

Danish Musicians in England 1611-14: Newly-Discovered Instrumental Music

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It is a bitter fact of Danish musical history that its first period of brilliance, achieved with the active encouragement of the king during the reign of Christian IV (1588-1648), though plentifully documented in archival sources, can only be glimpsed in a handful of surviving musical documents.¹ It is sadly characteristic of the situation that what has been described as "the largest collection of manuscript music which has survived from Danish musical history in the 17th century"² has had to be pieced together from no less than 220 fragments of varying size found pasted on the bellows of an old organ. The case of Jacob Ørn is typically frustrating. Though one of the most prominent musical personalities of the period, who served the court music for nearly 40 years and was Vice-Director of the Royal Chapel from 1637 to 1649, he has had to be assessed on the basis of a single composition, a modest four-part setting of a Lutheran chorale melody adapted to a Danish versification of a passage from the Song of Solomon.³ It is understandably then a matter of some satisfaction to be able to extend our acquaintance with Jacob Ørn's art in a *Pavana* for viols à 6 found in an English manuscript now in the New York Public Library.⁴ It is especially satisfactory that the new piece allows us to see the composer from an en-

1. See the editions of Mogens Pedersøn, Hans Nielsen, Truid Aagesen, Hans Brachrogge and Melchior Borchgrevinck in *Dania Sonans* i-iii (Copenhagen 1933, 1966, 1967).
2. *The Clausholm Fragments*, ed. H. Glahn and S. Sørensen (Copenhagen 1974), p. 8.
3. Published in L. Pedersen Thura, *Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (Copenhagen 1640). This piece was edited and published, with the text of the original chorale, by Thomas Laub in his *Om Kirkesangen* (Copenhagen 1887), pp. 185-7, but omitted from the revised edition *Musik og Kirke* (Copenhagen 1920). It was later published in an edition for choir, with another text beginning "Sions Døttre", by Julius Foss in the series *Dansk Mensural-Cantori* no. X (Copenhagen 1945), but as it is now difficult of access I include it here in a new edition as Ex. 1.
4. Drexel MS 4302, the so-called "Sambrooke MS". Attention was called to the *Pavana* by "Jacomo Aquilino" (= Jacob Ørn) in my paper to the 11th Congress of the I.M.S. in Copenhagen, 1972, published in the *Congress Report* (Copenhagen 1974), Vol. I, pp. 263-271 ("Anglo-Scandinavian Relations Before 1700"). It is presented here, for the first time, as Supplement I, by kind permission of the New York Public Library.

tirely different point of view; just as the sacred vocal piece must be a relatively late work stemming from Ørn's professional duties in the king's chapel, the secular instrumental piece must date from the very beginning of his career since the manuscript in which it is found was almost certainly copied by Francis Tregian the younger during the period 1609-19 that he sat in Fleet Street Gaol for recusancy. The first time we hear of Jacob Ørn is in 1611, when he was sent to England in company with Mogens Pedersøn, Hans Brachrogge and Martinus Otto to serve King Christian IV's sister, Queen Anne of England. The conclusion is inescapable therefore that the Danish musicians, probably at the instigation of the Catholic Queen Anne, were personally in contact with the imprisoned copyist. This conclusion could not be drawn when the late Thurston Dart and Bertram Schofield 25 years ago identified 10 previously unknown madrigals from a *Libro secundo 1611* by Mogens Pedersøn and another 10 from Melchior Borchgrevinck's anthology *Giardino novo* (Copenhagen 1605, 1606) in another manuscript copied by Tregian⁵ since, though no second book of madrigals by Mogens Pedersøn is known today, it was necessary to assume the possibility that Tregian had had access to published editions of these, as of so many other things which he copied. This possibility seems ruled out in the case of the young Jacob Ørn and the interest of the discovery of his music in Tregian's collection – apart from the value of the music itself and what it reveals to us of Ørn's musical abilities – lies in the insight it gives us into Tregian's contact with the musical world outside the bars of his prison, and that it provides the first evidence we have of the activities and contacts of the Danish musicians in England. It is the first break in the curious wall of silence which seems to surround their presence at the English court during a period of three years.

As so often happens, once a breach is made the crack soon begins to widen – though hardly under the pressure of a flood of evidence as yet. Nevertheless, it is of the greatest interest to discover that an incomplete set of part-books in the British Library⁶ contains two Pavans by "Magno Petrejo", i.e., Mogens Pedersøn, which until now seem to have been entirely overlooked. It is, of course, disappointing that they should be found in an incomplete state – of the original set of five only the Cantus, Altus and Tenor books remain – yet it is nevertheless gratifying to have this new di-

5. London, British Library Egerton MS 3665. See Schofield and Dart, "Tregian's Anthology", *Music and Letters* xxxii (1951), pp. 205-216.

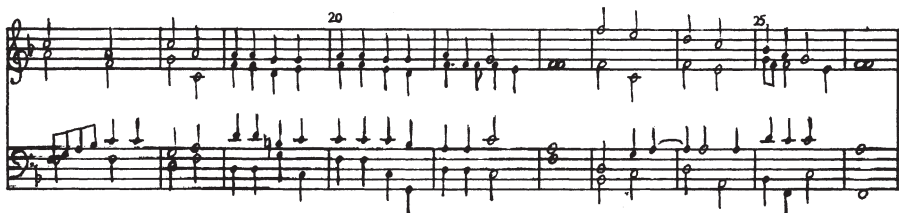
6. Add. MSS 30826-8.

Ex. 1. L. Pedersen Thura, *Canticum Canticorum Salomonis* (Copenhagen 1640), pp. 116-119

SALOMON SIUNGER / som:

Af Høyheden oprunden er.

Jacob Ørn



BAR 18 : BASS, NOTES E AND F OMITTED IN PRINT, PROVIDED IN ERRATA LIST.
BAR 19 : ALTO, SECOND NOTE F IS E IN PRINT.

1.

Alt Kiød forderfuet hafr sin Vey/
Vaar som en Ørcke/der vaar ey
Nogen god Fruct at finde.
Der voxte Torn/Tidtsel og Skarn/
Der boede Dragen oc hans Barn/
Natrafn' oc Ugler blinde.
Nisser/Vetter
Der holdt Mode/
Vilde raade:
Oc en Skowtroid
Raabte Broder sin til samvold.

mension added to Mogens Pedersøn's work as a composer. Heretofore we have only known him as a composer of vocal music, both sacred and secular, despite the fact that his appointment to the Danish Royal Chapel in 1603 was expressly as an instrumentalist — a designation which is still retained in the article promoting him to Vice-Director of the Chapel in January 1618, some years after his return from England. It has always been a mystery, obviously due to the loss of sources, that there should be no evidence of his ever having composed instrumental music. But whether this music was composed for the Danish court or was composed in England in response to the musical environment the Danish musicians encountered there, in which music for instrumental ensembles, especially the consort of viols, occupied such a prominent place, cannot yet be determined. Certainly music of this kind was not unfamiliar to the Danes since English instrumentalists, among them John Dowland and William Brade, had long enjoyed a special preferment at the Danish court. In the two collections of *Ausserlesene Paduanen und Galliarden* published in Hamburg in 1607 and 1609⁷ we find composers from Denmark, Melchior Borchgrevinck, Nicolo Gistou and Benedictus Grep (Greebe, Greeve), represented side by side with English musicians such as Robert Bateman, William Brade, John Dowland, James Harding,⁸ Anthony Holborne, Edward Johnson and Peter Philips. But if these pieces were composed in England it would be interesting to know where, for whom and under what circumstances they were written.

"Details of the lives of seventeenth-century musicians are notoriously hard to come by", Pamela Willetts has observed, but, as she herself has amply demonstrated, "more information than is sometimes realized can be derived from a close study of the music manuscripts themselves."⁹ Such a study of the music manuscripts copied by Francis Tregian is long overdue and would surely provide the answers to a number of questions about music and musicians in and around London in the second decade of the 17th century. In 1951 Dart and Schofield promised a "fuller investigation" of Egerton 3665,¹⁰ which unfortunately never appeared. It ought still to be

7. Ed. by B. Engelke in *Musik und Musiker am Gottorfer Hofe I* (Breslau 1930).

8. His Galliard in *Ausserlesener Paduanen und Galliarden Erster Theil* (1607) (Engelke, pp. 101-2) was reworked by William Byrd and copied by Francis Tregian into the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book as No. 122 ("Galliard — James Harding sett by William Byrd").

9. Pamela J. Willetts, "Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell", *Music and Letters* xlix (1968), p. 36.

10. Schofield and Dart, *op.cit.*, p. 215. Entitled "A Companion to the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book", it was announced to appear in a series called *Musica Britannica Studies* as volume II.

done, and include the whole repertoire of Tregian's three manuscripts, though this is obviously an enormous undertaking and will require someone in special circumstances, preferably someone imprisoned, like Tregian, for 10 years – but in the British Library. Fortunately – or unfortunately – this is not my own situation; nevertheless, despite the incompleteness of the study I would like to offer the following reasoned suggestions concerning the associations of the Danish musicians in England in the hope that they may provide useful lines of investigation.

The first question that presents itself when contemplating the repertoire copied by Tregian is how and from where did a man sitting in prison obtain such a wealth of material from which to make a selection which has been estimated at some 2000 pieces? The content and extent of Tregian's own library, which was removed from the prison after his death before the Warden could impound it, is not known, but Dr. John Alcock (1715-1806) was sufficiently impressed by the scope of Drexel 4302 alone to write at the front of the manuscript "All the following Music was wrote out of the Vatican (or Pope's Library) at Rome", an assertion for which a later owner of the manuscript, the Rev. John Parker, found no justification. But if Tregian did not have access to the Pope's Library, his association with Queen Anne's Danish musicians suggests at least the possibility of his having had access to the King of England's Library, since it is scarcely likely that these foreigners would have sought out a Catholic in prison except on instructions from the queen. The interest and indulgence of the queen could well have extended to the lending of books from the Royal Library, which would account for the presence in both Egerton 3665 and Drexel 4302 of pieces accompanied by the marginal note "ex libris Henr. 8. circa annum 1520".

Other pieces, however, point in other directions, to the possibility that either as borrower or lender he was in communication with other copyists and collectors. Immediately preceding Jacob Ørn's Pavan in the Drexel MS, and forming with it an interpolation between two sections of six-part madrigals by Marenzio and Peter Philips respectively, is a six-voice motet *Laboravi in gemitu meo*. Probably believing the two pieces to be by the same composer, Hugo Botstiber, in his inventory of the Drexel MS made at the beginning of the century,¹¹ misread as "Jac." the initials "T.M." written at the end of *Laboravi* in the manuscript, which is perhaps why Thurston Dart and H.K. Andrews overlooked this source when preparing their edition of Thomas Morley's motets.¹² *Laboravi in gemitu meo* –

11. *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* iv (1902-03), p. 743.

12. *Thomas Morley, Collected Motets*, ed. H.K. Andrews and T. Dart (London 1959).

which if it is an early work from a hypothetical Roman Catholic period 1576-1582 bespeaks a precocious talent – is known from only two other sources: British Library Add. MSS 29372-7 (*Tristitiae Remedium*), copied by the Rev. Thomas Myriell and dated 1616, and Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Mus.f.1-6, copied by Thomas Hamond and dated 1631. It is not immediately apparent that either of these could have served as the source from which Tregian copied his version. Hamond's copy is dated too late, however a note in MS Mus.f.1, fol.2, tells us that "most of these latten & Etalian songs, were taken out of Mr. Kirbies blacke books."¹³ In MS Mus.f.4, fol.2, the note is more informative: "Italian songs to 5 and 6 voyces collected out of Master Geo. Kirbies blacke bookes which were sould after ye decease of the said Geo. to the right worthy Sir Jo. Holland in the year 1634." George Kirbye appears to have been connected in some way, probably as music master, to the household of Sir Robert Jermyn of Rushbrooke Hall near Bury St. Edmunds, in which town Kirbye died in 1634, and, as Arkwright observed, "it is interesting to note that 'Mr. Kirbies blacke bookes' contained motets and other pieces by the best foreign composers. Stefano Felis, Orazio Vecchi, Valerio Bona, Gastoldi, Alfonso Ferrabosco the elder, Peter Phillips, Giovanni Ferretti, A. Fabritio, and A. Pevernage are the names that most frequently occur; but Annibale Stabile, Symon Molyne, Rinaldo Paradiso, Thomas Lupo, T.L. Victoria, Tib. Massaini, Giovanni Croce, Rinaldo del Mel and Philippo de Monte are also represented."¹⁴ As a contributor to *The Triumphs of Oriana* (1601), we can connect Kirbye directly with Thomas Morley but we cannot yet show any channel of communication between Kirbye and Tregian. However, a Pavan by Kirbye occurs in the British Library part-books mentioned above which contain the Pavans by Mogens Pedersøn. The inclusion along with Kirbye's of music by [John] Amner (of Ely), a "Trinity Colledg Pavan", and perhaps also the presence of 8 Pavans by [George?] Mason, whom J.E. West asserted on the basis of unknown evidence was organist of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1612-1629,¹⁵ makes this collection seem geographically related to the area in which Kirbye lived. It is interesting also to meet again here James Harding, whom we found

13. See M.C. Crum, "A Seventeenth-Century Collection of Music Belonging to Thomas Hamond, a Suffolk Landowner", *The Bodleian Library Record* vi (1957), pp. 373-386.

14. G.E.P. Arkwright, *Anthems and Motets by Robert White, George Kirbye, John Wilbye and William Damon. The Old English Edition* No. xxi (London and Oxford 1898), p. 11.

15. J.E. West, *Cathedral Organists* (London 1921), p. 127.

earlier in association with Melchior Borchgrevinck *et al* in Füllsack's and Hildebrandt's *Ausserlesene Paduanen und Galliarden* (Hamburg 1607).

In Myriell's copy of Morley's six-voice motet *Laboravi*, the positions of the voice-parts in each of the upper pairs of voices are exchanged, but this may not have great significance in view of the fact that Myriell's copy is set out in part-books which Tregian could have rearranged at will when scoring his copy. Nevertheless, one cannot help but be aware of a degree of uncongeniality between the two compilers which makes their collaboration seem unlikely – not only was Myriell an Anglican priest while Tregian sat in prison for recusancy, but Myriell as deliberately rejects as Tregian favours the Italian language. The Italian bias in the Egerton and Drexel MSS is such that Dart and Schofield could argue "the writer . . . must have been someone like Tregian who had spent long enough in Italy for Italian to have become a second language."¹⁶ In Myriell's collection, on the other hand, all the madrigals by Italian composers have English texts.

However, we owe to Pamela Willetts¹⁷ the discovery that *Tristitiae Remedium* represents only a part of Myriell's activity as a copyist, a particular project for which he provided an engraved title page. A group of manuscripts in the library of Christ Church, Oxford,¹⁸ also shows Myriell's collaboration and enlarges the possibility of common ground with Tregian. Christ Church MS 67, which on its last fly-leaf contains a list in Myriell's hand of "Songes fit for vials and organs, in the great bookes", by which are meant *Tristitiae Remedium*, is an organ book belonging to the part-books Christ Church MSS 61-66. These contain a good deal of music by John Ward, and John Aplin has recently shown¹⁹ that they were probably copied for Ward's patron, Sir Henry Fanshawe. It is possible that Thomas Myriell too had some connection with Sir Henry Fanshawe; in any case, a sermon by Myriell published in 1610 describes him as "Preacher of the word of God, at Barnet" (Hertfordshire) where he would have been a near neighbour of the Fanshawe estate at Ware Park. But if Myriell seemed unsympathetic to the Italian language, not so Sir Henry Fanshawe, whose daughter-in-law Anne, in a letter to her son, described him as "a great lover of music,

16. "Tregian's Anthology", *op.cit.*, p. 207.

17. "Musical Connections of Thomas Myriell", *op.cit.*, pp. 36-42; see also the same author's "The Identity of Thomas Myriell", *Music and Letters* liii (1972), pp. 431-33.

18. Oxford, Christ Church MSS 61-67, 44, 459-62.

19. "Sir Henry Fanshawe and Two Sets of early Seventeenth-Century Part-books at Christ Church, Oxford", *Music and Letters* lvii (1976), pp. 11-24. Unfortunately Mr. Aplin seems to have been unaware of Pamela Willetts' fundamental work referred to in note 17 above.

and kept many gentlemen that were perfectly well qualified both in that and the Italian tongue, in which he spent some time.”²⁰

Sir Henry Fanshawe was an important man at court, Remembrancer of the Exchequer and a close friend and favourite of Henry, Prince of Wales, so it is not surprising that a number of musicians attached to the prince, such as Coperario, Thomas Lupo and Thomas Ford, should be well-represented in the Fanshawe books. The first two of these, and Ward himself, also figure prominently in Tregian's collections. Furthermore, the list of Prince Henry's musicians in 1611 includes the names of two who would have been familiar to the Danish musicians from service at the court of Christian IV: John Mynors²¹ (= Johan Meinert in the Danish accounts) and Thomas Cutting. The former went to the Danish court in company with the lutenist Daniel Norcome in 1599 and if the Danes who came to England were too young to have known him personally, they would no doubt have known the scandal that attended the sudden departure of Mynors and Norcome without the king's permission in 1601. Thomas Cutting had been particularly requested by King Christian as a replacement for John Dowland and would have been a colleague of our Danish musicians from April 1608 to October 1610.

Another new piece of evidence which has turned up in English sources relates a third member of the party of Danes in England directly to Thomas Cutting and raises to the level of inevitability what was in any case highly probable, that is, that the Danish musicians in the service of Queen Anne would have been introduced into the circle of distinguished musicians retained by the Prince of Wales. In a recent article on Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, a letter to the Earl, written in 1605 by "one Martin Otto", is cited.²² There can be no doubt that this is the Martinus Otto sent by Christian IV to Queen Anne in 1611, and it is with surprise that we learn from his letter that he had been in the service of the Earl's family since c. 1590, that in 1605 he was temporarily in the employ of the Lord and Lady Fenton, and that he was looking forward to a "new kinde of life in the following of the court". As a musician in the household of the Earl

20. *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, ed. N.H. Nicholas (London 1829), p. 14.

21. Thurston Dart identifies him also with John Maynard (*Grove's Dictionary*, 5th ed.), composer of *The XII Wonders of the World* (1611), but knows nothing of his subsequent history. From the accounts of *The Old Cheque Book*, ed. E.F. Rimbault (London 1872) it appears that after the death of Prince Henry in 1612 Mynors went to Exeter Cathedral, was sworn a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal on 28 March 1615 and died 2 July in the same year.

22. David Price, "Gilbert Talbot, seventh Earl of Shrewsbury: an Elizabethan Courtier and his Music", *Music and Letters* lvii (1976), p. 145.

of Shrewsbury Otto would have been a colleague of Thomas Cutting since the Earl was the uncle and guardian of the Lady Arabella Stuart, to whom Cutting was lutenist. Both Queen Anne and Prince Henry exerted pressure to get her to send Cutting to Christian IV, who must have heard him play during the royal visit to England in 1606.²³ She acquiesced and Cutting sailed for Denmark, accompanied, as we can now see, by Martinus Otto, since the two were enrolled in the Danish Royal Chapel on the same day, 1 April 1608. It was only natural then that when King Christian was to send a group of musicians to England in 1611 he should include in the party one who was familiar with both the musical environment and the language of the country. Martinus Otto assumes a much more significant role than it has been possible to accord him previously.²⁴ If we can now accept the reasonableness of a professional association of the Danish musicians with the musicians serving Prince Henry then we must be able to imagine that they too took part in the production of the masques which occupied so much of the talents of the English musicians already mentioned – and not least Robert Johnson, another of Prince Henry's Chapel. These included the famous three, "The Lord's Masque", "The Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn" and "The Masque of Gray's Inn and the Inner Temple", produced shortly after the prince's death for the wedding of his sister, Princess Elizabeth, to the Elector Palatine, early in 1613. Music from these and other masques is preserved in, for example, British Library Add. MSS 10444 and 38539, the latter believed to have been copied out by John Sturt, yet another of Prince Henry's musicians.²⁵ Is it possible that some of this music is by Danish composers? Was it for these celebrations that the Pavans by Jacob Ørn and Mogens Pedersøn were composed?

If we cannot yet answer such specific questions, which would bring the Danish visitors into the lime-light of the most brilliant musical entertainments of the time, we have at least the satisfaction of seeing them take a step out of the shadows of time. As Lutherans in the service of a Catholic queen in an Anglican country they are not likely to have had an opportu-

23. The correspondence is printed in J. Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London, 2nd ed. 1853), II, p. 567.

24. I have already called attention (see note 4) to the fact that, having returned to Denmark in 1614, Martinus Otto resigned from the Royal Chapel at the end of the year, went back to England and "by the procurement of our gracious Ladie Queene Ann", succeeded to John Baldwin's place in the Chapel Royal on 30 September 1615 and died 2 July 1620.

25. See John P. Cutts, "Jacobean Masque and Stage Music", *Music and Letters* xxxv (1954), pp. 185-200, and, by the same author, "Robert Johnson and the Court Masque", *Music and Letters* xli (1960), pp. 111-126.

nity to associate themselves with the great tradition of English church music. As foreigners they may not have felt themselves competent to attempt the setting of English words and perhaps especially not the refined poetry of the currently popular English ayre. But in the circles where Italian was cultivated, and where there was a demand for instrumental music, they would have been on equal footing with other musicians. And that is where our investigations so far seem to locate them – in company with Francis Tregian, George Kirbye, Sir Henry Fanshawe and Prince Henry – which latter means in company with Dr. John Bull, Robert Johnson, Thomas Lupo, Robert Jones, Thomas Ford, Thomas Cutting, John Mynors, and John Sturt, among others. The three Pavans for viols with which we have been rewarded up to now are incentive enough to further investigation along these lines.

Pavan for viols à 6 by Jacob Ørn (New York, Public Library Drexel MS 4302, p. 317).

Pavana

The image displays a handwritten musical score for a Pavan for six violas. The score is written on 12 staves, organized into four systems of three staves each. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and accidentals. There are several measure numbers (5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35) and a section marked with a '3' in a box. The handwriting is in a historical style, and the paper shows signs of age.

Note: All accidentals are placed as in MS

(1) bar 2: G is ♭ in MS

(2) bar 24: ♯ under F in MS

(3) bar 29: there appears to be a ♭ over this F

Jacomo Aquilino Dano.