



Marie Lennersand, Åsa Karlsson and Henrik Klackenberg (eds) *Fragment ur arkiven. Festskrift till Jan Brunius* (Skrifter utgivna av Riksarkivet 37), Stockholm 2013. 378 pp.

Jan Brunius has made a long career in the Swedish National Archives, where he came in 1979, already a year before he was awarded his doctorate in history in the University of Lund. He has been responsible for the older archival materials from 1989, when he also began as the archivist of the Royal Palace. In addition, he has taught and supervised academic theses, and been active in several research projects. The variety of his interests and connections is certainly reflected in this varied collection of articles.

Perhaps the most important of his projects was *Medeltida PergamentOmslag (MPO)* (1995–2004), where he led the cataloguing of medieval parchment fragments in the national archives. Its importance is certainly reflected in the number of contributions to this volume pertaining to parchment fragments. The Nordic medieval fragments have survived as covers to or in bindings of administrative documents, in the Swedish case records of taxes reported annually to Stockholm from each bailiwick of the realm between c. 1530 and 1630. The majority of the records, with their parchment covers, are in the Swedish National Archives, while those records pertaining to the Finnish bailiwicks are in the National Archives of Finland and their parchment covers in the National Library.¹ Through my involvement with the Finnish collection of fragments, I was in a position to witness as the present volume was given to its dedicatee in Stockholm in 2013, in connection with the *Nordic Conference on Medieval Book Fragments* (21–23 May): the editors had managed to keep the book secret from their colleague, who was pleasantly surprised and moved by it.

¹ Both collections of parchment fragments are now catalogued on line: the MPO-database, at <http://sok.riksarkivet.se/mpo> (last consulted 18 June 2015) and the Finnish *Fragmenta membranea*, at <http://fragmenta.kansalliskirjasto.fi/> (last consulted 18 June 2015).

The collection comprises 27 articles, all in Swedish unless otherwise noted. After a short preface (10–12) by Marie Lennerstrand and Åsa Karlsson, introducing Brunius and his work, and the *tabula gratulatoria*, the collection opens with Leif Gidlöf's essay (19–30) on the research profiles of archives and the co-operation of archives with researchers. Gidlöf notes that although fewer archivists today have research degrees, an archive should know the materials it preserves, not least in order to promote their use. Nevertheless, as he notes, co-operation between researchers and archives also calls for initiative on the part of the research community. Gidlöf concludes by recommending that archives be made more attractive as employers to those with research degrees.

The next seven articles discuss a miscellaneous assortment of topics of Swedish history, united through their authors' connection to the dedicatee of the collection and in some cases through Brunius' involvement with some of the topics discussed. Evabritta Wallberg (31–46) examines Lizinka Dyrssen (1866–1952), a daughter of an aristocratic family, as the president of the women's organisation of the Swedish Red Cross (1905–25). She notes that under Dyrssen's leadership the organisation grew to become the largest women's organisation in Sweden. Bo Vahlne (47–62) tracks down and tries to reconstruct the decoration and furniture, especially the bed, gifted by the artisans' society of Stockholm in 1805 for the state bedroom of King Gustav IV Adolf (r. 1792–1809). Göran Dahlbäck (63–76) discusses Johan Gustav Strandberg's (1782–1854) painting of the visit of Gustav Eriksson (later King Gustav I Vasa of Sweden, r. 1521–60) to Tärnö in 1520, painted roughly ten years before the artist executed a series of frescoes for the king's funerary chapel in Uppsala Cathedral.

In his contribution Lars Hallberg (77–93) discusses the marriage of Christina Egypta Bonaparte (1798–1847), Napoleon's niece, to the Swedish Count Arvid Posse (1782–1831), and especially the protracted annulment of the marriage after Christina left her husband for an Englishman, Lord Dudley Coutts Stuart (1803–54). She gave birth to a son by her new partner, and securing the child's legitimacy necessitated a process that involved both Swedish and papal courts. The author thus has occasion to discuss Swedish dynastic politics during Napoleon's reigns, as well as Lutheran – Catholic relations.

Two articles discuss Queen Hedwig Eleonora of Sweden (1636–1715). Åsa Karlsson surveys (94–107) the panegyrics to the queen in occasional poetry, while Björn Asker (108–121) examines nobility and social stratification in her Queen Dowager's court, set up after the death of King Charles X Gustav (r. 1654–60). Anna-Brita Lövgren (122–32) discusses passports, which she defines as permissions to travel or traffic, during the

reign of Gustav I, primarily used to control outside threats, direct commerce and to limit the misuse of the subjects' duty to transport and lodge royal officials.

Gisela Attinger's article (113–43) opens the thematically most coherent section of the collection, comprising seven articles that deal with medieval parchment fragments. Attinger's contribution, in Norwegian, discusses a set of fragments of the same original manuscripts divided between the Swedish and Norwegian national archives. The fragments preserved in Norway are better known, having been studied by the eminent liturgist Lilli Gjerløw.² Attinger takes a closer look at the remains of a fifteenth-century Norwegian antiphoner, connecting fragments in Sweden to those known from the Norwegian collection.

Gunilla Björkvall's article (144–57) discusses a previously unnoticed Latin sequence, *Haec est domus domini*, apparently created somewhere in Sweden by the fourteenth century – indications point toward the diocese of Linköping, or possibly Västerås – to be used in the feast of dedication of a church. Björkvall gives the text of the sequence and a Swedish translation, and Karin Strinnholm Lagergren presents a transcription of the notes (158–61).

Tuomas Heikkilä's article, in English, discusses (162–76) the fragments of a fourteenth-century Parisian lectionary divided between the Finnish and Swedish fragment collections. The article presents a useful overview in English of recent research on book culture in medieval Finland, and on the establishment of diocesan liturgy in Turku (Åbo) in the early fourteenth century, based on Dominican use. The date of the lectionary, which is clearly written for use in the diocese, fits with the date of these liturgical developments. It is not, however, a secular manuscript, but apparently commissioned in Paris by the Dominicans of Turku. Heikkilä also discusses exceptional information of the later ownership history of the manuscript.

In his article (177–90), in English, Michael Gullick, who in many ways has pioneered the palaeographical study of the Nordic fragment collections,³ discusses a charter for the nunnery of Vreta (dated in 1216–22) and an early thirteenth-century breviary surviving in fragments in Finland and Sweden. Gullick argues that the liturgical manuscript was copied by the scribe of the charter and discusses the possible identity of the scribe, whether a nun of Vreta or a cleric working for a bishop.

² Lilli Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis ecclesiae (Libri liturgici Provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi, 3)*, Oslo 1979, pl. 73 for the fragments discussed by Attinger.

³ Michael Gullick, 'Preliminary observations on Romanesque manuscript fragments of English, Norman and Swedish origin in the Riksarkivet (Stockholm)', Jan Brunius ed., *Medieval book fragments in Sweden* (Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Konferenser, 58), Stockholm 2005, 31–82.

Anna Wolodarski (191–210) surveys the early history of the study of the Nordic fragment collections, focusing on the activities of G. E. Klemming (1828–93) in the nineteenth century. Klemming was chiefly interested in fragments of incunabula in the fragment material and discovered the remains of several previously unknown liturgical incunabula produced for Swedish dioceses. Wolodarski notes that while many fragments were used to reconstruct the original books, often without any attention to the provenance of individual leaves, many leaves were dispersed as gifts to Klemming's friends and bibliophiles – for instance, each copy in a special edition of fifty of his *Sveriges äldsta liturgiska litteratur* (1878) apparently came with a number of original fragments! The article concludes with a list of the fragments of printed books still preserved at the Swedish National Archives.

Erik Niblaeus examines (211–9) the oldest Bible fragments in the Swedish and Finnish collections, focusing especially on the remains, divided between Helsinki, London and Stockholm, of a luxurious eleventh-century Gospel book. That manuscript was, according to Hartmut Hoffmann, copied by a scribe known to have copied other surviving books, apparently in Cologne in the first third of the eleventh century, including a Gospel book for Bamberg cathedral.⁴ Niblaeus discusses how such books could have come to medieval Sweden, noting that they were frequently used as gifts in diplomacy and when making connections between religious institutions and that missionaries could have carried them, not least for using them as impressive parts of liturgical celebrations.

Seppo Eskola's contribution (220–31), in English, focuses on the methodological issues of using fragments that survive as coverings of administrative documents. As Brunius has established,⁵ the process was not regulated, but at least two general scenarios emerge from the material. Some books were dismembered in the offices of the fiscal administration in Stockholm and the fragments produced by this process characteristically cover documents for a very limited period of time but pertaining to several different parts of the realm. Other books were recycled by the bailiffs, producing fragments that cover documents from a single locality or one bailiwick over a long period of time. In his article Eskola discusses the special case of the tax administration of Duke Johan of Finland (1556–63, future King John III of Sweden, r. 1568–92), headquartered in Turku. A number of fragmentary manuscripts can be shown to have been

⁴ Hartmut Hoffmann, *Bamberger Handschriften des 10. und des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften, 39) Hannover 1995, 114.

⁵ Jan Brunius, 'Kammaren, fogdarna och de medeltida böckerna. Studier kring pergamentsomslagen i Riksarkivet', P. Aronsson, B. Björkman and L. Johansson (eds) ... *och fram träder landsbygdens människor...* Studier i nordisk och småländsk historia tillägnade Lars-Olof Larsson på 60-årsdagen den 15 november 1994, Växjö, 109–122.

dismembered centrally in Turku, others can be connected to bailiffs active in the duchy. In both cases the provenance can be used to argue that the original books were probably in use in medieval Finland.

These articles on the Nordic fragments testify to the lively research that has resulted from and been inspired by the MPO-project led by Brunius. While progress on many fronts is palpable, in most cases the results so far point towards the need for further research, as many authors point out. Of the present contributions the most valuable are undoubtedly those concerned with the methods of researching these fragments.

The rest of the collection comprises a miscellany on medieval issues. Eva Odelman examines (232–43) Latin-Swedish bilingualism in the middle ages, and presents examples from testaments, secular and ecclesiastical accounts, sermons and prayer books, as well as the letters of Bishop Hans Brask of Linköping (in office 1513–27). Apart from the sermons, which are somewhat more amply discussed, the examples seem to be mostly left to speak for themselves. Sara Risberg (244–55) presents the struggles for control of the house of St Birgitta in Rome in 1508–24 when Petrus Magni (later bishop of Västerås, 1524–34) was its overseer. Francesca Papazuri had donated her house in the Campo de' Fiori (today overlooking the Piazza Farnese), where Birgitta had lived, to the monastery of Vadstena, and the monastery used it as a guest house for Swedes visiting Rome. Risberg describes how when Petrus arrived in Rome he had to deal with his corrupt predecessor and the monastery's representative in the curia to secure control of the house for Vadstena. The article includes a transcription Petrus Magni's letter to his monastery 13 April 1510, where he narrated the convoluted main stages of the struggle.

In his article, in English, Ville Walta discusses (226–68) the scribal activities of brother Jöns Budde (fl. 1460s-90s) of the Birgittine house of Naantali (Nådendal) in Finland. Budde actively translated Latin devotional texts to Swedish for the use of the nuns of his house. These mostly survive in copies made in Vadstena, but some are preserved in an autograph manuscript, mostly written c. 1487–91.⁶ One text in that manuscript, however, a life of St Catherine of Sweden (1331–81), is copied in a slightly different hand and its place among Budde's translations has been questioned. Using his analysis of the hand in several documents written between 1459 and 1471 by a scribe that may be identifiable with Budde, Walta argues that also the life of St Catherine was copied by Budde, but

⁶ Stockholm, Kungliga biblioteket, A 58. See now the description by Ville Walta of this manuscript, created as a part of the *Codices Fennici* -project, <http://www.finlit.fi/sites/default/files/mediafiles/tutkimus/stockholmkba58.pdf> (last consulted 18 June 2015).

earlier than the rest of the manuscript, roughly at the same time as he was active as a scribe of documents.

Claes Gejrot in his contribution (269–79) transcribes, translates and discusses two interesting short texts on making ink (*Ad faciendum bonum jncaustum ymo optimum*) and good handwriting (*Forma optima scriptoris*). These texts come from a Vadstena manuscript, possibly originating in Germany.⁷ Olle Ferm presents a short and a rather impressionistic essay (280–7) on the use of humour to criticise those in power and powerful institutions.

Birgitta Fritz gives (288–305) an interesting overview of the last decade's developments in archaeological studies of medieval Vadstena: as per her title, recent research finds the town 'older, bigger, and better fortified'. Especially interesting is the new understanding of the history of the locality before the establishment of Vadstena monastery in the thirteenth-century royal palace of the Folkunga family: the area seems to have been already before the historical period dominated by aristocratic landowners, who built private churches on their estates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Marie Lennersand discusses (306–18) medieval Swedish law commissions, through three cases where a royal letter ratifying the law describes its creation: the regional laws of Uppland (1296) and Södermanland (c. 1327) and King Magnus Eriksson's law of the land (c. 1350). Lennersand notes at the outset that the letters of ratification do not necessarily describe the process as it actually was, not least because in the case of the law of Södermanland the description can be shown to be based on that associated with the law of Uppland. Rather, she reads them as texts involved in negotiating and bringing about the promulgation of law in a period when royal power was in development and legislation was never the sole prerogative of the king.

Roger Axelsson examines (319–335) the contexts of the medieval rebuilding and later decline of Gråborg, a prehistoric early medieval fortification on Öland. By proposing that the fortification is found (as *Burghær*) among the hard to localise place names listed as the Danish king Valdemar I's (r. 1146–82) Swedish possessions, he argues that it was rebuilt in the later twelfth century in the context of Danish expansion in the Baltic. Its decline in the thirteenth century coincides with the founding of the Swedish centre of Borgholm on the island and with the passing of Valdemar I's Swedish lands through inheritance to Svantepolk Knutsson (d. 1310), an

⁷ Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, C 228.

aristocrat active in the retinue of the Swedish king Magnus Birgersson (r. 1275–90).

Sven-Erik Pernler in his article examines (336–49) the route Archbishop Olof Björnsson of Uppsala (in office 1315–31) took in his visitation to the northern parts of his diocese in the winter of 1318–19. Particularly he focuses on the problem of localising *Froghi*, a place given in a surviving document as lying between the known parishes Nora and Hässjö. After a short discussion Pernler moves to explore the most plausible possibility, namely that *Froghi* is a misreading of *Scoghi*. However, as Pernler notes, reviewing what is known of the age of the church and parish of Skog, the document in question would be the earliest and for some time only information of the existence of a church in Skog.

Sigurd Rahmqvist (350–8) presents a collection of descriptions of the locations of fields in fifteenth-century documents from Uppland, to demonstrate (as he explains only after the reader has had to wade through the examples) that agricultural land was not commonly divided into tracts according to the *solskifte*-system, the point of which was to arrange the fields in order to give each farmer equal access to sunlight. *Solskifte* was proposed in the regional law of Uppland, to be implemented if landowners could agree to do so – but it was not necessary if everyone was happy with the existing system. Rahmqvist suggests that the system was easiest to implement in villages with only one landowner.

In the final contribution to the volume (359–75), Tryggve Siltberg discusses landownership and society in medieval Gotland, and compares it with Iceland, as both can be called ‘farmer republics’ (p. 361, ‘bonderepublik’). Nevertheless, he argues that the inhabitants of Gotland were freer: he finds that Gotland had a relatively large number of relatively large landowners, while in Iceland much of the land was owned by a relatively small number of very large owners. He also argues that Gotland was largely independent of the Swedish kingdom in foreign policy, trade and jurisdiction. The parishes of the island had roles similar to those of courts of law and assemblies in mainland Sweden, and Siltberg argues that they also gave protection to their members, so that there was no need for patronage and thus no avenue for larger owners to enrich themselves at their neighbours’ expense.

Academic edited volumes can be diffuse, and a *Festschrift* is probably a particularly challenging subtype in this respect. The editors of the present volume seem to have chosen inclusiveness over thematic coherence in their selection of contributors. Moreover, their editorial touch has been especially light, as can be seen in the variety of approaches taken in the various contributions: some are fully fledged research articles while others are closer

to sketches or well-meaning bagatelles. Each author also seems to have followed their own referencing system. Despite the erudite nature of many of the articles and the high esteem and affection for Jan Brunius and his work that the collection deservedly embodies, I cannot say that the experience of reading through this book has been a particularly pleasant one. But a collection of this kind is, of course, rarely approached in this way. Insofar as its variety is unified principally in the person of its dedicatee, a collection like this should in the first place please that person. The rest of us mostly mine such books for contributions pertinent to our current concerns. In the varieties of its themes the book reflects Brunius' varied interests, and offers contributions of interest to anyone working on Swedish history, especially the medieval period, and certainly to everyone working on or interested in the medieval parchment fragments.

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