four of the ninety-five manuscripts identified as

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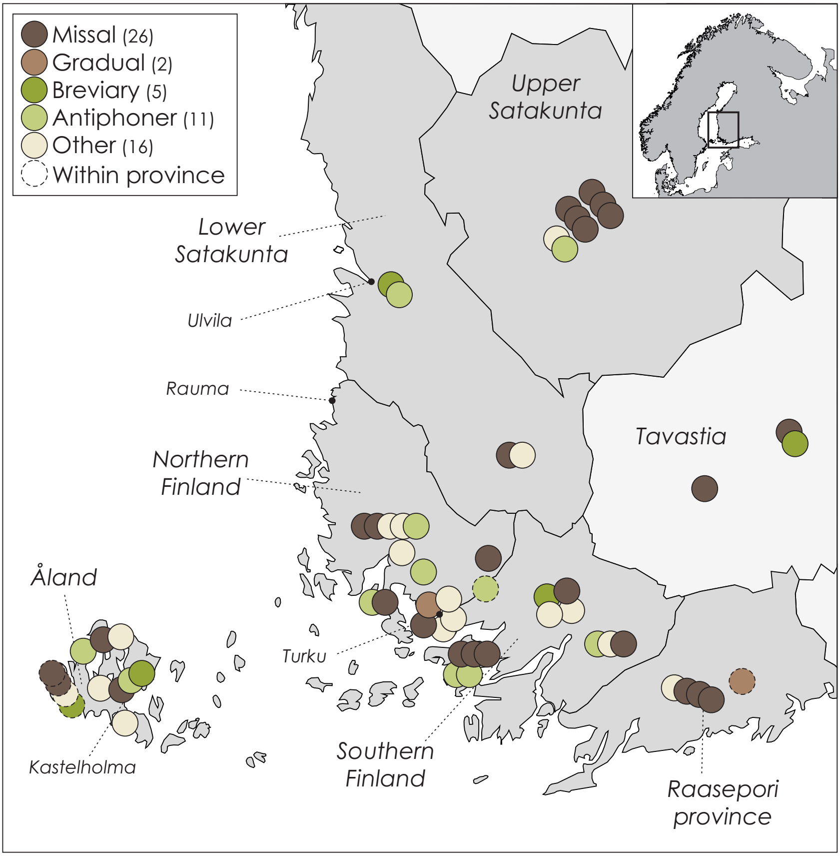
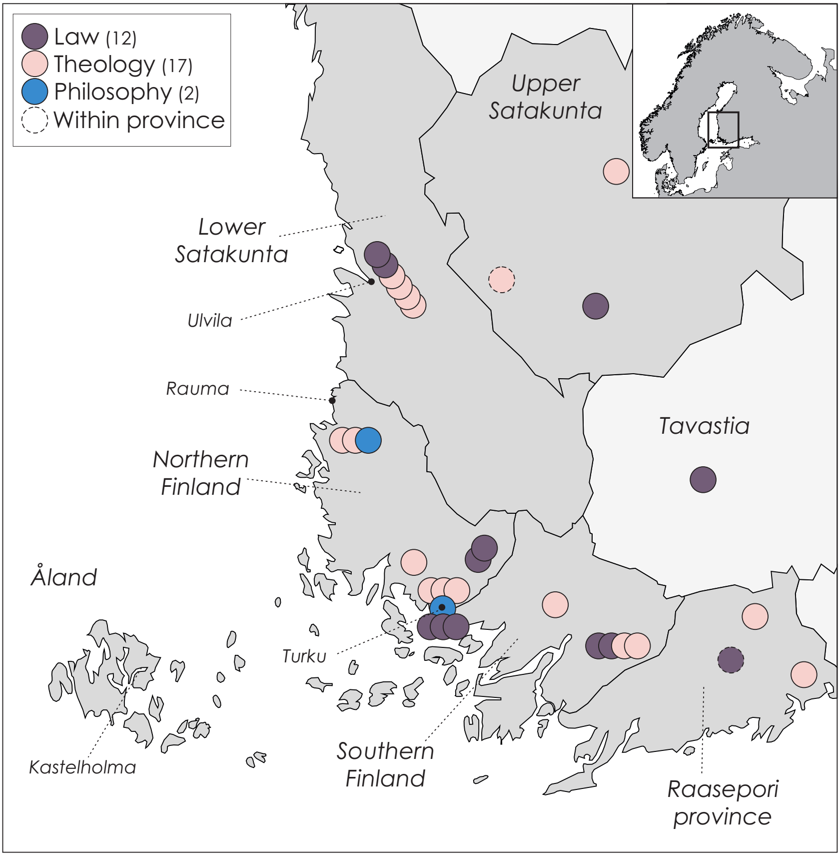


Map 2: Suggested provenance of locally reused manuscripts (liturgical)

locally reused in the previous section. Each manuscript was analysed individually and—based on the accounts its leaves were used to cover—assigned to the bailiwick where reuse most likely began. Before turning to a more detailed analysis, it is worth briefly considering the broader picture that emerges.

Map 2 shows the distribution of sixty liturgical books. As we can see, they appear throughout the duchy, with types represented fairly evenly across regions. Map 3 portrays the remaining thirty-one manuscripts—i.e., theological, legal, and philosophical texts—which also appear to come from across the duchy, except for Åland. These



Map 3: Suggested provenance of locally reused manuscripts (non-liturgical)

non-liturgical books tend to cluster more strongly in some areas, especially in and around Turku, where seven are localised. This is to be expected due to such books being available in Turku, and the Turku Castle—itself an administrative entity overseen by a bailiff—producing more accounts per year than other bailiwicks, creating demand for parchment covers. Generally, the relatively even distribution of both liturgical and non-liturgical books supports the reliability of the localisations, reflecting the expectation that book reuse was a widespread practice within the local administration and that parish churches were the primary source of material.

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The strength of the evidence for these provenance attributions varies. In some cases, provenance can be established straightforwardly and with confidence; in others, the evidence is admittedly thin. The most reliable localisations are based on clear patterns of reuse. Consider, for instance, MS F.m.IV.21, a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century antiphoner, which survives as twenty-three covers, all but one reused for records of Åland. The manuscript was reused in two periods—between 1554 and 1568 (eight covers) and between 1603 and 1618 (fifteen covers)—a pattern that makes its medieval provenance in Åland virtually certain. We can even venture a plausible institutional holder: during its earliest reuse in the 1550s and 1560s, all fragments were used by bailiffs based at Kastelholma Castle or the nearby Haga estate (nine kilometres apart), with the church of Saltvik—an obvious candidate for the book's medieval home—lying between them.

Cases in which a specific medieval holder can be suggested remain rare, yet a second example demonstrates that this line of inquiry need not be merely speculative. MS F.m.I.162, a fourteenth- or fifteenth-century missal likewise reused in Åland, is independently known to have come from the church of Finström.[48] Suggestively, its fragments were employed chiefly for records from Kastelholma and Grelsby estate, seven kilometres apart, with Finström church lying only a short distance from Grelsby. This reinforces the view that, in favourable cases, precise provenance can be inferred from reuse evidence.

At the other end of the spectrum are books whose localisation rests on much less secure grounds. MS F.m.Temp.49, a Roman law manuscript dated to the fourteenth century or the latter half of the thirteenth, survives as a single fragment reused for a record of Halikko district in Finland Proper. The cover, however, appears to have

48 Based on an annotation in the manuscript (f. 7); see Haapanen, *Verzeichnis I: Missalia*, 79. The close relationship between bookkeeping, parchment covers, and parish churches is further illustrated by a large cut-off folio from the same manuscript, used as a cover for an inventory of both Grelsby and Haga estates. That inventory was witnessed and sealed by Johannes Petri and Michael Andrea, priests of Finström and Saltvik, respectively.

been moved between records, making this moot as evidence.[49] The best clue to its provenance is the name Frans Larsson, which appears on one leaf. Larsson was a bailiff in Satakunta, and the most plausible explanation is that the cover was first used—and acquired—by him. It is therefore placed accordingly on Map 3. Fortunately, such scant evidence is the exception; most locally reused books can be linked to a plausible provenance based on their association with specific accounts.

I would argue that the provenance attributions proposed above broadly reflect the original medieval distribution of books, though specific localisations should be treated as tentative. These provenance assignments—based on individual manuscript analysis—can be further examined by grouping books into broader patterns, thus generating wider pools of evidence. While a full exploration of this approach lies beyond the scope of this article, I will conclude by presenting three examples that illustrate how group-level analysis can shed additional light on manuscript provenance and the practicalities of local parchment reuse.

As a first example, we may consider manuscripts localised to Åland. Twelve books—all liturgical—can be assigned to the region: four missals, two breviaries, two antiphoners, a lectionary, a psalter, and a manual. One further manuscript is of uncertain type, surviving only as narrow strips. The lack of non-liturgical books is curious, but may reflect the fact that Åland housed no religious communities apart from the Franciscan convent on the outer island of Kökar. What is most striking about this group is how clearly it illustrates the regional character of fragment reuse. Taken together, the twelve books survive as seventy-nine covers, seventy-three of which were used to bind accounts from Åland, with the few exceptions showing clear signs of later reuse by the chamber. This strongly suggests that the initial reuse took place entirely within the province. Moreover, each book was, on average, used by three bailiffs from three different bailiwicks. This pattern indicates that once reuse began, leaves either circulated beyond the book's immediate vicinity or multiple bailiffs drew on the same local supply of parchment regardless of

49 Another cover with the same headline also survives: Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto, *Fragmenta membranea*, MS F.m.v.TH.AA.87, ff.. 4–5.

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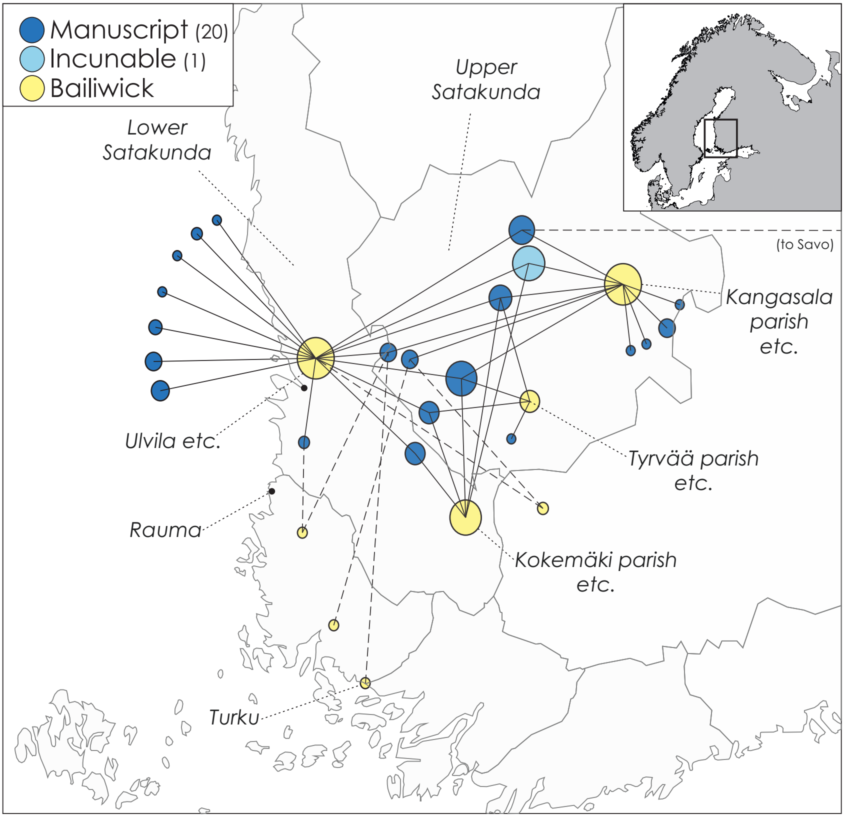
where they were stationed. This makes assigning bailiwick-level provenance difficult—unless supported by additional evidence—while at the same time reinforcing the security of localisation to the province as a whole.[50]

As a second example we may turn to another group—larger and informative in a different way. The manuscripts localised to Satakunta—a province north of the heartland of Finland Proper, divided into three or four bailiwicks each encompassing approximately four parishes—comprise twenty-one books and 117 covers. This group is illustrated in Map 4 as a network of bailiwicks and manuscripts: manuscripts are represented in blue, bailiwicks in yellow, and node size corresponds to the number of covers associated with a bailiwick or comprising a manuscript. Each manuscript is connected by lines to the bailiwicks whose records its leaves were used to cover.

The network brings several things into focus. First, as with Åland, the reuse of these books appears to have been almost entirely confined to the province. Only six covers are associated with records from outside Satakunta, again suggesting that the leaves of locally reused books rarely circulated beyond provincial boundaries.[51] Second, the network distinguishes between books linked to multiple bailiwicks and those used in only one. In total, eight books are connected to more than one bailiwick in Satakunta, two of which are associated with all four. These must have either been kept in locations accessible to several bailiffs or acquired by one bailiff who then shared the material with colleagues—a situation also observed in Åland.

50 Most books were reused within a decade, but two were reused over much longer spans—sixty-five and forty-five years. This suggests that at least these two remained in place, likely in churches, with leaves sometimes either cut off or, if the binding had been broken, simply removed. I consider this the most likely way of local reuse taking place. Such practice accords with church inventories (surviving mainly from the 1590s onwards), which indirectly evince old liturgical books withering away in the early seventeenth century, sometimes to the point of only the wooden covers remaining. See Sandberg, *Linköpings stifts kyrkoarkivalier*, 48–52.

51 The six covers come from five manuscripts, one of which shows a link to Savo. Another has a link to Häme (just east of Satakunta) and three are connected either to Turku or one of two bailiwicks between it and Satakunta.



Map 4: The reuse of manuscripts in Satakunta by bailiwick associations. Node size is determined by the number of covers associated with a bailiwick or comprising a manuscript.

Unlike in Åland, however, there are also two groups of books with a link only to a single bailiwick. One includes four books linked to the bailiwick of Kangasala (in Upper Satakunta); the other comprises seven books connected to the bailiwick of Ulvila (centred around a town of the same name in Lower Satakunta). I focus here on the latter group to offer a final example illustrating how tentative provincial localisations can, in some cases, support more precise provenance determinations.

The seven books linked solely to the bailiwick of Ulvila are exceptional in content. They include two exegetical works (MS F.m.V.

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TH.AA.40 and MS F.m.v.TH.AA.48, by Petrus Comestor and Petrus Lombardi) and two of canon law (MS F.m.Temp.35 and MS F.m.VI.IUS.CAN.40), all dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. While not unique in the fragment collection, such texts represent a clear minority.[52] More striking, however, are three books one would hardly expect to find in a provincial bailiwick like Ulvila: MS F.m.III.133, a fifteenth-century breviary adhering to the liturgy of the Diocese of Skara, with reference to St. Elin of Skövde, patron saint of Västergötland;[53] MS F.m.Temp.191, an exegetical work in Middle Low German—one of perhaps only two such texts in the Finnish collection; and MS F.m.VII.99, a hagiographical manuscript possibly from the eleventh century, and one of just ten books in the Finnish collection with such an early dating. It seems unlikely that such a group of books would derive from ordinary parish churches, and their presence in Ulvila demands a more plausible explanation.

I would argue that a likely source for such books is the Franciscan convent of Rauma, dissolved in the late 1530s and located some 40 kilometres south of Ulvila, near the border between Satakunta and Finland Proper.[54] Several lines of evidence support this hypothesis: the exceptional content of the books, the timing of their reuse, and the evident connections between officials in Ulvila and Rauma. The books in question were used to bind the accounts of two bailiffs—Mats von Klewen (active in Ulvila 1551–1556), who reused one cover, and his successor Nils Birgersson (1557–1561), who reused fifteen. In addition, one cover was used for a record concerning tithes in 1563 and was likely written by a local priest. The reuse began with MS F.m.Temp.35, a canon law manuscript used by von Klewen in 1554 and by Birgersson in 1557–1558, while the rest, except for the tithe record, were reused solely by Birgersson between 1557 and 1561. The interconnectedness of the officials in Ulvila and Rauma can be highlighted by considering two further manuscripts—also

52 In the Finnish collection, there are eleven books assigned to Petrus Comestor and nine to Petrus Lombardi; canon law comprises c. 11% of the collection.

53 T. Haapanen, *Verzeichnis der mittelalterlichen Handschriftenfragmente in der Universitätsbibliothek zu Helsinki: III: Breviaria*, Helsinki 1932, 60.

54 On Franciscan convents and book culture in Finland, see J. Tahkokallio, “Fransiskaanit”, in *Suomen Keskiajan Kirjallinen Kulttuuri*, ed. T. Heikkilä, Helsinki 2010, 277–86.

likely from the convent's library—reused in both Rauma and Ulvila. First, MS F.m.v.BI.42, a glossed French Bible from the late thirteenth century, was reused by von Klewen in 1552 and again in 1556 for a tithe account of Andreas Petri, the provost of the Rauma area; and second, MS F.m.IV.146, a fifteenth-century *Franciscan* antiphoner, was reused first by the bailiff of Rauma, Lars Jönsson (1556–1557), and later by the bailiffs of Ulvila.[55]

Evidence that the books of the former convent were being repurposed at precisely this time comes from three manuscripts first reused by Lars Jönsson's successor as bailiff of Rauma, Olof Svart (1557–1562). Svart unquestionably initiated the reuse of all three, since he used no fewer than thirteen fragments from them to bind his accounts between 1559 and 1563, and the other surviving fragments were all reused after 1563. Each of these books is the kind one would expect to find in a convent library: MS F.m.v.BI.8, a fourteenth-century Bible; MS F.m.v.VAR.7, a fourteenth-century medical text by William of Saliceto; and MS F.m.v.TH.AA.128, a late-fifteenth-century copy of the *Lucidarium*, a Bridgettine customary.[56] Considering that the bailiffs of Rauma had, in 1556, moved to the very grounds of the former convent—first converted into a vicarage and then a royal estate (*kungsgård*)—it is difficult to escape the conclusion that, as

55 As a further point on the ties between Ulvila and Rauma, Mats von Klewen is known to have settled near the town after his tenure. It has even been suggested that he oversaw the conversion of the old Rauma convent to a royal estate (*kungsgård*) in 1551. P. Papunen, "Lääninvallan ja suurvaltakauden vaikutukset Rauman seudulla vv. 1550–1721", in *Rauman seudun historia I*, ed. P. Papunen and K. Virkkala, Rauma 1959, 159–474, at 159–160.

56 The Bridgettine book MS F.m.v.TH.AA.128 is discussed in I. Hedström, "One Customary to Rule Them All", in *The Bridgettine Experience. Papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm 2011*, ed. C. Gejrot, M. Åkestam, and R. Andersson, Stockholm 2013, 351–369, at 355–358. Hedström suggests that the book was written in Vadstena abbey and subsequently sent to Naantali, basing this on its contents and on her view that its administrative reuse connects it to Turku. A closer inspection, however, unambiguously ties the book to Rauma, as it has been used to cover two accounts written by the bailiwick's scribe who has also headlined the covers. This does not necessarily preclude an earlier presence in Naantali, but the manuscript was certainly in Rauma in the early 1560s.

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they settled in, they proceeded to repurpose the remaining books of the convent.[57]

Taken together, these twelve books (listed in Table 4) are exceptional both individually and as a group. Individually, they include an exegetical work in German, a possibly eleventh-century hagiographical manuscript, and an out-of-place breviary from Västergötland. As a group, they comprise two liturgical and ten non-liturgical manuscripts, an unusual ratio in a collection where liturgical material overwhelmingly dominates. Their geographic origins are also diverse, with suggested provenance in France, Italy, the Low Countries, and the Nordic region. This departure from the typical composition of the collection makes it difficult to view their connection to the Rauma area as coincidental. Even if some nearby parish churches had held individual volumes of this kind, it is hard to imagine them collectively possessing such an improbable combination. The scarcity of liturgical books in the group is also striking, though it may be explained by the fact that liturgical volumes still held practical value for departing friars, particularly those intending to serve as priests. Definitively attributing these books to the Rauma convent would require further study, ideally extending the spatiotemporal frame, but this case demonstrates how group-level analysis can sharpen and refine the tentative provenance established through individual manuscript study.

57 A handful of liturgical books have previously been tentatively connected to the convent's library based on the books' content and early modern reuse, see J. Tahkokallio, "Rauma ja fransiskaaninen kirjakulttuuri", in *Risti ja lounatuuli. Rauman seurakunnan historia keskiajalta vuoteen 1640*, ed. A. Lahtinen and M. Ijäs, Helsinki 2015, 56–63. One of the few direct sources on the fate of the Rauma convent library is a late-eighteenth-century disclosure mentioning several chests that had belonged to the "monks" and remained on the convent grounds; one reportedly once contained books and parchment manuscripts but was by then empty. See R. Välimäki, "Rauman seurakunnan varhaisimmat historiat Henricus Mathei Rawmensiksesta H.G. Porthaniin", in *Risti ja lounatuuli*, 226–232, at 231.

Genre	Shelfmark	Dating	Type/work/author	Lit. use or origin
Liturgy	F.m.IV.146	Saec. XV	Antiphonal	Franciscan
	F.m.III.133	Saec. XV	Breviary	Nordic
Bibles	F.m.V.BI.8	Saec. XIV	Bible	France
	F.m.V.BI.42	Saec. XIII ex.	Bible, glossed	France
Theology	F.m.Temp.191	Saec. XIV$^{4/4}$–XVI$^{1/4}$	Exegesis (in German)	
	F.m.V.TH.AA.40	Saec. XIII$^{2/2}$–XIV$^{1/2}$	Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*	France?
	F.m.V.TH.AA.48	Saec. XIII ex.	Petrus Lombardi: *Glossae continuae*	France?
	F.m.V.TH.AA.128	Saec. XV	*Elucidarium observantiarum*	Bridgettine
Hagiography	F.m.VII.99	Saec. XI ex.–XII	Hagiography	Low countries?
Law	F.m.VI.IUS.CAN.40	Saec. XIV in.–med.	Canon Law	
	F.m.Temp.35	Saec. XIII$^{2/2}$–XIV	Canon Law	
Philosophy	F.m.V.VAR.7	Saec. XIV	William of Saliceto: *Summa conservationis et curationis*	Italy

Table 4: Books with a possible provenance in the Rauma Franciscan convent. Fragments at Helsinki, Kansalliskirjasto; Stockholm, Riksarkivet; Uppsala, Uppsala universitetsbibliotek; London, British Library

Conclusion

This article has examined the reuse of over a hundred medieval manuscripts in mid-sixteenth-century Sweden. By distinguishing between locally and centrally reused books and then analysing their reuse in detail, it has been possible to establish a likely medieval provenance for nearly all of the manuscripts studied. Most can be tied to specific regions, typically provinces, while in many cases a more precise provenance—within a bailiwick or even a religious institution—can be suggested by combining individual- and group-level analyses. Although the results concern a specific context, the methods developed are applicable more widely across the fragment collection and address a central question concerning its study.

Most importantly, the findings suggest that manuscript provenance in the Swedish-Finnish fragment collection can, in fact, be determined. The assumption that evidence of reuse could be used to establish provenance for all, or even most, of the fragments has long been contested. While scholars have acknowledged a correlation between the fragments' 'bookkeeping' and medieval provenances, it has been argued that sufficient evidence for provenance attributions exists only for books that survive with many leaves. Since the majority of books in the collection survive as single fragments, many have doubted whether their provenance could ever be established. The results of this study, however, indicate that most—perhaps even all—single-fragment manuscripts were reused locally and became associated with accounts from regions near their medieval homes. If this finding can be verified for the collection as a whole, the research potential of the fragments will be greatly enhanced, providing strong encouragement for continued provenance studies.

Administrative parchment reuse was influenced by many factors over its century-long span. The production of bookkeeping records—and with it, the demand for parchment—peaked early and gradually declined toward the seventeenth century. The availability of parchment varied regionally, depending among other things on the density of churches and religious institutions. Evidence suggests that certain types of books, such as legal ones, were reused earlier than most, while some liturgical books retained their value longer after the Reformation. Further, the growth and evolution of the chamber in Stockholm, along with the establishment of ducal and occasional regional chambers created to address specific local needs, contributed to variation and discontinuity in how parchment was reused by the central authorities. These and other factors must be considered when assessing how far the patterns observed in the Duchy of Johan apply to the wider collection. In the absence of any formal policy or central directives on book reuse, however, the practice must have been steered by similar practical needs across the realm, making it reasonable to assume that broadly comparable methods and habits of reuse prevailed throughout.

The results presented here rest on the comprehensive production of metadata, which has enabled both the identification of relevant manuscripts and the analysis of their reuse. Looking ahead, the continued enrichment of metadata will be a crucial stepping stone for new research, whether on provenance or on the many other topics for which fragments can serve as sources. The publication of the

Medeltida pergamentomslag and *Fragmenta membranea* databases some fifteen years ago has been invaluable, but neither provides comprehensive or consistent metadata at the fragment level. This problem has been recognised, and the first datasets to expand the metadata and integrate the Swedish and Finnish fragments into a single corpus have recently been published.[58] Alongside improved metadata, two further needs are clear, particularly for the study of provenance: first, research contextualising the administrative structures behind parchment reuse, especially the role of regional chambers and other local exceptions; and second, a fuller understanding and documentation of auxiliary sources, most importantly bookkeeping records, that can illuminate fragment reuse.

As the conditions for research improve, the Swedish-Finnish fragment collection can become an increasingly significant source for the study of medieval literary culture. Large metadata sets will enable quantitative research, thus far little exploited, while digitisation improves access to the fragments and supports approaches ranging from palaeographical and codicological to textual analysis. In relation to the specific focus of this article, what is most needed are targeted studies. Although fragment reuse has been noted in dozens of publications, it is usually treated only in passing, and very few works examine the phenomenon directly. This stands in sharp contrast to the importance routinely—and rightly—ascribed to the provenance of the fragments. There is no shortage of promising approaches: case studies of single manuscripts or larger corpora can reveal local and temporal conditions and conventions, while large datasets can expose broader patterns and correlations, directly illuminating the practices and intentions behind book reuse. By approaching fragment reuse systematically, as demonstrated in this article, we can recover the histories of individual manuscripts, identify wider patterns of book circulation, and open new perspectives on medieval literary culture and its afterlives.

58 See Eskola and Tahkokallio, 'How-Many-Fragments_dataset' and Eskola, 'Stockholm-Helsinki-Frs-Combined-BOMPAC'.

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