CHAPTER 2

Catholic Heritage, Lutheran Networks and Family Reputation: the Case of the *Piae Cantiones* Collection (1582–1625)

Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen

Producing and publishing Latin and vernacular songbooks was not only a religious, musical or literary gesture but also an investment of an author's, compiler's or editor's reputation which also involved supporters, patrons or powerful protectors. Networks that lay behind a book's production reveal the significance of individual publication events and help to unmask the sometimes intriguing religious connotations.

This chapter focuses on the communities and networks of learned clergymen and aristocrats who reworked the Catholic heritage and introduced new Lutheran forms of worship, practices such as congregational singing of hymns.[1] In doing so, they adopted various stances towards cultural resources at hand, both Latin literary heritage and oral vernacular traditions. The focal point is the editions of *Piae Cantiones* (1582, 1625) and its Finnish (1616) and partial Swedish (1591, 1608, 1614, 1619) translations. The elite network of learned Lutheran clergymen and their aristocratic patrons did not attach itself only to the multilingual literary great tradition; it was also in touch with the local vernacular small tradition. In addition to literary networks the families and relatives of all the actors are relevant, whether they were noble, clergymen and learned or coastal burghers and wealthy peasants.

In the age of consolidating Lutheran Orthodoxy when suspicions of being a Catholic led to exile or a death sentence and all forms of both 'popishness' and 'paganism' were condemned, some Lutheran clergymen, academics, nobles and burghers were actively cherishing parts of the medieval Catholic cultural heritage which they knew included suspicious contents, as the prefaces to the various collections of hymns published at the time, the alterations to the texts

1 I am indebted to Lari Ahokas who has worked as a research assistant to our project. He has helped me to interpret original sources and found some new ones. He has made numerous diligent comments and corrections for argumentation and references. I am, of course, solely responsible for all remaining flaws.

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and added biblical glosses clearly show.[2] Obviously the *Piae Cantiones* collection was understood as valuable and prestigious but at the same time it needed to be presented in a way that suited the contemporary religious and political atmosphere.

The original first edition of *Piae Cantiones* was published in 1582 in Greifswald by Theodoricus Petri Nylandensis (*c.*1560–*c.*1602/1617), or Didrik Persson Ruuth (Rwtha), a student from Nyland (Swedish) or Uusimaa (Finnish) in Finland, and printed by Augustin Ferber (Fig. 2.1.). The book contained seventy-four mostly medieval Latin pious songs and their musical notation.[3]

Some songs were included in contemporary Lutheran hymnbooks, such as the macaronic Christmas carol *In dulci iubilo* in Latin and Swedish or Latin and Finnish and even only in Finnish while the original was composed in Latin and German.[4] Some selections in Swedish translation and Latin original

2 *Cantiones piae et antiquae veterum episcoporum & pastorum in inclyto regno Sveciae praesertim in magno ducatu Finlandiae usurpatae, & primum opera viri nobilis Theodorici Petri Rwtha anno 1582 typis comissae. Nunc autem sumptibus virorum nobilium Johannis & Bartholdi Petri Rwtha; item Jacobi, Petri & Theobaldi Bartholdi Rwtha, fratrum, fratrueliumq; p. m. Theodorici Rwtha, denuo cum quibusdam marginalibus & locis S. Scripturam à viris Orthodoxis Diocesis Wijburg; illustratae prodeunt, hic accesserunt etjam cantiones quadam nove* (Rostock, 1625), pp. A1^{r}–A5^{v}, USTC 254953; cf. Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius, *Några psalmer, andelige wijsor och lofsonger, vthsatte af Lavrentio Jonae Gestritio … och nu med noter affsatte, och aff trycket vtgångne aff Haqvino Lavrentii A. Rhezelio Predikant i Gråmuncka Clöster med egen bekostning* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1619), pp. v^{r}–vi^{v}, USTC 252187.

3 *Piae Cantiones Ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum, In Inclyto Regno Sueciae passim vsurpatae, nuper studio viri cuiusdam Reuerendiss: de Ecclesia Dei & Schola Aböensi in Finlandia optimè meriti accuratè mendis correctae, & nunc typis commissae, opera Theoderici Petri Nylandensis. His adiecti sunt aliquot ex Psalmis recentioribus.* (*Greifswald: Augustin Ferber, 1582*), USTC 552285; facs. edn Einari Marvia, *Piae cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum episcoporum 1582* (Helsinki: Edition Fazer, 1967); see Rolf Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', *Skrifter utgifna af Svenska litteratursällskapet i Finland*, 78 (1907), pp. 57–111; Tobias Norlind, *Latinska skolsånger i Sverige och Finland* (Lund: Håkan Ohlssons boktryckeri, 1909), pp. 46–150; Timo Mäkinen, *Die aus frühen böhmischen Quellen überlieferten 'Piae cantiones' Melodie* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 1964); Timo Mäkinen, *Piae Cantiones -sävelmien lähdetutkimuksia* (Helsinki: Suomen musiikkitieteellinen seura, 1968); Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed in Latin and Vernacular Cultures from the Middle Ages to the Early Seventeenth Century: *Ramus virens oliuarum*', in Lars Boje Mortensen, Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Alexandra Bergholm (eds.), *The Performance of Christian and Pagan Storyworlds. Non-Canonical Chapters of the History of Nordic Medieval Literature* (Turnhout: Brepols), pp. 109–110.

4 Lempiäinen, Pentti (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1988), pp. 95–96, 271–272; Jacobus Finno, [*Wirsikiria*], (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1583), USTC 300513; Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, '[*I. Muutamat kiitos-wirdhed uudhest Testamentist. …*]' (Stockholm, 1605(?)), digital text edn [based on 1605(?) and 1630

were published in collections of spiritual songs by the vicar Laurentius Jonae Gestricius in 1591 and in its continuation posthumously by his son Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius in 1619.[5] In between these two publications Sigfridus Aronus Forsius translated some pieces and published them in 1608 and 1614 (uncertain dating) together with some other psalms and hymns.[6] Two songs, *Puer natus in Bethelem* and *In dulci iubilo*, were translated and published by Jacobus Finno in his Finnish hymnbook in 1583. Three more (*Resonet in laudibus*, *Christus pro nobis passus est*, part of *Omnis mundus iucundetur*, new translations of *In dulci iubilo* and *Puer natus in Bethelem*) were added in Finnish by the vicar Hemmingius Henrici of Masku in the second expanded edition of the Finnish hymnbook in 1605(?). They were translated by himself and by the dean of Turku cathedral parish, Petrus Henrici Melartopaeus, a fervent proponent of Lutheran orthodoxy.[7]

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prints], http://kaino.kotus.fi/korpus/vks/meta/virret/hemm1605_rdf.xml, Hemm1605-136:1-L8b-Hemm1605-137:4-L9a, accessed 18 July 2019, cf. USTC 252059; Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Kati Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet ja virsisuomennokset; seremoniat, kansanusko ja runokieli 1500- ja 1600-luvun Suomessa', *Suomen kirkkohistoriallisen seuran vuosikirja*, 106 (2016), pp. 183–184; Otfried Czaika, '*In dulci iubilo*. Ein Weinachtslied in der pro-swedischen Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Kriegs', in Dessislava Stoeva-Holm and Susanne Tienken (eds.), *Von Köchinnen und Gelehrten, von Adligen und Soldaten. Interdisziplinäre Zugänge zum Erschießen meschlischen Daseins in der Vormoderne* (Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet 2014), pp. 179–199; Otfried Czaika, 'Roggebibliotekets exemplar av Then Swenska Psalmboken 1582', in Otfried Czaika (ed.), *Then Swenska Psalmeboken 1582. Utgåva med inlednade kommentarer* (Skara: Skara Stiftshistoriska sällskap, 2016), pp. 89, 91, 95.

5 Laurentius Jonae Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor och Loffsonger. Vthsatte aff Laurentio Jonae Gestritio pastore Hernösandensi* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz 1591), Ai^{r}–Aiiij^{r}, USTC 300484; Rhezelius (ed.), *Några psalmer*; Emil Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer och psalmister* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1932), pp. 53–56; Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, 2: *reformationstiden och stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Gebers, 1927), pp. 81–82; Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, *3* vols. (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1927–1938), 3, pp. 116–117.

6 Sigfid Aronus Forsius, *Någhra Nyia Psalmers, Loff-sångers ach Andelighe wijsors Thoner. Hwilke finnes j then lille Psalmboken, som nw är tryckt. Anno 1608.* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1608), USTC 268954; facs. edn, ed. Toivo I. Haapalainen, as *Någhra Nyia Psalmers, Loff-sångers och Andhelighe Wijsors Thoner, sign. T3(2) i Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel* (Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1973); Sigfrid Aronus Forsius, *Andelige psalmer och wijsor* (1614?), USTC 251933; Sigrid Aronus Forsius, 'Forsius visbok och Blad sammanhörande med Forsius visbok', in Adolf Noreen and Anders Grape (eds.), *1500- och 1600-talens visböcker, 3* (Uppsala: Edv. Berlings boktryckeri, 1919, 1925), pp. 305–338, 535–574); see also Terhi Kiiskinen, *Sigfrid Aronus Forsius: Astronomer and Philosopher of Nature* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2007).

7 P. J. I. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet v:een 1640* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1929), pp. 349–351; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 178–187.

In 1616 the whole collection with some added songs was published in Stockholm in Finnish translation by Hemmingius Henrici of Masku (Fig. 2.2.), which was followed in 1625 with the new Latin edition mentioned above.[8] Songs remained popular and widely used in the schools within the Swedish realm and the Latin collection was reprinted later in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[9]

Dynastic struggle and religious unrest in the Swedish realm in the 1590s led through violent phases to centralised state-building and strict religious policies in the early seventeenth century. The fear of the Counter-Reformation and revival of the Catholic Polish branch of Vasa dynasty shaped both secular and religious policy long into the seventeenth century. Together with Lutheran orthodoxy this led to outlawing Catholicism, adopting the Mosaic Law as the basis of legislation and to various ways of disciplining people and to the eradication of everything which could be interpreted as idolatry or superstition, both Catholic and pagan. Step by step both Karl IX (1550–1611), first regent in 1599 and then reigning as king, 1604–1611, and his son Gustav II Adolf (1594–1632, king 1611–1632) moved on to build a more solid state apparatus for controlling both bodies and minds of their subjects.[10]

The production of printed books for the Swedish realm had begun in the late fifteenth century but the Reformation launched a new wave, especially of vernacular prints. For the eastern province of the Swedish realm, Finland, the first books had been produced and printed in Germany from 1488 on, but

8 Hemmingius Henrici Maskulainen, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinan kielised laulud, Christuxesta, ja inhimisen elämän surkeudhesta: muutamissa M. Jacobilda Finnolda … ojetud: aina Suomen Schouluissa veisatud* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1616); *Cantiones piae et antiquae*. Both included some songs not published in 1582 edition. Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, pp. 384, 391, 393, 406–408.

9 *Piae Cantiones ecclesiasticae et scholasticae* (Wisingsborg: Johannes Kankel, 1679), USTC 262339; *Cantilenae selectiores … aliaque adhibita emendatione, divulgatae a Joh. Lindell, Er. Fil., Dir. Cantus schol. cathedral. Aboëns* (Turku: Johan Christopher Frenckell, 1761); *Cantilenarum selectiorum editio nova, in gratiam scholarium notis musicis, distinctis strophis aliaque adhibita emendatione evulgata … a Joh: Lindell Er. fil. direct: cant: schol: cath: Aboens:* (Turku: unknown, 1776); Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', pp. 81–84.

10 Lennart Hedberg, *Karl IX. Företagarfursten & envåldshärskaren* (Stockholm: Prisma, 2009), pp. 256–278; Åke Hermansson, *Karl IX och ständerna. Trosfrågan och författningsutvecklingen i Sverige 1598–1611* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1962); David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period: The Baltic World 1492–1772* (London: Longman, 2003), pp. 127–135; Mirkka Lappalainen, *Susimessu. 1590-luvun sisällissota Ruotsissa ja Suomessa* (Helsinki: Siltala, 2009), pp. 259–276; Mirkka Lappalainen, *Pohjolan leijona. Kustaa II Aadolf ja Suomi 1611–1632* (Helsinki: Siltala, 2014); Ingun Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria, 4: Enhetskyrkans tid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 2002), pp. 70–71.

the first post-Reformation book and the first printed book ever in Finnish, a catechetical primer, the *Abckiria* by Michael Agricola (*c.*1507–1557), was published in 1543 in Stockholm. Judging from preserved and known copies of printed books, it was followed by a series of biblical and other religious books, mostly translations and compilations by Agricola himself.[11] Thereafter book production for Finland diminished but in 1582 and 1583 four titles (one in Latin, three in Finnish) were published as a result of encouragement and financial support from King Johan III.[12] Only in 1605 did a new active phase begin, clearly as part of the new religious policy. Hymnbooks, catechisms, a church order and other works were published, mostly in Stockholm and sometimes in Rostock or other German towns.[13] A committee was established for a full Finnish Bible translation, since only the New Testament and some parts of the Old Testament had been translated by Michael Agricola in the 1540s and 1550s.[14]

In this context it seems to be somewhat anomalous that a Latin collection of medieval religious songs with music was published in 1582, and then some of its songs were translated and published in Swedish in 1591, 1608, 1614 and 1619, then the whole collection in Finnish in 1616 and an enlarged Latin edition in 1625.[15]

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11 Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns and Devil's music: Michael Agricola (*c.*1507–1557) and Jacobus Finno (*c.*1540–1588) on church song and folk beliefs', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (ed.). *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), p. 179, n. 1; Kaisa Häkkinen, *Spreading the Written Word. Mikael Agricola and the Birth of Literary Finnish* (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2015), pp. 53–75; Simo Heininen, *Mikael Agricola. Elämä ja teokset* (Helsinki: Edita, 2007), pp. 156–335.

12 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus (ed.), *Handlingar och uppsatser rörande Finlands kyrko-historia, 1* (Helsinki: Wasenius, 1845), pp. 167–171; Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', p. 194.

13 Jyrki Knuutila, 'Aapiset ja katekismukset', in Tuija Laine (ed.), *Vanhimman suomalaisen kirjallisuuden käsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997), pp. 80–83; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat ja hengelliset laulukirjat', in Tuija Laine (ed.), ibid., pp. 134–140; Jyrki Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', in Tuija Laine (ed.), ibid., pp. 146–149; Tuija Laine & Rita Nyqvist (eds.): *Suomen kansallisbibliografia 1488–1700. Hakemisto* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto & Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1996), pp. 517–518; see also Chapter 4 by Suvi-Päivi Koski in this volume.

14 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus (ed.), *Handlingar och uppsatser rörande Finlands kyrko-historia, 4* (Helsinki: A. W. Gröndahl, 1847), pp. 106–108; Martti Rapola, 'Raamatunsuomennos kirjakielen normien vakiinnuttajana', in Martti Rapola etc. (eds.), *Suomen kirjallisuus, II: Ruotsin ajan kirjallisuus* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1963), pp. 139–141.

15 Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor*; Forsius, *Någhra nyia psalmer*; Forsius, *Forsius visbok och Blad*; Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*; Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain*; *Cantiones Piae et antiquae*.

All these songs were either collected from the diocese of Turku, Finland, or edited there by local clergymen. The printing was supported or financed by local burghers and noblemen or, in the case of the Swedish translations, songs were sought from Finland or the translator himself originated from Finland but they were printed either in Greifswald or Rostock in northern Germany or in Stockholm. Furthermore, it is puzzling that translations and new editions were published from 1605 to 1625 alongside ever more aggressive policies attacking everything hinting at 'popish' sympathies. At least superficially, it is even more perplexing that the Finnish translation in 1616 used poetics strongly influenced by oral idiom, the trochaic, alliterative and non-rhymed so-called Kalevala-metre, which the early Finnish reformers Michael Agricola and Jacobus Finno seem to have intentionally avoided.[16]

1 *Piae Cantiones* 1582

Although the *Piae Cantiones* collection was primarily a religious song collection, the various editions and translations were clearly more than that: they were statements of status and politics deviating from the usual religious books. This becomes evident when the frontispieces, dedications and prefaces are compared to catechisms, hymnbooks and biblical translations.[17]

In the first edition some texts were adapted for Lutheran use. Some of the songs were changed in a rather clumsy manner: instead of the Virgin Mary they were addressed to Jesus Christ, breaking both the poetic metre and grammatical gender.[18] No other saints except the Virgin Mary and St Henry, the patron of the diocese of Turku, were mentioned.[19]

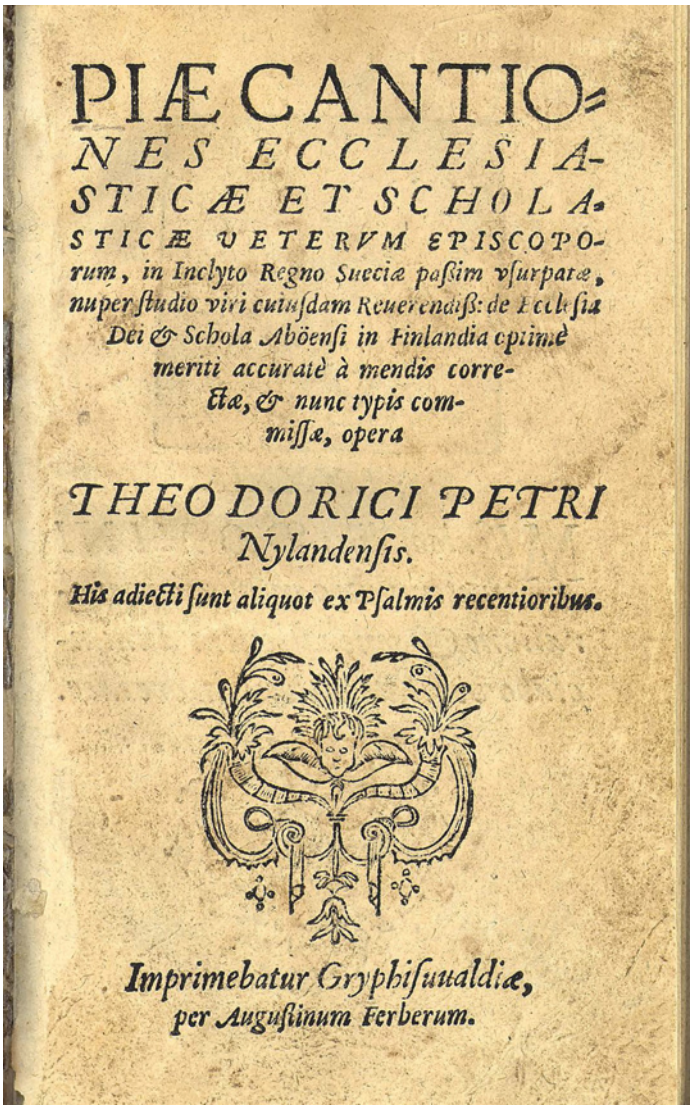
Curiously, it is only one of the editors of the collection, Theodoricus Rwtha, who gives his name on the title page of the collection, although he relates that famous and learned scholars from the cathedral of Turku had been collecting and editing the songs. Only in 1616 did Hemmingius of Masku, the Finnish translator of the collection and vicar of Masku parish near Turku, claim that the collection and editorial work was done by Jacobus Finno (*c.*1540–1588),

16 Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 109–139; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 168–202; see also Kati Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset. Suullinen ja kirjallinen kulttuuri uuden ajan alun Suomessa* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2017), pp. 56–126, 323–343.

17 See Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns'.

18 Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', pp. 85–87.

19 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', p. 113 and *passim*.



PIÆ CANTIO-
NES ECCLESIA-
STICÆ ET SCHOLA-
STICÆ VETERVM EPISCOPO-
rum, in Inclyto Regno Sueciæ passim vsurpatæ,
nuper studio viri cuiusdam Reuerendiss: de Ecclesia
Dei & Schola Aböensi in Finlandia optimè
meriti accuratè à mendis corre-
ctæ, & nunc typis com-
missæ, opera

THEODORICI PETRI
Nylandensis.

His adiecti sunt aliquot ex Psalmis recentioribus.

Imprimebatur Gryphisuualdiæ,
per Augustinum Ferberum.

FIGURE 2.1 Title page of *Piae Cantiones*, 1582 edition
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FINLAND

the head-master of Turku cathedral school and vicar of the nearby parish of Maaria, who published three books in the early 1580s: a hymnbook (1583), a catechism and a prayer book, all of them in Finnish.[20]

20 Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', 194; Pentti Lempiäinen, 'Ensimmäinen suomalainen virsikirja', in Pentti Lempiäinen (ed.), *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden

Theodoricus greets the editors from Turku in the plural. Jacobus Finno was the senior clergyman who had engaged in a task to publish 'some useful books' from King Johan III in 1578.[21] Hemmingius of Masku credited Jacobus with the edition in his Finnish translation in 1616, while Theodoricus' brothers and nephews named him as the sole editor in their republication of the collection in 1625. Most scholars agree that both Jacobus and Theodoricus had been collaborating in the editorial work but we do not know if anybody else was involved.[22]

Jacobus Finno was supported financially by King Johan III, whereas Theodoricus Rwtha names in his preface a prominent aristocrat and Johan's loyal supporter, Baron Christian Claesson Horn af Åminne (1555–1610), as his literary patron. This may have later sealed Theodoricus' fate since he and his patron were considered, in view of various ties, as supporters of Sigismund. Christian Horn and Theodoricus both attracted the disfavour of Duke Karl. Christian Horn was lucky not to be beheaded, as his brother-in-law Hogenskild Bielke and many other aristocrats and noblemen who fell from grace were in the early 1600s. Theodoricus fled from the country around 1601–1602.[23]

The assemblage of Latin religious songs (in total seventy-four pieces) was organised according to the main Christian festivities, theological and liturgical themes and moral songs (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity, the Eucharist, Prayer, the Fragility of the Human Condition, School-Life, Concord), ending with two sections about history and springtime. It contains mostly medieval poetry and music. Both textual scholars and musicologists have been able to trace the roots of the collection to medieval sources. The oldest poetical and musical layers seem to date back to the eleventh century. Some of the musical forms of the collection were definitively old-fashioned in the sixteenth century, although medieval musical forms were widely practised in sixteenth-century and early-seventeenth-century Sweden and Finland.[24] Among the known

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Seura, 1988), pp. 358–387; Knuutila, 'Aapiset', pp. 81–85; Knuutila, 'Virsikirjat', pp. 136–138; Knuutila, 'Hartauskirjallisuus', pp. 147–149.

21 *Handlingar och uppsatser 1*, pp. 167–171.

22 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 112–113, n. 12; see also Iiro Kajanto, 'Didrik Ruuth's *Propemptikon*: The First Finnish Humanist Poem' in Jyri Vaahtera and Raija Vainio (eds.), *Utriusque linguae peritus. Studia in honorem Toivo Viljamaa.* (Turku: Turun yliopisto, 1997), p. 172.

23 Johan Axel Almquist, *Den civila lokalförvaltningen i Sverige 1523–1630, med särskild hänsyn till den kamerala indelningen, 4 vols* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1917–23), IV, p. 41; Ivan Svalenius, *Rikskansliet i Sverige 1560–1592* (Stockholm: Svenska Riksarkivet, 1991), pp. 96–97.

24 Norlind, *Latinska skolsånger*, pp. 46–150; Timo Mäkinen, *Aus frühen böhmischen Quellen*; Gudrun Viergutz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Musikunterrichts an den Gelehrtenschulen der östlichen Ostseeregion im 16. und 17. Jahrhunbdert* (Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto,

authors are Philippus Cancellarius from Paris (d. 1236), the Icelandic bishop Gísli Jónsson (d. before 1549), the headmaster of Aarhus school, Morten Børup (1446–1526) and professor of law from Rostock University Henricus Husanus (1536–1587). Some songs have acrostics with names such as Bircerus, Olauus, Raguualdus, Johannes, Petrus, Thomas and Iacobus.[25]

The title page and the following page with a psalm quotation (Ps. 89) is followed by a dedication to Christian Horn and a nine-page preface addressed to him in which Theodoricus defends the use of music as an integral vehicle for religious education. There is a certain resemblance of the preface by Jacobus Finno to his Finnish hymnbook of 1583. While Theodoricus argues that music 'turns the human mind and thoughts to things divine', Jacobus Finno argued that people internalise divine teachings through singing.[26] Both follow closely the words of Martin Luther about the centrality of spiritual song.[27] Theodoricus refers St Paul's epistles to the Colossians (Col. 3) and the Ephesians (Eph. 5), and gives King David as an example, all of which were conventional references in early Lutheran hymnbooks.[28]

Theodoricus and Jacobus both mentioned biblical examples of composing religious songs and relied on a continuous tradition. Jacobus gave more biblical and patristic examples while Theodoricus turned to describing musical features of the songs in *Piae Cantiones* which were set variously to one, two, three or four voices and emphasises the value of both theoretical and practical musical education.[29] According to Theodoricus, these songs were used in the schools of the whole Swedish realm, and were now being offered, reworked and corrected by magnificent and famous men from the city of Turku.[30] Finally he repeats his gratitude to his patron Christian Claesson Horn and dedicates his work to him.[31]

The octavo book with musical notation, despite its size, must have been a relatively costly effort in 1580s Finland, which was a remote periphery. Printers were available only in Stockholm or in the coastal towns on the southern

2005); Jorma Hannikainen and Erkki Tuppurainen, 'Vernacular Gregorian Chant and Lutheran Hymn-singing in Reformation-era Finland', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 157–178; see also Sanna Raninen in this volume.

25 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written and Performed', pp. 112–113.

26 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 3–4; *Jaakko Finnon Virsikirja*, pp. 8, 168.

27 Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 195–196.

28 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 4–6; see Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 194–195.

29 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 3–5.

30 *Piae Cantiones*, p. 1; cf. Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', p. 112.

31 *Piae Cantiones*, pp. 10–11.

shore of the Baltic Sea, such as Lübeck, Rostock, Greifswald, Danzig (Gdansk), Königsberg (Kaliningrad) and others.[32] The involvement and support of princes, high aristocrats and senior clergymen was necessary. Hence efforts needed to be made to gain the acceptance of both lay rulers and high ecclesiastics. Evidently the project accorded with the Irenic theology and church policy sympathetic to ceremonial liturgical tradition favoured by King Johan III, although his relations with Catholic delegates and Jesuits had cooled in the early 1580s.[33] After spending some years in Rostock, Theodoricus moved to Stockholm to the king's service. But after the death of Johan III in the 1590s he found himself in an awkward and troubled position when dynastic and religious struggles broke out.[34]

2 Swedish Translations 1591–1619

In 1591 the vicar of Härnosand parish in Ångermanland, Laurentius Jonae Gestricius (d. 1597/1598), published a thirty-two-page octavo collection of religious songs *Några Andelighe Wijsor och Loffsonger*, which included twenty-one songs, both translations of biblical psalms and Latin hymns.[35] Later, in 1619, his son Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius, preacher at the Grey Friars' (Gråmunka, now Riddarholmens) church in Stockholm, published another collection of his father's translations, *Några psalmer, andelighe Wijsor of Loffsonger*, containing 178 songs and fifty-eight musical notations.[36] The 1591 edition has translations of *Congaudet turba fidelium*, *Laetetur Ierusalem* and *Personent hodie*, and the 1619 edition *Christus pro nobis passus est*, *Puer nobis in Bethelem*, all included in the original *Piae Cantiones* from 1582. Rhezelius published in 1619 some which had been included in Hemmingius' expanded Finnish hymnbook from 1605 (*In natali domini*, *Ascendit Christus hodie*, *Surrexit Christus hodie*) and later printed in the second Latin edition in 1625

32 Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria, 1: Medeltiden, reformationstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1975; repr. 1997), pp. 229–233; Sten Lindroth, *Svensk lärdomshistoria, 2: Stormaktstiden* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 1975; repr. 1997), pp. 69–71; Esko Häkli, 'Suomen ensimmäinen kirjapaino', in Esko Häkli etc. (eds.), *Kirja Suomessa* (Helsinki: Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto, 1988), pp. 97–99.

33 Lars Ericson, *Johan III. En biografi* (Stockholm: Historiska media, 2004), pp. 193–210.

34 Anthoni, 'En förteckning över flyktningar i Polen i början av 1620-talet', *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*, 27 (1943), p. 69; Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 96–97; Ericson, *Johan III*, pp. 210–212.

35 Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer*, pp. 53–56.

36 Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer*, p. 54; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600, 3*, pp. 116–117; Henrik Schück and Karl Warburg, *Illustrerad Svensk Litteraturhistoria, 2*, pp. 81–82.

(*Ascendit Christus hodie*, *In natali Domini*, *Parvulus nobis nascitur*, *Surrexit Christus dominus*, *Surrexit Christus hodie*).[37]

Laurentius Gestricius dedicated his collection in 1591 to two respectable women from the town of Härnosand, Catharina, the wife of the burgher Mårten Olufsson, and Sigrid, the wife of the burgher Mårten Hannse, but there is no preface nor is the printer mentioned.[38] His son Haquinus Rhezelius presents a much wider list of dedications, a ten-page preface and a recommendation by Johannes Botvidi, a doctor of theology, a Latin poem by Ericus Fabritii, rector of the school of Stockholm, praising the 'sacred songs' (*sacrae cantilanae*) of Laurentius Gestricius and even two Latin epigrams by Johannes Carolistadius and Aegidius Aurelius Holmius.[39]

Dedications and prefaces grew in number and in length in the early 1600s, although they were not exceptional among the books and publications of the previous century. While the father Laurentius Gestricius dedicated his translations to two burghers' wives, the son Haquinus Rhezelius lists seventeen clergymen from Ångermanland hailing collectively 'their collaborators in the service of the Order' and greets the governor of Ångermanland, Anders Erichson, Judge Nils Bengtson, the mayor of Härnosand Mårten Oloffson and collectively the town's council and burghers. In his preface he repeats some Lutheran commonplaces, emphasising the need for religious songs and congregational singing by referring to the same epistle of St Paul to the Colossians as Theodoricus Rwtha and Jacobus Finno and lists the moral benefits by following closely the arguments of Martin Luther in his hymnbook prefaces.[40] Rhezelius refers briefly to the biblical and Christian history of composing hymns in a similar way to Jacobus Petri Finno in the preface to the first Finnish hymnbook in 1583.[41]

It seems evident that Rhezelius wanted to promote his father's memory and the value of his work but, at the same time, felt it necessary to defend his choice of using old Latin songs as the source of translations. There is an air of ambiguity in promoting medieval or Catholic hymns: they were certainly valued but presented with arguments used to defend congregational singing

37 Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor*, pp. Ai^{r}–Aiiij^{r}; Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*, pp. 37, 40, 99, 122; Hemmingius, *Yxi vähä suomenkielinen Wirsikiria*, Hemm1605-139:1-L9b-Hemm1605-139:9-L10b, Hemm1605-161:1-N3b-Hemm1605-161:18-N4b, Hemm1605-166:1-N6b-Hemm1605-166:7-N7a; *Cantiones Piae et antiquae*, pp. 22, 36, 42–43, 48.

38 Gestricius, *Några Andelighe Wijsor*, pp. Ai$^{r.}$ Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, 3, pp. 116–117, attributes the print to Andreas Gutterwitz in Stockholm.

39 Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*, pp. i^{v}–viij^{r}.

40 Liedgren, *Norrländska psalmer*, pp. 53–54.

41 Rhezelius, *Några psalmer*, ij^{r}–vi^{v}; Lehtonen, 'Pious Songs', pp. 193–207.

diverging from the older tradition of educated ecclesiastical choirs formed by clergymen and schoolboys. For Rhezelius it was necessary to underline that the songs translated and published here were devoid of 'popish' influence.

Haquinus Rhezelius paraphrases Luther's arguments that hymns turn the youth away from evil and lewd songs, as does Jacobus Finno in his Finnish hymnbook in 1583: 'that people will be kept away from lewd love and whore songs which are composed by lewd people and now without any guidance are freely printed and distributed'.[42] He gives a short history of spiritual songs from biblical times through early Christian days up to his own time, again in a rather similar way to Jacobus Finno. Likewise Haquinus Rhezelius deprecates the use of 'foreign language' (Latin) and adds that in the songs of monks and nuns 'much sound and many notes were heard but only few words and little understanding'.[43] However, not all old church songs were tainted. There were also those which 'did not have the taste of popish leaven', which his father Laurentius Gestricius chose to translate and publish.[44] These songs have been approved by the archbishops of Uppsala Olaus Martini (1601–1606) and Petrus Kenicius (1609–1636), who were both known proponents of Lutheran orthodoxy.[45] Rhezelius himself claims to have collected the melodies and music from 'old parchments and songbooks which he had sought out from churches and schools both in Finland and here in Sweden'.[46]

Gestricius and Rhezelius were not the only ones who translated and distributed Latin songs from the *Piae Cantiones* collection. The learned clergyman and royal astronomer Sigfridus Aronus Forsius (d. 1624), born in Helsinki (Helsingfors in Swedish) was also active in this field. Forsius later acted in royal service in mainland Sweden in Stockholm and in Västerbotten comprising present-day counties (*län* in Swedish) of Västerbotten and Norrbotten including *lappmarker* (ie. mostly Lapland populated by Sami, see Fig. 7.1) in the very same regions as Theodoricus Petri Rwtha. Later Forsius was expelled from Stockholm and he returned to Finland to serve first as vicar of Kimito (Kemiö in Finnish) and then of Ekenäs (Tammisaari in Finnish) in southern Finland.[47]

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42 Ibid., p. ii^{v}.

43 Ibid., p. v^{r}.

44 Ibid., pp. v^{r}–vi^{v}.

45 Ibid., pp. v^{v}; Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria,* pp. 40–41, 75–77.

46 Rhezelius, *Några Psalmer*, p. vi^{r}.

47 Enewald, Nils, *Sverige och Finnmarken. Svensk Finnmarkspolitik under äldre tid och den svenska-norska gränsläggningen 1751* (Lund: Gleerupska Universitetsbokhandeln, 1920), p. 157; Per-Olof Snell, *'Brottstycken från Torne och Kemi lappmarker. Birkarlar, fogder, lappar, bönder, gränstvister'* (24 September 2013), in Leif Boström (ed.), *Släktforskning. Främst från Norr- och Västerbotten*, pp. 34–37, http://familjenbostrom.se/genealogi/norrbotten/Torne_Kemi_lappmarker.pdf, accessed 26 June 2018; Birger Steckzén, Birger, *Birkarlar*

Forsius was a prolific author who published almanacs, astrological predilections, works on astronomy and minerology, sermons and religious songbooks, and he left behind manuscripts now mostly kept at the Royal Library in Stockholm and at the Uppsala University library.[48] He published in 1608 eleven spiritual songs with their musical notation. Among them was *Ascendit Christus hodie*, translated by Laurentius Gestricius and later by Hemmingius of Masku and published in Latin in the 1625 edition of *Piae Cantiones*.[49] In *Andelige psalmer och och visor* (probably 1614) more songs from the *Piae Cantiones* collection were published. The collection has been attributed to Forsius, whose initials are attached to one song and whose name is found in an acrostic of another, although it is not sure whether he was behind the whole collection and its translations.[50] The collection included a version of a macaronic Christmas carol *In dulci iubilo* published both in monolingual and bilingual (macaronic) versions in Swedish and Finnish hymnbooks.[51]

Forsius published a preface in his 1608 collection where he addresses 'Christian readers', refers to psalms and praise songs in the Old and New Testament, David's psalms and St Paul's epistle to the Colossians (Col. 3). He relates that he has reproduced the melodies as well. He explains that he chose rhymes after the French model so that the number of syllables agrees in rhyming lines.[52] Already Jacobus Finno, in a Finnish context, had underlined the importance of the use of rhyme, deviating from the traditional Finnish oral idiom. For Finno it meant associating new Finnish hymnal poetry with the tradition of 'other Christian lands'.[53] For Forsius it seems to have been a question of poetic and metric ideals, possibly passed through Calvinistic

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och lappar: en studie i birkarleväsendets, lappbefolkningens och skinnhandelns historia (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1964), pp. 76–83, 100, 311–312; Kiiskinen, *Sigfrid Aronus Forsius*, pp. 27–44 and *passim*; see also Martin Kjellgren, *Taming Prophets. Astrology, Orthodoxy and the Word of God in Early Modern Sweden* (Lund: Sekel förlag, 2011).

48 Isak Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi: 1600-talet: Bidrag till en bibliografisk förteckning, I–II* (Uppsala: Svenska litteratursällskapet, 1942–1946), pp. 269–274; *1500- och 1600-talens visböcker III*, pp. 305–338, 535–574; Toivo I. Haapalainen, 'En koralhistorisk undersökning. S. A. Forsius' koralhäfte och dess melodier', in *Någhra nyia psalmers, loffsångers och andhelighe wijsors thoner, sign. T3*(2) i *Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, ed. Toivo I. Haapalainen* (Turku: Åbo Akademi, 1973); Harald Olsson, *Johannes Messenius, Scondia illustrata. Studier i verkets tillkomsthistoria och medeltidpartiets källförhållanden* (Lund: Glerupska universitetsbokhandeln, 1944), pp. 311–313; Kiiskinen, *Sigfrid Aronus Forsius*, pp. 479–491.

49 Haapalainen, 'S. A. Forsius' koralhäfte', p. 8.

50 Ibid., p. 2.

51 See note 8.

52 Forsius, *Någhra nyia psalmers*, pp. 1–2.

53 *Jaakko Finnon virsikirja*, pp. 15, 175; Lehtonen, 'Pious Hymns', pp. 203–207.

French models. Forsius did not feel it necessary to defend his choice of medieval or Catholic repertoire, unlike Haquinus Rhezelius and later the brothers of Theodoricus Rwtha.

3 The Finnish Translation of 1616

Hemmingius Henrici (*c.*1550–1619), vicar of Masku parish, who translated the collection into Finnish, stood on the other side of the political divide from Theodoricus Rwtha and his patron Christian Claesson Horn af Åminne. Hemmingius' parish was next to the fortified manor of Kanckas (Kankainen in Finnish), which belonged to another branch of the Horn family, who were supporters of confessionalist or orthodox Lutheranism and backed Duke Karl. Hemmingius participated in the Uppsala synod in 1593 where the Swedish Lutheran confession was defined and established as the state religion. His bishop, Ericus Erici Sorolainen from Turku, was a moderate Lutheran, favourable to King Johan's church policy, loyal to his heir Sigismund and openly critical of the alleged Calvinistic sympathies of Duke Karl. Moreover, Carl Henriksson Horn, lord of Kanckas (*c.*1550–1601), father of Hemmingius' patron, attended the Uppsala meeting as well, supporting the stricter confessionalist line.[54] Later, possibly in 1605, Hemmingius published a new Finnish hymnal (which survives in the 1607 edition) including the hymns by Jacobus Petri Finno and 141 new ones translated or composed by Hemmingius and the dean (*domprost* in Swedish) of Turku cathedral, Petrus Henrici Melartopaeus (*c.*1550–1610), a strong supporter of Duke Karl and an active anti-papist and reformer of liturgical practices. In the preface to the hymnbook, Hemmingius addresses his words to the Finnish people and no dedication to any patron is given. But when publishing the translation of the *Piae Cantiones* in 1616 he dedicates the work to Henrik Carlsson Horn af Kanckas (1578–1618), the son of Carl Horn and a loyal supporter of King Karl IX and his son Gustav II Adolf.[55]

Hemmingius may have had a loyalty conflict between backing either his bishop or patrons from Kanckas, who belonged to opposing parties. Nevertheless, at least in the early 1600s he belonged among the trusted Lutheran clergymen

54 Eric Anthoni, *Till avvecklingen av konflikten mellan hertig Carl och Finland, I: Konfliktens uppkomst och hertigens seger* (Helsinki: Mercator, 1935), p. 40; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 170–172.

55 *Yxi vähä suomenkielinen Wirsikiria* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1607), USTC 2092729; Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain* (Stockholm: Ignatius Meurer, 1616), p. Aii^{r}, USTC 251626; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 170–171; see Chapter 4 by Suvi-Päivi Koski in this volume.

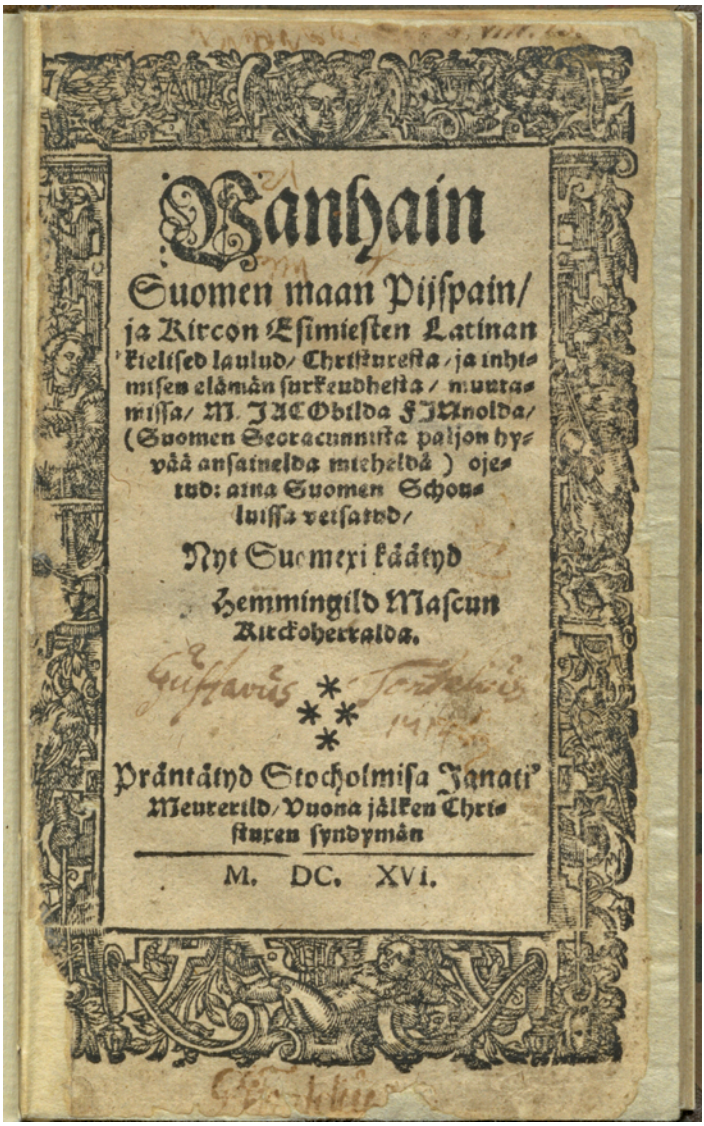
Wanhain
Suomen maan Pijspain/
ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinan
kielised laulud/ Christuresta/ ja inhimisen elämän surkeudhesta/ muutamissa/ M. JAC Obilda J Arnolda/
(Suomen Seoracunnista paljon hyvää ansainelda michelda) ojetud: aina Suomen Schoulussa vetsatud/
Nyt Suomexi käätyd
Hemmingild Mascun
Kirckoherralda.
Gustavus Tentelius
Prantätyd Stocholmisa Janati
Meurerild/ Vuona jälken Christuxen syndymän
M. DC. XVI.

FIGURE 2.2 Title page of *Piae Cantiones*, Finnish translation 1616
NATIONAL LIBRARY OF FINLAND

who were working to root out the remnants of 'popish superstition'.[56] In this conjunction it is of course interesting that he translated the *Piae Cantiones* collection into Finnish and included a hymn about the medieval patron of the

56 Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 170–172.

Turku diocese, St Henry.[57] Furthermore, Hemmingius used poetic language containing features from Finnish oral tradition, the so-called Kalevala-metre poetry, which was avoided by his sixteenth-century predecessors Michael Agricola and Jacobus Finno. It seems that even the early orthodox Lutherans valued the 'Old Church' and medieval traditions, which, however, needed to be modified and re-interpreted. They did not avoid the Kalevalaic poetic features nor did they consider their use 'pagan' or 'superstitious'.[58]

Hemmingius had included some translations of songs from the *Piae Cantiones* in his expanded edition of the Finnish hymnbook of 1605 by Jacobus Finno, Petrus Melartopaeus and himself which he did not re-publish in the 1616 collection.[59] I have analysed elsewhere more closely Hemmingius' translation of *Ramus virens oliuarum*, a hymn celebrating the patron saint of Finland, Bishop Henry.[60] Hemmingius seems to have modified the Latin metric structure for Finnish, thus enabling the use of the original melody from the *Piae Cantiones*. However, he did so in a highly original way that set him apart from his predecessors, although Melartopaeus seems to have shared his poetic views. They both used elements of the vernacular oral Finnish poetic tradition instead of Germanicising or Latinising their Finnish, which was a standard solution among their predecessors.[61] In the case of *Ramus virens oliuarum* Hemmingius reorganised the original song and added some lines and one whole strophe to make his translation understandable for an audience not used to biblical, liturgical and hagiographic allusions as an audience fluent in Latin was assumed to be. Occasionally he used alliteration and other features familiar from oral idiom or so-called Kalevala-metre poetry. He combined oral features with new literary characteristics such as rhyme and iambic metre introduced into Finnish hymn poetry by Agricola and Finno. Hemmingius adapted the universal, abstract and allusive Latin into the local, concrete and literal vernacular. This does not mean that his vernacular does not contain as many other intertextual and immanent meaningful elements, quite the

57 See Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed'.

58 Kati Kallio, 'Changes in the Poetics of Song during the Finnish Reformation', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 125–156; Lehtonen and Kallio 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet'; Kallio etc., *Laulut ja kirjoitukset*, pp. 124–126, 406–410, 536–547, see English Summary, pp. 591–608.

59 Kurvinen, *Suomen virsirunouden alkuvaiheet*, p. 21; Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet', pp. 178–187.

60 Although I now disagree with some of my conclusions of the understanding of Kalevalaic features as remnants of 'Catholic' or 'Pagan' expressions, Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed'.

61 Lehtonen and Kallio, 'Petrus Melartopaeuksen kirjeet'.

contrary; he seems to master the vernacular tradition not by imitating a poetically pure form, but in using its resonances for his own purposes.[62]

The title page is followed by a five-page dedication to Henrik Carlsson Horn af Kanckas, which is rounded off with two pages of summarising rhymes addressed to his 'reader'. The work is dated 9 June 1616. After crediting the original Latin *Piae Cantiones* to Jacobus Finno, Hemmingius refers to St Paul's epistle to the Colossians, as had Finno, Theodoricus, Forsius and Rhezelius in their respective prefaces. Hemmingius continued along the same lines, relating that 'here in Finland as well during the ancient decadence of the [Christian] teaching and in the times of darkness the Holy Spirit evoked some divinely learned men and leaders of the Church to write songs in Latin about the Nativity, Passion and Ascension of Christ, and the Holy Trinity, and complaints about the ills of the world and the sufferings in this life, thus urging the youth to a respectable life and good manners'.[63] According to Hemmingius these songs were sung in the schools of Finland and were mostly composed there with only 'one or two exceptions made abroad'.[64] This is decidedly an exaggeration. The text and music have pan-European origins; five identified authors are either from continental Europe or Scandinavia and names found in the acrostics do not refer specifically to Finland, although nothing rules out some of them possibly having been composed in the diocese of Turku. Only one song, *Ramus virens oliuarum*, relating elliptically the legend of St Henry, may have a local Finnish origin. Nevertheless, some variations were possibly local and the manuscript tradition seems to have been strong.[65]

Hemmingius comments on his own translations and explains how difficult the work had been, since, he argues, the Finnish language did not flow as smoothly as the original Latin did. This is a commonplace repeated in the prefaces of his predecessors such as Agricola and Finno.[66] However, despite linguistic and poetic difficulties, the original meaning is, he feels, conveyed in his translations. He claims that these songs are like old-fashioned clothes, which are still useful for us. Finally, Hemmingius concludes his dedicatory preface by addressing himself again to his patron Henrik Carlsson and greets his wife Anna and their sons and daughters.[67]

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62 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 124–130.

63 Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain*, pp. Aii^{v}–Aiii^{r}.

64 Ibid., p. Aiii^{v}.

65 Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', pp. 112–113.

66 Hemmingius, *Vanhain Suomen maan Pijspain*, p. Aiii^{v}; Lehtonen, 'Spoken, Written, and Performed', p. 204.

67 Ibid., pp. Aiij^{r}–Aiij^{v}.

4 The New Latin Edition of 1625

In 1625 the brothers and nephews of Theodoricus Petri Rwtha published in Rostock a new Latin edition of the *Piae Cantiones* collection. The main people concerned were Johannes Petri Rwtha, lord of Bergstadh and a colonel of Swedish army, and Bartholdus Petri Rwtha, mayor of Vyborg, and his sons. In the preface Theodoricus is credited as the sole editor of the collection and Finno is not mentioned. Furthermore they hired two clergymen, Henricus Martini Fattebuur, the headmaster of Vyborg school, and Matthias Jacobaeus Tholia, the vicar of the town parish, to annotate the collection as a proof of its evangelical content as the 'pure word of God'. Also a cantor, Daniel Friderici from Rostock, was hired to elaborate the music and modify it for 'present' use.[68]

Both Tholia and Fattebuur had been educated at German universities. Tholia studied at Wittenberg and visited the universities of Rostock, Greifswald and Giessen from 1614 onwards. Finally he returned to Finland via Amsterdam and Hamburg in 1619. He was supported among others by the leading Swedish aristocrat, Jakob De la Gardie, and King Gustav II Adolf. Fattebuur attended Wittenberg at the same time as Tholia, and studied in Rostock and Frankfurt an der Oder as well from 1608 to 1615. They both returned to Vyborg. It is quite likely that they knew Cantor Daniel Friderici from Rostock before they were hired to edit the *Piae Cantiones* collection.[69] Some print runs included a *Conclusio* mentioning students Jöns Henriksson Teetgren (son of Henricus Johannis named in the preface) and Samuel Croëll taking care of the business in Rostock.[70]

The purpose of the Ruuth (Rwtha) brothers was evidently to invest in promoting the family reputation and to whitewash allegations of their Catholic

68 *Cantiones piae et antiquae*, pp. A1^{r}–A5^{v}; Gudrun Viergutz, 'Daniel Friderici ja *Piae cantiones* -kokoelman vuoden 1625 painos', in Erkki Tuppurainen (ed.), *Virsin, lauluin, psalttarein. Juhlakirja Reijo Pajamon 60-vuotispäivänä 27.9.1998* (Kuopio: Sibelius-Akatemia, 1998), pp. 70–82; Viergutz, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Musikunterrichts*, pp. 12–16.

69 Jussi Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti ennen Turun akatemian perustamista 1940* (Helsinki: Suomen historiallinen seura, 1997), pp. 310–314; Simo Heininen, 'Fattebuur, Henricus Martini (noin 1590–1647), Nevanlinnan kirkkoherra, kirjailija', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia, 2* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura 2003), pp. 738–739; Simo Heininen, 'Tolia, Matthias Jacobaeus (1582–1656), Viipurin tuomiorovasti', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia, 8* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2007), pp. 857–858.

70 Viergutz, 'Daniel Friderici', 74–75; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 293, 315, 317.

sympathies. Not only had Theodoricus fled to Danzig but one of Bartholdus' sons, Johannes, who is not mentioned in the preface, had converted to Catholicism and was exiled as well to Danzig.[71]

The *Piae Cantiones* collection represented an ambiguous heritage. On the one hand it definitely added to the status of the Ruuth family, which had chosen a triple strategy to raise its sons as nobles, by looking out for careers in the military, as bourgeois, by achieving leading positions in the Finnish coastal towns, and as scholars, by showing literary and academic skills. At the same time the social structure of Sweden was changing; the status of the nobility was raised and after the establishment of the house of the nobility in 1626 the estate presented itself as a closed class.[72] Social climbers like the Ruuth family needed to work hard to solidify their own position. All religiously doubtful or treacherous stains had to be cleansed away. The preface proudly represents both Johannes and Bartholdus as nobles even though the latter had pursued a career of a successful merchant and a burgher.[73]

The new edition was dedicated to the governor of Finland, Carl Oxenstierna, a member of powerful Oxenstierna family and a nephew of Axel Oxenstierna, the king's chancellor. After them the sub-castellan of Vyborg, Henricus Johannis, and the nobleman Andreas Monachus are listed, along with the male members of the Ruuth family. By starting the list by mentioning King Gustav II Adolf and dedicating the book to his governor the authors were making a polite bow to royal authority.[74]

The leading men in the town of Vyborg, many of them personally connected to the high aristocracy and royal power in Sweden and who had studied at the same universities or been active close to the centre of power in Stockholm,

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71 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Nedre justitierevisionen / Högsta domstolen, E 1 A:33, Revisionsakter, Carl Ruuth och Peter Golawitz contra fru Anna Ruuth, angående Bergstad gård i Åbo[sic] 2.10.1649; here consulted on microfilm: Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Ulkomaiset mikrofilmit, luettelo 607–1, Ruotsi, Riksarkivet ..., Justitierevisionen, Revisionsakter, Carl Ruuth och Peter Golawitz ..., 2.10.1649, mf. FR 1092 (hereafter: *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649]). I am indebted with deep gratitude to Virpi Nissilä who let me use documents collected by her. Anthoni, 'Förteckning', p. 69.

72 Jan von Konow, *Sveriges adels historia* (Karlskrona: Axel Abrahamsson Förlag, 2005), pp. 94–104; Bo Eriksson, *Svenska adelns historia* (Stockholm: Norstedts, 2011), pp. 173–181.

73 *Cantiones piae et antiquae*, pp. A1^{r}–A1^{v}; Hans Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', in Göran Nilzén etc. (eds.), *Svensk Biografiskt Lexikon, 30* (*Stockholm: Svenska riksarkivet, 1998*), pp. 779, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/sbl/artikel/7055, accessed 27 June 2018; Veli-Matti Autio, 'Ruuth (1500-) suku', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia 8* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), pp. 427–429.

74 *Cantiones piae et antiquae*, p. A1^{v}.

dedicated their literary works to the leading members of the Swedish aristocracy in order to strengthen the mutual bond between them. It was not only the Ruuth family that applied these tactics; so did Tholia and the bishop of Vyborg, Olaus Elimaeus. Elimaeus had studied together with Axel Oxenstierna at Rostock and dedicated a congratulatory poem to him. In 1621 he published a hymnbook.[75] These men were aware of the risks of being associated with the wrong faith or the wrong dynasty. But instead of omitting some parts of their cultural heritage they tried to turn it into an acceptable aspect of their image and status. It seems that they succeeded in doing so, since the *Piae Cantiones* collection remained in use at the Swedish and Finnish schools and was reprinted in 1679 and again in the eighteenth century.[76] However, they were not able to cleanse all the suspicions. One members of the Ruuth family itself, Anna, the daughter of Bartholdus, was prepared to accuse her relatives, the descendants of Theodoricus, of being related to a Catholic traitor.

5 The Itinerary of Theodoricus

We know only fragmentary facts about the life of Theodoricus Petri Rwtha or Didrik Persson Ruuth. He was born into the family of Per Jönsson Ruuth (Petrus Johannis Rwtha), who was a member of the lower nobility (*frälse* in Swedish), since his father had been ennobled by King Gustav Vasa.[77] However, Per himself was a burgher of the small town of Porvoo. He seems to have promoted his sons' military, civic and learned careers, since one of them, Johannes or Jöns, became a professional soldier and lord of the Bergstadh estate, and another, Bartholdus or Bertil, a leading burgher and mayor of the city of Vyborg (Viipuri

75 Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 249, 292, 302–305, 311–312; Pentti Laasonen, 'Elimaeus, Olaus' (18 July 2000), in *Kansallisbiografia-verkkojulkaisu* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1997–), http://urn.fi/urn:nbn:fi:sks-kbg-000475; Olov Elimaeus, *Soomenkielinen Wirsikiria: soomencocouxis Jumalata kijttä soomenkielellä, tehty m. Jacobilda Soomalaiselda, ia muilda Soomen papilda. Cunnialisen herran Wiburin pispan m. Olouin Elimaeuxen tiedhost ia soosiost …* (Stockholm: Christopher Reusner, 1621), USTC 252786.

76 *Piae Cantiones* (1679); *Cantilenae selectiores* (1761); *Cantilenarum selectiorum editio nova* (1776); Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konsdiktning', pp. 81–84.

77 Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus, *Undersökningar om finska adelens gods och ätter, eller Jesper Mattsson Krus' förteckning öfver nye och gamble frelsis landböndher 1618 med biografiska, genealogiska, heraldiska, topografiska och kameraliska anteckningar* (Helsinki: J. C. Frenckell & son, 1860), p. 74; Jan Samuelson, *Aristokrat eller förädlad bonde? Det svenska frälsets ekonomi, politik och social förbindelser under tiden 1523–1611* (Lund: Lund University Press, 1993), p. 323.

in Finnish, Viborg in Swedish) on the Karelian isthmus then in south-eastern Finland. Didrik Persson was probably born around 1560. He enrolled at the University of Rostock in July 1581 as Theodoricus Petri Suecus Wiburgensis, identifying himself probably with the city where he had been educated and where another branch of Ruuth family was firmly rooted. We do not have any other information about his education but his literary career as an editor of medieval school songs and versifier of neo-Latin poems proves that he was well educated in Latin already when arriving to Germany.[78]

Theodoricus dated the preface to the *Piae Cantiones* collection 23 May 1582.[79] He may have had the manuscript with him already when he arrived in Rostock the previous summer. At least the sailing season between the northern and southern shores of the Baltic Sea lasted from late spring to late autumn, varying from year to year. Anyway, he must have been trusted by the leading men of the diocese of Turku, among them the headmaster of the cathedral school, Jacobus Petri Finno, and the dean, Henricus Canuti, who was the acting bishop at the time but was never elected to the office. He had also formed close ties with the aristocratic family of Horn af Åminne. He thanked Christian Classon Horn for his protection and support in the preface.[80]

Theodoricus stayed in Rostock after his master's graduation in 1584. He seems to have been a part of the humanistic circles there. After the publication of the *Piae Cantiones* collection in 1582 he composed a *propemptikon* (farewell poem to travellers) to Johannes Petri Gevallensis on the occasion of his departure from Rostock in 1583.[81] Next year he published together with other

78 Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', p. 779; Autio, 'Ruuth (1500–), suku', pp. 427–429; Iiro Kajanto, 'Ruuth, Theodoricus Petri, (noin 1560–ennen 1617), latinankielinen runoilija, kuninkaan sihteeri, vouti', in Matti Klinge etc. (eds.), *Suomen Kansallisbiografia, 8* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2006), pp. 433–435; Lagerborg, 'Vår äldsta konstdiktning', pp. 67–70; Almquist, *Civila lokalförvaltningen*, IV, p. 41; Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 4, 20–21, 46, 96–97; Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 76–83; Nuorteva, *Suomalaisten ulkomainen opinkäynti*, pp. 270–274, 299–300.

79 *Piae Cantiones 1582*, p. A6^{r}.

80 *Piae Cantiones 1582*, pp. B2^{r}, A5^{v}–A6^{r}.

81 Theodoricus Petri (Rwtha), 'Carmen elegiacum in discessum Johannis Petri Gevaliensis ab Academia Rostochiensi 1583', Universitetsbiblioteket, Uppsala, Palmskiöldska samlingen, vol. 343, pp. 269–270; Kajanto, 'Didrik Ruuth's *Propemptikon*', pp. 170–179; on Theodoricus' poems, see also Tuomo Pekkanen, 'Latinsk litteratur i Finland under 1500- och 1600-talen. Kort översikt över bestånd och forskning', in Karsten Friis-Jensen (ed.), *Latinen i Norden 1500–1700. Inlaeg ved nylatinkurset på Biskops-Arvö august 1975* (Køpenhamn: Museum Tusculanum, 1977), pp. 35–56: Tuomo Pekkanen, 'Suomen uuslatinalainen runous ennen Turun akatemian perustamista', in Pentti Laasonen etc. (eds.), *Collegium Scientiae. Suomen oppihistorian kehityslinjoja keskiajalta Turun akatemian alkuaikoihin* (Helsinki: Suomen kirkkohistoriallinen seura, 1983), pp. 99–120; Iiro Kajanto,

students a congratulatory poem and another *propemptikon* in honour of his cousin Christianus Bartholdi Rwtha (Kristian Bertilsson Ruuth) on his master's graduation and as a farewell to Rostock, and a wedding poem for Martinus Toummanus and Anna Ruccenia (Rauch), a cantor and a vicar's daughter in a local parish of Gnoien near Rostock.[82]

In 1587 Theodoricus published in Stockholm together with Johannes Federus a wedding poem for his patron Christian Claesson Horn and Catharina Bielke, sister of the state counsellor (*riksråd* in Swedish), Hogenskild Bielke.[83] Next year Theodoricus or *Mäster* Didrik Persson was nominated as a secretary to the royal chancery, where he stayed at least until 1592.[84] According to Ivan Svalenius the secretaries' status was comparable to that of the high aristocracy and the leading ecclesiastics, although they were usually recruited from bourgeois and clerical families or from the lower nobility. Men with university training were often recruited into the chancery. During the reign of Johan III a relatively high number of the secretaries came from his former duchy of Finland. In the late 1580s and early 1590s humanistic learning and Catholic sympathies were common among them. Many of the secretaries lost their position after the death of Johan III and especially after Duke Karl became more influential. In the late 1590s and early 1600s many former members of the chancery were exiled and some were beheaded.[85]

Theodoricus married a noblewoman, Aurora Persdotter Silfversparre (d. *c.*1650), from the province of Uppland, Sweden, where they held some

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Latina, kreikka ja klassinen humanismi Suomessa (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2000), pp. 64–67.

82 *Carmina gratulatoria in honorem honesti, pii, ac docti Iuvenis, Christiani Bartholdi Wiburgensi, cum ei gradus Magisterij Philosophici in Academia Rostochiana VII. Idus Aprilis, à Decano M. Iohanne Posselio, Graecarum literarum Professore celeberrimo, decerneretur: Ab amicis Scripta* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1584), USTC 619370; *Propempticon doctrina, pietate et virtute ornatissimo viro, M. Christiano Bartholdi Wiburgensi, ex Academia vrbis Rosarum, 12 Iulij. Anni 1584, in patriam discendenti, scriptum à popularibus.* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1584), USTC 687548; *Epithalamivm ad opt. v. doctrina atque virtute praestantem, Dn. Martinum Toumannum, amicum carissimum, sacram coniugij societatem ineuntem cum honestia, pia atq*[*ue*] *pudica virgine Anna, Reuerendi & docti viri, Magistri Ioachimi Rucchenij, Pastoris Ecclesiae Gnoiensis, filia carissima.* (Rostock: Stephan Möllemann, 1584), USTC 652776; Collijn, *Sveriges bibliografi intill år 1600*, pp. 31–32.

83 Johannes Federus and Theodoricus Petri Rwtha, *Epithalamion in honorem generosi et illvstris Christierni Horn, Liberi Baronis ab Aminna, etc., Sponsi, et, antiquae inclytae nobilitatis Catharinae Bielkiae, virginis lectissimae, Sponsae* (Stockholm: Andreas Gutterwitz, 1587), USTC 300054.

84 Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 96–97.

85 Svalenius, *Rikskansliet*, pp. 4–6, 16, 21, 57–59, 88.

estates. The Silfversparre family had ties to King Sigismund but Theodoricus' brothers-in-law Arent and Kettil Persson Silfversparre were both amnestied in 1608 by King Karl. Three of Theodoricus' and Aurora's children reached adulthood.[86]

Theodoricus' fate was to be sent up north to Västerbotten and Lapland, where he participated in the work of the border commission, marking the border after the peace treaty of Teusina with Russia in 1595. Later he was active in discussing the pro-Swedish arguments against the claims by Denmark, which ruled the Norwegian territory. He seems to have criticised some Swedish arguments as being poorly based on reliable historical evidence.[87] He acted as a bailiff in Västerbotten comprising also regions in Norrland and Lappmark and collected taxes from 'Lapps' (the Sami population). It was not uncommon that the actions of royal bailiffs were opposed by the local population and complaints were sent to the king.[88] Theodoricus was not only attacked for benefitting himself but also for being in contact with King Sigismund's supporters. He was regularly in contact with Count Abraham Brahe, who was among other things the governor for the northern Swedish provinces.[89]

After 1601, I have not been able to find any traces of Theodoricus. Usually it is mentioned that he was exiled to Danzig sometime between 1602 and 1604.[90] He was listed in an anonymous *Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck* attacking King Karl

86 Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', p. 779; Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 77–78; Autio, 'Ruuth (1500–), suku', pp. 427–429; Kajanto, 'Ruuth, Theodoricus Petri', pp. 433–435; see also 'Silfversparre nr 99. Adliga och friherrliga ätterna Silfversparre nr 99 och 330' (16 May 2014), in *Adelsvapen-Wiki*, https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/silfversparre_nr_99, accessed 26 March 2019.

87 Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 76–83; Snell, *'Brottstycken'*, pp. 34–37.

88 Mats Hallenberg, *Kungen, fogdarna och riket. Lokalförvaltning och statsbyggande under tidig Vasatid* (Stockholm / Stenhag: Brutus Östlings Bokförlag Symposion, 2001), pp. 285–286.

89 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen 2, in Folio, Greve Abraham Persson Brahe, SE/RA/720795/11/01/002, E 8134: From Didrik Persson to Abraham Brahe: 10 December 1600, 16 April 1601, 29 June 1601, 'Vthj wästerbothen … knechternes månekosther', s.d., 23 July 1601, 29 July 1601; From Abraham Brahe, 'Fogdarne i Norrland' 22 January 1601, 'Memoriaal för fogdarnne i Nårlandenn', s.d.; to Didrik Persson: 17 June 1601, 27 February 1601.

90 Last dated correspondence by Theodoricus / Didrik to Count Abraham Brahe is from July 1601 (see note above); bailiff's accounts by Didrik Persson from years 1595–1601 have as well preserved, e.g. 1601: Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Landskapshandlingar, 1530–1630, Västerbottens handlingar, 1539–1630, 1601 (SE/RA/5121/5121.16/1601:4A, https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0044459; complaint by Gert Skrivare is undated but refers to year 1600: Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Strödda kamerala handlingar 1520–1828, 55 (Klagomålsregister o. rannsakningar), 1581–1622, SE/RA/5103/55, 50 ('Klagopunkter mot fogden mäster Dirich i Västerbotten. 1601'), https://sok.riksarkivet.se/bildvisning/A0071065_00289, accessed 8 November 2019).

posthumously in 1617. Among the exiles there is mentioned 'royal secretary, Master Dirich Person'.[91] In the early 1600s Gert Skrivare sent a long list of complaints from Västerbotten to Stockholm about Theodoricus' actions as a bailiff around 1600.[92] We have several letters by him addressed to Abraham Brahe where he explains his actions in the region but the last is dated July 1601.[93] Around 1601–1602 traces of him seem to disappear and his goods and estates were confiscated at the same time.[94]

The accusations against Theodoricus seem to have been common in almost every bailiff's sphere of activity.[95] It was evident that he was suspicious in the eyes of Duke Karl and strictly orthodox Lutheran clergy. He had served King Johan III, his patron Christian Claesson Horn was imprisoned and closely connected with aristocrats critical of Karl and with many supporters of Sigismund, his wife's relatives were in the same camp and he had been active in humanistic and possibly pro-Catholic literary circles. He had every reason to feel himself insecure in Sweden and he was probably aware that the accusations of betraying the crown as a tax-collector worsened his position.

6 Inheritance, Nobility and Religion

From 1647 to 1649 the Turku Court of Appeal (*Åbo hovrätt* in Swedish) dealt with an inheritance dispute between the members of the Ruuth (Rwtha) family. A branch descending from Theodoricus and another branch of his brother Bartholdus (Bertil) each litigated for the manor of Bergstadh in eastern Uusimaa (Nyland in Swedish) owned by Johannes Petri Rwtha (Ruuth) and after him Enewald Bertilsson Ruuth (Theobaldus Bartholdi Rwtha), brother and nephew of Theodoricus Rwtha. The parties presented careful family trees showing that Johannes had no heirs. The argument of the sister of Enewald and niece of Johannes and Theodoricus, Anna Ruuth, and her representative, her

91 *Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck, dät är En sanferdigh wiss berättelse, om de ynckelige fängzlende, pinande, och mördande, som den ogudachtige försten hertigh Carl till Södermanlandh … bedreffwet hafuer …* (Cracow, 1617)*; Tor Berg* (*ed.*)*, Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck … med efterskrift av Tor Berg* (Stockholm: Lagerström, 1915), p. 93.

92 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Strödda kamerala handlingar, 'Klagopunkter'.

93 Riksarkivet, Stockholm, Skoklostersamlingen 2, E 8134: Didrik Persson to Abraham Brahe 10 December 1600, 16 April 1601, 29 June 1601, 'Vthj wästerbothen … knechternes månekosther', s.d., 23 July 1601, 29 July 1601.

94 Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Yksityisarkistot, Johan Wilhelm Ruuth, luettelo 603: 18, 15–16; Almquist, *Civila lokalförvaltningen*, IV, p. 41.

95 Hallenberg, *Kungen*, pp. 285–286.

son-in-law Peter Udnie, was that Theodoricus had been exiled from Sweden as a supporter of Sigismund and as a Catholic which meant that he was guilty of high treason and had forfeited his descendants' inheritance rights to his brother. This penalty would be applied to his children and in-laws as well.[96]

Of Theodoricus and Aurora Silfversparre's children, Peder Didriksson Ruuth was a major in the Swedish army and was executed in 1637 after he had surrendered a fortress without resistance and given it to the enemy. Carl Didriksson Ruuth was a colonel in the artillery and died in 1656. Brita Didriksdotter Ruuth married Peter Golawitz, a Swedish lieutenant colonel of Russian origin who played a prominent role in the quarrel that broke over the Ruuth family estate representing at the court both his wife Brita and his brother-in-law Carl, who was garrisoned in Germany for the whole time, participating mainly through letter correspondence.[97]

On 2 October 1649 the Turku Court of Appeal gave its sentence in the case of Peter Golawitz vs. Anna Bertilsdotter Ruuth on the inheritance of Enewald Bertilsson Ruuth, who had passed away in 1641. Enewald was brother to Anna and cousin to Peter Golawitz's wife Brita Didriksdotter.[98] The core of the inheritance was Bergstadh estate in Porvoo (Borgå in Swedish), which enjoyed exemption from taxes, which required a formally acknowledged noble status of its owners.[99] Litigation did not end here since Peter Golawitz and Carl Didriksson Ruuth seem to have later sued Peter Udnie over defamation during the legal proceedings. It is significant that also Theodoricus was listed among the co-claimants, despite the fact that he had been deceased for decades at the time of the claim. They won their case in May 1657, although both Peter Udnie and Carl Ruuth had passed away in previous year.[100]

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96 *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649].

97 'Ruuth i Finland nr 125. Adliga ätten Ruuth I Finland nr 125†' (6 May 2014), in *AdelsvapenWiki*, https://www.adelsvapen.com/genealogi/Ruuth_i_Finland_nr_125#TAB_15, accessed 26 March 2019; Gillingstam, 'Ruuth, släkter', p. 779; Steckzén, *Birkarlar*, pp. 77–78; Autio, 'Ruuth (1500–), suku', pp. 427–429; Kajanto, 'Ruuth, Theodoricus Petri', pp. 433–435; *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649].

98 *Golawitz v. Ruuth* [1649].

99 In 1618 Jesper Mattsson Krus made an inquiry of Finnish nobility, edited and commented in Lagus, *Undersökningar*. About Bergstadh estate: Lagus, *Undersökningar*, pp. 453–454; cf. Eino Jutikkala and Gabriel Nikander, *Suomen kartanot ja suurtilat, 1* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1939), pp. 22–31, on Bergsta[dh], pp. 564–565; see Samuelson, *Aristokrat, p. 323*.

100 Barthold Ruuths arkiv, SE/RA/720070, E 5447, vol. 24, Familjepapper, Bihang: … Handlingar tillhörande ätten Golawitz arkiv, Konungliga rätten i Finland 14.5.1657, here consulted on microfilm: Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Ulkomaiset mikrofilmit, luettelo 607–3,

The Swedish House of Nobility was established in 1626 with a strict formal process defining how and who might be introduced into it.[101] At the same time the religious policy had become stricter. At the Örebro Diet of 1617, Catholicism was equated with high treason and was punishable with a capital sentence.[102] Along with genealogical arguments, the rights to the inheritance of Anna Bertilsdotter were defended with proofs that she was of a noble birth, while the other branch of the Ruuth family had a dubious pedigree as suspected Catholics and supporters of the Polish and Catholic branch of the royal Vasa dynasty. Especially incriminated was Theodoricus, the father-in-law of Peter Golawitz.

The court case led Carl Ruuth to defend his side of the family and its reputation. In a letter from Stettin on 21 February 1649 to Arvid Forbus, Carl relates that he has found a witness from Danzig about his father's death 'when pestilence was ravaging there', who could testify that Theodoricus never said or did anything against his fatherland, Sweden. We do not have the exact date of Theodoricus' death but usually it is said to have taken place before 1617. Neither do we have exact information about when he was exiled from Sweden.[103]

7 From Catholic Tradition to Lutheran Heritage

We do not have any direct evidence for the final reason for Theodoricus' fall from royal favour and his exile. Clearly there were plenty of reasons for suspicion in

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Ruotsi, Riksarkivet ..., Barthold Ruuths arkiv, Familjepapper ... 14.5.1657, mf. FR 487. The presence of these documents and other material probably presented at the defamation proceedings (such as letters of nobility issued for the Golawitz family) in the private archive of Barthold Ruuth (1626–1707), nephew of Anna and Enevald, may indicate that the documents were incorporated in the estate archives of Ruuth family, consolidated by Barthold.

101 Konow, *Sveriges adels historia*, pp. 94–104; Eriksson, *Svenska adelns historia*, pp. 173–181.

102 Montgomery, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, pp. 70–71.

103 Universitetsbibliotek, Lund, De la Gardieska arkivet, Släktarkiven, Arvid Forbus, Vol. 15.2; Carl Didrichsson Ruuth, nr. 59. According to Carl Ruuth his father did not live long in Danzig. Furthermore epidemic pestilence ravaged in Danzig 1601–1603 killing a third of the population, 'Prussian Plague of 1602', in George Childs Kohn (ed.): *Encyclopedia of Plague and Pestilence. From Ancient Times to the Present* (New York: Facts on File, 2008), p. 313. Hence Didrik Ruuth probably passed away soon after his arrival to the city. More commonly accepted year of his death 1617 is based on the mention in *Hertigh Carls Slaktarebenck* published in 1617 established by J. W. Ruuth, Kansallisarkisto (KA), Helsinki, Yksityisarkistot, 'Johan Wilhelm Ruuth, luettelo 603: 18, 15–16. I am indebted to Lari Ahokas for this observation.

Duke Karl's eyes. The relatives of Theodoricus evidently felt first that there was something in his reputation that needed to be cleared publicly, although their descendants later showed no scruples in using them in a civil case against their own kin. No suspicions against the *Piae Cantiones* are expressed in the contemporary sources but the editors and translators felt it necessary to emphasise the nature of the songs as being based on the 'pure word of God' and 'free from popish leaven'. The tendency grew more vocal in the late 1610s and in the 1620s as Rhezelius' and the Ruuth brothers' prefaces testify.

To sum up, the case of the *Piae Cantiones* collection shows that the medieval Catholic heritage in the form of Latin pious songs was highly valued. This is in line with the treatment of church decorations, mural paintings and statues in Sweden and Finland, which for the most part were not whitewashed or destroyed as in many other places in Protestant Europe.[104] However, contemporaries felt that they needed to re-interpret their contents by emending the texts to fit with Lutheran dogma or by adding biblical references to them. The authoritative dedications were added to show the loyalty to the reigning dynasty and its representatives. The prefaces show varying ways to link the authors or compilers with relevant networks and elites.[105] In 1582 Theodoricus/Didrik bound himself to a local nobleman with close connections to royal power, while Laurentius Gestricius expressed his gratitude in 1591 to female representatives of a small town's bourgeoisie. In 1605 Hemmingius sought in his hymnbook the backing of the leading clergymen of the Turku diocese, while in his translation of *Piae Cantiones* in 1616 he dedicated his work to a well-connected local nobleman close to the new ruling branch of the Vasa dynasty. Haquinus Laurentii Rhezelius chose to list clergymen, all well-known supporters of the new confessionalist or orthodox Lutheranism. In 1625 the Ruuth family wanted to associate itself with aristocrats and the loyal servants of Gustav II Adolf to ensure their reputation. Translating, compiling and editing religious songs and putting them into print was not only a gesture of religious and learned sympathies but made visible political and social ties. Both Rhezelius, by publishing his father's translations, and the

104 Anna Nilsén, 'Reform and Pragmatism. On Church Art and Architecture during the Swedish Reformation Era', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 253–286; Hanna Pirinen, 'Early Lutheran Networks and Changes in the Furnishings of the Finnish Lutheran Parish Church', in Tuomas M. S. Lehtonen and Linda Kaljundi (eds.), *Re-forming Texts, Music, and Church Art in the Early Modern North* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2016), pp. 287–310.

105 See Richard A. McCabe, *'Ungaineful Arte'. Poetry, Patronage, and Print in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2016), pp. 1–12 and *passim.*

Ruuth brothers, by having their brother's achievements printed, were investing in magnifying their family reputation, although they had to put some effort into convincing their audiences that these songs were free from 'popish leaven' and were based on the 'pure word of God' – both shibboleths for reliable Lutheran texts.