

Hansen purports that the early seventeenth century marked a rise of printed and copied music, but that oral traditions of the sixteenth century were implicit (p. 230). It could have been worth stressing that as far as musical structure is concerned, the sixteenth century relied much more heavily on notation than did early seventeenth-century monody. The contrapuntal textures even in the most simplistic mainstream of Italian music at the end of the sixteenth century are simply inconceivable without a logocentric (or, rather ‘graphocentric’) compositional point of departure.

Barnholdt Hansen demonstrates in the book to what extent there was broad understanding of metrical, prosodic, and rhetorical matters among aristocratic *nobili* of the early seventeenth century, an aesthetico-practical universe that is, in her view, shut off by a ‘barrier’ from the mind frame of most listeners today. This position, not uncommon among scholars of what is presently termed ‘frühe Neuzeit’ is potentially problematic. Just as one should observe tremendous caution in order to avoid ‘false cognate’ understanding of a historical current of ideas (a modern musical reaction does not automatically mirror a seemingly similar Florentine one c. 1600), one must take equal care to avoid exoticizing historical reception (a modern musical reaction does not automatically depart from a similar Florentine one c. 1600). In order to justify use of metaphors like ‘barrier’ at all, we must first identify distinctly idiosyncratic general aesthetico-practical universa of both contexts in question separately. In the case of early-modern Italian nobility, this is admirably done to a considerable degree in the book at hand. In order to conceive the nature of the ‘barrier’, however, one ought to identify also its equivalent with what is here called ‘modern listeners’ and ‘a modern audience’ (‘moderne lyttere’, ‘et moderne publikum’). This is not attempted in Barnholdt Hansen’s book. If it had been, one may venture at least two possible outcomes – firstly that the ‘modern audience’ is internally even more diversified than what seems to have been the case with nobilities of the Italian city states and, secondly, that a typical ‘modern listener’ of Peri’s or da Gagliano’s music would be considerably more saturated in Quintilianus and Cicero than Barnholdt Hansen tacitly seems to assume, both directly and indirectly.

The two last chapters include some analytical approaches to the repertoire figuring in the first half of the book. It is always difficult to expound the theory behind concrete representations of classical oratory in music, but Barnholdt Hansen makes a number of good points here. *Den klingende tale* is an interesting and well-written contribution to the growing literature on rhetorical aspects of early opera. Its attempts to re-amalgamate what is today regarded as separate disciplines (music, poetry and rhetoric) produces thought-provoking conclusions, increases scholarly comprehension and suggests directions for further research.

Mattias Lundberg



Arne Spohr

“How chances it they travel?” *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630*

Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 45

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‘How chances it they travel?’: With this question, originally posed by Hamlet as he was wondering why actors were on their way to visit his castle, Arne Spohr frames his astonishing study on *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630*. Having this question

in mind, the reader is guided through an exhaustive investigation of motives of travelling musicians, and so the book becomes a lifelike journey in their footsteps and their many different travel companions. Spohr's book contributes to the existing literature on the English influence on continental music in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but by focusing on the travelling Englishmen, the study reminds us of a group of musicians that till now lived 'in einem musikgeschichtlichen "Niemandland"' (p. 15).

Being an interesting account of cultural exchange between England and the Continent in the decades around 1600, the study also contributes to our understanding of late Renaissance music culture. This is the first book in extensive length to uncover how English music influenced continental music by involving Danish and North German sources. The Danish court was among the first to employ English musicians, and so Spohr's research focus on the role of the Danish court as well as the city of Hamburg as stepping stones for English musicians and for the development of Anglo-Danish/Anglo-German repertoires. In this respect, Spohr's investigations are ventures into uncharted waters.

Throughout the book, Spohr is concerned with providing the reader with the historical and contextual background to his topics. As an example, the second chapter outlines the preconditions of the music transfer between England and Germany in terms of social, institutional, and economical factors. The author demonstrates how the English 'vagrancy laws' limited the mobility of musicians in England in the second half of the sixteenth century. This increased the competition between musicians that wanted to obtain permanent appointments in England, and as a result of this, many musicians travelled to Germany where the possibilities of getting permanent positions were better.

Chapter three follows the life and doings of the English musician William Brade (as well as his sons Christian and Steffen), who during his stay on the Continent was an important mediator of English music in Germany. Besides bringing new information on Brade's activities on the Continent from 1594 till his death in 1630, the chapter convincingly depicts how this musician travelled between courts; how he adapted to the institutional conditions of his different employments; and how he grew in social esteem so that he at the end of his life was remembered as a musician 'who princes fought for'. Indeed, that music was a means of political power is further substantiated in the fourth chapter where the political connections between England and Denmark are outlined in order to show how music was transferred to Denmark through political channels, for example following travelling diplomats. One of the main concerns of the book is to emphasize that Danish connections to England during the reign of Frederik II (1559–88) and Christian IV (1588–1648) had 'weitreichende Konsequenzen nicht nur für die dänische Hofmusik selbst, sondern auch für die Verbreitung und Rezeption englischer Musik bei seinen südlichen Nachbarn in Nord- und Mitteldeutschland' (p. 91). Spohr's research reveals how the diplomatic contacts between England and Denmark were reasons why English music in the first place got to be known in Denmark. With the example of the English merchant John Stokes, who on behalf of Christian IV in 1599 recruited an English violist, the author argues that the King in this period '[sich] besonders für englische Spieler von Streichinstrumenten interessierte' (p. 131). It is not until the fifth chapter, however, that the reader is presented the fact that the King in these years was seeking out musicians through many other channels and that non-English musicians dominated the chapel (p. 202ff.).¹

1 The King had personal contact with other agents that are not mentioned in the book, like Alessandro Orologio (1599–1600), Nicolaus Zangius (1599), and Antonio Tarroni (from 1603), for the purpose of recruiting new musicians, cf. Bjarke Moe, *Musikkulturel trafik i København og Rostock. Musikerrekruttering og repertoireformyelse i første halvdel af 1600-tallet* (Ph.D. diss.; University of Copenhagen, 2010), vol. 1, pp. 67–92.

The main concern of the fifth chapter is to show how an Anglo-Danish repertoire developed in relation to how English stringed instruments and ensemble constellations were introduced at the continent. A group of English musicians at the Bückeburg court worked as a mixed consort with string as well as wind instruments. This 'English Music' differed from the usual ensembles at court by 'eine eigene Klangqualität' (p. 167). The second half of the chapter is devoted to an investigation of English ensembles at the Danish court during Frederik II and Christian IV until 1606. Spohr shows that Frederik II organized an Italian-German string ensemble in the 1570s, and that it was replaced by an English ensemble in 1579. The author argues that this ensemble – like the one in Bückeburg – was a mixed consort independent from the rest of the chapel. These English musicians left their Danish employment and travelled to the Saxon court, and so Spohr argues that 'Friedrich II. [sich] mit Hilfe seiner englischen Musiker auf der internationalen Bühne als kultureller Mäzen präsentieren konnte' (p. 188).

Christian IV is known to have been personally interested in music, and his early efforts in arranging his chapel is summed up in the fifth chapter. Moreover, Spohr turns to further investigations of how the King used English musicians as 'akustisches Machtinstrument' in order to show 'bestimmter ästhetischer Vorlieben und politischer Intentionen' (p. 193). With the example of Christian's journey in Northern Germany 1595 – the year before his coronation – Spohr reveals new information from Danish sources on contacts with foreign musicians. Moreover, the author argues that the King even in his early reign had an instrumental ensemble at his disposal that 'auch klangästhetisch auf neuestem Stand [war]' (p. 198). The author argues furthermore that the activities of the King in establishing the chapel acted as 'ein fürstlicher Sammler von Kunstwerken oder Bücher' (p. 201), and compares the chapel with the royal 'Kunstkammer'. The chapel 'stellte damit eine repräsentative, internationale "Sammlung" von Musikern dar', and in that way Christian IV had 'ein größeres und internationaleres Spektrum an Klangfarben und -qualitäten' (p. 205) at his disposal than any other ruler of his time. The Danish King is a key figure in Spohr's interpretations: his role in recruiting musicians is highlighted as well as his strategies of using his musical staff for promoting himself and to show off his power. One could have wished for a more balanced interpretation which took the daily musical practices at court into consideration. The Kapellmeister is hardly mentioned in the chapter, and so the reader misses an analysis of his role in these matters. As a comment on how the musicians took turns in attending to daily musical duties, Spohr concludes that '[d]er König nutzt alle ihm zu Verfügung stehenden Klangfarben und Affektpotentiale' (p. 210). However, it is unlikely that the King himself acted as musical leader of the chapel, and so the question is if he on a daily basis cared about 'Klangfarben'.

In chapter six, the author turns to Hamburg as an example of one of the major German centres for publication of English instrumental music. The point of departure is that Hamburg was an important stepping stone for the dissemination of English music in North Germany as well as other regions of Western and Central Europe. The author argues that William Brade and others were responsible for transferring English instrumental music to Hamburg and for the repertoire of the Hamburger Ratsmusiker. Brade's music was originally composed for the Danish court and the court in Gottorf before being included in publications in Hamburg. Again, Spohr competently guides the reader through the historical preconditions by depicting how this lively city attracted travelling English musicians. As Duke of Holstein, Christian IV regarded the free Hansestadt Hamburg as 'his city', and the musical connections between Hamburg and the Danish court are demonstrated with the example of the 'Huldigung' of the King in Hamburg in 1603. This event is described as '[e]in wichtiger Kristallisationspunkt im politischen und kulturellen Verhältnis Hamburgs zu Dänemark' (p. 250). It is likely that English musicians from the Danish court participated in the event. Spohr suggests

that the ‘Huldigung’ caused English music publications to be issued in Hamburg. However, the author does not relate this to the fact that successful publishers in Hamburg at this time made the city a centre of music publication even with non-local music.²

The seventh chapter deals with how the cultural exchanges between English and continental musicians influenced the new instrumental repertoire. By describing ‘die stilistische Eigenart der Musik’, Spohr examines the differences between music by English and continental composers in order to pinpoint how the music of one group was perceived by the other. The author demonstrates that the rise of the *pavan* in Germany around 1600 was linked to the activities of English musicians on the Continent, and through an interesting analysis of Valentin Haußmann’s so-called ‘englischen Anhang’ from his *Neue Intrade* (Nuremberg, 1604), the author argues that these pieces reflect the German reception of the English *pavan*. The main focus of the chapter is the Hamburg anthologies, which consisted of music by English musicians active on the Continent as well as music by non-English composers. Music by English composers that – so far as is known – were never active outside England was incorporated in the prints, too; Spohr defines these pieces as ‘authentisches Material’ (p. 305), and sees it as reference material with which he may compare continental pieces. Since these authentic pieces are only ‘fast identisch’ (p. 306) in English sources, it would have been interesting to see in what ways the material was changed through these German prints and how they were adapted to continental practices. An interesting account is made of Brade as composer. The author argues that Brade’s music is situated in a ‘Zwischenposition’ between musical traditions of England and of the Continent. Moreover, Spohr argues that Brade’s compositional innovations resulted in a musical mannerism through the transformation of English traditions.

The period covered is from 1579, when the English ensemble was hired by the Danish court, till 1630, when William Brade died. Since several English musicians were active at the Danish court in the decades to follow,³ this time limit cuts off a part of the history that has not previously received much attention. It would have been interesting to get ‘the end’ of the story. Why did the number of English musicians on the Continent decline and for what possible reasons did their influence on continental music come to an end?

Had the author considered the 1630s, the activities of the Danish prince-elect Christian co-operating with English musicians would have deserved further investigation. The viol player Walter Rowe, whom Spohr assigns a significant role as an influential English musician on the Continent, was in touch with the prince 1631–34. His five letters addressed to the prince (kept at the Danish National Archives, Copenhagen) tell us about their relations, but regrettably the author did not take the opportunity of investigating these further. In addition, that the prince-elect had contacts in England and sent off three musicians there in 1635–37 is left unnoticed.⁴

The book focuses mainly on musicians, and consequently English singers (they were rare on the Continent) are omitted. Thus instrumental music is the main concern even though instrumentalists by no means were banned from participating in performances of vocal music

2 See Esther Victoria Criscuola de Laix, *Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg, ca. 1550–1630* (Ph.D. diss.; University of California, Berkeley, 2009), 132–40.

3 These were Darby Scott (1621–34), Magnus Maxi(?) (1627–33), James Roberts (1634), John Price (1634), John David (1636–37), Edward Adam (1641–43), and Alexander Leverentz (Lawrence) (1636–71); see Angul Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1892), 214–16.

4 The three musicians were Alexander Leverentz (an English musician according to Spohr (p. 202)), Herman Hoge, and Joachim Zoëga. We know about their journeys from E. Marquard (ed.), *Prins Christian (V)s Breve*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Selskabet for Udgivelse af Kilder til Dansk Historie, 1952–56), vol. 1, 230, 239, 374.

for instance at the Danish court. In the wake of Spohr's interesting study, a further study on how English instrumentalists performed, say, church music as part of their employments at continental courts is needed. According to Spohr, sources from the courts in Halle and Güstrow tell us that Brade was involved in vocal music.

The author examines a large amount of Danish sources that so far have been neglected. For readers unfamiliar with them, the rather complex source situation should have been introduced. Many sources, especially musical ones, have gone missing over the years. Spohr states '[d]ass Musik der englischen Staatskirche nach Dänemark exportiert wurde, ist nicht belegt' (p. 118). This is probably due to the lack of sources – not because it did not happen, as he later suggests. Church music by English composers could easily have been adapted by musicians working in Northern Europe. John Bergsagel has pointed to the existence of the motet *In resurrectione tua* by William Byrd in the so-called Herlufsholm Collection.⁵ Based on their investigations of the Clausholm music fragments, Henrik Glahn and Søren Sørensen even assumed that English liturgical music could have influenced how music was performed at the main church of Copenhagen.⁶ Neither of these significant Danish collections of music sources is mentioned in the book.

All in all, it is a pleasure reading the book. One is carefully guided through the author's thoughts and plans of the coming text. Spohr brings his motivations into light and argues convincingly for his decisions. The book is based on a large variety of literature, and throughout the book the reader is offered excellent suggestions for further reading. The achievements of the book are that it is both based on thorough source investigations and frames the history of the travelling English musicians from an international (and even supra-national) perspective. Thus it brings forward new contributions to our understanding of cultural exchange in Northern Europe in the early modern days, and so it is highly recommendable for all music scholars – also those who are not engaged in early music.

Bjarke Moe



Erik Kjellberg (ed.)

The Dissemination of Music in Seventeenth-Century Europe. Celebrating the Düben Collection. Proceedings from the International Conference at Uppsala University 2006

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In 1991, a giant project was initiated by the universities in Uppsala and Rochester, lead by Erik Kjellberg and Kerala Snyder. The scope was to make a computer-based catalogue containing information on each manuscript of the collection along with digital scans. In 2006, the Düben Collection Database Catalogue (DCDC) was launched, and to celebrate this event a conference took place in Uppsala in September the same year. The catalogue is available online at www.musik.uu.se/duben/Duben.php. The sixteen papers from the conference make up the present anthology.

- 5 John Bergsagel, 'Foreign Music and Musicians in Denmark During the Reign of Christian IV', Anne Ørbæk Jensen and Ole Kongsted (eds.), *Heinrich Schütz und die Musik in Dänemark zur Zeit Christian IV* (Copenhagen: Engstrøm & Sødring, 1989), 19–24, at 24.
- 6 Henrik Glahn and Søren Sørensen, *The Clausholm Music Fragment. Reconstructed and edited by Henrik Glahn and Søren Sørensen* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen Musik-Forlag, 1974), 54–56.