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# Make Do and Mend: Reworking Liturgical Parchment Manuscripts in Post-Reformation Sweden

**Abstract:** The implementation of religious Reformation in the new Kingdom of Sweden required the local clergy to reinvent their working library, and many of the medieval parchment manuscripts of liturgical music ended up recycled as covers for bailiff's books during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This change was not immediate, however, as some of the surviving fragments bear signs of their content being refashioned to fit the new aspects of Reformation liturgy. Furthermore, parchment fragments from sources made after the Reformation survive, containing liturgy for the Mass in Swedish, and attesting to the continued appeal of the material format. My chapter examines techniques of reworking parchment fragments and their musical repertory for the purposes of the Reformation worship.

The Kingdom of Sweden in the sixteenth century consisted of most of modern-day Sweden and Finland, with the inclusion of much of Karelia and exclusion of some parts of southern Sweden. Most of the liturgical books from this area that predate the Reformation survive now only as a collection of parchment fragments. The main collections of surviving fragments from the kingdom of Sweden are the *Fragmenta Membranea* collection in the National Library of Finland, and the *Medeltida pergamentsomslag* (MPO) held in the National Archives in Stockholm and several provincial archives. The former consists of nearly 10,000 parchment leaves coming from almost 1,500 separate medieval volumes, while the latter amounts to c.23,000 leaves from as many as 11,000 separate volumes.<sup>1</sup> The destruction of these books, however, was not born out of fervent reformatory mood as in some other European regions. The formation of the new kingdom of

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<sup>1</sup> Both collections are available online at <<https://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi>> and <<https://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo>> (accessed 28 May 2020). A selection from the *Fragmenta Membranea* collection is also presented in Europeana at <<https://pro.europeana.eu/data/medieval-manuscripts-and-parchment-fragments-from-finland>> (accessed 28 May 2020).

Sweden in 1523 and the financial challenges relating to it prompted king Gustav Vasa to utilise as many assets as possible at his disposal, which included the confiscation of church and monastic properties and income, as dictated in the Västerås Recess in 1527. The crown's main interest was focussed on items with monetary value such as objects made of precious metals, but also church bells or anything else of value.<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence of a royal order for a deliberate confiscation and destruction of liturgical books because of their contents, as their fragmented state of survival is due to more pragmatic considerations. As part of his efforts to establish the kingdom, Gustav Vasa organised the administration of the area by appointing royal bailiffs who were responsible for tax collection and other fiscal matters in their given areas; the bailiffs repurposed old books of liturgy as covers for their account books, and thus inadvertently preserved some part of the medieval book culture of the area.<sup>3</sup>

The surviving medieval parchment fragments held in both main collections are well documented, and have been a subject of research in terms of their provenance and the early history of books in Sweden.<sup>4</sup> These fragments are not just a treasure trove for medievalists: among the notes and scribblings by the bailiffs, the liturgical manuscript fragments reveal important historical evidence for the modifications to original texts and melodies made by Lutheran clergy, who continued to rely on their old books when keeping up with the changes in worship. In this chapter I present case studies from both fragment collections regarding the methods used by the clergy in amending their pre-existing parchment books of liturgy to match the new requirements in worship. These case studies illustrate the often hidden phase of material modifications and experimentation that occurs during times of change. Although legislation for the Lutheran worship was implemented, the pace of change remained moderate due to risks of political unrest and local practices; many aspects of pre-Reformation worship and church interior remained untouched for much of the sixteenth century, including the use of Latin for worship.<sup>5</sup> Even the Church Ordinance of

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<sup>2</sup> Brunius 2011, 144.

<sup>3</sup> Brunius 2017, 66–81.

<sup>4</sup> A survey of the research history of manuscript fragments in Nordic countries in Heikkilä/Ammundsen 2017, esp. 10–15; *Medeltida pergamentsomslag* collection is further presented in Brunius 2013, and the *Fragmenta Membranea* collection is presented in Heikkilä 2010.

<sup>5</sup> The post-Reformation changes to the parchment fragments are discussed in detail for the first time in Haapanen 1930, esp. 94. For further description of the parchment sources see Taitto 1992, 452–456; Taitto 2002. The manuscripts produced after the Reformation are further discussed in

1571 allows the use of Latin in singing, and the language was still taught in schools.<sup>6</sup> The old liturgical books, then, retained their relevance for worship for a long time after the Reformation.

A considerable portion of the collections consists of fragments from liturgical music manuscripts; among these, the largest group is that of fragments coming from large-format books. The reason for the survival of fragments in this particular format was practical, as bifolia from large-format books were particularly suitable to be reused as covers for bailiffs' accounts.<sup>7</sup> The margins of the parchment fragments often contain a heading added by the bailiffs in reference to the contents of the accounts, but these do not necessarily reveal the provenance of the parchment manuscript. All bailiffs would have their accounts audited in Stockholm annually; on this occasion their account books could possibly be dismantled and rebound to another piece of parchment, and in some cases parchment books were imported from other areas to Stockholm for their further re-use. Moreover, since bailiffs often moved between districts, they could very plausibly have taken a few bifolia from one parish for later use before moving to another area. Parishes and dioceses also sold fragments for a variety of uses, from bookbinding to saddle-making.<sup>8</sup>

The Reformation liturgy retained much of its Latin repertory for the first hundred years. For this reason, many printed books and liturgical manuscripts were still being used for their original purpose well into the sixteenth century. The material value of medieval parchment books is evident in a church inventory made in Vallentuna in 1556, which among all the items owned by the church, lists six *gamble pergament böcker* ('old parchment books') under the heading of *sångeböcker* ('songbooks').<sup>9</sup> Many printed books and liturgical manuscripts predating the Reformation may include an additional quire of musical material in vernacular language (Swedish or Finnish), suggesting that the prior material was still useful for the book's owner and thus was not discarded in a hurry. Much of the post-Reformation alterations are inscribed in manuscript fragments that belonged to books made in the fifteenth century; they can be observed in

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Hannikainen 2006, 20–30; Hannikainen/Tuppurainen 2016, esp. 159; Tuppurainen 2019. See also Berntson 2019.

6 'Så mångha ock än nu några Latiniska songer medh ibland sungne warda, för theras skul som thet Latiniska målet kunna eller ock lära skola' (Kjölllerström 1971, 103); also discussed in Nordlind 1909, 22; Knuutila 2010, 79–114 (esp. 95–6); Hannikainen 2006, 29.

7 Heikkilä/Ommundsen 2017, 5–6, 8, 10; Brunius 2017, 67, 69–70.

8 Taitto 2002, 17; Taitto 2002a, 221–226 for a case study on a fragment group known as *Graduale Aboense*; Abukhanfusa 2004, 12; Jan Brunius 2017, 73–78; Heikkilä 2017, esp. 83–84.

9 Stockholm, Stadsarkiv, Vallentuna kyrkoarkiv, N 1.

graduals, antiphonaries, missals, sequentiaries and hymnals. Indeed, the first printed book of music containing post-Reformation worship repertory in Latin, such as music for the Office for main feast days, was not published until 1620.<sup>10</sup> Many fragments of antiphonaries containing post-Reformation alterations have bailiffs' notes dating from the first twenty years of the seventeenth century, suggesting that they remained in use until then. This period also represents the final stage of repurposing liturgical books for administrative uses.<sup>11</sup> Although the bailiffs' notes may not always be helpful in determining the provenance of the fragment, they often provide a *terminus ante quem* for the liturgical use of a particular manuscript, and its preservation as a valuable object.

## 1 Post-Reformation changes found in fragments: style and substance

Although the changes in worship resulting from the Reformation did not lead to the eradication of all references to the Catholic worship, the calendar of celebrated saints was considerably reduced, and many of the non-biblical feasts were removed. The main saints and key figures such as the Holy Virgin, St John the Baptist, and the most popular saints continued to be revered, though with altered references.<sup>12</sup> The most common ways of accommodating old music to new worship practices is to replace a few key words with something deemed more suitable. The majority of changes detectable in the fragments are mainly a replacement of one or two words with an equal number of syllables, thus requiring no adjustments to the melody. One example is fragment F.m.II.47, which contains the sequence *Praecursorem summi regis* for the feast of the Beheading of St John the Baptist. The sequence was included in two pre-Reformation printed missals (*Missale Aboense* and *Missale Strengnense*), and it is also found unaltered in several other fragments.<sup>13</sup> On f. 8r the text *Laudes ergo mirifico Johanni per magnifico* was changed into *Laudes ergo mirifico Jesu Christo*

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<sup>10</sup> *Liber cantus in quo glorificationes, hoc est: Kyrie et Venite, nec non: Sequentiae ac Antiphonae, in summis & simplicibus Festis, atq; diebus Dominicalibus usitatae, continentur*, Uppsala: Eskil Mattsson, 1620.

<sup>11</sup> Brunius 2017, 73.

<sup>12</sup> Taitto 1992, 454.

<sup>13</sup> MPO Fr 8581, Fr 27097, Fr 28203, Fr 28248; The sequence is found also in Uppsala University Library, C.415, which is a defective manuscript copy of *Missale Lincopense*. See Björkqvall 2015, 116–117; Moberg 1927, 50–51; Haapanen 1930, 96.

*magnifico* by smudging over the original text and adding the changes underneath (Fig. 1).

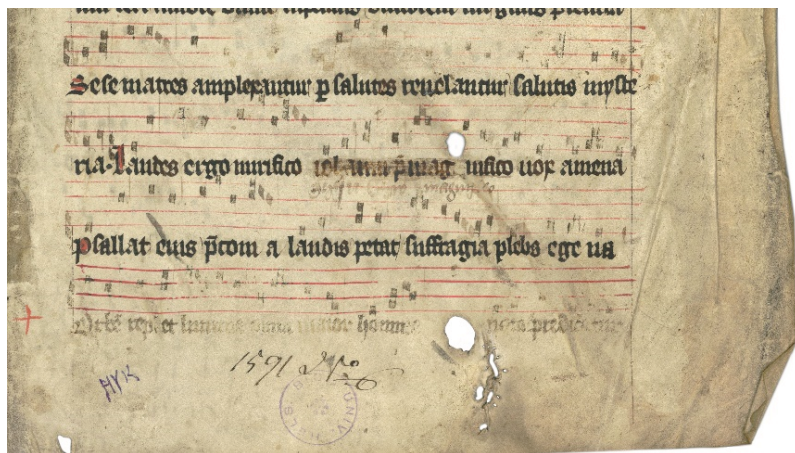


Fig. 1: Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m.II.47, f. 8r (detail); © Helsinki, National Library of Finland.

Similarly, the phrase *virgo, martir, doctor bone* on the verso side was altered to *Jhesu Christe, doctor bone*. In both places the melody and the poetic structure remained intact. Usually, the changes that can be observed in fragments concern only one piece instead of being consistently applied to all repertory: while in F.m.II.47 the sequence *Praecursorem summi regis* was altered, the following sequence *Jubar mundo geminatur* for the feast of Sts Peter and Paul remains in its original form, while this is altered in fragment F.m.II.120.<sup>14</sup> Here too, the textual change was made by simply swapping one word, from *vestre solvat pietatis* to *Christi solvat pietatis*.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, some text alterations might also appear due to differences in practices between dioceses.<sup>16</sup> For example, the text of the antiphon *Paulus et Iohannes dixerunt ad Terentianum* for the Feast of Sts John and Paul was replaced with that of the antiphon *Petrus apostolus et Paulus doctor* for the Feast of Sts Peter and Paul in F.m.IV.89, including a number of alterations in the melody; based on

<sup>14</sup> The sequence is found unaltered in MPO Fr 28205, Fr 28346, Fr 28349, Fr 30883, Fr 30884, and in F.m.II.120, F.m.I.145, F.m.I.219, F.m.I.232. See Björkqvall 2015, 118; Haapanen 1922, 70–71, 107–108, 115; Haapanen 1925, 70–71.

<sup>15</sup> Haapanen 1930, 97.

<sup>16</sup> Brunius 2008, 89–91

the style of the script, the changes are more likely to be from the sixteenth century rather than from prior to Reformation.<sup>17</sup> Here the textual changes do not refer to Christ as in the example above, so the change was possibly due to using the chant melody in a different context rather than accommodating a change in the doctrine.

Most of the alterations to the repertory for saints' feasts appear as individual cases, with the exception of the feast of St Lawrence, featuring three instances of text alteration.<sup>18</sup> The antiphon *Levita Laurentius bonum* in MPO Fr 284 shows another frequent case in the changing of certain key words, with *signum crucis* changed to *nomen Christi*. Different textual adaptations for the sequence *Stola jocunditatis* have survived in two parchment fragments.<sup>19</sup> In F.m.II.96 f. 2r, the sequence's original text underlay *ut hunc ergo per patronum* was changed into *per te ergo Jhesu Christe*. The original text was carefully scraped off and the new text addition modelled following the original script, in an attempt to preserve the visual integrity of the manuscript (Fig. 2).



**Fig. 2:** Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m.II.96, f. 2r (detail); © Helsinki, National Library of Finland.

<sup>17</sup> Taitto 2002, 111.

<sup>18</sup> Two of the changes are also noted in Haapanen 1930, 96–97.

<sup>19</sup> The sequence seems to have been very popular as it survives in several fragments. Unaltered versions are found in sixteen fragments from the MPO collection (Fr 25288, Fr 27059, Fr 27087, Fr 27677, Fr 28080, Fr 28093, Fr 28109, Fr 28127, Fr 28130, Fr 28159, Fr 28175, Fr 28205, Fr 28222, Fr 28245, Fr 28254, Fr 28306) and in eight fragments of the *Fragmenta Membranea* collection (F.m.I.219, F.m.I.287, F.m.I.337, F.m.I.360, F.m.II.70, F.m.II.51, F.m.II.102, F.m.II.112). See Björkqvall 2015, 130; Haapanen 1922, 107–8, 144–145, 172, 185–186; Haapanen 1925, 30–31, 41–42, 44–46, 58–59, 64–65, 73.

In F.m.II.77, preserving the metric pattern of the text was more of a concern for the scribe, as the same verse was changed from *ut hunc ergo per patronum* to *ut per Christum vite thronum*, in the more usual way of crossing over the original text and adding the correction above.<sup>20</sup> This particular alteration had a wider appeal and use, as it appears also in manuscripts written after the Reformation.<sup>21</sup>

The most extensive reworking of Latin text and consequently melody can be seen in an antiphony fragment F.m.IV.168, f. 1r, containing the antiphon *O beatum pontificem* for the Vespers of the feast of St Martin (Fig. 3).<sup>22</sup> The original text reads:

*O beatum pontificem, qui totis visceribus diligebat Christum regem, et non formidabat imperii principatum. O Martine dulcedo medicamentum et medice, o sanctissima anima, quam etsi gladius persecutoris non abstulit, tamen palmam martyrii non amisit*

The text has been corrected in the fragment into a rather inventive form:

*O Christum pontificem Deum patrem et non formidabat imperium Pilati. O salvator, dulcedo medicamentum et medice, o sanctissima anima, quam (et)si gladius persecutoris interemit, tamen palmam martyrii non amisit.*

The later scribe started to alter the text by erasing or amending it with a similar size script: the result was not wholly successful as the same amended words were added a second time, either above or below the text, for further clarification. However, the new text required the melody to be adapted accordingly. The repeated note F was removed because of the change from *pontificem* to *Christum*, while the melisma resulting from changing *principatum* to *pilati* has been adapted by connecting the *punctum* on D to the following *torculus* E-F-E in order to be sung as one single melodic gesture D-E-F-E (Fig. 4). Unlike the changes in the sequence *Stola jocunditatis*, the alteration on the antiphon seems to remain unique to this fragment, as later manuscripts retain the original text.<sup>23</sup> Other individual efforts in text alterations of similar length appear also in sources without accompanying notation, for example the hymn text *Ave maris stella* for

<sup>20</sup> Haapanen 1930, 97–98.

<sup>21</sup> The sequence with similarly altered text is found in Turku, Municipal Archives, Loimaa Parish Archives, III d.1, ff. 104r–105r, which was copied between the last quarter of sixteenth century to early seventeenth century.

<sup>22</sup> Taitto 2002, 181.

<sup>23</sup> An unaltered version of the antiphon is found for example in Vöyri, Church Archives, Käsik. Ia, f. 114r, and in Helsinki, National Library of Finland, A.ö.II.29, f. 113r–v, both copied in the latter half of the sixteenth century.

Marian devotion altered with references to Christ instead of the Holy Virgin in a breviary fragment, F.m.III.119.<sup>24</sup>



Fig. 3: Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m.IV.168, f. 1r; © Helsinki, National Library of Finland.

<sup>24</sup> Haapanen 1930, 100–102; Haapanen 1932, 53–54.





Fig. 4: Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m.IV.168, f. 1r (detail); © Helsinki, National Library of Finland.

The alterations to repertory in reference to local saints are also similarly occasional as the examples described above. The hymn *Gaude coetus fidelium* for St Henrik, the patron saint of Finland, is altered in a hymnal fragment F.m.III.125 (Fig. 5).<sup>25</sup> The original text *Huius nobis precatibus Jhesu da perpes gaudium* has been scraped off and changed to *Christe Iesu precatibus da perpes gaudium*, with the space of removed word *Jhesu* left blank.<sup>26</sup> The printed hymnals published after the Reformation contained predominantly hymns in the vernacular, with translations made from a mix of influences from Latin and German sources; in addition, the first hymnal in Finnish published in 1583 relied also on preceding sources in Swedish.<sup>27</sup> Only the more popular hymns and sequences are referred to with their original Latin title, and hymns for some main feasts like Christmas could contain the complete text both in Latin and in vernacular. Although the later hymnals did not include this hymn for St Henrik, nor was there a translation made from it, this survives in two post-Reformation sources with similar text alteration as seen in the fragment, suggesting that it may have had wider appeal. Manuscripts Loimaa, Parish Archives, III d 1, and the *Liber Olavi Lauri norbotnensis* (Vöyri, Church Archives, Ib) were both written at the end of the sixteenth century at the earliest, and contain extensive collections of hymns in Latin. In both manuscripts, the alteration is seen in its full poetic form as *Christe Iesu precatibus Deus da perpes gaudium* and, just like the fragment, they retain all other references to St Henrik in other verses. The notation in the fragment is partially missing due to its poor condition, but the post-Reformation sources contain the full melody in two phrases for each verse.

<sup>25</sup> For an edition of the hymn see Taitto 1998, 78–79.

<sup>26</sup> Haapanen 1930, 98; Haapanen 1932, 56.

<sup>27</sup> Kurvinen 1929, 82–140. A facsimile of the first Finnish hymnal is Lempiäinen 1988.



Fig. 5: Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m.III.125, f. 2v; © Helsinki, National Library of Finland.



Fig. 6: Stockholm, National Archives, MPO Fr 2580; © Stockholm, National Archives.

Latin was not the only language used for textual modifications. Most of the core pre-Reformation repertory survived thanks to the text being translated to either Swedish or Finnish. This is the case of the sequence *Victimae paschali laudes*, which remained in use in both its vernacular and Latin versions. The Swedish translation *Jesus Christus han ähr worden* follows the syllabic structure of Latin

very closely, thus not requiring any adjustments in the melody.<sup>28</sup> In both MPO Fr 2580 and F.m.I.137 the original Latin text was retained, with the new text in Swedish aligned neatly underneath it (Fig. 6). Instead of writing the melody once, but with multiple text underlay, as seen in the fragment, and despite the close match of the syllabic structure of the vernacular translation, the scribes of later codices usually decided to copy the sequence several times consecutively.<sup>29</sup> An exception to this practice is found in an early seventeenth-century manuscript from Dannäs parish in Småland, in which the sequences *Victimae paschali laudes*, *Sancte spiritus adsit nobis gratia* and *Rex omnipotens* are set with double text underlay in both Latin and Swedish.<sup>30</sup> The design of the pages was certainly deliberate, since the scribe anticipated the placement of two lines of text under the melodies by increasing the space between the staves and reducing the number of staves to seven, instead of the more prevalent pattern of nine staves per page.

Familiar melodies for the Ordinary of the Mass remained in use, as can be seen in F.m.II.44, where the melodies for the first Kyrie and Gloria for a double feast are amended with a Finnish translation: *Herra armahda meidem pällem* ('Lord have mercy upon us'), *Cunnia olkon Jumalan corceuxes* ('Glory to God in the highest') (Fig. 7).<sup>31</sup> The fragment belongs to a group identified as *Graduale Aboense*, which is a partial reconstruction of a book that originates from the beginning of the fifteenth century and was used in the Diocese of Turku (Åbo).<sup>32</sup> In addition to the Kyrie and Gloria the fragment also has a translation of *Agnus Dei* (*O Jumalan Caritza*) for a Sunday or a simple feast, all presumably by the same scribe. The Finnish translation is set under the original Latin text, written in approximately the same script size and closely following the chant melody, including additional vertical lines indicating word divisions. In some cases, the new text underlay required the addition of repeated notes, as well as the division of the long melismas: particularly in the Kyrie, the word *armahda* ('have mercy') is consistently placed at the point of a distinct leap of fifth indicated by a *pes*.

<sup>28</sup> Taitto 1992, 243–246; Hannikainen 2006, 22–23.

<sup>29</sup> Helsinki, National Library of Finland, C.ö.IV.12 ('Urjalan Laulukirja') copied in the early seventeenth century has the sequence in Latin, Swedish and Finnish on ff. 81v–84r, as does Helsinki, National Library of Finland, Coll. 762.3, on ff. 16v–18r.

<sup>30</sup> Landsarkivet i Vadstena, Dannäs kyrkoarkiv, P IV 1, ff. 80r–v, 83v–87r.

<sup>31</sup> The fragment discussed here is also used as an example to illustrate the continued use of familiar melodies in Hannikainen/Tuppurainen 2016, 160 (esp. Fig. 5.1).

<sup>32</sup> Taitto 2002a, 6, 207, 216–220.



Fig. 7: Helsinki, National Library of Finland, F.m.II.44, f. 42r; © Helsinki, National Library of Finland.

Melodic alterations and divisions of melody to fit the vernacular text seen in the fragment are present also in later sources in both Finnish and Swedish, either

retaining the original rubric or referring to the melody as *In summis festis*.<sup>33</sup> The sources preserving the Finnish translation reveal slight alterations of the melody and text compared to the version in the fragment. A manuscript from the early seventeenth century (National Library of Finland, A.ö.II.33) has altered the placement of the text for Kyrie by leaving the leap of fifth for word *armahda* to the end of the melisma for *Herra*. In an early post-Reformation manuscript copied in the first half of the sixteenth century (National Library of Finland C.III.19, 'Codex Westh'), the translation for the Gloria (f. 94r–v) is slightly different from the fragment, resulting in small variance in the melody: *Cunnia olcon Jumalan corkeuxis ia rauha maan päällä ia inhimisten hyvä tahto*; as opposed to fragment's version *Cunnia olcon Jumalan corkeuxes, ia maassa rauha [ia] inhimisten hyvä tahto*.

The psalm verse *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus quoniam in saeculum misericordia eius* (Ps 118:1) in F.m.II.66 (f. 1r) is supplemented with a Finnish text above the original Latin: *Kittek[ät] herra sille hen ombi h[yvä] ja henen Laupiudens onbi janka[ikkinen]*.<sup>34</sup> The text is a straightforward translation, written above the original text in small script with no particular setting of syllables to the melody. In the first printed translation of the Book of Psalms in Finnish published in 1551 (*Davidin Psaltari*), Mikael Agricola's translation *Kijtteket Herra Sille hen on Armachtaia ja henen Laupiudhens pysypi ijancaikisesta* mirrors the syllabic count of the original Latin text, unlike the version seen in the fragment.<sup>35</sup> Finally, the bailiffs' notes on the fragment were made around 1600, so it is not possible to ascertain whether the translation in the fragment predates Agricola's publication, or whether it was a variation used around the same time or after the printed publication.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Sources that include the Kyriale melodies are Helsinki, National Library of Finland, C.ö.III.17 (late sixteenth century), f. 1r; Landsarkivet i Vadstena, Järstads kyrkoarkiv P IV 2 (early seventeenth century?), ff. 33r–35r; Landsarkivet i Vadstena, Rumskulla kyrkoarkiv P IV 1 (early seventeenth century) ff. 24v–26v; Landsarkivet i Vadstena, Östra Husby kyrkoarkiv P IV 1 (early seventeenth century), ff. 13r–14v. The Kyriale melodies more generally used in Finnish sources are further illustrated and discussed in Tuppurainen/Hannikainen 2010, 13.

<sup>34</sup> Haapanen 1925, 40.

<sup>35</sup> Agricola 1551, f. 86v.

<sup>36</sup> A selection of psalms was published again in 1583 by Jacobus Finno as part of the first printed hymnal in Finnish, which however did not include Psalm 118. A facsimile of Finno's hymnal is found in Lempiäinen 1988.

## 2 Production of parchment manuscripts after the Reformation

The material format of parchment manuscripts maintained some appeal even after the Reformation, as attested by seven pieces of fragments surviving from a source containing chants for the Mass dating to the 1530s. The surviving fragments come possibly from as many as three separate manuscripts that contained the same repertory. Five folios are held in Uppsala Landsarkiv (of which two folios are from Kungsåra, two from Tortuna, and one from Folkärna), and one further bifolium, MPO Fr 4286, was bound with bailiffs' notes from Glanshammar in Västmanland from 1588 (Fig. 8).<sup>37</sup> All fragments have similar dimensions for the notation, with noteheads of c.3–4 mm in height, and red staves made with a rastrum of approximately 17 mm in height. Since the same Kyrie melody *De Apostolis* appears in three of the fragments, it is very likely that these came from as many separate volumes, instead of one single codex. Moreover, although the fragments are not identical in terms of content, the consistent layout and appearance suggests that they were produced in the same place and in a relatively short period of time.<sup>38</sup> Based on the melodic versions in the fragments Folke Bohlin's research suggests an origin for the original manuscripts in the diocese of Västerås, commissioned by bishop Henricus Johannis (1534–1556).<sup>39</sup>

The abandoning of Latin in favour of local vernacular languages for the celebration of the Mass did not happen immediately throughout the kingdom. Even though from 1530 the Mass began to be sung exclusively in Swedish in Stockholm, followed by the publication of *Messan på Swensko* by the royal printing house, some areas resisted changes to the point of open rebellion.<sup>40</sup> The first written evidence of a Mass sung in Swedish outside Stockholm was in Rytterne church in 1535, which belonged to the Västerås diocese. Bohlin suggests that the fragments in question may predate this record, as bishop Henricus most likely undertook some 'trial runs' in his own cathedral prior to introducing the repertory in smaller parishes.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Uppsala, Landsarkiv, Pärmyfynd 23. In MPO Fr 4286, the passion hymn, written in *cantus fractus* 'O rene gudz lamb' to be sung instead of the Agnus Dei (*De Sanctis et de Apostolis*), followed by Kyrie ('Herre förbarma tigh') (*In adventu et in quadragesima dominicus diebus*).

<sup>38</sup> Fransén 1927, esp. 24–34.

<sup>39</sup> Bohlin 2004, esp. 96.

<sup>40</sup> Berntson 2010.

<sup>41</sup> Bohlin 2004, 97



Fig. 8: Stockholm, National Archives, MPO Fr 4286, f. 1r; © Stockholm, National Archives.

The surviving parchment leaves are not only a testament to the financial means and eagerness for reform in worship of the Västerås bishop, but could also be interpreted as a method for incorporating the new worship into the pre-existing liturgical books; the dimensions of the largest surviving fragment, the Kungsåra fragment (432 × 305) and the visual appearance of all the fragments relate closely to the books used preceding the Reformation. We cannot exclude the possibility that, instead of complete codices, the bishop commissioned only a few quires with the purpose of incorporating them into the existing pre-Reformation



liturgical books, which in turn would attest to the continued use of old books.<sup>42</sup> Evidence for the production of several manuscripts may indicate that the bishop was giving the parchment quires as gifts in an attempt to spread the Mass in Swedish, rather than imposing the acquisition of newly printed books.

### 3 Conclusions

The examples discussed here attest to the continuing use of the pre-Reformation manuscripts for post-Reformation worship. Although it was often sufficient to write the new text near the pre-existing text underlay, occasionally interventions present in the manuscript fragments indicate the scribes' concern with preserving the appearance of the original book by carefully removing old text and writing the replacement in similar hand. Moreover, attention to melodic changes caused by the addition of the new text is not consistent between the surviving examples. Alterations, therefore, further illustrate the absence of large-scale systematic efforts in the renewal of liturgy throughout the kingdom during the sixteenth century. The opposition to change in particular areas, as well as the differing attitudes to Reformation held by King Gustav Vasa and his successors, the production of new manuscripts by the clergy, as well as the eventual increase in printed books being published by the royal printing house, are all contributing factors to a gradual and diversified reception of Church reforms. Alterations seen in these fragments should be considered as valuable material evidence of the variety of approaches taken by local clergy in negotiating the complexities of implementing new aspects of worship in their respective areas; they are also highly important witnesses to the continuing use of Latin in Lutheran worship across Sweden. Old books certainly did not end up on the scrapheap immediately, and parchment manuscripts continued to be used to some extent in the Kingdom parishes, possibly as late as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

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<sup>42</sup> Old printed missals also bear evidence to their continued use after the Reformation with additional quires added to accommodate changes in worship, for example the copy of *Missale Aboense* held in Kangasala church archives has additional text and notation added both at the beginning and end of its original bindings. For the digital facsimile see <<http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe201102171251c>> (accessed 28 May 2020).

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