

Good King Wenceslas - an "English" Carol

**The appearance of Piae Cantiones melodies
in 19th century England**

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ABSTRACT

The *PIAE CANTIONES Ecclesiasticae et Scholasticae Veterum Episcoporum* is an unusual collection of Latin "Pious Church and Scholastic Songs of the Ancient Bishops." It was published in 1582 through the efforts of Theodoricus Petri Rutha (Ruuth, Ruth, or Ruuta) of Uusimaa, or Nyland, which is the area of present-day Helsinki. About half of the tunes can be traced to sources outside Sweden-Finland, but the sources of the other half have yet to be discovered. Numerous printings of the *Piae Cantiones* were published throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, showing that the songs were in constant use in Swedish realm, but especially in the area that is now Finland. The *Piae Cantiones* has been the subject of much musicological research in both Finland and Sweden in the last century and a half. The latest research is shifting emphasis away from nationalistic interests - that is, who gets to claim the *Piae Cantiones*, Sweden or Finland? - and is focusing on a broader historical spectrum encompassing the whole Baltic region.

Interest in the *Piae Cantiones* collection hasn't been limited to the Swedish-Finnish realm. *Piae Cantiones* tunes began to appear in England in the 1850's. Two volumes containing 24 *Piae Cantiones* melodies were published in London in 1853-54 by John M. Neale and Thomas Helmore. A later sort of facsimile edition and several carolbooks containing more *Piae Cantiones* melodies were produced in the early 20th century by G.R. Woodward. According to English music historians, these old pious tunes were an answer to the prayers of those who were trying to bring religious music in England back to life after the scourge of the puritanical age.

The purpose of this thesis is to draw together the latest findings on the history of the *Piae Cantiones* collections and their use not only in Sweden-Finland, but also in England. Differences in research results in Finland, Sweden and England will be compared. The developments of the *Piae Cantiones* songs in the two geographically separate areas will be illustrated by a detailed study of the history of one *Piae Cantiones* tune, *Tempus adest floridum*, known in the English-speaking world as "Good King Wenceslas look'd out."

1. INTRODUCTION

Due to my slow progress as a beginning piano student, I had to stare at the same pages of my piano primer for weeks before finally progressing to the next lesson. Needless to say, every detail and illustration on each page became firmly implanted in my mind. One tune, and the illustration to go with it, made a deep impression on me. It was called an *English Christmas Carol* by the author of the piano primer, John Thompson, and the name of it was "Good King Wenceslas." Each time I heard the carol, the words of Thompson's explanatory note accompanying the song came to mind:

"This ancient tune was a great favorite among the carol singers who used to beg for alms many centuries ago. It is based on the legend of King Wenceslas, the Holy, who was King of Bohemia in the Tenth Century. On the feast of St. Stephen (Dec. 26), this good king went out among the poor and gave liberally." (Thompson 1936, p. 16.)

Years later, when reading a short history of Finnish music, *Musica Fennica*, I was puzzled to read that the collection of Pious church and school songs, *Piae Cantiones*, published in 1582 under the protection of the Cathedral school of Turku, contained a spring song, *Tempus adest floridum*, which was later set to the words of a Christmas carol, "Good Wenceslas." Looking into it further, I discovered that the words to this "ancient tune" were written in 1853 by an English clergyman, John Mason Neale. English carolers could not have sung it for centuries, as Thompson claimed in his 1936 edition of *Teaching Little Fingers to Play*, but only eighty years or so. However, "Good King Wenceslas" is listed in many songbooks as an English carol, so John Thompson was not alone in his presumptions. This led me to assume that John Mason Neale didn't care about or appreciate Latin, and therefore he had no qualms about pirating the *Tempus adest floridum* melody to carry his own English text. This carol, its history, and the history of its original source, the *Piae Cantiones*, began to intrigue me.

In 1977 I came to Jyväskylä to do research under the guidance of Professor Timo Mäkinen, who was one of Finland's few authorities on the *Piae Cantiones* at the time. Mäkinen's research was focused on tracing the sources of the PC (abbreviation for *Piae Cantiones*) melodies in Europe, especially in Bohemia and

Germany. By the 1960's about half of the seventy-four tunes in the collection had been traced to sources outside Sweden - Finland. (Mäkinen 1968, p. 211.) Swedish scholars, Gustav Klemming (Klemming, Gustav Edvard. 1885. Hymni, Sequentiae, et Piae Cantio Regno Sueciae olim usitatatae. [Not available for this research]). Tobias Norlind (Norlind. 1900, pp. 552-607) and F. Bohlin (Bohlin. 1968.) have also done research in this area. Present research is being carried out by the Finnish music historians, Fabian Dahlström (Dahlström 1986, pp. 20-25) and Gudrun Viergutz. (Virsin, lauluin, psalmtarin 1998. "Daniel Friderici ja *Piae Cantiones* -kokoelman vuoden 1625 painos." by Gudrun Viergutz, pp. 71-82.) In England, George R. Woodward also did meticulous research and documentation of sources for the melodies in his appendix to a sort of facsimile edition of the *Piae Cantiones* released in 1910. (Woodward 1910.)

Mäkinen was familiar with Woodward's facsimile edition of the *Piae Cantiones*, but his research doesn't mention the broad use of the tunes in England. Indeed, *Tempus adest floridum* ("Good King Wenceslas") is not the only melody which became popular in the English speaking world. Since 1853 more than half of the 74 PC tunes have been translated or set to new words in various collections of hymns and carols in England. However, the *Piae Cantiones* has been forgotten as the original source for the tunes in many printings of these hymns and carols as they have been spread from country to country.

There are two main points to my research. The first is to document the history and origins of the hybrid carol, "Good King Wenceslas," by analyzing its melody, musical form, meter and by comparing the texts in various languages. The analysis also will contain the historical background of St. Wenceslas. The second purpose is to help open an international discussion of the *Piae Cantiones* and to lead the course of research away from nationalistic interests toward a broader view of history. I hope this thesis will provide Finnish people with more information on the wide-spread use of *Piae Cantiones* tunes in England in the last century and a half, and, at the same time, will make some of Finland's research results available to researchers who haven't been able to read Finnish.

The method of this research comes under the category of source-critical historical research. The musical material needed for the following analysis can be found in the supplements entitled "Musical Examples" (pp. 50 - 55.) In

addition, references will be made to the different editions of the PC described in the background history (pp. 11, 15-17). The English examples are drawn from the collections mentioned on pp. 21-22, 24-25. Previous researchers' results will be used in the background histories of the PC in Finland as well as in England. Certain parts of previous research will be brought up to date in light of the latest historical findings. By contrasting the research in England and in Finland, it will be possible to show differences of opinion on a few points. Personal discussions with the leading researchers, Dr. Timo Mäkinen (in 1977), and Gudrun Viergutz (1998-99), have greatly influenced this research.

Before dealing with England in the 19th century, it is necessary to look back into the history and religious atmosphere of Sweden-Finland in the 16th century. Why was such a book as the *Piae Cantiones* published and who were the men who made it possible? After an examination of the PC and its various later editions in its country of origin, it will be easier to answer the following questions: How did the collection get to England? Who were the men responsible for introducing the tunes to the English public? What was the state of the Church of England in the 1850's? How does English research and practical use of the *Piae Cantiones* vary from that in Finland? The developments of the PC songs in the two geographically separate areas will be illustrated in the analytic part of this thesis by a detailed study of the history of one *Piae Cantiones* tune, *Tempus adest floridum*, or, as it is known in the English-speaking world, "Good King Wenceslas Look'd Out."

2. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF PIAE CANTIONES MELODIES IN SWEDEN-FINLAND AND FINLAND

The Kalmar Union, established during the reign of Queen Margaret of Denmark in 1397, kept the countries of Denmark-Norway and Sweden-Finland together under the same rule for more than a century. In Sweden there was, however, a constant struggle to regain the right of self-government. For Finland, the Union provided security against attacks from the East. Finland got its own currency during this period, and the Bishops of Turku were instrumental in promoting Finland's well-being, not only spiritually, but also politically. Finally, in 1523 the Swedes succeeded in overthrowing Danish rule and the young nobleman, Gustav Vasa (*Kustaa Vaasa* in Finnish), began his reign as King of Sweden.

Gustav Vasa, who ruled over the Swedish kingdom until 1560, eagerly embraced the Reformation movement as a means of reducing the power of the Church. (Pirinen 1991, pp. 274-5.) The new King was faced with large debts to his allies, the Hansa, and the royal treasury was empty. During Gustav Vasa's reign, much of the wealth of the Church was confiscated by the Crown, making the Church financially dependent on its rulers. These first years were disastrous for the schools and other institutions upheld by the Church. Gustav Vasa began drafting students from the schools directly into his service in the court. His son and successor, **Erik XIV**, who ruled from 1560-68, continued this practice.

It was fortunate in some respects that Gustav Vasa's second son, **Juhana III**, who ruled from 1568-92, took an interest in the Church's well-being. (Pirinen 1991, p. 322.) He was drawn to Catholicism through his wife, who was from Poland. Juhana III liked the pomp and ceremony of Catholic services and published a liturgy in which he had re-inserted many parts of the Catholic liturgy. However, Juhana's vision of reuniting the Church of his country with the Pope's Church never came about.

2.1 The Two Largest Finnish Population Centers and Their Influential Bishops

In the 1500's **Turku** (*Åbo* in Swedish, *Aboe* in Latin) was the largest city in the area that is now present-day Finland, with a population of about 2800. The residents of Finnish cities in that period were mostly merchants, craftsmen, ship owners with their families, plus soldiers and servants. (Suomen Hist. 1985, p. 338.)

The Catholic Church upheld a monastery and a cathedral school (*Schola Aboensis* in Latin) which had already been in operation for at least two and possibly three hundred years. The Finnish church historian, Pirinen, states that the cathedral school is mentioned for the first time in 1326, but was most likely begun during the time when Thomas of England was the leading figure in the Church of Finland (1220-45) (Pirinen 1991, p. 202.) In his article, "A Stroll Round the Old Square in Åbo", Fabian Dahlström states that the *Schola Aboensis* is thought to have been founded in 1276. (Dahlström 4/96, p. 3.) This

coincides with the establishment of the Secular Synod Office of Turku. (Salomies 1949, appendix.)

In 1528 Martti Skytte was appointed Bishop of Turku. He was responsible for sending four students to Wittenberg, Germany to study with Luther and Melanchthon. All four later served as bishops in Turku and Viborg.

One of these students, **Mikael Agricola**, is remembered as the father of the Finnish written language. His ABC/catechism book came out in 1543, a translation of the New Testament in 1548, and a Mass Book in 1549. Some of Agricola's hymn translations appeared in the first Finnish language hymnbook which was printed in 1583. Agricola was named Bishop of Turku in 1554, but, this synod which, until then, had embraced all of Finland, was now divided in two.

Viborg (*Viipuri* in Finnish, *Wiburgense* in Latin) was Finland's second largest city in the 1500's with a population roughly 40% the size of Turku. Viborg had close ties with Tallin and other seaports along the Baltic.

Gustav Vasa appointed **Paavali Juusten** as bishop to Viborg the same year Agricola was named Bishop of Turku. Juusten, who had also been a student in Wittenberg, followed Agricola's literary example by digging into Finland's past and preserving it for generations to come. His book, *Chronicon Episcoporum Finlandensium*, containing biographies of all the Bishops of Finland since St. Henry (d.1156), for example, serves as an invaluable source of information about the early church in Finland. (Suomen Hist. 1985, p.314.)

When Juusten was appointed Bishop of Turku in 1563, Knuutti Juhonpoika, 1563-64, and Eerikki Härkäpää 1568-78 served as Bishops of Viborg. The latter of these outlived Juusten by three years and during those years he was the only Bishop in the whole Finnish region. Juhana III had a plan to eliminate all the Reformed Bishops and replace them with ones who favored Catholicism. Henrik Knuutinpoika was named superintendent to the Synod of Turku, but it wasn't until 1583 that Turku's position was filled by a Bishop, Eric Eriki (in Finnish: *Eerik Eerikinpoika Sorolainen*). Viborg had to wait until 1618 to get its own Bishop again, Olavi Elimaeus. (Salomies 1949, appendix, p. 2.) During this "bishop-less" period, the first edition of the *Piae Cantiones* was published.

The Educational System of the Period

The Reformation brought with it the revolutionary idea of education in the Finnish language. On the other hand, the demise of the Catholic Church meant trouble for all the educational institutions the Church had maintained until then. At the beginning of the Reformation period enrollment in the schools dropped. The reasons were mainly the following: the probability of a steady position with the Church was most uncertain, and the royal court had begun to draft graduated students into its service by force. The University of Uppsala was shut down for lack of finances almost ten years during the reign of Juhana III (1568-92). (Salomies 1949, p. 246.)

At the end of the 16th century, in all of what is present-day Finland, there was only one Cathedral school which was in Turku, and one Trivial school in Viborg, both of which served as theological seminaries. Monastery schools (called *Pedagogio* in Latin) existed in Helsinki, Naantali, Pori, Porvoo, Rauma and Tammissaari at that time. (Suomen Hist. 1985, p. 318; Salomies 1949, p. 247.) These schools had been established by the Catholic Church to provide schooling for priests. The school at Turku had four grades, each of which lasted two years. The other schools had three levels at the most.

Three subjects were taught at the schools: Christian education, Latin, and Singing. The subject "Latin" included all subjects taught in Latin, including arithmetic, geography, astronomy, history and literature. Some schools taught Greek and Hebrew as well.

Singing was important in Catholic worship and education. This is demonstrated by the *Missale Aboense*, printed in Lubeck in 1488, and the *Manuale Aboense* printed in 1522. (Dahlström 4/96, p. 2.) Manuscripts containing musical notation have been found in other parts of Finland, for example, the Oripää Missale which was written at the end of the 15th century. This manuscript contains *Divinum mysterium* and *Jesus Christus nostra salus*, which appear in the first *Piae Cantiones* collection (PC 1582, Nos. 38, 39.) Another hand-written missal has been found in Juva. This has the words to *Divinum mysterium* and *Cedit hyems eminus* (PC 1582, No. 30) written in its margins, but provides no notation for either tune. As a result of the Reformation, thousands of

pages of Latin liturgical manuscripts and plainsong collections were "recycled" and used for binding fiscal books. These were discovered in 1840, but significant reconstruction and cataloguing of these manuscripts, begun recently by the researcher Ilkka Taitto, is still in process in the Helsinki University Library. The volume, *Documenta Gregoriana*, published in 1992 by Ilkka Taitto, contains 128 examples of manuscripts from as early as the 11th century up to the 16th century. (Taitto 1992, p. 6.) (Two websites can be found on the internet dealing with Taitto's work: <http://www.konbib.nl/gabriel/treasures/country/Finland/fi04.html> and <http://linna.helsinki.fi/hyk/kirjasto/kokoelma/chant.html>.)

As the emphasis on Christian education increased in the schools in the late 1500's, the importance of singing declined. Religious songs and school songs were used in a corrupt sort of way as a means to obtain material goods, for students travelled through the countryside twice a year to collect food and alms from the landfolk. In exchange for this, the students were to spread some of the knowledge and songs they had learned in school. Some good, as well, came out of this. The Finnish church historian, Kauko Pirinen, credits these student tours with the proliferation of hymns in the vernacular. (Pirinen 1991, p. 374.)

With the cutbacks at Uppsala, Finnish students wishing to continue their education at a university now had no other place to go but abroad. From time to time the church sent students to universities along the Baltic seaport, often to Rostock, to Frankfurt an der Oder, or to Wittenberg. Aristocratic students were able to pay for their own educations at foreign universities. (Suomen Hist. 1985, p. 318) It was common to attend several different universities while abroad. It is assumed that these students, who studied in other countries, were responsible for bringing some of the *Piae Cantiones* tunes back with them to Finland.

The Reformation

There are several reasons why the Reformation went more smoothly in Finland than in many other parts of Europe. First of all, Catholicism hadn't had a chance to take deep roots in the 400 years since the first missionaries came to Finland. In many areas of Lapland the Gospel was yet to be heard. The Swedish King Gustav Vasa kept the Reformation from becoming a people's revolution by

establishing a State Church in the place of the Catholic Church. (Pirinen 1991, p. 378.)

When King Juhana III tried to reinstate some Catholic ceremonies at the end of the 1500's, it created more problems in mainland Sweden than in Finland. Finland's clergy diplomatically claimed to introduce Juhana's liturgy, but it was never printed in Finnish. Bishop Juusten published the first Finnish language order of the service in 1575, and this is what the Finnish congregations used despite Juhana's efforts. It was entitled: "The Holy Mass in the Finnish Language, not in the manner of the Pope, but of the Holy Word and of the Holy Congregation." Juusten did most of his other writing of Finnish history and history of the Finnish church in Latin. (Suomen Hist. 1985, pp. 314-15.)

Latin was not abandoned, but rather continued to be the language of the clergy, and thus, of the schools. [More on this subject can be found in the book, Mare Balticum - Mare Nostrum. Latin in the Countries of the Baltic Sea (1500-1800). Outi Merisalo and Raija Sarasti-Wilenius, eds. Acts of the Helsinki Colloquium. Jyväskylä, Finland: Gummerus, 1994.] This was key in preserving stability in the Finnish church during this period of transition, and helps explain the linguistic questions connected with the publication of the Piae Cantiones.

2.2 Piae Cantiones 1582 - A Treasury of Medieval and Renaissance Melodies

PIAE CANTIONES ecclesiasticae et scholasticae veterum Episcoporum, in Inclyto Regno Sveciae passim usurpatae, nuper studio viri cuiusdam Reverendis: de Ecclesia Dei et Scholae Aböensi in Finlandia optimi meriti accurate a mendis correctae, et nunc typis commissiae, opera Theodorici Petri Nylandensis. His adiecti sunt aliquot ex Psalmis recentioribus can be translated: "Pious Church and School Songs of the Ancient Bishops of the territories under the control of the Swedish Crown, under the scrutiny of one priest who edited it in accordance with the exacting requirements of the Church of God and the School of Turku in Finland and with the proper humility, this is the work of Theodoricus Petri of Nyland [in Finnish: Uusimaa]. Included are several melodies from the revised Psalms."

The *Piae Cantiones* was first published in 1582 in Greifswald. This collection of 74 melodies is unique in that it contains both religious and school songs. [See list of the songs in the appendix.] In addition to one-part melodies, it also contains seven melodies in two parts, three settings in three parts, and two compositions in four parts. The *Piae Cantiones* collection was re-edited and published numerous times. This indicates that the songs were in use over a long period of time. Norlind states, "The use of these songs was widespread, not only in Finland, where such songs were richly cultivated especially in Turku, but also throughout all of Sweden." (Norlind 1900, p. 566) For example, in the school singing traditions in Pori, Finland, the *Piae Cantiones* songs were sung as late as the 1860's, these being songs which were deeply rooted in Christmas traditions in the schools, and those which were accompanied by dances. (*Piae Cantiones*. Facsimile 1967, p. 213.)

In her book, entitled One Hundred Memoirs from Ostrobothnia [In Finnish: *Sata muistelmaa pohjanmaalta*], Sara Wacklin describes the graduation ceremonies at the trivial school in Oulu, Finland, at the turn of the 18th century: "For everyone's enjoyment at this ceremony in the schoolhouse a dance was performed, which was emotionally quite moving. Apparently, it was a custom dating back to catholic times. Much time and effort went into its preparations and practicing. All the boys participated. They held in their hands thin barrel hoops, with which they formed arches and circles in time to the music. At times they danced in a circle, at times the hoops were brought together to form one or more crown. Some of the more agile boys bobbed lightly back and forth over the hoops as well as took numerous (literally translated 'a hundred-fold') turns leading the dance. All the while the boys sang in their bright, childlike voices the following well-rehearsed Latin hymn: 'Ecce novum gaudium [PC 1582 song no. 13]. . .'" (Wacklin. 1966, p. 99 - 100.)

Popularity of the *Piae Cantiones* in Finland can still be seen today. Heikki Klemetti's arrangements of *Piae Cantiones* melodies for mixed choir are part of many Finnish choirs' current repertory. Eleven of the melodies are included in the present Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook. (Suomen Evankelis-Luterilaisen Kirkon Virsikirja (The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Hymnbook). 1987, p. 834.)

FINLAND'S EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN HYMNBOOK

No. in hymnbook	title	title and no. in 1582 PC edition
3.	Hoosianna! huudetaan	Homo quidam Rex nobilis (No. 71)
17.	Ilon päivä verraton (also 447)	Dies est laetitiae (No. 12)
18.	Nyt ilovirttä veisaten	In dulci jubilo (No. 15)
20.	Kaikki kansat riemuitkaa	Resonet in laudibus (No. 14)
97.	Herralle Jeesukselle (also 100)	Ramus virens olivarum (No. 72)
133.	Halleluja! Nyt ylistys (also 144)	Triformis relucetia (No.37)
145.	Taivaassa, johon Jumala	Insignis est figura (No.45)
222.	Jeesus Kristus, elämämme	Jesus Christus nostra salus (No. 39)
277.	Oi Kristus, taivaan kuningas	O Rex coelorum Domine (No. 40)
300.	Jeesuksen muisto ihana (also 534)	Jesu dulcis memoria (No. 33)
356.	Tyydy, sielu, Herran tahtoon	O Scholares discite (No. 59)

(Virsin, lauluin, psalittarein 1998, pp. 35 - 40. T.I. Haapalainen. "Suomalaisen virsikirjan *Piae Cantiones* -koraalit." See the appendix for a list of all the songs in the *Piae Cantiones* 1582.)

Contents of the *Piae Cantiones*, Its Compiler and Editor

The contents of the *Piae Cantiones* consist of two main categories, religious songs and school songs. The religious songs are broken down into twenty-four Christmas songs, several of which were, before alterations by the editors, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, nine songs for Lent and Easter, one song for Pentecost, three for Trinity Sunday, two for the Holy Communion, and four songs of prayer. The rest of the songs fall into the following categories: fourteen songs about the frailty and misery of human existence, ten songs dealing with school life, two songs advocating unity, three songs are about historical events and people, and the last two are Spring songs. One of the school songs contains sharp criticism against the upper class, and could be considered a protest song: No. 54 *Mars praecurrit*.

The *Piae Cantiones* collection is unusual and interesting, to say the least. It must be the work of an interesting man. Who was its compiler, Theodoricus Petri?

THEODORICUS (Didrik, Dirick) **PETRI** (Persson) **RUTHA** (Ruuth, Ruth, or Ruuta) (b. 1560?, d.1607-17?) was born in Porvoo in the 1560's. This is the area of Nyland (in Finnish: *Uusimaa*) which is mentioned on the title page of the collection. It is assumed that he attended the Trivial school in Viborg. He was from a rich, aristocratic family, and was able to continue his studies at the University in Rostock. (When he matriculated at Rostock in the year 1581, he

wrote *Svecus Wiburgensis*, indicating that he attended the trivial school in Viborg.) Turku Cathedral School is mentioned in the foreword to the PC collection, but Rutha was never a student there, contrary to the foreword of Woodward's edition of the PC. (Woodward 1910, p. xiii.) Rutha was skilled in writing Latin poetry. After the PC was published, Rutha wrote a few original poems in Latin. As a result of this, Mäkinen names Rutha "Finland's first renaissance Latin poet." (Mäkinen 1968, p. 21.)

Rutha worked in the personal office of King Juhana III until the King's death in 1591. His last years of service guarding the border between Sweden-Finland and Russia eventually led to expatriation, and he spent his final days in exile in Danzig, Poland, dying some time between 1607 and 1617. (Mäkinen 1968, pp. 17-20.) Mäkinen explains Rutha's demise: "We can deduct Theodoricus Petri's career being destroyed by the fact that he stayed loyal to King Juhana III's traditions in both a religious as well as a nationalistic way. . . The time in Sweden-Finland was right for Lutheranism and not for nobleman with Catholic sympathies like Theodoricus Petri." (Mäkinen 1968, p. 21.) Although the Reformation in Finland was bloodless, it nonetheless had its victims, and Rutha was one of these.

Many questions are left unanswered about Rutha. Since he was able to write Latin verse, why did he condone the crude, far from poetical changes made on the songs to the Virgin Mary? Why did he leave Jaakko Finno's name off the title page, and what was his relation to Finno, if not student-teacher?

JACOBUS FINNO (in Finnish: *Jaakko Suomalainen*) (1540 - 1588) was born in 1540 in Southwest Finland. In 1563, he was sent to study in Wittenberg where the Reformation had gotten its start. In 1567 he studied at Rostock University. The next year he was appointed headmaster of the Cathedral School of Turku during the time Juusten was Bishop of Turku. In 1578, Juhana III released Finno from his responsibilities as headmaster so that he could concentrate on producing a catechism, a prayer book and a hymnal in the Finnish language. After these books were finished in 1582-83, Finno returned to his post as headmaster until 1588, when he died of the plague. (Mäkinen 1968, p.10.)

Finno is not mentioned by name in the 1582 edition, but Hemming, minister of the parish of Masku, in the introduction to the Finnish version of the *Piae Cantiones* (1616) states that it was Finno, who made changes in the Latin texts of the PC to bring them in line with the Swedish church's Protestant views. (Pirinen 1991, p. 332.) The changes are made very crudely, substituting Jesus' name for the Virgin Mary's without any thought about the context. Because of these corrections by Finno, the *Piae Cantiones* is listed historically as Finland's first case of censorship in a compilation of Finland's censored books which can be found on the internet. (Kielletty kotimainen kirjallisuus ja käänöskirjallisuus http://www.jyu.fi/library/julkaisut/kielletyt_kirjat/kotimaa.html) The English researcher, G.R. Woodward, states: "It was one thing to call the Blessed Virgin Mother another Judith, a second Jael, a new Esther, but quite another to apply these terms to Our Lord. Then it became nonsensical. . . Petri and his Lutheran advisers, wishing to avoid all appearance of Mariolatry, fell unintentionally into the other extreme, and became guilty of heresy concerning the divinity of Mary's Son and Mary's Saviour." For this reason Woodward took care to restore the cantios to Mother Mary in his edition of the *Piae Cantiones* released in 1910. (Woodward 1910, p. xi.)

2.3 Later *Piae Cantiones* Editions

In 1616 a Finnish language version, *Nämä Wanhain Suomen maan Piispain ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinan kielised laulud — aina Suomen Schoulissa veisatud* (These old Latin Songs of the Bishops and Forefathers of the Church — which are always sung in Finnish schools) was printed without notation. The translations were made by Hemming, minister of the parish of Masku (in Finnish Hemminki Maskulainen) (c.1550 - 1619). This was linguistically significant, because it was the first printed collection of Finnish verse. According to Gudrun Viergutz, the colorful texts of this collection would be a most interesting subject for a thesis in linguistics.

Some of the songs appeared in 1619 with Swedish words in a volume called *Någre Psalmer* edited by Haakon Laurentij à Rhezelio (Rhezelius). (For a list of all the PC tunes in this volume, see Mäkinen 1968.) The popularity of Swedish translations of the PC songs can be documented through numerous surviving

handwritten Swedish sources, but not by so many printed books as in Finland. (Norlind. 1900, p. 575.)

A few years after the 1616 Finnish language version mentioned above, another Latin version was printed in **1625**. This collection contained seventeen songs more than the original version, several of which were in two and four parts. The editors were teachers from Viborg, Heinricus Martini Fattabur and Matthias Jacobäus (*Tolia*). (Viergutz 1998, p. 72.) A renowned composer from Rostock, Daniel Friderici, served as musical specialist for this edition, rewriting several of the three-part compositions for four parts, and adding one four-part composition of his own at the end of the collection. The English researcher Woodward came to the conclusion that Theodoricus Petri was still alive when the 1625 edition came out, but Mäkinen's research proves this to be untrue. (Woodward 1910, p. xiv; Mäkinen 1968, p. 20.)

In the preface to his 1910 PC edition, Woodward wonders why certain popular *cantios* of the time were left out of the 1582 edition. Three of the five songs he mentioned, *Nunc Angelorum gloria*, *In natali Domini* and *Surrexit Christus hodie* were now included in this 1625 edition. (Woodward 1910, p. xxii.) It is obvious that Woodward didn't have access to the 1625 edition. Another English music historian, Eric Routley, mentions the song, *Parvulus nobis nascitur*, as the most popular direct translation of a PC tune in England, but this melody wasn't included in the 1582 PC. It is another example of one of the sixteen tunes added into the 1625 edition. (Routley 1959, p. 192.) Routley must have been familiar with 1625 edition, since he considered *Parvulus nobis nascitur* to be a PC tune. Another possibility is that he confused it with *Puer nobis nascitur* which appears in the 1582 edition.

In **1679** a version was published with Latin texts and empty staves. This edition is based on the first edition and contains no new material. Its editor, Per Brahe, had served as General Governor of Finland prior to the publication of the collection. This is the only edition to be released in mainland Sweden. (*Piae Cantiones*, Facsimile 1967, p. 213.)

Three more editions came out after that. In **1761**, Johan Lindell released *Cantilenae Selectiores* with only seventeen songs in Latin (without music). In

1776 Lindell published *Cantilenarum selectiorum Editio nova* containing both words and music to the same songs as in the 1761 version. Lindell's versions of the tunes differ from the 1582 tunes in both melody and rhythm.

In 1900 a collection of ten unison melodies, *Carminalia selecta*, was published by Johan A. Inberg. (*Piae Cantiones*. Facsimile 1967, p. 213.) This is the only edition not containing *Tempus adest floridum*.

The *Piae Cantiones* inspired the later Finnish composers, Jean Sibelius and Heikki Klemetti, among others, to make choral arrangements of the melodies. (*Piae Cantiones*. Facsimile 1967, p. 214-15.) In the foreword to Sibelius choral arrangements it reads: "Songs of the touring students from the 18th century written down by Elise Stenbäck in Loviisa [Finland] . . ." Fabian Dahlström assumes from this, that Sibelius was unaware that these songs stemmed originally from the 1582 *Piae Cantiones*, because "the songs had been preserved in a living oral tradition in certain schools." (Dahlström 1986, p. 24.)

Klemetti used Lindell's 1776 melodies for the most part as basis for his mixed choir arrangements. (Klemetti 1911, Foreword) Jouko Tolonen, Sune Carlsson, and Taneli Kuusisto have also composed choral works based on the *Piae Cantiones* songs. (Hillila 1997, p. 307.)

3. THE APPEARANCE OF *PIAE CANTIONES* MELODIES IN 19th CENTURY ENGLAND

Numerous tunes included in the *Piae Cantiones* had found their way to England through other sources prior to the arrival of the first edition of the collection in 1853, for example: *In dulci jubilo*, *Resonet in laudibus*, and *Dies est laetitia*. By 1854, 24 of the *Piae Cantiones* had been set to English texts and published by John Mason Neale and Thomas Helmore. Neale's setting of the last tune from the PC, *Tempus adest floridum*, entitled "Good King Wenceslas Look'd Out," became a "classic" among Christmas carols. (Routley 1959, p. 195.) This carol is also very popular in America, and it is often listed in songbooks as an English tune. Who was the Englishman responsible for this? It appeared that the man who wrote the English words must not have understood Latin at all.

3.1. The State of Liturgical Music in England in the 1800's

In the book, The English Carol, Erik Routley devotes a whole chapter to "Carols from Other Countries". Here he points out that the flow of carols in Europe has been mostly one way -- into England but not out. He researched the *Deutsches Evangelisches Gesangbuch* (The German Evangelical Hymnbook 1926) and discovered that, out of the 342 hymns in the collection, forty-five of them are known in England in translation, but there was not a single translation of an English hymn text. (Routley 1959, p. 190.) Looking back to the Reformation in England, it appears that no attempt was made to save the old carols, sequences and office hymns when the Latin language was discarded. In Germany, however, "paraphrases and translations of Latin hymns formed an integral part of Lutheran worship," states E. Towle. (Towle 1907, p. 206.)

Eleanor Towle in her biography of John Mason Neale continues, "There were, however, relatively few hymns well adapted for public worship besides those found between the covers of the Olney Methodist Hymnbook. And this seemed to some, for that very reason, hardly adapted to be bound up with the Book of Common Prayer. It is strange that the old Latin hymns and sacred songs, that since the days of Caedmon (who had become a monk for the express purpose of devoting himself to religious poetry) had so greatly assisted devotion, should have been discredited and almost entirely excluded from the service books at the Reformation. Edward the Sixth's Primer (1553) had no hymns though a few reappear in Elizabeth's." And later, ". . . during the time of the Civil War psalm singing was a distinctive note of the Puritan party. . . In fact, good church people still shared the contempt expressed by Queen Elizabeth for what she pleased to call 'Geneva jigs' [congregational hymns]." (Towle 1907, p. 206.)

Routley, too, describes the marks puritanism had left on religious music in England in the early nineteenth century: "The stream of popular music for the pious was artificially reduced in the seventeenth century, and diverted away from the popular style in the eighteenth; so that by 1850 those Englishmen whom the Romantic Movement had taught to value order and beauty wherever they might originate (even among papists) were looking out for material to enrich

the depleted and corrupted store.” (Routley 1959, p.193.) This sets the stage for the arrival of the *Piae Cantiones* to England.

The Appearance of the *Piae Cantiones* 1582 Edition in England

In 1853 Her Majesty’s Envoy and Minister to Stockholm, G.J.R. Gordon, returned to England, bringing with him a very rare book: a 1582 edition of the *Piae Cantiones*. [This same volume is preserved in the British Library. According to the British Library’s Curator of Musical Collections, Sandra Tuppen, it bears the inscription, “G.J.R. Gordon, Stockholm, 1853.” In addition, there is a list of the names of owners previous to Gordon: ” Erick Linning(?), Eric Linderstedt, and Peter Frigel (1750-1842).” (Letter8Feb99) Woodward also mentions these names in his foreword. (Woodward 1910, p.xix.) The *Piae Cantiones* edition remained in Helmore’s and then in his son’s, Arthur Helmore’s, library until 1908, when it was purchased by the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society. (Woodward 1910, p. xix.) The British Museum purchased it from the Plainsong and Medieval Society in 1926. In 1973 the library departments of the British Museum were incorporated into the British Library where it can be found today. The Curator, Sandra Putten, wrote stating that she believed this *Piae Cantiones* edition to be a unique copy, just as Woodward believed in 1910. (Letter8.Feb99; Woodward 1910, p. xix.) In the RISM 19 copies of the book are listed as surviving to this day. (RISM)] Gordon presented it to John Mason Neale, who in turn presented it to Thomas Helmore, so that he could interpret the white mensural notation. After receiving the melodies which Helmore found most appealing, Neale set out to fit words to them. Neale and Helmore published two collections containing 24 carols in 1853-54. All the tunes to these were drawn from the *Piae Cantiones*. One of these “new” carols was “Good King Wenceslas.” Routley continues: “Few of Her Majesty’s envoys have done the country such signal service as did this Mr. Gordon. After all, the man who was primarily responsible for our singing ‘Good King Wenceslas’ deserves mention as one of our more conspicuous national benefactors.” (Routley 1959, p. 192.)

3.2 John Mason Neale (1818 - 1866)

The Dictionary of National Biographies explains that John Mason Neale was a world-renowned translator and religious scholar. Not only did he know Latin and Greek, but at least eighteen other languages as well. Neale had received an honorary doctoral from Harvard University in 1860 [According to Towle, the honorary

degree was from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. (Towle 1907, p. 279)]. In addition to this, he also received a very rare form of recognition from the Orthodox Metropolitan of Moscow for his studies of the Eastern Church. He didn't seem to be very popular in England during his lifetime, though, because of his avid support of the Church of England. He was very well-versed in religious history, and for him, it was natural for the Church of England to want to embrace its rich historical roots back to the days before the Reformation. Contemporaries of his time labeled him a follower of the Pope, and because of this, Neale was not given a commission to a parish when he was first ordained as a priest. Later, ill health kept him from holding the parish of Crawley in Sussex. After a three-year period of recuperation in Madeira, Spain, Neale was content to serve as warden at Sackville College in East Grinstead, an old folk's home. This position left him time to devote himself to his research and writing. (DNB 1949-50, s. v. "Neale, John Mason." p. 144.)

Writing came easily to Neale. He could write verse in Latin just as fluently as in English. He has by far more original and translated hymn texts to his credit than any other English hymn writer. But Neale's writing didn't stop with hymns. He has to his credit more than twenty theological publications, twelve hymnological documents, at least thirty children's books, books for the elderly, studies on church architecture, and more than twenty other miscellaneous publications. (DNB 1949-50, p. 145-6.)

The last years of his life were not only devoted to writing, but also to the founding of the Order of St. Margaret. The sisters of this order practiced selfless charity by treating the sick and the poor. This was a culmination of Neale's own strong commitment to unselfish servitude which he practiced in his first parish and at the old folk's home in East Grinstead. (Towle 1907, p. 299.) Neale's biographer, Elizabeth Towle, was affiliated with the Convent of St. Margaret, which Neale founded. Perhaps for that reason her biography is marked by an unbounding admiration for Neale. This admiration contrasts sharply with the criticism Neale received from the press, scholars and music historians, as we will see later in the analysis of the carol, "Good King Wenceslas."

Hasty presumptions about Neale were proven to be quite wrong. Now I was convinced that John Mason Neale was a talented translator and a prolific author, as well as an authority on Eastern and Western church history including the lives of the saints. Both Neale and the compiler of the *Piae Cantiones*, Theodoricus Petri Rutha, suffered in their lifetimes because of their sympathies for the Catholic Church. Fortunately, subsequent generations have recognized the contributions both men have made. But who was Thomas Helmore, Neale's co-editor for the two books of carols?

3.3 Thomas Helmore (1811 - 1890) and His Collaborations with Neale

Thomas Helmore was also briefly mentioned in the Dictionary of National Biographies, at least enough to show that he was also a priest and had a special interest in composing and writing about music. In addition to the work he did on the carol books, he also later edited The Hymnal Noted for the Ecclesiological Society. Among his list of publications are a manual about plainsong and a few guidebooks to liturgical music. (DNB 1949-50, s. v. "Helmore, Thomas." p. 372.)

Neale and Helmore worked together on the *Piae Cantiones* transcriptions and within the same year, 1853, released twelve PC melodies with English texts entitled: Carols for Christmastide. The tenth and eleventh carols in this collection were not originally Christmas songs, but rather spring carols in the PC 1582.

CAROLS FOR CHRISTMASTIDE (1853)

Song no.	Title	PC tune + No. in 1582 edition
I.	Here is joy for every age	Ecce novum gaudium (No.13)
II.	Earthly friends will change	Omnis mundus iucundetur (No.16)
III.	Gabriel's Message	Angelus emittitur (No. 1)
IV.	Christ was born on Christmas Day	Resonet in laudibus (No. 14)
V.	Earth to-day rejoices	Ave maris stella lucens (No. 7)
VI.	Good Christian men, rejoice	In dulci jubilo (No. 15)
VII.	From church to church*	Congaudeat turba fidelium (No. 6)
VIII.	In the ending of the year*	Verbum caro [In hoc anni circulo](No. 4)
IX.	Royal Day that chasest gloom	Dies est laetitiae (No. 12)
X.	O'er the hill and o'er the dale*	In vernali tempore (No. 73)
XI.	Good King Wenceslas	Tempus adest floridum (No. 74)
XII.	Toll! Toll! because there ends	Psallat scholarum concio (No. 10)

(Carols for Christmastide. 1853. Set to ancient melodies by Thomas Helmore. The words, principally in imitation of the original by John Mason Neale. London: Novello.)

The next year Neale and Helmore released another collection of twelve PC tunes, Carols for Eastertide. In this collection, only two of the twelve carols can be found in the PC as Easter songs. The rest, three Christmas songs, one prayer song, three songs about human frailty, two school songs and one historical song, have lost the meanings of their original texts. Helmore edited another collection in the same year, the Hymnal Noted, which contained at least two PC melodies with English texts. Of the 105 hymns in the Hymnal Noted, ninety-four were Neale's translations from the Latin. Of these, only two came from the PC. (Towle 1907, p. 214.)

CAROLS FOR EASTERTIDE (1854)

Song No.	Title	PC tune + No in 1582 edition
XIII.	Let the merry church bells ring	Vanitatum vanitas (No. 44)
XIV.	The world itself	O Christe Rex piissime (No.41)
XV.	Let us tell the story	Ave maris stella divinitatis (No. 11)
XVI.	Give ear, good Christian men*	Homo quidam Rex nobilis (No.71)
XVII.	A song, a song, our chief to greet*	Psallat fidelis concio (No. 20) norl p62
XVIII.	Sing alleluia	Christus pro nobis passus est (No. 27)
XIX.	Days grow longer	O scholares voces pares (No.66)
XX.	The morning of salvation	In stadio laboris (No. 63)
XXI.	Let the song be begun	Personent hodie (No. 9)
XXII.	The foe behind, the deep before*	Autor humani generis (No. 25) '8norl p62
XXIII.	'Twas about the dead of night	Scribere proposui (No. 52)
XXIV.	Easter Day comes on but slowly*	Cum sit omnis caro foenum (No. 56)

(Carols for Eastertide. 1854. Helmore and Neale. London: Novello)

THE HYMNAL NOTED (1854)

Hymn title	PC tune + No in 1582 edition
Of the Father sole begotten*	Divinum mysterium (No. 38)
In our common celebration	Jesus Christus nostra salus (no. 39)

(The Hymnal Noted. London: 1854.) [Not available through Library loan. Source used: (Woodward. 1910, pp. 234, 237.)]

The Accuracy and Popularity of Neale's and Helmore's Carols

Music researcher Routley extols Neale and Helmore's work in the publication of these 26 PC melodies. He does point out that, in spite of their painstaking efforts, certain misinterpretations of ligatures and note values appear. Helmore's interpretation of the diamond head neums was not completely correct, as can be seen in his version of the tune, *Divinum mysterium* (in the Hymnal Noted in 1854). Routley thinks Helmore was too blinded by his stoic English Church music background to recognize this melody as "a noble dance-like tune" instead of a plainsong. (Routley 1959, p. 193.) This mistake in notation made it very difficult to set to words. Fortunately the tunes which had errors in notation (marked by an asterisk in the above listings) have been corrected by G.R. Woodward in later printings. (Routley 1959, p. 194; Woodward 1910, p. 205-263.)

Mäkinen claims *Divinum mysterium* to be one of the oldest traceable tunes in the PC collection - a sanctus-trope dating back to the 10th century. Mäkinen shows notated examples of the melody's development from its trope form into an independent cantio. It is interesting to note that in this earliest example cited by Mäkinen, found in Tortosa, Spain, from the 12th or 13th century, there is no sign of the triple rhythm of later versions. According to Mäkinen, this tune deserves to be included in the Finnish Lutheran Hymnbook because of its melodic beauty and because of its history as a communion hymn in Agricola's Mass Book (1549) of Finland. (Mäkinen 1968, pp. 128, 131, 134-5.) England's present Hymns Ancient and Modern. New Standard. (1983) has preserved this hymn. (See p. 26.)

Neale didn't attempt to make literal translations of all of the tunes, but instead took the liberty in some cases of changing the words completely. Routley predicts, "had he [Neale] lived forty years later, he might have been content to translate." (Routley 1959, p. 193.) But one of these hybrid carols, to the tune of *Tempus adest floridum*, turned out to be the hit of the century. Neale replaced the words of this spring carol with his own words about the legendary benevolent Bohemian King Wenceslas. Literary critics of the day called Neale's new carol "poor and commonplace to the last degree," or "Doggerel." But the

public wasn't influenced by the critics. The popularity of the carol grew in Great Britain and was soon sung in the New World as well. Routley defends the poet against his critics: ". . . Neale knew what he was doing. If he had meant to write a hymn he would have done it, and done it better than most of his contemporaries." (Routley 1959, p. 193.) Neale worked his whole lifetime as a translator and creator of carols and hymns for the enrichment of England's depleted religious music. The work he and Helmore started was carried on by another Englishman, George Ratcliffe Woodward.

3.4 George Ratcliffe Woodward (1848-1934)

George Ratcliffe Woodward made an equally great endeavor to promote use of the *Piae Cantiones* in England. (Routley 1959, p. 195.) Woodward edited two books, Carols for Christmastide (1892) and Carols for Easter and Ascensiontide (1894). These were the forerunners to the two books listed below. In 1919 he released an enlarged edition of the Cowley Carol Book containing 100 carols. This collection, containing "Good King Wenceslas," was reprinted in the United States in 1925 by E.C. Schirmer of Boston. (George R. Woodward, ed. 1925 The Cowley Carol Book. Boston: E.C. Schirmer.) This is unlikely to be the first printing of Neale's most famous carol in the U.S., but the first I have been able to trace. In later years Woodward produced the Cambridge Carol Book which had English and French carols for the most part, and one entitled The Italian Carol Book. (Routley 1959, p. 195.)

THE COWLEY CAROL BOOK (1902)

No. of carol	Title	PC tune + No. in 1582 edition
1.	A Babe is Born in Bethlehem	Puer natus in Bethlehem
(4.)	Christ was born on Christmas Day	Resonet in laudibus (No.14)
6.	Earth to-day rejoices	Ave maris stella lucens miseris (No.7)
(7.)	From Church to Church	Congaudeat turba fidelium (No. 6)
8.	Gabriel's Message	Angelus emittitur (No. 1)
10.	Good King Wenceslas	Tempus adest floridum (No. 74)
(12.)	In dulci jubilo	In dulci jubilo (No. 15)
(13.)	In the Ending of the Year	In hoc anni circulo (No. 4)
(16.)	O'er the Hill and o'er the Vale	In vernali tempore (No. 73)
(18.)	Royal Day that chases gloom	Dies est laetificae (No. 12)
25.	Unto us is born a Son	Puer nobis nascitur (No. 3)
(28.)	Earthly friends will change and falter	Omnis mundus iucundetur (No. 16)
29.	Up! good Christian folk, and listen	O quam mundum (No. 63)
30.	There is joy for every age	Ecce novum gaudium (No. 13)

45.	Give ear, give ear, good Christian men!	Homo quidam, rex nobilis (No. 71)
47.	Let the merry church bells ring	Vanitatum vanitas (No. 44)
48.	Let us tell the story	Ave maris stella, divinitatis (No.11)
49.	The morning of Salvation	In stadio laboris (No. 63)
50.	The world itself keeps Easter Day	O Christe, Rex piissime (No. 41)
52.	'Twas about the dead of night	Scribere proposui (No. 52)
53.	Winter-tide hath past away	Cedit hyems eminus (No. 30)
54.	Jesus, to save mankind forlorn	Jesus, humani generis (No. 29)
55.	Holy Church must raise the lay	Castitatis speculum (No. 58)
56.	Let the song be sung	Personent hodie (No. 9)
57.	Sing Alleluya, all ye lands	Christus pro nobis passus est (No. 27)
58.	Days grow longer, sunbeams stronger	O scholares, voces pares (No. 66)
59.	Ye heav'ns, uplift your voice	O mentes perfidas (No.47)
62.	Jesu, Who in bitter pain	O scolares discite (No. 59)

(Cowley Carol Book, 1902. ed. G.R. Woodward. Oxford. Mowbray & Co.)

Woodward has included ten of Neale's carols for Christmastide and eight of the carols for Eastertide. The publication of all the rest above and those found in the Songs of Syon listed below can be accredited to Woodward. The numbers in parentheses indicate that the tune has come to England through earlier sources in addition to the *Piae Cantiones*.

SONGS OF SYON (1910)

No.of song	Title	PC tune + No.in 1582 edition
8.	Draw nigh, draw nigh, Emmanuel	Christus pro nobis passus est (No.27)
49.	Of the hour that comes to fever	Cum sit omnis caro (No. 56)
108.	A Song, a Song our Chief to greet	Psallat fidelis concio (No. 20)
133.	Unity in Trinity	Divinum mysterium (No. 38)
141.	Jesus Christ our blest Redeemer	Jesus Christus nostra salus (No. 39)
339.	Jesu, King of ages, prithee, hear us	Salve flos et decor (No. 2)
345.	Jesu, Son of God the Father	Mars praecurrit (No. 54)
346.	Jesu, the Father's Son and Heir	Ave rex regum omnium (No. 42)
403.	If thou wouldst be partaker	Insignis est figura (No. 45)
405.	Life is full of trouble	Mirum si laeteris (No. 46)
413.	Alleluya, Glory in the highest	lucundare iugiter (No. 32)
414.	All honour, laud and glory	O rex coelorum Domine (No. 40)

(Songs of Syon, ed. G.R. Woodward. London: Schott & Co., 1910. Enlarged 1923.)

Unlike the Finnish Lutheran Hymnbook which contains 11 *Piae Cantiones* melodies, the Anglican Hymnal, Hymns Ancient and Modern contains only two PC tunes listed below. This is, however, one of many hymnbooks in use in the Anglican Church.

HYMNS ANCIENT AND MODERN, NEW STANDARD (1983)

No. of hymn	Title	PC tune + No. in 1582 edition
33, 325	Of the Father's love begotten (<i>Corde natus</i>)	Divinum mysterium (No. 38)
484.	Long ago, prophets knew	Personent hodie (No. 9)

(Hymns Ancient and Modern, New Standard. Suffolk: Richard Clay Ltd, 1983.)

Enthusiasm for Neale's new texts to the PC songs has not been unanimous. May this quotation by Elizabeth Poston, editor of The Penguin Book of Christmas Carols, serve as a summary for the previous chapter: "Dr. John Mason Neale (1818 - 66) and the Reverend George Ratcliffe Woodward (1848 -1934) were classical scholars. To their zeal we owe many of the Latin carol translations and settings now in use in our hymn and carol books. To their excess of zeal and misplaced desire to re-create on old models we owe a number of spurious words that have little or nothing to do with the original texts; and flights of fancy of varying degrees of absurdity. At his best, Dr. Neale is superb (*Corde natus*), at his worst he is deplorable (for example 'Good King Wenceslas' . . . Praise is due to these pious Victorians for their realization of the existence of carols and their help in their resurrection. . . Unfortunately scholarship and artistry rarely go hand in hand." (Poston 1979, p. 15 - 16.) From this one can see how the carol, "Good King Wenceslas," has been as controversial as the creator of its text, Dr. Neale.

4. A STUDY OF THE "ENGLISH" CAROL, "GOOD KING WENCESLAS"

As a means of illustrating how history has affected the PC tunes since their publication more than 400 years ago, one tune, *Tempus adest floridum*, will be examined in detail in the following section. This song serves as an illuminative example, because it was included in all the collections published in Sweden-Finland, except for the 1900 edition, Carminalia Selectionares, edited by Ingman. As we have seen in the previous chapter, this tune has a colorful history in England since its first printing in 1853.

4.1 The Melody - Its History and Musical Form

There is no proof that the tune of *Tempus adest floridum* is originally from Finland, although no other earlier trace of its melody has been found to this date. The first verse of the text appeared in 1280. According to Mäkinen, in the *Carmina Burana* there was some indication of the tune to go with that text, apparently the first few notes, but it doesn't resemble the melody found in the PC version. (Mäkinen 1968, p. 44.) Mäkinen mentions similarity between the first line of *Tempus adest floridum* and the closing line of the Christmas sequence, *Psallat fidelis concio*. (Mäkinen 1968 p. 197.) That doesn't help much either, because neither tune has been found in any earlier sources. One possible way of predicting its age is to look at its form.

The New Grove Dictionary of Music defines a medieval carol as "an English or Latin song of uniform stanzas beginning with a refrain called a 'burden' that is repeated after every stanza. Medieval carols could be about any subject, but were mostly about the Virgin or Saints of Christmas." (Grove. p.703.) The definition of *cantio* is quite similar - "a strophic song, normally with a repeating refrain." (Grove. p. 731.) *Tempus adest floridum* doesn't fit either of these definitions closely because it doesn't have a repeated refrain.

Elizabeth Poston defines *Tempus adest floridum* as belonging to the "quick-moving virile measure of the *branle* family of dances that swept Europe, characterized by a stamp on the heavy minim beats - a typical hurdy-gurdy tune." She also states: "In spirit, in feeling, as in fact, it is entirely pagan." (Poston. 1979, p. 25.)

Woodward speculates in the notes to his 1910 PC edition that this could be the correct tune to go with the four-voice refrain, *Gaudete, gaudete Christus natus est* (No. 24). The verses accompanying this refrain are the only words in the 1582 collection that seem to be printed without music. This would supply the missing refrain, and the words fit the tune of *Tempus adest floridum*, but the melody and refrain don't match in meter, nor do they match in modality. Woodward analyzes the mode of *Gaudete* to be dorian or hypo-dorian and the rhythm to be "Hendecasyllabic Phalecian, consisting of a spondee, a dactyl, and

three trochees.” (Woodward 1910, p. 229.) Rhythmic variation between the stanza and refrain could be possible, but the differences in modality suggest that Woodward’s speculation is incorrect.

Later research by F. Bohlin has shown that the verses following *Gaudete* are meant to be sung to the same tune as the refrain, despite the differences in meter. He defends this theory by pointing to the Swedish language edition of Rhezelius published in 1619, where each verse is notated and the melody used is that of the refrain. (Bohlin 1968.) This shows there is no connection between *Gaudete* and *Tempus adest floridum*.

According to Grove, carols of later centuries didn’t always have refrains. (Grove. p. 802.) Could this be an indication of the tune’s age? Perhaps it isn’t as medieval as it appears. Elizabeth Poston, however, dates *Tempus adest floridum* as a “thirteenth-century dance carol.” (Poston 1979, p. 25.)

Modality

Woodward analyzes the melody to be in the Hypo-Ionian mode. (Woodward 1910, p. 253.) The Ionian is the mode closest to the modern major. The range of modal melodies tended to be restricted to one octave from the tonal center. The prefix “hypo” indicates that the tonal center of the mode, in this case, “c”, is located in the middle of the melody’s range, and the melody’s highest and lowest notes are “g”. The otherwise one-note-per-syllable melody contains only one short melisma at the end giving it that unique modal flavor. Because the second-to-the-last note is “f”, it abolishes the feeling of a dominant-tonic harmonic relation that is characteristic of a major key.

Musical illustration - *Tempus adest floridum*

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the piece 'Tempus adest floridum'. Each system consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) in 4/4 time. The first system is labeled '1582' above the top staff and '1776' above the bottom staff. The second and third systems show the 1776 edition's melody and accompaniment. The 1776 version features a more rhythmic and accented melody compared to the 1582 version. A trill (tr) is indicated in the final measure of each system.

[The upper tune is from the 1582 edition of the PC, and the lower from Lindell's 1776 edition.]

The tune for *Tempus adest floridum* in the 1625 edition is identical to that in the 1582 version [see Examples 1 and 3 in the appendix]. However, in the notated 1776 version by Joh. Lindell there are great liberties taken with the melody. By switching the leading tones onto the accented beat of the phrase instead of having it be part of an unaccented stepwise movement back to the tonal center, it emphasizes a tonic-dominant relation instead of the modal in the original. This obsession to place the leading tone before each "c" at the end of the phrases results in that all four phrases end in the same manner. There seems to be an attempt to soften the large melodic leap of a fourth down from the tonal center as appears at the end of the first musical phrase. This is achieved by adding the note "a" between "c" and "g" and making it an eighth note, so that it skips

over the distance between the two notes. There are numerous other changes in the melody, not necessarily for the better. [Example 4.]

It would be easier to overlook this melody as an accident, except that this is the version which the Finnish composer, Heikki Klemetti, chose to arrange for mixed choir in 1911. More about the comparison of melodies of the 1582 and the 1776 PC collections can be found in Mikko Seppänen's study entitled "*A Modalitate ad Tonalitatem in Piis Cantionibus*" (1998).

All the versions of the tune in England have been harmonized in four-part chorale style. This harmonic burden has weighted down and obliterated the rhythmic virility of the original melody, according to Poston. (Poston 1979, p. 16.) Although some of the arrangers have tried to keep a modal feeling, the whole principle of harmonization is quite romantic. Helmore's harmonization is simpler than that by Woodward. Helmore uses the same Tonic chord for all three of the first notes of the melody: I I I V7 I IV V IV I IV V7 I I. Woodward's harmony for the phrase is: I I vi V I IV V IV I IV vii I I. His harmony for the second phrase is: I I vi ii I IV V ii iii IV vii Isus4 I. Helmore is content to repeat the harmonization for the second phrase. In general, Woodward's harmonies are more varied and modal-flavored, avoiding the repeated V7 - I progression used by Helmore. [Examples 8 and 9.]

Poston, on the other hand, claims the tune should be sung in unison with plucked instruments, clapping, a drum, and a drone accompaniment [See Example 12 in the appendix]. She has also added an optional vocal or instrumental descant. (Poston 1979, p. 25, 74 - 75.)

The Time Signature and Tempo

The 1582 notation [Example 1] is not measured into bars, but there is a definite rhythm indicated by the "C" after the clef, designating *tempus imperfectum* (binary meter; in modern notation, for example: 2/4, 2/2, 4/4 . . .). [Early religious music was often in *tempus perfectum* (triple meter), reflecting the holiness of the Trinity, and was designated by a full circle, O, (*prolatio minor*) or a circle with a dot, O (*prolatio major*). There are, of course, many exceptions to this: for example Ockeghem's "*Missa prolationum*",

or Dufay's "*Missa Nostre Dame*."] Helmore's transcription is marked in common time, 4/4, Woodward and Poston show it in cut time, 2/2, but later versions appear again in 4/4. John Thompson, in his piano primer, notates it in 2/4 time. [Examples 9, 11, 12, 13, and 14.]

The question of tempo arose earlier in the discussion of harmonization. The effect of harmonic change on every beat, as in Helmore and Woodward's arrangements make it impossible to keep a very fast tempo. Poston, once again, has strong views: "The *Tempus adest floridum* tune should be sung . . . at its appropriate speed, not slower than = 120. . ." (Poston 1979, p. 25.)

4.2 History of the Latin Text and Its Translations

According to Timo Mäkinen's research, the words can be traced back to the *Carmina Burana* from the thirteenth century. Here we can see that the first verse is in parody of a German love song. (Mäkinen 1968, p. 179.) Beyond the first verse, these texts don't resemble each other in the least. The *Carmina Burana* text refers to the goddess, Venus, while the PC text speaks of God, the Creator. The PC text is also one stanza longer.

In *Carmina Burana*

Tempus adest floridum,
surgunt namque flores;
verna vox in omnibus
iam mutavit mores.
hoc quod frigus laeserat,
reparant calores,
cernimus hoc fieri
per multos colores.

Scatent prata floribus,
quibus non ludamus.
virgines cum clericis
simul procedamus!
per amorem Veneris
ludum faciamus,
ceteris virginibus
ut hoc refaramus.

O dilecta domina,
cur sic alienaris?
an nescis, carissima,
quod sic adamaris?
si tu esses Helena,

In *Piae Cantiones*

Tempus adest floridum,
surgunt namque flores,
vernales in omnibus
imitantur mores,
Hoc quod frigus laeserat,
reparant colores,
cernimus hoc fieri
per multos labores.

Sunt prata plena floribus
iucunda aspectu,
Ubi iuuat cernere
herbus cum delectu,
Gramina et plantae
hyeme quiescunt,
Vernale in tempore
virent et accrescunt.

Haec vobis pulchrè monstrant
Deum Creatoré,
quem quoque nos credimus
omnium factorem,
O tempus ergo hilare,

vellem esse Paris:
tamen potest fieri
noster amor laris.

quo laetari libet,
Renouato nam mundo,
nos nouari decet.

Terra ornatur floribus
et multo decore,
Nos honestis moribus
et vero amore,
Gaudemus igitur
tempore iucundo
Laudemusque Dominum
pectoris ex fundo.

(Carmina Burana. 1974, p. 58; PC Facsimile 1967, p. 197-98)

A few small changes appear in the Latin text of the 1761 and 1776 editions. For example, the word *sunt* is dropped from the beginning of the second verse, as is the *O* before the word *tempus* in the third verse. The second syllable of the word *terra* is also dropped at the beginning of the fourth verse. The obvious reason for these changes is to make the words fit the melody better. Less obvious are the reasons for changing the word *colores* (color) in the first verse to *calores* (warmth or passion), and *Gramina et plantae* to *Planta cum graminibus* in the second verse. Two of these changes are marked with asterisks and footnoted in the 1776 edition. The Latin text changed very little over the two centuries since 1582, because Lindell apparently took the texts directly from Petri's original, as can be inferred from the title: *Cantilenae selectiores, Ex Antiquis Cantionibus, opera Theodorici Petri Nylandensis Gryphiswaldiae, 1582.* (Lindell 1776.)

In preparing his 1910 version of the "restored" PC melodies, Woodward made many changes in texts of other songs. In the case of *Tempus adest floridum*, he added only one one-syllable word, "*quae*," before the word "*hyeme*" in the second verse. (Woodward 1910, p. 88.)

Finnish Lyrics

The Finnish translation by Hemming of Masku in his collection, *Nämä Wanhain Suomen maan Piispain ja Kircon Esimiesten Latinad kielised laulud*, begins with the words: *Aica on nyt iloinen* (It is now that joyful time). [Example No. 2.]

Mäkinen claims that in a later Finnish language edition entitled *Muutamat jumaliset joululaulut* (Some Sacred Christmas Songs), *Tempus adest floridum* is listed as a Christmas song. (Mäkinen 1968, p. 197.) There are several editions of this collection of Christmas Songs in Finnish. The first was printed in 1686. It contains seven Christmas songs and one song of warning, *Scribere proposui* (I sing of the suffering of the world. It's time to wake from the sleep of death), from the section of the PC entitled "The Frailty and Misery of Human Existence." In each edition of the book printed - 1701, 1702, 1734, 1738, and 1766 - the number of non-Christmas songs was increased. The 1766 version to which Mäkinen must have been referring contains 30 songs, only half of which are Christmas songs. One of these non-Christmas songs is "*Aica on nyt iloinen*" (*Tempus adest floridum*). (Muutamat Jumaliset Joulu Laulut 1686 and 1766.)

In Klemetti's collection of choral arrangements there is one verse of Finnish text for *Tempus adest floridum* - *Tuulet leudot tuoksuaa* (Fragrance of the warming breeze) - which is the work of V. Vesala. [Example No. 5.] In 1967 Timo Mäkinen and Harald Andersén published a collection of PC songs for school use to accompany the facsimile edition released the same year. The Finnish words begin: "*Niityt kaikki kukkii taas*" (All the meadows are in bloom). [Example No. 6.] The second verse is omitted completely from this version.

Swedish Lyrics

The Swedish lyrics from Rhezelius' Någre Psalmer (1619) start out *Then lystige tijdh nu är* (That joyful time is at hand). Norlind states that this melody with a Swedish translation can be found in the "Old Psalmbook from 1695" as Hymn No. 317, and in the 1819 Psalmbook as Hymn No. 494. This makes it one of the few PC tunes still in use at the end of the 19th Century in Sweden. (Norlind 1900, p. 569.)

In 1972 Mäkinen and Andersén released a volume of PC tunes for school use in Swedish as well. This translation by Ole Torvalds begins, "*Nu är blomstertiden här*" (Now the flowering time has come). [Example No. 7.] This edition also omits the second verse as does the Finnish version released a few years earlier.

English Lyrics

So far I have only found one direct translation of *Tempus adest floridum* into English but it cannot be sung to the tune since it is not metrically set. The translation was done by Nicholas Flowers in 1998:

The time of flowers is come, for the flowers spring up,
spring is everywhere, behaviour follows it,
what the cold has blighted, warmth restores,
we see this happen after much labour.

The meadows are full of flowers, pleasing to see,
where it is pleasing to behold the verdure with delight,
the grass and plants rest in winter,
in springtime they thrive and grow.

These beautiful things show you God the creator,
whom we believe to be the maker of all things:
therefore, joyful time when it is good to rejoice,
with the world renewed, we ought to be renewed.

The earth is adorned with flowers and much beauty
as we are with good behavior and true love,
let us rejoice therefore at this happy time
and let us praise the Lord from the bottom of our hearts.

(CD: Let Voices Resound. 1998, Naxos 8.553578.)

Elizabeth Poston complained about Neale's "pseudo-religious words [of 'Good King Wenceslas']" being incongruent with the "entirely pagan" melody of *Tempus adest floridum*. She continues: "As soon as this carol is restored to spring and its rightful treatment, the better." (Poston 1979, p. 25.) One question remains: The words in the *Piae Cantiones* are also religious, at least in the third and fourth verses. In order to avoid incongruency between text and melody, does Poston advocate using the text from the Carmina Burana to go with the PC melody?

Apparently "Good King Wenceslas" has been so well-loved no one else but Poston has seen need for any other words in English. But who was this King Wenceslas and how did Neale come to choose him as star of his Christmas carol?

4.3 King (St.) Wenceslas (Vaclav) (b. 903 or 907, d. 929 or 935)?

First of all, it might be good to point out that Wenceslas was never a King, as Neale names him, but rather Duke of Bohemia, and for a very short period of time. By comparing the life accounts of St. Wenceslas in five different sources, it is remarkable to find such detailed information about events that happened more than a thousand years ago. In one book, Butler's Lives of the Saints, there was even dialog quoted that is said to have been exchanged by Wenceslas and his murderous brother. Wenceslas is credited for bringing Christianity to Bohemia during his short reign as Duke, but actually his grandmother, St. Ludmilla, and her husband, Duke Borivoy, were the first rulers of Bohemia to be baptized. Wenceslas' father, Wratislav, married Drahomira who was also a Christian in name, at least, and they had two sons, Wenceslas and Boleslav. Grandmother Ludmilla was in charge of Wenceslas' education, and did all in her power to give him a well-rounded Christian upbringing. He learned both Latin and the Slavic language fluently.

When Wenceslas' father, Wratislav, was killed in a battle in 921, his wife, Drahomira, in league with semi-pagan faction of the nobility, took the throne herself, instead of giving it to her son Wenceslas. Drahomira had her mother-in-law, Ludmilla, murdered, because she feared too strong a Christian influence on Wenceslas. The next year Drahomira was forced to turn the throne over to Wenceslas anyway.

According to Erhard Gorys, Wenceslas strove during his short reign to alleviate serfdom's oppression, to make reforms in the judicial system and to bring Christianity to the country. (Gorys 1997, p. 304) He allied himself with the Franciscan church and with the German Reich through his friendship with King Henry I. King Henry gave Wenceslas part of the remains of St. Vitus (Sicilia d.303) in the honor of which which a church was built in Prague. There were those who were offended by the presence of the clergy in Wenceslas counsel and they began to plot against him.

Wenceslas married and had a son. Now that Wenceslas had an heir, his younger brother, Boleslav, was no longer in line to throne. So, in 929 [or 935,

according to the Realencyklopädie fuer Teologie und Kirche], Wenceslas was murdered by Boleslav and others who opposed his religiousness. Gorys writes that the murder was senseless, because Wenceslas had already decided to give the rule to Boleslav. Wenceslas had planned to seek ordainment in Rome and become Bishop of Bohemia. (Gorys 1997, p. 304)

The people acclaimed him a martyr immediately, and miracles were said to happen at the site of his grave. Boleslav repented his actions and had Wenceslas' remains moved to St. Vitus Cathedral. The observation of his feast day is recorded as early as the year 984. In the early 11th century Wenceslas, *Svaty Vaclav*, was recognized as the patron saint of Bohemia.

The sainthood of Wenceslas has been criticized, because it seems his death was more the result of political than religious oppression. Karl IV (1347-78) revived the legends of St. Wenceslas for political and nationalistic purposes. He is responsible for the building of St. Wenceslas' Chapel in 1367, where Wenceslas' helmet, coat of mail and his lance are preserved as religious relics. Wenceslas' feast day is September 28. (Gorys 1997, p. 304; Butler 1956, p.664.)

Neale and Wenceslas

In the reference book, Butler's Lives of the Saints, its author warns: "It must not be inferred from the existence of a vernacular Christmas carol [Good King Wenceslas] that there was a widespread popular devotion to this saint in England." (Butler 1956, p. 664) On the contrary, without Neale's carol, "Good King Wenceslas", the "good King" would have most likely been forgotten in the dusty archives of religious libraries forever, except in the area of former Bohemia. Neale's biographer Eleanor Towle sheds some light on why Neale chose St. Wenceslas: ". . . saints and martyrs . . . had become to him dear and familiar companions, who in intimate converse disclosed their thoughts and related the story of their lives and of their times." (Towle 1907, p. 31 - 32.) This still does not give us any clues to why Neale invented details about Wenceslas, which can't be found in history books.

Perhaps Neale found in Wenceslas the symbol of Christian charity and servitude which had become Neale's own most important principle of Christian life. Neale connected Wenceslas to Christmas, a season of special "good will." By setting his touching story of a medieval Saint to a catchy, medieval tune, he created a hybrid carol that has become a classic. Through this song, Neale's own spirit of charity lives on, and has encouraged people, generation after generation, to practice this Christian virtue.

The poesy of "Good King Wenceslas" seems simple at first reading, but underneath the surface there lay a deeper richness. Neale's biographer, Eleanor Towle, describes Neale's use of the language: "In every word he saw a hidden meaning, some sweetness to be drawn from the efflorescence of each verse. These discourses were best suited to the Religious for whom they were written, who, meditating upon the verbal metaphor, might grasp the truth it enshrined." (Towle 1907, p. 293.) For example, in the last verse Neale writes: "Heat was in the very sod / which the saint had printed." In this way Neale pictifies the immense radiance of Wenceslas' holiness. This ability to warm the ground beneath them was given to the Virgin Mary and to Jesus in medieval legends, causing, for example, flowers to spring up where they tread.

Elizabeth Poston and Elizabeth Towle have very differing views on Neale's poetic talents. This is due, in part, to the times in which they lived. Poston states: "Dr. Neale's words, tritely tricked out as they are with the romantic trimmings of his time, preaching a moral tale less acceptable now than it was to the Victorians' concept of charity to the poor, are harmless enough in themselves, but they debase a splendidly gay and virile dance tune." Elizabeth Towle's tone is much different sixty years earlier: "He was not a poet by nature, for poetry with him was rather an art than an inspiration. The spirit of poetry was said to have descended on Shelly from the air, and that of Woodsworth to have sprung up from the ground; with Neale it was one evoked from the past, revealing itself in a fanciful, but cultured reproduction of the subtle beauty, both of imagination and form, which permeated the minds of monastic saints, and found expression in the chants and hymns of mediaeval Christianity." (Towle 1907, p. 31.)

5. DISCUSSION

The purpose of this thesis has been to trace the background, the sources and the proliferation of the *Piae Cantiones* tune, *Tempus adest floridum*, in Scandinavia as well as its later appearance in England (in 1853) as a hybrid Christmas carol, "Good King Wenceslas." Twenty-four tunes were published with English texts in 1853-54 by the John Mason Neale and Thomas Helmore. Some fifty years later another Englishman, George R. Woodward published many more of the tunes set to English words. Their efforts are commendable, but the style of many of the tunes clearly suffered by being set in four-part harmony according to the custom of the day.

In these first volumes the *Piae Cantiones* is listed as the source for the melodies, although, in the case of Neale and Helmore's collection, the PC is mentioned only in the foreword. The popularity of the carol "Good King Wenceslas" has risen above that of the other *PC* tunes published in England. Unfortunately, mention of its source - the *Piae Cantiones* collection - has been left out of most of the printings after Neale's and Woodward's. More often than not it is listed as "an English carol", or, "a medieval tune." When the *Piae Cantiones* is mentioned as the source for the tune, it has been good advertisement for the PC collection, on the one hand. However, the popularity of "Good King Wenceslas" has overshadowed the English versions of other PC songs. Hopefully this research has thrown some light on the multitude of other PC tunes which appeared in English songbooks since 1853.

5.1 Speculations and the Need for Further Research

No source for the melody has yet been found prior to the *Piae Cantiones* 1582 edition. Tracing the sources of *Tempus adest floridum* and other PC melodies is a very wide-open field of research since sources for almost half of the tunes are yet to be found. There are many unanswered questions about the text as well, pointing to the need for further research in this regard. The first verse of the Latin text is word-for-word the same as a song from the *Carmina Burana* from the year 1280. Many hymns, for instance, have been set to secular melodies, but it seems unusual to utilize part of a secular text in a religious song. As with

all historical research, the "Tooth of Time" has chewed away at, and, in some cases swallowed whole books and whole libraries. It may be impossible to trace all the sources for the PC tunes for this reason. Oral singing traditions pose another factor that makes this research difficult to document. Songs were passed on from generation to generation without being written down

My presumption that the hybrid carol was created out of ignorance of Latin proved to be quite wrong. The man responsible for the English text, John Mason Neale, turned out to be a most celebrated scholar of not only Latin, but at least 18 other languages as well. He translated hundreds of song and hymn texts directly from Latin into English, including others from the *Piae Cantiones*. This research has not been able to determine why Neale rejected the original text and substituted his own, and why he chose the legend of St. Wenceslas. Is it possible that Helmore, in transcribing the melodies, may have recognized some of the more well known tunes, such as No. 12, *Dies est laetitiae*, as having earlier sources in Bohemia? Could a discussion about the sources of the melodies with Helmore be what triggered Neale to write lyrics about the Bohemian saint? Could he have intended originally to set the words to one of the Bohemian melodies, and then for reason of poetic meter, found it more suited to the melody of *Tempus adest floridum*? These questions remain unanswered for now. Neale was a voluminous letterwriter, and among the pages of his preserved correspondence, clues related to these subjects might be found. There is much yet to be researched concerning the birth of this hybrid carol. This would be an interesting topic for further research.

5.2 Use of *Piae Cantiones* tunes in England, in Finland, and in Sweden - A Question of Nationalistic Interests

In Finland there is a gradual decrease in the number of tunes included in the PC collections subsequent to 1625, down to only ten melodies in the 1900 edition by Ingman. In England, after the first publication in 1853 of twelve melodies (in English), the number increased until in 1910 more than forty of the tunes had been published in English, and a whole facsimile edition was published in Latin. Interest in the *Piae Cantiones* in Finland at the turn of the 20th century was at least as much nationalistic as musicological. A facsimile edition wasn't printed by Finnish scholars until 1967.

The Finnish Hymnal of the Lutheran State Church, however, contains 11 melodies from the 1582 *Piae Cantiones*, while the Anglican Hymnal, Hymns Ancient and Modern, contains only two. Does this show that there is a stronger distinction in England between "carol" and "hymn"? The weakness in a straight comparison lies in the fact that Finland's State Lutheran Church has only one official hymnbook, while the Anglican Church has many to choose from. In a guide to the Finnish hymnbook, there is mention of a survey done in 350 Anglican parishes in Southern England asking what Hymnbook was used. The results showed 269 different hymnbooks in that one area of England. (Lempiäinen 1987, p. 52.) To trace the prevalence of PC tunes in Anglican hymnbooks would in itself be an interesting subject of research in the future.

5.3 National Differences of Opinion on the Modalities of PC Melodies

The Finnish editor, Lindell made some changes in both melody and rhythm of the 19 tunes in his 1776 edition, especially in the leading tones of some of the melodies. Klemetti's choral arrangements, published in 1911, were based for the most part on Lindell's forms of the melodies. At the same time in England G.R. Woodward took meticulous care in analyzing the modes of each tune in the explanatory notes to his facsimile edition in 1910. In the collection, Songs Of Syon, released for the first time in 1900, Woodward strictly observed the modalities in his harmonizations of PC tunes. Klemetti argues with his English contemporary, Woodward, in the foreword to his PC arrangements for mixed choir as follows: "As in all music of the 1500's, the temporary accidentals are missing from the 1582 edition. English composers who have treated some of these melodies in strict accordance with the original version, have most likely erred." (Klemetti 1911, preface.)

5.4 Nationalism and the *Piae Cantiones*

The theme of nationalism seems to arise at every turn in connection with the *Piae Cantiones*, although the subject of church and school songs seems completely unrelated to political issues. Not even good King Wenceslas was spared from being an instrument in bolstering the nationalism of his people in later generations.

The *Piae Cantiones* appeared in England at a critical time and helped to enrich the impoverished religious music of the Church of England. This moves researcher Erik Routley to claim G.J.R. Gordon a national hero for bringing the collection to England.

As Finland sought its independence from Russia in the early 1900's, Finnish nationalists looked to the past for means of raising pride in the Fatherland. The *Piae Cantiones* was interpreted as something truly Finnish, showing the long history and high quality of education and musical culture in Finland. Composer Heikki Klemetti states in the preface to his collection of romantic arrangements of PC melodies: "Ancient tradition in Finland claims that many of these cantios, or at least their texts, were written by Finnish bishops and church leaders of old. 'These [tunes] were born in the peninsula of Finland, except for a very few, which were brought here by foreign folk,' writes the editor of the 1616 Finnish language translation, Mr. Hemming, head chaplain of the parish of Masku. He has undoubtedly based his statement on the first-hand knowledge of the publisher of the first edition, Jaakko Suomalainen [Finno]." (Klemetti 1911, preface.) This was strong fuel for nationalistic fires. More than fifty years later in the afterword to the facsimile edition, written by Professor Timo Mäkinen, the same emphasis on the Finnishness of it all is very marked. (PC Facsimile 1967 pp. 211,213.)

Up until now, there has been little mentioned about the importance of the *Piae Cantiones* to Sweden. The reason for this is an attempt to narrow down the focus of this study, It must be mentioned here, though, that the *Piae Cantiones* songs were in use in Swedish schools for more than a century. The Swedes have also done a great deal of research into the *Piae Cantiones*. Researchers in both Sweden and Finland have sometimes ridiculed and discredited each other's research results just because of this centuries-old rivalry about which country gets to claim the collection.

The Englishman, George Woodward, in the summary of his anecdotes to the 1910 PC edition, found his own way to give Great Britain the glory for the *Piae Cantiones* collection. "It is comparatively well-known that Germany owes much of her Christianity, under God, to the zeal and labours of British, Scottish and

Irish monks. . . But it is not so fully recognized that the nations of Scandinavia - Norway, Denmark, and Sweden - are also indebted to Englishmen for their knowledge of the Catholick Faith. . . It was our countrymen who . . . eventually tamed and won the hearts of the savage people of Sweden, a country till then overrun by ignorance, vice, and superstition, who taught these barbarians to sing 'The Lord's Song in that strange land.' . . . These are the spiritual forefathers of the *Veteres Episcopi* [ancient bishops], of whom Theodoric Petri, of Nyland, rightly speaks in utmost veneration - 'such as found out musical tunes and recited verses in writing.'" (Woodward. 1910, pp. 263, 265.) Woodward's closing argument is strong: "*Piae Cantiones* is in itself sufficient witness to the influence and to the results of the teaching of these British clergy men, who were second to none in their love and knowledge of Plainsong and Medieval Music, and of the capabilities and beauties of the Gregorian Ecclesiastical Modes." (Woodward 1910, p. 265.)

Woodward's argument finds support from a Finnish source. In the Bishops' Chronicle, compiled by the Finnish Bishop, Paavali Juusten, in 1565, it is clearly stated that St. Henry of England was the first Bishop to come to Finland (around the year 1150)." (Juusten. 1565 (reprinted 1967), p. 15.) Juusten lists another Englishman, Thomas, who served as Bishop of Turku between the dates of 1220 and 1245, who was forced to withdraw to Visby because of the "fury of the Russians." (Juusten 1565 (reprinted 1967), p. 18) Indeed, the influence of Englishmen in the founding of the Church of Finland cannot be denied. One of the tunes of the PC, *Ramus virens olivarum*, or St. Henry's hymn, tells the story of how St. Henry brought the Catholic faith to Finland. (Hillila 1997, p. 305.) It is, however, much more difficult to trace the English influence on the actual musical development in Finland.

Although unintentional, Woodward seems to keep an even score with both the Swedes and Finns. On the title page to his 1910 PC edition, he writes, "*Piae Cantiones*. A Collection of Church and School Song, chiefly Ancient SWEDISH, originally published . . .," but in his closing lines he states: "Of these ancient FINNISH Melodies, reinforced as they have been by contributions from Germany, France, Poland, and Bohemia, it may be prophesied that they will survive, when later-written music shall have perished." (Woodward 1910, pp. i, 265) [Capitals by the author.]

It is not the point of this paper to determine which country should get the credit for the *Piae Cantiones*. Hopefully times are changing in this regard and these tunes, as well as many other forms of cultural heritage can be enjoyed by all without having to stick a "Made in . . ." label on each, as is required by everything else in the European Union these days.

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APPENDIX

TITLES OF SONGS IN THE *PIAE CANTIONES* 1582 EDITION

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. Angelus emittitur | 39. Jesus Christus nostra salus |
| 2. Salve flos et decor | 40. O Rex coelorum Domine |
| 3. Puer nobis nascitur | 41. O Christe Rex piissime |
| 4. Verbum caro factum est | 42. Ave Rex regum omnium |
| 5. De radice processerat | 43. Parce Christe spes reorum |
| 6. Congaudeat turba fidelium | 44. Vanitatum vanitas |
| 7. Ave maris stella lucens | 45. Insignis est figura |
| 8. Laetetur Jerusalem | 46. Mirum si laeteris |
| 9. Personent hodie | 47. O mentes perfidas |
| 10. Psallat scholarum concio | 48. Nunc floret mendacium |
| 11. Ave maris stella divinitatis | 48. Mundanis vanitatibus |
| 12. Dies est laetitia | 50. In hoc vitae stadio |
| 13. Ecce novum gaudium | 51. Honestatis decus |
| 14. Resonet in laudibus | 52. Scribere proposui |
| 15. In dulci júbilo | 53. Iam verus amor |
| 16. Omnis mundus iucundetur | 54. Mars praecurrit |
| 17. Florens juvenus virginis | 55. Invaluit malitia |
| 18. Laus virginis nati sonat | 56. Cum sit omnis caro |
| 19. Unica gratifera legis | 57. Jeremiae prophetiae |
| 20. Psallat fidelis concio | 58. Castitatis speculum |
| 21. Paranympus adiens | 59. O Scholares discite |
| 22. Ad cantus laetitia | 60. Scholares convenite |
| 23. Puer natus in Bethlehem | 61. Disciplinae filius |
| 24. Gaudete, gaudete Christus est natus | 62. Olla mortis patescit |
| 25. Autor humani generis | 63. In stadio laboris |
| 26. Ad dextris Dei Dominus | 64. Schola morum floruit |
| 27. Christus pro nobis passus est | 65. Sum in aliena provincia |
| 28. Amoris opulentiam | 66. O Scholares voce pares |
| 29. Jesus humani generis | 67. Regimen scholarium |
| 30. Cedit hyems eminus | 68. O quam mundum |
| 31. Aetas carmen melodiae | 69. Laetemur omnes socii |
| 32. Jucundare jugiter | 70. Zachaeus arboris |
| 33. Jesu dulcis memoria | 71. Homo quidam |
| 34. Quando Christus ascenderat | 72. Ramus virens olivarum |
| 35. Benedicite tres Personas | 73. In vernali tempore |
| 36. Bene quondam dociles | 74. Tempus adest floridum |
| 37. Triformis relucetia | |
| 38. Divinum mysterium | |

ABBREVIATIONS

DNB	Dictionary of National Biographies
Grove	Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians
PC	Piae Cantiones
RISM	International Inventory of Musical Sources.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

On **page 51** of the supplement to this paper I have included examples of the tune, *Tempus adest floridum*, as it appears in the 1582 edition of the Piae Cantiones, the 1616 Finnish language version, and the 1625 edition. In both musical examples the clef indicates "c". On **page 52** there is a copy of the 1776 edition by Lindell, Heikki Klemetti's SATB choral arrangement of 1911, and Finnish (1967) and Swedish (1972) versions edited by Timo Mäkinen and Harald Andersén. On **page 53** are the English versions I have been able to attain through library loan. Example 8 is from Neale and Helmore's Carol's for Christmastide (1853). Helmore is responsible for the harmonization. Following that is the same carol as it appears in the Cowley Carol Book (1902). Here the time signature is indicated as 2/2. Harmonization is by G.R. Woodward. On the same page is a copy of the tune in Latin as it appears in the Plainsong and Medieval Music Society's 1910 version by G.R. Woodward. In this example the clef marks "g". On **page 54** are two more recent examples. The first is from The Mammoth Book of Children's Songs (1970). Here the time signature as 4/4, and the harmonization is somewhat different than Woodward's version. Example 12 is an arrangement by Elizabeth Poston, which displays her views on the proper style of performance and accompaniment. On **page 55** The last two examples are from John Thompson's piano primer, "Teaching Little Fingers to Play", first from the American edition (1936), then from the Finnish (1986). In these the time signature is 2/4. Note that it says, "Englantilainen joululaulu" (English Christmas Carol).

Through the examples in the supplement one can follow how the first appearance of the melody in Finland in the sixteenth century, *Tempus adest floridum*, has circled through England and America in the nineteenth century. Now, in the twentieth century, it returns to Finland -- same tune, but with a different title and text, and claiming a different country of origin.

Tempus adest floridum, surgunt
Vernales in omnibus, imi-
namq
namq, flores,
tantur mores, Hoc quod frigus laferat, re-
parant calores, cernimus hoc fieri per mul-
tos labores.

Sunt prata plena floribus, iucunda aspectu,
Ubi iuuat cernere herbas cum delectu,
Gramina & planta hyeme quiescunt,
Vernali in tempore virent & accrescunt.
Hec vobis pulchrè monstrant Deum Creatore,
Quem quoque nos credimus omnium factorem,
O tempus ergo hilare, quo letari libet,
Renouato nam mundo, nos novari decet.
Terra ornatur floribus & multo decore,
Nos honestis moribus & vero amore,
Gaudeamus igitur tempore iucundo,
Laudemusq; Dominum pectoris ex fundo.

from the facsimile edition of the Piae Cantiones 1582.

Example No. 3

LXXXIX.

Tempus adest floridum, surgunt namq; flores,
Vernales in omnibus, imitantur mores,
Hoc quod frigus laferat, reparant calores,
cernimus hoc fieri per multos Labo- res.

Sunt prata plena floribus, iucunda aspectu,
Ubi iuvat cernere herbas cum delectu,
Gramina & planta hyeme quiescunt,
Vernali in tempore virent & accrescunt.
Hec vobis pulchrè monstrant Deum Creatorem,
Quem quoque nos credimus omnium factorem,
O tempus ergo hilare, quo letari libet,
Renouato nam mundo, nos novari decet.
Terra ornatur floribus & multa decore,
Nos honestis moribus & vero amore,
Gaudeamus igitur tempore iucundo,
Laudemusq; Dominum pectoris ex fundo.

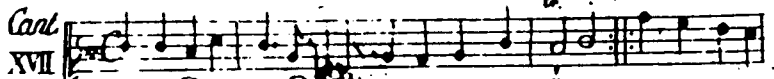
Tempus adest floridum.

Tja on nyt soinen /
Jloita me mahdham /
Keskä cannis ihanainen /
Kiemotca siis saadhan.
Quin vilu valju on voitcan /
Aoring ylös autcap /
Talcä talvi pois tappan /
Suvi elävär saattap.
Valnjod vihrjäst vihoittavat /
Medzäd / nittud / niemed /
Cucälsed cans casvavat /
Puisa lehdhed llene.
Kämäd talvi tappan on /
Caldä caatan calbon /
Vit coman Suvi saattan on /
Jlon ihanan andan.
Linnud löst laolavat /
Suven suotuisst viretä /
Ee hengectömäd beräpäet /
Kloon idzens siirätin,
Meri / maa / caldä candavat
Casvon / cannid lahjad /
Zedhelmän arman andavat.
Kälmed / linnud / laehod.
Kälstä näem Herran työd /
Meist murheetti muista.
Tarped aina edhes tuo /
Maast merest ja puista.
Jhmised siis löidcam /
Oho alcaa löist /
Veitköisemme velsadcam
Herrall Ellvan Ellkost.
Eloo endist ojedcam /
Vuten elämän noscam.
Herrall hedhelmät candacam /
Luovtin cansa casvain.
Herran mielid miödhön olcam /
Quin meil tarped tuopi /
Zändä caitin cunnjoidcam /
Zän meill hyvä suopi.

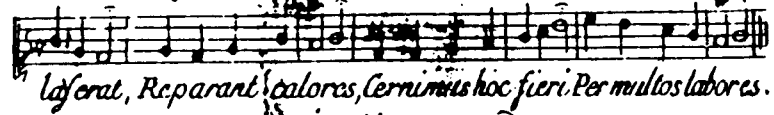


Example No. 4 from Lindell's 1776 edition,
Cantilenarum Selectionum, Editio nova.

16. De Tempore Vernali.



Str. I
*Tempus adest floridum, Surgunt armque flores, Hoc quod frigus
Vernales in omnibus Imitantur mores.*



laserat, Reparant calores, Cernimus hoc fieri Per multos labores.
2. *Prata plena floribus, Jucunda conspectu,
Ubi juvat cernere Herbas cum delectu:
Plantae cum graminibus Hieme quiescunt,
Vernali in tempore Virent. et accrescunt.*

3. *Hac vobis pulchre monstrant Deum Creatorem,
Quem quoque nos credimus Omnium factorem.
Tempus ergo hilare, Quo latari libet,
Renovato nam mundo, Nos novari decet.*

4. *Terrae ornatur floribus Et multo decore,
Nos honestis moribus Et vero amore:
Gaudeamus igitur Tempore jucundo,
Laudemusque Dominum Pectoris ex fundo*

Example No. 6
NIITYT KAIKKI KUKKII TAAS

Tempus adest floridum

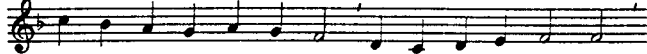
1582: LXXIV
1625: LXXXIX



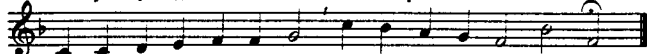
1. Nii-tyt kaik-ki kuk-kii taas, ke-vät kau-nis koit-taa.
1. Tem-pus a - dest flo - ri - dum Sur-gunt nam-que flo - res



Rie-mu-vir-si-ka-jah-taa: Läm-pö kyl-män voit-taa.
Ver-na-les in om-ni-bus I-mi-tan-tur mo-res



Tal-ven hal-la väis-ty pois ke-vät-läm-mön tiel-tä.
Hoc quod fri-gus lae-se-rat, Re-pa-rant ca-lo-res,



Au-rin-koi-nen lah-joit-taa meil-le ke-vät-miel-tä.
Cer-ni-mus hoc fi-e-ri Per mul-tos la-bo-res.

3. Kaikesta, mi kaunista
Ompi maailmassa,
Küttäkäämme riemulla
Luoja taivahassa.
Keväänkin hän lahjoittaa
Meille iloksemme,
Kaiken eloon herättää,
Siksi riemuitsemme.

3. Haec vobis pulchre monstrant
Deum Creatorem
Quem quoque nos credimus
Omnium factorem
O tempus ergo hilare
Quo laetari libet
Renovato nam mundo
Nos novari decet.

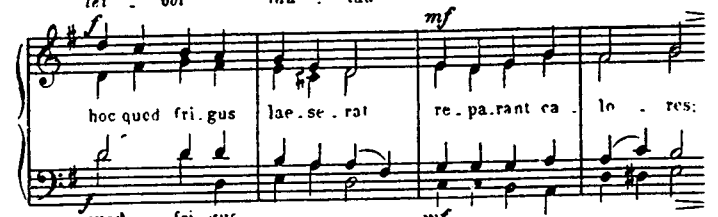
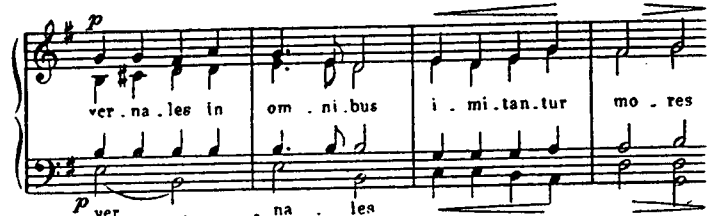
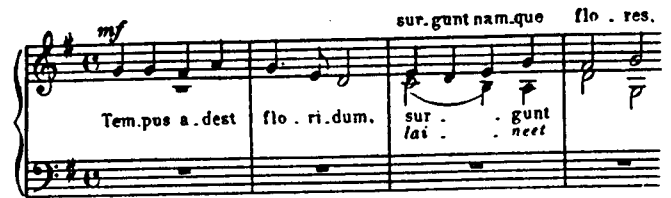
4. Maata nütyt vihannat,
Kukat kaunistaa.
Hengen lahjat suuremmat
Ihminen nyt saapi:
Rakkauten totisen,
Pyhyden me saamme.
Riemitään siis Herralle
Kaikki veisatkaamme!

4. Terrae ornatur floribus
Et multo decore
Nos honestis moribus
Et vero amore
Gaudeamus igitur
Tempore jucundo,
Laudemusque Dominum
Pectoris ex fundo.

Suom. Sampo P. Asunta

from the Finnish language version of the Piae
Cantiones edited by Timo Mäkinen and Harald
Andersen, 1967.

15. *Tempus adest floridum*
Tuulet leudot tuoksuua



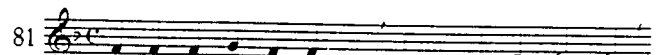
*Tuulet leudot tuoksuua,
vinlaineet läikkyy;
leivot laulan rienujaan,
reessu tiivas väikkyy,
kukat, jotka syksy kaas,
uusin umpuin aukke,
talven taistot unhottuu,
kaikki kahteet raukeet.*

Example No. 7

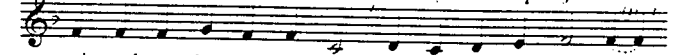
NU ÄR BLOMSTERTIDEN HÄR

Tempus adest floridum

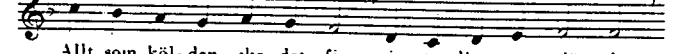
1582: LXXIV
1625: LXXXIX



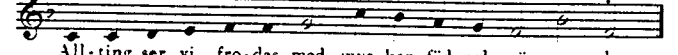
1. Nu är blom-ster-ti-den här, al-la ör-ter spi-rar
1. Tem-pus a - dest flo - ri - dum Sur-gunt nam-que flo - res



och med var-ligt lyn-ne vi li-ka-sä den fi-rar.
Ver-na-les in om-ni-bus I-mi-tan-tur mo-res



Allt som köl-den ska-dat får ä-ter livs-varint glö-da.
Hoc quod fri-gus lae-se-rat, Re-pa-rant ca-lo-res,



All-ting ser vi fro-das med myc-ken föd-sel-mö-da.
Cer-ni-mus hoc fi-e-ri Per mul-tos la-bo-res.

3. Detta allt oss visar skönt
Skapargudens väsen,
som vi tror på, som har gjort
mänskorna och gräsen.
Ja, i denna glada tid
hövs oss glättigt sjunga
och i en förvagnad värld
själva ock bli unga.

3. Haec vobis pulchre monstrant
Deum Creatorem
Quem quoque nos credimus
Omnium factorem
O tempus ergo hilare
Quo laetari libet
Renovato nam mundo
Nos novari decet.

1. Som vår jord i blomsterprakt
nu är prydd så härligt,
låt oss i anständighet
och i sanning kärligt
alltså tacksaamt fröjdas åt
dessa glädjestunder.
Låt oss priså Herren glatt
djupt ur hjärtats grunder.

4. Terrae ornatur floribus
Et multo decore
Nos honestis moribus
Et vero amore
Gaudeamus igitur
Tempore jucundo,
Laudemusque Dominum
Pectoris ex fundo.

Words by Dr. Neale. Melody of *Tenebris adest flordum*, from *Pl. Cantiones*, harmonized by the Editor of these Carols.

No. 11 Good King Wenceslas.

Good King Wenceslas look'd out, On the Feast of Stephen:
 Good King Wenceslas look'd out, On the Feast of Stephen:
 Good King Wenceslas look'd out, On the Feast of Stephen:
 Good King Wenceslas look'd out, On the Feast of Stephen:

When the snow lay round about, Deep and crisp, and even:
 When the snow lay round about, Deep and crisp, and even:
 When the snow lay round about, Deep and crisp, and even:
 When the snow lay round about, Deep and crisp, and even:

Brightly shone the moon that night, Though the frost was cruel,
 Brightly shone the moon that night, Though the frost was cruel,
 Brightly shone the moon that night, Though the frost was cruel,
 Brightly shone the moon that night, Though the frost was cruel.

Good King Wenceslas look'd out, On the Feast of Stephen:
 When the snow lay round about, Deep and crisp, and even:
 Brightly shone the moon that night, Though the frost was cruel:
 When a poor man came in sight, Gathering winter fuel:

1 "Hither, page, and stand by me,
 If thou know'st it, telling,
 Yonder peasant, who is he?
 Where and what his dwelling?"
 "Sire, he lives a good league hence,
 Underneath the mountain;
 Right against the forest fence,
 By Saint Agnes' fountain."

2 "Bring me flesh, and bring me wine,
 Bring me pine-logs hither:
 Thou and I will see him dine,
 When we bear them thither."
 Page and monarch forth they went,
 Forth they went together:
 Through the rude wind's wild lament
 And the bitter weather.

3 "Sire, the night is darker now,
 And the wind blows stronger;
 Fails my heart, I know not how;
 I can go no longer."
 "Mark my footsteps, good my page;
 Tread thou in them boldly:
 Thou shalt find the winter's rage
 Freeze thy blood less coldly."

4 "In his master's steps he trod,
 Where the snow lay dinted;
 Heat was in the very sod
 Which the Saint had printed.
 Therefore, Christian men, be sure,
 Wealth or rank possessing,
 Ye who now will bless the poor,
 Shall yourselves find blessing."

Example No. 10 LII



Em-pus a-dest flo-ri-dum, sur-gunt
 Ver-na-les in om-ni-bus i-mi-

nam-q flo-res, Hoc, quod fri-gus lae-fe-rat, re-

pa-rant ca-lo-res, cer-ni-mus hoc fi-e-ri per

mul-tos la-bo-res.

Sunt prata plena floribus iucunda aspectu,
 Ubi iuvat cernere herbas cum ielectu,
 Gramina & plantæ [quæ] hyeme quiescunt,
 Vernali in tempore virent & accrescunt.

Hæc vobis pulchrè monstrant Deum Creatorem,
 Quem pinguè nos credimus omnium factorem
 Tempus ergo hilare, quo lætari liber,
 Renovato nam mundo, nos amari decet.

When a poor man came in sight, Gather-ing win-ter fu.....el.
 When a poor man came in sight, Gather-ing win-ter fu.....el.
 When a poor man came in sight, Gather-ing win-ter fu.....el.
 When a poor man came in sight, Gather-ing win-ter fu.....el.

1
 Hither, page, and stand by me,
 If thou know'st it, telling,
 Yonder peasant, who is he?
 Where and what his dwelling?"
 "Sire, he lives a good league hence,
 Underneath the mountain;
 Right against the forest fence,
 By Saint Agnes' fountain."

2
 Bring me flesh, and bring me wine,
 Bring me pine-logs, hither:
 Thou and I will see him dine,
 When we bear them thither."
 Page and monarch, forth they went,
 Forth they went together:
 Through the rude wind's wild lament
 And the bitter weather.

3
 "Sire, the night is darker now,
 And the wind blows stronger;
 Fails my heart, I know not how;
 I can go no longer."
 "Mark my footsteps, good my page;
 Tread thou in them boldly:
 Thou shalt find the winter's rage
 Freeze thy blood less coldly."

4
 In his master's steps he trod,
 Where the snow lay dinted;
 Heat was in the very sod
 Which the Saint had printed.
 Therefore, Christian men, be sure,
 Wealth or rank possessing,
 Ye who now will bless the poor,
 Shall yourselves find blessing."

Example No. 11

MUSICAL EXAMPLES, cont'd

from the Mammoth Book of Children's Songs.

Good King Wenceslas

Moderately

A F#m E A D6 E D A D E7 A F#m E

Good king Wen-ces - las looked out On the Feast of Ste-phen, When the snow lay
 "Hith - er, page, and stand by me, If thou know'st it, tell - ing, Yon-der peas-ant,
 "Bring the choic-est food of mine, Bring me pine - logs hith-er; Thou and I will
 "Sire, the night is dark-er now, And the wind blows strong-er; Fails my heart, I
 In his mas-ter's steps he trod, Where the snow lay dint-ed; Heat was in the
 A D6 E D A D E7 A D A E7 A E7 F#m

round a - bout, Deep, and crisp and e - ven: Bright-ly shone the moon that night,
 who is he? Where and what his dwell - ing?" "Sire, he lives a good league hence,
 see him dine, When we bear them thith-er." Page and mon-arch forth they went,
 know not how, I can go no long - er." "Mark my foot-steps, my good page;
 ve - ry sod Which the saint had print-ed. There-fore, Christ-ian men, be sure,
 D A D E7 A D E7 F#m E A D A E7 F#m D A

Though the frost was cru - el, When a poor man came in sight, Gath-ring win-ter fu - el.
 Un - der-neath the moun-tain; Right a-against the for - est fence, By Saint Ag-nes' foun - tain!"
 Forth they went to - geth-er; Through the rude wind's wild la-ment; And the bit-ter weath - er.
 Tread thou in them bold-ly: Thou shalt find the win-ter's rage Freeze thy blood less cold - ly."
 Wealth or rank pos - ses - sing, Ye who now will bless the poor, Shall yourselves find bless - ing.

Example No. 12

GOOD KING WENCESLAS
 Spring carol tune of the thirteenth century, arr. E. P.

In dance rhythm. Fast and light $\text{♩} = 120$
 Vocal or instrumental descant

UNISON

1 Good King Wen-ces - las looked out On the Feast of
 When the snow lay round a - bout, Deep and crisp and

Drum (may be continued throughout)

Ste - phen, Bright-ly shone the moon that night,
 e - ven: Where and what his dwell - ing?"

Though the frost was cru - el, When a poor man

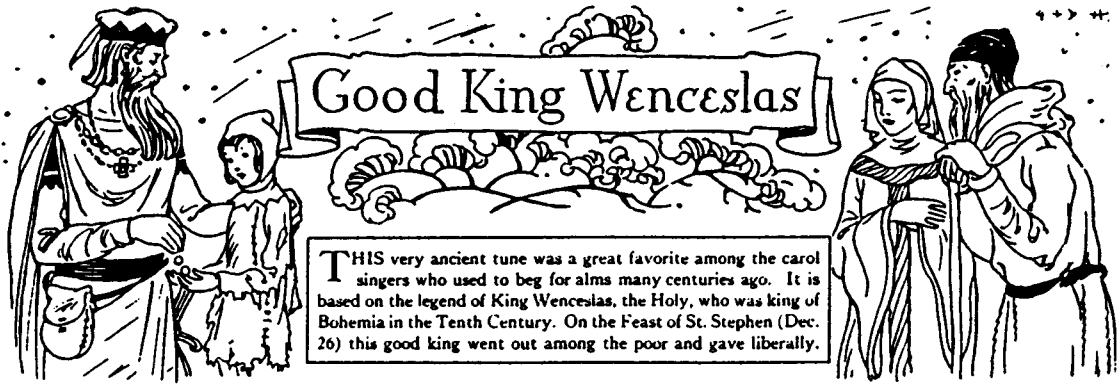
came in sight Gath-ring win-ter fu - el.

- 1 Good King Wenceslas looked-out
 On the Feast of Stephen,
 When the snow lay round about,
 Deep and crisp and even:
 Brightly shone the moon that night,
 Though the frost was cruel,
 When a poor man came in sight
 Gathering winter fuel.
- 2 'Hither, page, and stand by me,
 If thou know'st it, telling,
 Yonder peasant, who is he?
 Where and what his dwelling?'
 'Sire, he lives a good league hence,
 Underneath the mountain,
 Right against the forest fence,
 By Saint Agnes' fountain.'
- 3 'Bring me flesh, and bring me wine,
 Bring me pine-logs hither:
 Thou and I will see him dine,
 When we bear them thither.'
 Page and monarch, forth they went,
 Forth they went together;
 Through the rude wind's wild lament
 And the bitter weather.
- 4 'Sire, the night is darker now,
 And the wind blows stronger;
 Fails my heart, I know not how;
 I can go no longer.'
 'Mark my footsteps, good my page;
 Tread thou in them boldly:
 Thou shalt find the winter's rage
 Freeze thy blood less coldy.'
- 5 In his master's steps he trod,
 Where the snow lay dinted;
 Heat was in the very sod
 Which the Saint had printed.
 Therefore, Christian men, be sure,
 Wealth or rank possessing,
 Ye who now will bless the poor,
 Shall yourselves find blessing.

John Mason Neale, 1818-66

This tune is set on its characteristic drone. The drum rhythm may be continued throughout. See 'The flowers that bloom in the spring' - note pp. 9 and 25.

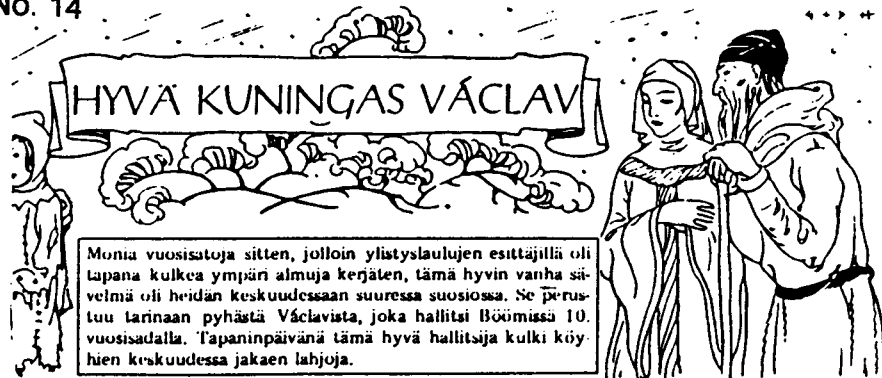
Example No. 13



English Christmas Carol

Good King Wenceslas look'd out
On the feast of Stephen,
Where the snow lay round about,
Deep and crisp and even.

Example No. 14



Englantilainen joululaulu

ku - nin - kaam - me, kat - so - kaa, nyt on tul - lut lun - ta.
tu - den, puh - taan pu - vun saa ko - ku val - ta - kun - ta.