

The Scandinavian Service of British Isles Musicians ca. 1520-1650

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*'We marched againe in order of battaile,
with Trumpets sounding, Drummes beating'¹*

ROBERT MONRO'S memoir of military service during the Thirty Years' War aptly illustrates how musicians provided the soundtrack as men marched towards their likely deaths. The beat Monro described was known as 'the Scots March' but little other than the name of the presumably ominous sound has survived.² In the same era, a French diplomat described 'the din of drums and trumpets which throughout the north accompanies royal meals' at the court of the Vasa queen Kristina in 1648.³ These two comments neatly expose a range of musicians' roles in early-modern Scandinavia, although they also participated in other musical capacities.

About a century earlier, the Catholic cleric and former Vasa diplomat Olaus Magnus had noted in his 1555 tome *Historia Dei Gentibus Septentrionalibus* that flute, horn, and trumpet-players, as well as harpists and organists abounded in the North, whilst clarifying that any highly skilled musicians there tended to be foreigners. Indeed, from that time onwards, musical foreigners were well-received and particularly welcomed by princes who sought the 'shrill blare of trumpets to rouse man and horses to charge against the foe'.⁴ The link between music and war – entertainers and foreign military service – has an established heritage. Nevertheless, renaissance instrumentalists are sometimes presented 'as humble mechanics, little above travelling minstrels',

1 *Monro: His Expedition*, 192.

2 Grosjean, Murdoch, and Talbott 2015, 80. See also Purser 1992, 151-52.

3 A French diplomat at the Swedish court in 1648, as quoted in Persson 1999, 12.

4 Magnus 1955 [1998], vol. 2, 755.

a rather limited and limiting perspective on these individuals' experiences.⁵ Evidence to the contrary has been left by the many early-modern musicians from the British Isles who made their way to Scandinavia, and it has even found well-received literary expression.⁶ Perhaps the best-known Scottish military-musician in seventeenth-century Scandinavia is also the most enigmatic: the somewhat elusive Captain Tobias Hume. He claimed to have served in various European armies, and had certainly been in Duke Karl's (later Karl IX of Sweden) service, but remains most remembered for his viola da gamba compositions.⁷

Employment in a royal or noble household was sought-after, whether as an entertainer, teacher, diplomatic aide, military signaller, or otherwise. In Sweden, as elsewhere, it was common for the nobility to have their own personal corps of musicians. Noblemen furthered their musical knowledge on travels through Europe, and, as such, Magnus de la Gardie (later General and Marshal of the Realm) returned from an ambassadorial visit to Paris in January 1647 with six violinists in tow.⁸ Similarly, Per Brahe the Younger (later Governor General of Finland and Lord High Steward) is renowned for his musicality. He authored a book of lute music in 1620 (preserved in the Skokloster book collection), having deepened his knowledge of the lute during his university studies at Giessen in Hessen.⁹ Brahe not only had his own household musicians for mealtime and ceremonial use, but also a corps of drummers and pipers for his personal army. Further, he established a school which also taught music.

Martial drummers and pipers, in contrast to domestic entertainment providers, were pivotal in maintaining order and control within the military sphere, as specified in the seventeenth century military manual *The Swedish Discipline*:

He that when warning is giuen for the setting of the watch by sound of Drumme, Fife, or Trumpet, shall wilfully absent himselfe without some lawfull excuse; shall be punished with the wooden Horse, and be put to

5 Rose 2005, 63.

6 See Tremaine 2000, which is based on a young English lutist's experiences at the court of Christian IV of Denmark-Norway and vividly exemplifies an early-modern musician's lifestyle.

7 See Rossi 2007, 155-81. See also Wikland 1971, 105. Various CDs are available of Hume's music.

8 North 2015, 143. For more on De la Gardie's own orchestra, see Lagercrantz 1948, 111. In 1661, De La Gardie employed a lutist named Duall, possibly a relative of one of the Swedish MacDougals, who were ennobled as Duvall. See Trobäck 1930, 74-82.

9 See Rudén 1977, 47-48 and Rudén, 2016. Brahe also visited London and Paris during his studies.

Bread and Water, or other pennance, as the matter is of importance. He that at the sound of Drumme or Trumpet, repaires not to his Colours; shalbe clapt in Irons.¹⁰

The importance accorded to trumpeters and drummers also emerges through their diplomatic deployment, specifically in accompanying heralds and delivering messages at royal courts.¹¹ However, these musicians did not always benefit from privileged treatment and could fall foul of hostile relations. The abuse suffered by a messenger called Patrick and his unnamed trumpeter in 1612 during the Dano-Swedish 'Kalmar War' was an example of this. They were both illegally detained while serving as couriers between the two Jacobean ambassadors to the warring countries, James Spens in Sweden and Robert Anstruther in Denmark.¹² Because of this incident, Anstruther was disinclined to send his own trumpeter to Spens shortly thereafter for the fear that he would suffer the same treatment.¹³

The wider British and particularly Scottish imprint on the Swedish armies of the late-sixteenth century and first half of the seventeenth century as loyal and tenacious soldiers is well-known, as is the fact that their impact went far beyond the purely martial.¹⁴ Little concerted attention appears to have been paid to the involvement of British musicians in Sweden's early-modern martial sphere and its royal court life. Despite the aforementioned cross-over between the two areas, they were also very distinct, as shown by Swedish royal accounts for *hovmusiker* (court musicians) and *fältmusiker* (field musicians).¹⁵ Hedell excepted, Scandinavian early-modern music historiography appears to be heavily influenced by the work of historians of Elizabethan musicians and players, which has resulted in a prioritising of English musicians emanating from Queen Elizabeth's court. Music was, of course, also a feature of Scottish courtly life, with James V and his daughter Mary both keen lutists, and the Chapel Royal at Stirling Castle benefitting from royal patronage until James VI moved to London in 1603. This sudden change in employment options probably accounts for some musicians looking eastward for new opportunities.

10 *The Swedish Discipline*, 52, 56.

11 For further information on Scottish heralds in Scandinavia, see Grosjean 2009, 165-98.

12 SRA, Anglica vol. V brev till J. Spens 1612-13, Robert Anstruther to James Spens, 18 Jul. 1612.

13 *Ibid.*, 26 Sep. 1612.

14 For a recent study, see Murdoch and Grosjean 2014.

15 A clear example of this is Jöns Månsson Teit, who served as Gustav II Adolf's court and field trumpeter ca. 1621-32, thus performing both ceremonial and military duties. See Droste 2017; Hedell 2001, 23. Hedell has done excellent work on identifying the detailed nature of the distinctions between specific groups of named musicians.

Swedish research into this field often concentrates on the period from 1520 onwards, when King Gustav I Vasa (reigned 1521-60) re-established Sweden's independence from the Danish-centred Kalmar Union, and continues into the reigns of his three sons, Erik, Johan, and Karl. Similarly, the Danish historiography – perhaps as a result of the 1794 Kristiansborg fire which destroyed much of the music archive – tends to focus heavily on Christian IV's court, as reflected in Angul Hammerich's 1892 publication *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof*.¹⁶

Gustav I was a keen lutist and ensured that not only he, but also his family were all schooled in music and instrument-playing, and that music formed a regular part of courtly life. The variety of positions available to musicians in royal service was extensive, including trumpeters, timpanists, fiddlers, lutists, cantors, and organists, as well as martial drummers and pipers. Gustav's royal court numbered between four and nine trumpeters, whilst drummers and kettledrummers varied from just one to six.¹⁷ An early royal account payment for a piper and a drummer, some trumpeters, and other unclarified 'players' can be dated to 1526, but it was not long before a hierarchy was established, where string instrumentalists, singers, and brass instrumentalists each had a leader. The head trumpeter was sometimes even called a 'colonel', revealing the cross-over between court and field musicians. Certainly, by 1553, there was a permanent royal court orchestra numbering twenty-three musicians of the lute, flute, violin, and drums.¹⁸ Determining the nationality of these individuals is nearly impossible; the names appear mainly to be Germanic rather than British in origin.

Evidence of a formal method for recruiting or finding musicians remains elusive. Instead, members of the court were simply sent out, within Scandinavia and further afield, to obtain musicians, often in conjunction with a specific event or ceremony in mind (coronation, marriage, foreign negotiations). Records exist for significant royal outlay for such specific functions. It is probable that the ad hoc employment of a specific musician fell outwith these regulated accounts. This, combined with the fact that often only a first name is retained in the records, complicates the process of determining a given musician's nationality. Typical examples are 'Thomas the piper', 'John the fiddler', 'Alexander organist', and so on. Thus, a troop of fiddlers recruited in England for service at the Vasa princesses' court in 1562 was inventoried as 'Thomas Engelsk', 'Philippus Engelsk', 'Nicholaus Engelsk', 'Johannes

16 Hammerich 1892.

17 Holmquist 1974, 15.

18 Lindqvist 1993, 264.

Engelsk', and 'William Engelsk'.¹⁹ This does not conclusively identify them as being of English nationals, but instead indicates their geographical location before arriving in Sweden.²⁰ It has already been established elsewhere that individuals' uses of the Scandinavian form of their name – that is, Jacob for James, Johan for John, Hans for Iain or John – and so on – does not denote nationality. Even a full name does not necessarily clarify an individual's origins, such as the court fiddler Thomas Brandy, active ca. 1570-7. The vast majority of the musicians and other entertainers hired by the various Scandinavian courts were of foreign origin, encompassing Italians, Germans, Flemings, Poles, Frenchmen, Swiss, Scots, and Englishmen. Where martial musicians were concerned, the fact that they served in distinctly Scottish or English companies or regiments could indicate that they shared those nationalities.

Court Musicians in Sweden

Perhaps one of the earliest definitive Scotsmen found in royal musical service is Jakob Skotte, who, in 1556-7 appears in receipt of a royal salary in Stockholm as a *musicus* and *cantor*, or *precentor*, with all its implied religious aspects; he remained employed until at least 1561.²¹ Indeed, both he and his son performed in Erik XIV's coronation ceremony.²² At the early Vasa courts, cantors were appointed in lieu of an established courtly choir. The distinction of *musicus* as opposed to *fälttrumpetare* (military trumpeter) indicated not only that Jakob was purely engaged for royal court service but that he was in some way schooled in music and that his duties also involved religious ceremonies. By this time, the position of Vasa court musician enjoyed a thirty-year pedigree, and Jakob was simply discharging a well-established role. Interestingly, Jakob Skotte's arrival coincided with the very time that Gustav I was negotiating with Mary Stuart to obtain 2,000 Scottish troops for Swedish service. It is entirely feasible that Skotte's employment came through that channel.²³

19 Hedell 2001, 42, 49, 65, 97, 144.

20 An example from academia is Duncan Burnett, a Scot from Aberdeen who registered at Helmstadt University as 'Duncanus Bornot Aberdonensis' on 18 May 1599. He moved to Heidelberg and matriculated there, on 18 Apr. 1603, as 'Danus'. The 'nationality' represented his former location, not his own ethnic identity. See Fischer 1902, 313; Helk 1987, 186.

21 Norlind 1944, 21. See also Hedell 2001, 49, 55, 64, 311-12.

22 Hedell 2001, 112.

23 Geijer 1834, 143n9. Riksregistraturet, 1556: Codicillus ad Duces et Capitanos Scotorum de stipendio et disciplina militum, qui sunt in servitio Reg. Maj:s Sveciae. See SRA/1112.1/B/26 (1556). See Murdoch and Grosjean 2014, 34, for a discussion of the levy.

This link between military and court musicians is reinforced just over ten years later when, in the spring of 1568, we find Scotsman 'Hans' (John) Williamson, horseman, employed. He was penalised that year for having failed to fulfil his recruitment drive on behalf of King Erik XIV (reigned 1560-8) and thereby forfeiting his annual salary; this confirms that Williamson was not a newcomer to Swedish service.²⁴ Williamson was instead appointed court *cantor* and *componista*, for which he received a six-month salary of 300 'marks' on 14 May 1568. He remained in royal Swedish service until the 1580s, serving in a number of roles.²⁵ Part of Williamson's remit included expanding choral life at the Vasa court. In 1575 he was sent out to Söderköping and Uppsala in order to obtain new singers who could in turn become *cantors*.²⁶ Williamson's lengthy appointment was all the more remarkable for the fact that court musicians tended to be itinerant and often only remained at a given court for a few years at a time.

Around this time, Duke Johan (later Johan III of Sweden) was sent to both Mary Stuart's and Elizabeth Tudor's courts on royal embassies to deliver his brother Erik XIV's marriage proposals to both queens. Exposure to musicians there inspired the Swedish royals to expand the numbers of musical performers in their service.²⁷ Indeed, Vasa diplomat Per Brahe Senior's expense accounts for his embassy to Scotland in 1562 contain references to significant payments to musicians and entertainers.²⁸ It is probably no coincidence that the previously noted group of fiddlers recruited in England found employment at the Vasa princesses' court that same year.²⁹ During Johan III's reign (1568-92), the court orchestra was further developed. As detailed by Ardis Grosjean, there were 'eleven trumpeters, eight trumpet-apprentices, three trombones, and two kettle-drummers, not to mention four fiddlers, a harp-player, eighteen singers, two singer-apprentices, an organist and the cantor' by 1591.³⁰ This was the period when Hans Williamson was also employed.

The ongoing appointment of musicians came to a sudden stop during Sigismund's reign (1592-9) when most of the court moved to Poland.³¹ As part of his 260-strong entourage, Sigismund removed ten trumpeters to Cracow,

24 Hedell 2001, 47.

25 Ibid., 48. In 1573, he received 600 marks in annual salary; in 1576 it was 6 daler. Ibid., 128.

26 Ibid., 130.

27 Karlsson 2009, 82. It is even suggested that Erik XIV intended to gift Elizabeth I the *Winchester Partbooks* (a well-known music book of madrigals dated ca. 1566), although this remains debated.

28 Hedell 2001, 94n108.

29 Hedell 2003, 103-9. See also SRA, Råntekammarböcker vol. 40:2:3 lr.

30 Grosjean 2000, 255.

31 Ericson 2004, 149.

but upon arrival he retained the court orchestra of his predecessor, Stephen Batory, which consisted largely of Italian lutists.³² Similarly, when Sigismund made two brief returns to Stockholm – once in 1593 to claim his Swedish throne on the death of his father Johan III, and secondly in 1598 – he brought not only his martial trumpeters but also his Cracow court musicians with him.³³ The strength of suspicion in Sweden regarding those who practised the Catholic faith was such that Sigismund's musicians were roundly viewed as Catholic priests and Jesuits in disguise. As a result, one of them, Jakob Sowa, was murdered, confirming how precarious a royal musician's appointment could be.³⁴ The majority of Sigismund's court musicians appear to have been Polish or Italian in origin, while research into that king's martial musicians awaits exploration. Some Scots who had been in Johan III's service, such as Andrew Keith and Patrick Gordon, remained loyal to Sigismund and accompanied him to Poland; doubtless some Scottish musicians also followed suit.

Duke Karl, who contested the Swedish throne against his nephew Sigismund, was a fiddle-player himself and, in 1591, temporarily engaged twelve players (six trumpeters and six other instrumentalists) through unspecified 'English contacts' for his impending nuptials. Amongst them were the trumpeter and jester Philip Briggs, brothers John and Robert Vaughn, John Howse, the duke's trumpeter, and James Hills, a 'player'.³⁵ In May 1592 Philip Kingman and Philip Gibson were hired, and it has been suggested that they accompanied Swedish troops on their Russian campaigns, which is unsurprising given the link between artists and military engagement.³⁶ Few of the abovementioned remained in Swedish service for long. Richard Raff and Richard Havill, however, were exceptions. Raff remained until 1620 and Havill settled permanently as he married a local girl.³⁷ Despite this, we find Richard Raff, rather than Havill, in the Stockholm town court records, appearing as a witness in a quarrel between a group of British expatriates there in 1600.³⁸ The dispute concerned Leonard Tuckers, an English merchant, and his accuser Johan Cut (John Coot), a servant of Duke Karl's English merchant, Thomas Fishes, who claimed that Tuckers had defamed him and threatened to kill him. Raff, William Netherwood (a Scottish ship's captain), and Richard Kent were

32 Przybyszewska-Jarminska 2008, 1.

33 *Ibid.*, 3-4. See also Andersson s.d. For a case study, see Grosjean 2000, 255-58.

34 Przybyszewska-Jarminska 2008, 3.

35 See Lea 1931, 78. For a full account, see Wikland 1971, 42. The full list is: Edward Stackman, William Cooper, Edward Tamset, Richard Havill, Richard Blewett, Matthew Brook, John Howse, Richard Raff, Philip Briggs, John Vaughn, Robert Vaughn, Nicholas King. For further detail, see Wickham and Berry 2000, 172.

36 Wikland 1971, 53.

37 Kjellberg 1994, 219.

38 *Stockholmsstads Tänkeböcker*, vol. III, 93-94.

all brought before the court on 16 July 1600. The issue was amicably resolved the same day. This example is interesting on several levels, not least in that it confirms the existence of British expatriate cliques in Sweden, but also in that issues raised in Britain could percolate to Sweden and take legal form. Intriguingly, Raff was in correspondence with fellow musician and composer Tobias Hume, then living in Denmark, and used a letter as evidence in the courtroom. It is tantalising to ponder whether Hume's alleged service in both the Swedish and Russian armies may have been orchestrated through musical contacts at the Vasa court.

By the start of the seventeenth century, music was formalised as part of a Swedish prince's basic education, as shown in royal tutor Johan Skytte's 1604 pedagogical publication.³⁹ The almost constant military expeditions of King Gustav II Adolf (reigned 1611-32) perhaps help to explain a minor decline in development of the royal court orchestra, although the king's coronation in 1617 did see 'the Skotts, Frenche and Swedons [players] being in number 24' perform.⁴⁰ A few years later, near the time of his marriage to Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, an entire orchestra was imported from his bride's home state.⁴¹ Indeed, foreigners continued to dominate the Swedish court orchestra until the end of Kristina's reign (1632-54). The number of trumpeters and kettledrummers ranged from seven and one, respectively, in 1620 to twelve in the 1630s and 1640s.⁴² The fairly low number of musicians employed by the Crown and the low salary do not indicate that there was an overwhelming pull factor for these positions. The adoption of imperial trumpeters' privileges in 1623 may have been an attempt to formalise conditions.⁴³ Official attempts were certainly made to encourage local musicians. During a meeting of the Swedish Council of the Realm in early September 1635, the marshal of the realm requested that some apprentices – specifically of the 'Swedish nation' – should be taken on by the trumpeters (presumably court trumpeters), as there were so few who were Swedish.⁴⁴

Almost five years later, in August 1641, before Queen Kristina had attained her majority, the Council of the Realm decided to continue the Vasa tradition of royal lute-playing by appointing an unnamed lutist at a salary of 600 riksdaler.⁴⁵ Kristina soon made her own mark on the world of court

39 *Een kort Vnderwijsning*. Music is included with grammar, rhetoric, arithmetic, and astronomy, amongst other subjects.

40 See Wikland 1971, 157 and Wade 2004, 239.

41 Holmquist 1974, 16.

42 *Ibid.*, 17.

43 Öberg 1991, 70.

44 *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll*, vol. V, 167

45 *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll*, vol. VIII, 674.

music and from 1644 her focus favoured Italian ensembles, noted in detail by Ambassador Bulstrode Whitelocke on his visit to Stockholm between 1653-4.⁴⁶ Some claim that Whitelocke was himself a musician and encouraged direct exchanges between English musicians and Vasa courts.⁴⁷ Definitive Scottish involvement at this point seems to be limited to Patrick Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford, and his daughter Jane, a lady-in-waiting to the queen, participating in productions of royal ballets, at times alongside the queen herself.⁴⁸

Court Musicians in Denmark

Both the English and Scottish courts shared musical connections with the Danish courts of Frederick II (reigned 1559-88) and Christian IV (reigned 1588-1648). Apparently four English musicians arrived at the Copenhagen court in 1570 and remained in service there until 1586. One of them, Thomas Bull, murdered a compatriot in a dispute over a woman, and was beheaded for his crime.⁴⁹ In 1586 a group of English entertainers – William Kempe, George Bryan, and Thomas Pope – who had all been in the Earl of Leicester’s service, came to Denmark as part of a tour of several courts in northern Europe, including Sweden.⁵⁰ They only visited briefly, and their later fame possibly rests upon their friendship with the playwright William Shakespeare.⁵¹ Thomas Riis believes there is evidence of even earlier musical exchange between Denmark and Scotland: Duke Frederik (before he ascended to the throne) apparently lent three of his trumpeters to James IV, although we know nothing of their nationality.⁵² Fredrik II certainly hired the Englishman Thomas Robinson to teach music to both Queen Sophia and their daughter, Princess Anna, in the 1580s.⁵³ At Christian IV’s 1588 coronation festivities, both English musicians and a French dance master were present.⁵⁴ Around this time the basic annual salary for a trumpeter sat at around 30 daler, whilst additional monthly expenses raised the annual total to 90-150 daler.⁵⁵ Despite the close familial relations between the Stuart and Oldenburg courts, no

46 Webber 1993, 49.

47 Smith 2002, 6-7. Kristina’s highly-regarded violinist, Thomas Baltzar from Lübeck, was ‘poached’ and took service in England.

48 See Rota forthcoming. My thanks to Stefano for discussing this with me.

49 Bradbrook 1989, 153.

50 Vedi 2012, 34, quotes Murray 1910, 33-35. See also Wikland 1971, 110-63

51 Matus 1994, 266 and Tonning 2008, 53.

52 Riis 1988, i, 113.

53 Harwood 2004.

54 Wade 2004, 241.

55 Hammerich 1892, 201.

significant exchange of Scottish musicians to Denmark has been discovered. However, three trumpeters – one of whom was probably of British origin – accompanied Anna from the Danish court when she left for Scotland after her wedding to King James VI.⁵⁶ The known names of three more musicians serving Anna all appear to be of Danish/German origin.⁵⁷ Royal accounts in England note that the Danish musician Martin Sackoe/Seacoe was in Queen Anna's service, but that he returned to Denmark upon Anna's death in 1619.⁵⁸

English lutenists certainly found employment at Christian IV's court, particularly after James VI's accession to the English crown. Perhaps the most well-known is John Dowland, who was employed in Denmark from 1598-1606, initially along with Richard Bosun. Dowland probably arrived in Denmark as part of an official delegation from the English court, seeking to negotiate improved trade relations.⁵⁹ William Brade served three distinct periods, between 1594-6, 1599-1606, and 1620-2, and Thomas Cutting was hired from 1608-10.⁶⁰ These men tended to remain in service for periods of between two to six years at a time. There was also an English ship's trumpeter named John Baxter (Hans Bastier/Bagster), who served Christian IV between 1590 and 1601. He accompanied Princess Anna to Scotland in 1590, but reappeared in Danish records in 1597, then as a ship's trumpeter the following year, and finally as court trumpeter until 1601. In August 1600 he returned from a recruitment mission to England with four trumpeters: Thomas Knott/Knodd, Edward Lawrence, John Gudinn/Gudiem, and Matthew and Arthur Bettman (presumably brothers).⁶¹ Andrew Fenix was another ship's trumpeter engaged from England in 1606, and he served on a Danish ship sailing to the East Indies.⁶² The Scottish trumpeter David Drummond served Christian from 1610 until his death in 1622. Drummond survived a near-fatal incident during the Swedish-Danish Kalmar War, when his trumpet was shot out of his hands in 1612; he was later awarded 7 daler to replace his instrument.⁶³

Foreign musicians did not always settle into their host courts. Both Knott and Lawrence were sent back to England after three months, having been

56 Their names were William Rytter, Hans Bagster [Baxter?], and Gert Gertsen.

57 Hammerich 1892, 202. Their names were Peter Jürgen, Peter Stegemann, and Hans Lubbecke, and they all departed on 21 Apr. 1590.

58 *Records of English Court Music 1603-1625*, IV, 48, 206. Two itinerant singers of unspecified nationality – Hans Brachrogge and Martin Otto – were also in Queen Anna's service from 1611 to 1614. See Hammerich 1892, 221.

59 See Hauge 2013, 189-203.

60 *Ibid.*, 190-91. See also Spohr 2009 for further accounts of both Brade and Dowland's Danish experiences. Hammerich 1892, 40.

61 Hauge, 2013, 5; Hammerich 1892, 204-5.

62 Hammerich 1892, 205.

63 *Ibid.*, 206.

rejected by the established court trumpeters. Further, in the autumn of 1602, two English musicians from Dowland's network absconded with their wages, eventually finding their way to Venice; this probably included Daniel Norcome, who was noted as having absconded in 1601 after barely two years' service. Dowland obtained dance master Henry Sandon and harpist Charles O'Reilly for the Danish king's service, but their contracts were abruptly annulled when no longer required.⁶⁴ Some of these musicians have been termed 'agents', who were sent across to foreign courts in order to obtain specific pieces of information while performing. Dowland has even been called a double agent by some authors, because the Danish king frequently entrusted the musician with large sums of money, normally for the acquisition of instruments and/or hiring of musicians abroad.⁶⁵ Evidence of Dowland's supposed 'espionage' activity derives from a letter found amongst King Christian IV's secretary's papers, which indicates that Dowland rejected a foreign diplomat's request for information while on a mission regarding a fishing dispute.⁶⁶

The year 1620 saw the arrival of three English musicians in Danish service: Johan Stanley (who only stayed six months), lutist Christian Brad, and the return of violinist/da gambist William Brade, both of whom only remained for short periods.⁶⁷ Although not incontrovertible, this William Brade is probably the same as the abovementioned William Brade from 1594-6 and 1599-1606, who had latterly moved to Hamburg from Copenhagen in 1606. There was also lutist Thomas Cuttings, employed from 1608-10, and Thomas Simpson, an English fiddler at Christian IV's court from 1622-5.⁶⁸ Simpson remained in Copenhagen until 1628, after having previously been in the Elector Palatine's service (1608-15) and that of Count Ernst of Holstein-Schaumburg (1615-22).⁶⁹ Arne Spohr identifies a group of seven British Isles musicians at the Danish court in the first four decades of the seventeenth century: harpist Darby Scott (also known as Dermott/Diarmuid Albannach) from 1621 to 1634⁷⁰, harpist

64 Poulton, 1982, 58. See also Hauge 2013, 6.

65 Murray 2014, 33.

66 Hauge 2011, 199-200.

67 Hammerich 1892, 68-69. For a recent study, see Spohr 2009. Elsewhere, Spohr describes Brade as 'an English string player and composer'. See Spohr 2012, 33. Indeed, to some the viol was the 'English' instrument; see Crawford 1989, 44.

68 Hammerich 1892, 212.

69 *Ibid.*, 70.

70 *Ibid.*, 69. Hammerich calls him English, others claim him to be Irish. His name indicates a connection with Scotland. Thanks to Dr Colm O'Boyle for informing me of the Irish-born Scott family of harpers and musicians to which this Darby/Dermott presumably belonged. See Bunting 1840. The Danish Music Museum holds a painting by Rainhold Timm allegedly portraying four of Christian IV's British musicians. A copy can be seen at https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/4e/Christian_IV_s_musicians_by_Reinhold_Timm.jpg.

Magnus Maxi from 1627 to 1633, Alexander Gabriel in 1631 (who then entered Swedish service), James Roberts in 1634, flautist John Price also in 1634 (who was in Prince Christian's service but also spent time at the king's court. Price sought release and was allowed to leave for Württemberg in October 1634), John David from 1636 to 1637, and harpist Edward Adam from 1641 to 1643.⁷¹ Networks of musicians seem to have worked across the Continent, such as the English viol player Walter Rowe, who served three successive Electors of Brandenburg from 1614 onwards.⁷² Rowe's relevance to Scandinavia lies in Prince Christian's specific request for him to teach the Prince's own court musician, Alexander Leverentz, who was then sent to England in 1635 for that purpose.⁷³

Danish military musicians

Records of royal high-ceremonies in sixteenth-century Denmark contain references to military drummers and trumpeters, such as those who played at Christian IV's three-day coronation festivities.⁷⁴ Further, several apparently Scottish trumpeters served in the Danish military. Robert Drummond and William Ramsay, respectively, accompanied two and three separate Scottish embassies to Denmark, noted as trumpeters, in 1587, 1596, and 1609.⁷⁵ David Scott received an annual salary from the Danish crown between 1611 and 1617.⁷⁶ Although we know little of his background, his entry into Danish service corresponds with levying from Scotland for the Kalmar War (1611-3) fought between Denmark and Sweden. Similarly, of sixteen 'idle' men who were enrolled into Danish military service in Hawick in 1627, it is known that two were pipers, but their names have unfortunately not been recorded.⁷⁷ John Cunningham, on the contrary, was a court trumpeter at the Oldenburg court in 1630.⁷⁸

Christian IV had a particular solution to rewarding his military musicians: he ensured that those who had served in the Danish army and navy were subsequently employed as *stadsmusikanter* – town musicians.⁷⁹

71 After the Danish king had released Adam from service, in May 1643, he unsuccessfully sought a position with Prince Christian, who did not have the means to keep him. See *Prins Christian (V)s Breve*, vol. II, 750. For more on harpists, see Brochard 2013.

72 Crawford 1989, 50.

73 Alexander Leverentz initially served in the Prince's chapel but was described as 'musikus' on his travel pass to England. See *Prins Christian (V)s Breve*, vol. I, 11, 230.

74 See Wade 2004, 251-59. Three discrete corps of nine, twelve, and fifteen trumpeters took part, in addition to various drummers and six 'instrumentalists'.

75 Riis 1988, vol. II, 72; NRS, E 21/65, ff.126v-127v; E 21/71, ff.58v-59r.

76 Riis 1988, vol. II, 73.

77 *Ibid.*, vol. I, 103.

78 *Ibid.*, vol. II, 59.

79 Koudal 2000, 107.

Town musicians were formally appointed by town magistrates and, for a paltry fee, were responsible, along with the town organist, for church music and ceremonial duties. They even held the privilege for private performances for the burgesses and their families.⁸⁰ The situation was rather different in Sweden.

Military Musicians in Sweden

Musicians in Swedish royal service had been divided into two groups from the 1520s onwards: those who played at the court, including minstrels and heralds' trumpeters, and those who served on the battlefield. The continuous service of Scottish soldiers and officers in the Swedish army naturally resulted in their participation as martial musicians. A route for royal musical service had already been established and may have facilitated Scottish engagement as martial trumpeters and drummers, in addition to being diplomatic servants on various embassies (mostly from Scotland to Scandinavia).

Gustav I was the first Swedish king to establish a standing Swedish army for which he specified that there were to be two to four 'instrumentalists' – namely pipers and drummers – in each unit of infantry comprising 500 men. Further, the cavalry and royal lifeguard also had pipers and drummers specifically appointed to each unit. Thus, there were differences between the types of instruments appointed to the infantry and cavalry; the former had simple pipes and drums whilst the latter had kettledrums and trumpets, which had enjoyed higher status since the medieval period.

The musicians of the royal lifeguard went on to form the core of the royal court orchestra. King Gustav II Adolf refined the infantry so that each regiment consisted of twenty-four companies, each of which included a piper and two drummers, and this remained in place until 1833. Although consistent information on the amount of money these individuals were paid is lacking, it was recorded in 1598 that pipers and drummers each received 4 daler and 7 'lengths of cloth from Munster' in annual salary.⁸¹ Just over thirty years later, the contemporary military manual *The Swedish Discipline* noted that the Swedish king awarded every drummer and piper in each company of a Swedish regiment 4 riksdaler monthly, approximately equivalent to £1 sterling.⁸² Thus, ordinances established in the previous century were still being maintained, and it was not until 1645 that the weekly salary in the lifeguard was finally raised to 5 daler.

80 Andersson 2006, 238.

81 Strand 1972.

82 *The Swedish Discipline*, 76.

Martial drummers and trumpeters tended to serve as signals, and Sir Thomas Kellie's *Pallas Armata* contains detail as to how drummers, in particular, were to be used in marching.⁸³ Their remit also included letter-bearing, as Monro described in his memoir:

...when either Trumpeter or Drummer is sent with letters or message to prisoners, he ought before he come neere the Guards, sound his Trumpet or beate his Drumme, giving advertisement to the Guards before he enter within their outward Centries, otherwise he is lyable to the highest punishment.⁸⁴

Furthermore, these men had an important role during off-duty periods on campaign, as described, again, by Monro: 'passing the night with a variety of merry jests and discourses until day, that either Drumme or Trumpet did invite them unto earnest'.⁸⁵ Perhaps the best-known Scottish drummer in Swedish service is Drummer-Major James Spens, whose private correspondence was erroneously archived amongst General James Spens' papers, simply due to their identical names. Drummer Spens' letters reveal much about the private life of military musicians, including choices regarding active service abroad and the networks they forged.⁸⁶ For example, after a fellow drummer decided to return to Aberdeen to take up a role as 'town drummer', Spens seeks to maintain contact with him there through his family back in Scotland.

The extensive seventeenth-century muster rolls held in Stockholm's military archives provide long lists of names and ranks with occasional notes of rates of pay. A few sample regiments were searched for military musicians and included mention of Spens both as a drummer in 1624 and as senior 'drummer major' a few years later. In the same year that Spens enlisted, two Scottish military pipers appear in separate companies of Colonel Seaton's regiment in 1624: John, whose surname remains undetermined (possibly a variant of Fraser) in Captain Robert Cunningham's company, and Alexander Mone in Captain William Gordon's company.⁸⁷ Both companies also listed Scottish drummers: John Cunningham and John Gibson in the first, and George Hoppe and James-John Benner in the second.

Six years later, in 1630, drummers Andrew Pemerton and Patrick McNear were listed with piper Nicholas Worlow in Captain John Innes' company, along with drummers James Duchall and John Brady and piper Andrew Watson

83 Kellie 1627, 16-19.

84 *Monro: His Expedition*, 341.

85 *Ibid.*

86 Grosjean, Murdoch, and Talbott 2015, 76-101.

87 See, respectively, KrA/0022/1624/8, f.264 and KrA/0022/1626/3, f.152. For the pipers see KrA/0022/1624/11, f.9 and KrA/0022/1624/8, f.267.

in Lieutenant-Colonel John Lindsay's company, both of Colonel Donald Mackay's regiment.⁸⁸ In 1631 the same company included drummers Patrick Kock and a certain Johan (family name unknown, possibly Sutherland), and a piper William Anderson.⁸⁹ It appears not to be unusual for Scottish companies to list drummers but no pipers; for example, Colonel Mackay's own company in 1630 contained no piper although three drummers were noted.⁹⁰ In 1633 Colonel Robert Cunningham's muster roll noted three drummers – William Tourie, George Robertson, and Donnache Vic McTonnathe (probably Donnachadh mhic Donnachaidh) – but also one piper, James Steill.⁹¹ Indeed, a random sample of the numerous regiments shows that many of the companies did include pipers, revealing that – like drummers – an exhaustive study is required simply for this one genre of musician in Swedish service.⁹²

Although not many references to military harpists abound, they are found among enlisted men: McNachtane's one-hundred archers who departed from Lochkerran in December 1627 included 'Allester caddell pyper', 'William steill pyper' and 'Harie mcgra harper'.⁹³ Donald Mackay's expenses while travelling with his regiment in the Netherlands include references to the 'clarsocher' (harpist) at Rotterdam, and 'Magnus, the clarsocher in Hag' (The Hague).⁹⁴ The latter may be the same as the aforementioned harpist Magnus Maxi in Danish royal service from 1627-33, although that remains speculative.

Given the number of Scottish regiments in Swedish service during the time of the Thirty Years' War, it can be extrapolated that hundreds of drummers and trumpeters, as well as some pipers, would have served on Continental soil, and some probably also found their way to Sweden proper.⁹⁵

88 KrA/0022/1630/37, f.194v and KrA/0022/1630/37, f.176r.

89 KrA, Viggio Key arkiv, muster roll for Colonel Mackay's regiment, 1 April 1631, Captain Innes' company.

90 KrA/0022/1630/37, f.166r. For similar examples, see Captain John Moncreiff's company (also in Colonel Donald Mackay's regiment), which included drummers Alexander Tood, Jhone Jarden, and George Clark. KrA/0022/1630/37, f.175.

91 KrA, Viggio Key arkiv, muster roll for Colonel Robert Cunningham's regiment, September 1633.

92 See, for example, in January 1630 alone, KrA/0022/1630/22, f.229: Colonel Alexander Hamilton's Regiment, piper ('pfeifer') James Logan in Lt Col William Baillie's company; *Ibid.*, f.237, listed under 1630 (roll states 1629), 'pyper' David Moffet in Sir John Hamilton's Company; *Ibid.*, f.249, listed under 1630 (roll states 1629), 'pfeifer' John Broun in Sir James Hamilton's Company; *Ibid.*, f.259 Col John Meldrum's regiment 1630 (but roll states 1629), 'peffre' Robert Hamilton in Capt John Hamilton's company.

93 Gregory 1831, 254.

94 Dunbar 1866, 182.

95 The Earl of Lothian's regiment in the 1640s – instead of company drummers – had company pipers, one for each unit. See Furgol 1990, 60; Sanger 2010, 21. Pipers' rates of pay were seemingly not laid down in the Scottish parliament until 1649. However, see Sanger 2009, 23.

Conclusion

In 1636 conductor Heinrich Schütz lamented the infrequency with which musicians were paid and the deteriorated state of the local orchestra in Dresden, revealing the debilitating effect of long-term warfare on the arts in the German states.⁹⁶ It seems that Scandinavia fared better, with an almost continuous demand for entrepreneurial and itinerant musicians throughout the era of the Thirty Years' War. However, little is known of the specifics of remuneration for musicians, and just as for military men, musicians' salaries could prove ethereal. For example, Christian IV's musicians complained to the king in 1627 that they could not live on credit and beseeched him to pay their salaries.⁹⁷ This was echoed in Sweden where employment conditions in 1636 were such that the council of the realm discussed protecting Stockholm's burgesses from the strain of housing and feeding not only court employees but also members of the royal lifeguard (which included musicians). The suggested solutions were to either increase the salaries for these individuals or for the government to provide housing within Stockholm's town limits.⁹⁸

Despite the scant information on the personal lives of these musicians, both in military and court service, enough source material exists to determine certain trends. Not only did musicians – and entertainers – form a regular part of seventeenth-century royal, noble, and military life, but the flow of artists was constant between courts and nations. The majority of Scots tended to be military trumpeters and drummers, whilst it seems that English, Welsh, and Irish natives more often populated the sphere of court musicians. The strength of the Scottish martial tradition is perhaps predictably confirmed, although the case of Tobias Hume appears to be a rare exception, much like the infrequent military harpists. Just like the early modern Scottish soldiers, merchants, and nobility who were active in Scandinavia, some musicians settled in their adopted home and performed lifelong service. Hopefully the ample scope for further research, particularly into the networks of musicians in royal service, will inspire case studies in the future.

96 'Musicians were paid only intermittently or not at all, and the orchestra deteriorated', in Haude 2002, 49.

97 Hammerich 1892, 192.

98 *Svenska Riksrådets Protokoll*, vol. VI, 28-29. Further cost-cutting measures that year included discontinuing the permanent post of herald and replacing it with an 'as needed' appointment. *Ibid.*, 601.

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