# 'A DISCOURSE [. . .] OF DENMARKE', 1588

[Address Leaf]

A discourse touching ye present estate and gouuernement of the kingdomes of Denmarke and Norwegen, with a description of the said realmes, and Dominions appertayninge vnto them. written in September Anno 1588.[1]

[begin 1r]

Hauinge[2] been now twise sente from her Majestie into Denmarke,[3] I thinke it good, to wryte some discourse touching theise northerne kingdomes, and the presente gouernment of the same, in the kinge Christian the 4th his minoritie: for yat there is lyttle wrytten trulie

[1]Rogers's letters to Walsingham (dated 24 July 1588) and Burghley (dated 10 August 1588) offer some of same observations contained in 'A discourse', though not nearly to the degree of detail or analysis. The letters were initially intended as informative material for the English government but soon became preparatory material for when Rogers wrote the present treatise. To Walsingham, TNA, SP 75/1, fos 259r–266v, 274r–v. To Burghley, BL, Lansdowne MS 57, fos 79r–82v. Also valuable for background information is the detailed journal of Rogers's secretary, Josias Mercier, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Latina 10383, ed. C. Behrend, 'En dagbog fra en rejse i Danmark 1588', *Danske Magazin*, VI, 1:3 (1912), 334–344. Discussion of Rogers's mission in 1588: Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause: Denmark's Role in the Wars of Religion, 1559–1596* (Leiden, 2004), 200, 309–311; David Scott Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations and the Protestant Cause: Elizabethan Foreign Policy and Pan-Protestantism* (London, 2013), 123–124, nn. on 202–203; Arthur Slavin, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen, 1588: Mission and memory', in Malcolm R. Thorp and Arthur J. Slavin (eds), *Politics, Religion and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of De Lamar Jensen* (Kirksville, MO, 1994), 245–266, to be used with caution. Brief mention in Edward P. Cheyney, 'England and Denmark in the later days of Queen Elizabeth', *Journal of Modern History*, 1:1 (1929), 9–39.

[2]Upper left margin, Rogers's hand: 'Septemb 1588'.

[3]Elizabeth sent Rogers to Denmark the previous year to discuss with Frederik II issues including a Scottish marriage alliance and the Protestant alliance to support the Huguenots in France. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 285–288. Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 120–122, nn. on 201–202). Briefly mentioned in Slavin, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen', 259. Rogers had previously been to Denmark with Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby, during the latter's mission of 1585, when he wrote 'suche consideratione concearninge the negociation of Denmarke and Germany' for Walsingham. Rogers to Walsingham, 24 October 1585, TNA, SP 12/183, fo. 152r; cited incorrectly by Slavin. The use of 'her Majestie' rather than 'your Majestie' (here and below) suggests Rogers's account was not 'intended for presentation to the queen', as Slavin speculates, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen', 264.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of theise kingdomes, besides that false bruites are spread of them, euen by such as persuade they know somewhat[.][4] wherein I thinke it best, first of all, to Consider the titles of the kinge, and afterward to treate in order of the Dominions, from whence he receaueth his titles.[5] He wryteth himselfe king of Denmarke, Norway, of the Gothes, and Vandales, Duke of Sleswicke, Holste, Stormar, and Dytmarsen, Counte of Oldenburghe and Delmenhurste[.][6] as for Denmarke, it is a greater Cuntrey, and better inhabited, then hitherto hath been putt in printe, and but slenderlie expressed in geographicall Cardes:[7] which is deuided into 3 principall portions, viz: into Jutia, and Certaine other faire Islandes, and the Country called Schonia. Jutia[8] or Jutlande which of some wryters is called Cismarnia Dania, is a Cuntrey from whence the Englishmen came first of all into great Britannie, in which Jutia is a shire at this time Called Angleheme,[9] which is to say, the habitacion of Englishmen, which is also deuided from the Dukedome

[4]Rogers may have had in mind the pro-Swedish account culled from Sebastian Münster, *The Description of Swedland, Gotland, and Finland [. . .] the moste horrible and incredible tiranny of the second Christiern, kyng of Denmarke, agaynst the Swecians* (London, 1561) (STC 18662); Early English Books Online incorrectly dates this description to 1581, but the printer, John Awdely, died in 1575, and both the title page and colophon clearly record 1561 as the year of publication. From a more geographic perspective, the 'hydrographer' Robert Norman translated Cornelis Antoniszoon's survey for sailors as *The safegard of Sailers, or great Rutter, Concerning the Courses, Distances, Depthes, Soundings, Floudes and Ebbes* [. . .] *of England, Fraunce* [. . .] *and the Soundes of Denmarke* (London, 1584) (STC 21545), with subsequent printings in 1587 and several times in the 17th c.

[5]Left margin, 'The kinge of Denmarkes titles and Dominions.'

[6]The recently deceased King Frederik II included at the head of his missives to Elizabeth his full title: *Fridericvs Secundus Dei gratia, Daniae, Norvagiae, Vandalorum Gottorumque Rex: Dux Slesuici, Holsatiae, Stormariae ac Ditmarsiae, Comes in Oldenburg & Delmenhorst*. Example from Frederik to Elizabeth, 26 January 1588, TNA, SP 75/1, fo. 249r.

[7]It is rare to find Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (Antwerp, 1570) described as 'slenderlie' depicting a region, which included the 'Daniae Regni Typvs' along with a brief description of Denmark at fo. 21 (culled from Saxo Grammaticus, whose Danish history had been published in Latin in Basle in 1534 and would be again in Frankfurt am Main in 1576 [VD16 S 2049–2050]), followed by a map and short description of Prussia and the Ditmarschen, or 'Thietmarsia' at fo. 22r. See Figure 4. Rogers was not only aware of Ortelius's work; he contributed the Latin epigram to its preface, and he dedicated several poems to Ortelius and his work. HEHL, HM 31188, fos 99v, 117r, 192r, 239r–241r. Additionally, Rogers and Ortelius were kinsmen and corresponded regularly. J.A. van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers, and the Leiden Humanists* (Leiden and London, 1962), 19–22. Ortelius's atlas was not translated into English until its 'epitome' and full version were printed in the early 17th c. (STC 18855–18857).

[8]Left margin, 'Jutia. The firste parte of Denmarke.' Mercier considered Jutland one of four principal areas (*Dania in quatuor maxime partes diuidatur*), and described these territories in his entry for 23 July. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 340–342.

[9]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Angelhem.' Rogers here follows Caspar Peucer, who followed Tacitus (though according to Ptolemy, the *Angli* [. . .] *sunt gens maxima in mediterraneis*). Philip Melanchthon and Caspar Peucer, *Chronicon Carionis* (Wittenberg, 1580) (VD16 M 2718), sigs diiiv, ciiv (*sic*, but should be eiiv), esp. Ccir (p. 301), noting the coming of the

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

of Holste, by the riuer called Eidora.[10] The Cuntrey is most fertile, and contayneth 28 Townes[,] 4 Bishoprickes[,] 14 monasteries, and 20 princelie Castles, vnto which the king is wonte oftentimes to resorte, keeping his Court in them. This Cuntrey doth yeild aboue fiftie Thowsand oxen, and horses, yerelie, which are carried ouer into Germanie, paying for Custome,[11] vnto the kinge, for euerie one, a Dollar, and hath euerie yere aboue an hundred thowsand hogges of Th'inhabitauntes of Jutia, where the Boores[12] are verie slaues, as they are in most places, in the Dominions of the king of Denmarke: which are wonte to manure the Lordes groundes, and at all times must be readie to serue their masters, whensoeuer they are Commaunded to bring wood, to carrie stones, and other seruile offices, at their owne Charges, being bound to yeild in steed of annuall rentes, a certein number of hogges yerelie, and likewise a proporcion of Corne. In manie places of Jutia and Holsatia the king receaueth yerelie of the Boores for euerie hogge viij$^{s}$ lubecke, which maketh in English money xv$^{d}$.[13] This Cuntrey on both sides hath the Ocean, and the Danish sea, called Mare Balticum, which the two riuers of Idora, and Slie, do make allmost an Islande[.] There are great store of wilde Bores, and stagges, which the kinge and nobilitie do Continuallie exercise, following and hunting them.[14] The rest of the Dukedomes of Sleswyke,

*Angli* to Britain: *Ab his in Pomerania nomen oppidi Angleem, quasi patria vel domicilium Anglorum*. During the late 1590s the Danish ambassador to London, Niels Krag, made the same point of Anglo-Danish natural and historical affinity. Cheyney, 'England and Denmark', 27. Modern Anklam (in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Germany) is likely the town in question, in which case Rogers was significantly in error with his geography, as Anklam is about 250 miles east of modern Tönning, which is in Jutland and lies at the mouth of the Eider.

[10]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Eidora fl.'; i.e. the Eider.

[11]Left margin, 'The kinges custome for the transportacion of Oxen and horses into Germanye.'

[12]i.e. husbandmen or simple country farmers.

[13]On currency exchange for the British Isles, the Holy Roman Empire, and Denmark (which was closely linked to the Hanse currencies of Lübeck), see Peter Spufford, with the assistance of Wendy Wilkinson and Sarah Tolley, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London, 1986), 198–212, 235–283; and Thomas A. Brady, Jr., Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracy (eds), *Handbook of European History, 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Reformation*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1994–1995), I, 671–678; see also above, p. 53, n. 21. As a loose approximation for English sterling to Danish *daler* or *rigsdaler c.*1600 £1 = 1 Danish rosenoble = 4 *daler* (which was nearly equivalent to 4 *Reichsthaler* used in the Empire).

[14]For discussion of royal hunts in Denmark, with specific reference to Frederik II's cultivation of herds on royal lands, see John Robert Christianson, 'The hunt of king Frederik II of Denmark: Structures and rituals', *The Court Historian: The International Journal of Court Studies: Royal Hunts Issue*, 18:2 (2013), 165–187; see also Simon Adams's contribution, '"The queenes majestie . . . is now become a great huntress": Elizabeth I and the chase', 143–164.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

(which is a peculier appanage[15] of the Crowne of Denmarke) of Holst, Stormar, and Dytmars,[16] are besett with huge, and allmost continuall forrestes, full of oke, or beech, for the most parte, in such sorte, that those Dukedomes in times past were Called Holsatia, which signifieth as much, as the breed of wood[.][17] a man shall not see greater fiers made in anie place, then which are made in theise Cuntries, where is to be vnderstood, that all Sleswick

[begin 1v]

all Holste, all Stormar, and all Ditmars, doe not appertaine onelie to the kinge[,] allthough he hath the best parte of theis Dukedomes, as Cheife of the house of Holst. For manie Townes and Castles appertaine to the last kinges brother, and more to Dukes Adolphes Children.[18] As for the Dukedome of Ditmars,[19] which was Conquered, anno 1559 by the late kinge, Duke Adolph, and Duke John th' elder[20] his brother, it was deuided equallie amongest them three, but Duke John dying 6 yeres past without issue, left his parte to be deuided betwixt the king, and duke Adolphe, the king receauing the better parte: so that more then halfe of that Dukedome, which is a most fertile Cuntrey, and allmost an Islande, apperteineth vnto the king of Denmark[,] where is to be Considered, that allthough theise Dukedomes do border vppon Jutia, yet three of them, viz: Holst, Stormar, and Ditmars, acknowledge the Constitucions of the Empire#.[21] In this first member of Denmarke called Jutia, and in the rest specified Dukedomes besides th'inhabitauntes doe liue most of all by their pastures, and grazinge, they are much giuen vnto fishinge, hauing plentie of fishes on euerie side; which Countrey stretcheth from the riuer Albis vnto Scagen,

[15] i.e., a provision made for the maintenance of royal children, consisting of a gift of land, an official position, or money; from Latin, *appanare*, 'provide with the means of subsistence', from ad + panis.

[16] Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Sleswick. Host. Stormare. Ditmarsh.'

[17] 'Holstein' and 'Holsatia' stem from the German 'Holt' or 'Holz', a wood.

[18] Adolf, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (b.1526, d.1586), fathered ten children, one of whom, Christina, later married Charles IX, King of Sweden. Adolf I, *NDB*, I (1953), 86; online at *DB*.

[19] Left margin, 'Ditmars conquered 1559.'

[20] Superscript addition in Rogers's hand. On Frederik's invasion of the Ditmarschen, which was not a duchy but an independent peasant republic, and Rogers's previous experience in the Ditmarschen when his father had been pastor there, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 36–38, 286. Elizabeth's acknowledgement of Frederik II and Adolf's virtues and activity in the Ditmarschen noted in Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 26, 166nn; Chr. de Treschow, *Contributions to the History of Queen Elizabeth Derived from Documents in the Danish State Archives* (London, 1871), 17.

[21] The hash refers to the note in the margin: '# The foure Bishoprickes of Jutia are these: Ripe, Arhous: Alburgh, and Wiburgh.' See below, p. 122, n. 70.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

a promontorie ouer against Norway aboue 300 English miles.[22] The second parte of Denmarke[23] conteyneth manie faire Islandes, as are Fionia, Zelandia, Fimbria, Alsen, Falstria, Lolandia, Langlandia, Bornholmia, Huena &c. amongest which, Zealand is the Cheifest,[24] which Island Contayneth in length 60 English miles, and 50 in breadth[.] it hath 13 Cities and 7 Castles, which belonge vnto the king of Denmarke, and 700 parishes. In this island is the Cheefe Towne[25] of all Denmarke, called in latin Hafnia, in the Dutch and Denmarke tongue tongue, Copenhagen, which is as much as to say, the merchauntes hauen, because it is verie Conuenient for merchauntes to trade in; where the king of Denmarke[26] for the most parte, keepeth his warlicke shippes 36 in number, which are better made for seruice, and also better appointed, then anie of his predecessors haue had.[27] In which towne, is an vniuersitie founded by Christierne the first, where the kinge, besides the stipendes, which he giueth vnto the professors, liberallie maineteineth an hundred scholers.[28] In the middest of this Island standeth the Cittie of Roschilde,[29] an auncient Bishopricke, which hath a verie Commodious hauen, and a Cathedrall Church, which is famous with the burialls of the Cheifest kinges of Denmake, where also the late king Frederick the seconde, with his father, lieth

[22]From the mouth of the Elbe River to Skagen (noted by Ortelius as at the 'Cimbricum Prom[ontorium]') is about 270 modern miles by the most direct measurement (i.e. latitude and longitude), and about 330 by modern motorways. For a later reckoning of distances in Denmark, see Jodocus Crull, *Denmark Vindicated: Being an Answver to a late Treatise called, An Account of Denmark, As it was in the year 1692* (London, 1694) (Wing C7426). According to Mercier, Rogers saw Skagen on 1 July 1588. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 335.

[23]Left margin, 'The second parte of Denmarke.'

[24]Left margin, 'Zelandia.' 'Fionia [. . .] Huena' noted by Ortelius as Fvinen, Selandia, Femeren, Als, Falster, Loilant, Langelant, Bornholm; Ortelius does not include Huena. Modern place names are Funen, Zealand, Fehmarn, Als, Falster, Lolland, Langeland, Bornholm and Hven (or Ven). Here and elsewhere it is evident that Rogers did not follow Ortelius's naming of the isles; rather, he actually travelled to most of them throughout July and early August 1588, as documented in Behrend, 'En dagbog'.

[25]Left margin, 'Hafnia.'

[26]Left margin, 'The kinge hath 36 warlicke shippes.'

[27]Mercier noted the number of royal ships as 40. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 338. On Danish military and naval developments, see Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 55–62, esp. 55–56, noting that 'the Danish approach to national defence was much the same as contemporary England's: a strong reliance on the navy, with relatively little resources devoted to land forces. [. . .] The fleet, however, was essential to Denmark's security and to the maintenance of the *dominium maris Baltici*. [. . .] As new ships replaced old, the size of the fleet remained fairly steady – around forty vessels altogether, not counting merchantmen which could be armed in time of war – during the 1570s and '80s.'

[28]Cf. Mercier's description of the University of Copenhagen, Fredrik's stipends, and the subjects taught in Behrend, 'En dagbog', 339.

[29]Left margin, 'Roschilde'; i.e. Roskilde, which Rogers visited on 29 July 1588. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 343.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

buried. There are in this Islande most pleasaunt lakes or fishing pondes, abounding with all good fishe: as there is one at Sieburghe,[30] most delectable round abou[t][31] besett with wood, wherein are the greatest and fattest breames that may be founde in Europe, and serueth alltogether for the prouision of the kinges Courte: there was in tymes past in the middest thereof, a Castell w[hich][32] the king suffred to decay, least in time of warre it might giue occasion

[begin 2r]

of rebellion. There are likewise in this Islande goodlie forrestes verie pleasaunte for the Chace, where the late king was wonnte yerelie in the monethes of Julie and Auguste to kill fowreteen or fifteene hundred Deare.[33] In the whole Islande[34] there is no towne more frequented then Elsenoer at this presente[,] where the late kinge builte a most royall Castell called Croen-burghe,[35] from which place a man may see right ouer against him, the Coaste of Schania not aboue 3 English miles distaunte; which Castle is situated after such manner, that being fowre square the sea compasseth 3 Corners of the same, which aswell for the pleasante situacion, and royall magnificence, as also for strength and reuenues, is the onelie Castell (I thinke) in the world where all the shippes[36] that Come out of Europe, towardes Sweden, Pommerlande, Pruslande, and Liuonia must paie tole, for such merchandises as they carrie and recarrie, with such seueritie,

[30]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Sieburghe'; i.e. Søborg, just north-west of Copenhagen.

[31]End of word missing due to tear in the MS.

[32]End of word missing due to tear in the MS. Søborg, or Rogers's 'Sieburghe', is simply Danish for 'lake-castle'; the ruins still exist. Rogers spent the night at Søborg on 4 July 1588. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 335.

[33]Frederik consolidated royal lands in this area of north-east Zeeland specifically for the purposes of increasing economic potential and hunting. Christianson, 'The hunt of King Frederik', 167–169; note esp. the Great Hunt of summer 1587 described on pp. 176–185.

[34]Left margin, 'Helsingora. Croenburghe.'

[35]Kronborg Castle, at Helsingør, was Frederik's most significant palace where English ambassadors like Peregrine Bertie (Lord Willoughby) and Thomas Bodley were entertained in the Banqueting Hall (the largest in northern Europe), by fireworks, great feasts, and heavy drinking. Rogers spent a fair bit of July 1588 there, too. Behrend, 'En dagbog'. Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 86, 100, 102–105, nn. on 189–190, 195–197; John Robert Christianson, 'Terrestrial and celestial spaces of the Danish court', *The Court Historian: The International Journal of Court Studies*, 12:2 (2007), 141. The castle and fortifications were built between 1574 and 1577, solidifying Frederik's position as gatekeeper of the Sound. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 140; cf. the account of Bodley's embassy, 228–230. On the construction, Otto Norn, *Kronborgs Bastioner: En Fortificationshistorisk Studie* (Copenhagen, 1954), with English summary on 47–53. The castle was immortalized for English audiences by Shakespeare in *Hamlet*.

[36]Left margin, 'Tole at Elsenoer.' The Sound dues (or *lastetold*) were Denmark's primary and ever-growing source of revenue often alienating Frederik's confessional allies in England and the Netherlands. For the development of Frederik's fiscal policy, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 41–42.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

that if the merchauntes doe conceale anie small porcion of their ladinge, all their goodes are forthwith confiscated.[37] There were 3 English shippes in Julie,[38] for Concealing of merchaundises, at my last arriuall thither, confiscated to the value of 6000$^{li}$ sterlinge, and the proprietaries themselues committed to Custodie, whom, with much adoe, I procured to be released, and their merchaundises restored.[39] *In summa*, that which the golde, and siluer mines, doe yeild to other princes, the same doth this Custome, beinge vnto the kinge: which of late yeres vppon occacion of the warre against sweden, hath been so encreased, that it passeth all measure, and is so Confirmed now by process of time, that I doe not well see, how it might be mitigated, vnlesse the passage[40] allmost ended from the riuer Albis into the east sea, by Wismare, were finished, which being begonne by Albertus Duke of Meckleburghe was after his decease staied and hindred by Duke Vlricke of Meckleburghe his brother, (who yet liueth) being moued thereunto, by th'intercession of his wife, which was a queen of Denmarke[.][41] And now the said Duke Vlricke doth not prosecute the worke, which hath Coste manie thowsand Dollars, by reason of his daughter now Queen of Denmarke, and the yonge kinge his nephew: some thinke he receaueth some yerelie porcion out of the realme of Denmarke, to abstaine from finishing the same, which by digging an English mile, and with farther expences of 2000$^{li}$ sterlinge, might be perfected, Themperor havinge allreadie giuen his Consente, and taxed the Toles, which in that passage should be paid, for merchaundise this way. Duke Adolph of late bethought himselfe, how he might make the riuer of Eidor,[42] running nigh his Castle of Gottorpe into the Ocean,

[37] For English commercial disputes and difficulties, see Walther Kirchner, 'England and Denmark, 1558–1588', *Journal of Modern History*, 17 (1945), 1–15. Cf. Mercier's thoughts regarding the toll at Helsingør on 23 July 1588. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 341.

[38] Left margin, Rogers's hand, '1588'.

[39] Rogers noted his activity on behalf of the English merchants, along with the observation on Kronborg that the 'Castell for the situacion, magnificencie, force, and reuenues, hath not his [*sic*] like (I thinke) in Europe, begonne and ended by the last deceased kinge', in his letter to Walsingham, 24 July 1588, TNA, SP 75/1, fos 256r–259r, quotation at 256r.

[40] Left margin, 'Passage allmost ended from ye riuer Albis into the East sea by Wismare.'

[41] Johann Albrecht I (b.1525, d.1576). *NDB*, X (1974), 499; online at *DB*. Ulrich III, Duke of Mecklenburg (b.1527, d.1603), married Elizabeth, daughter of King Frederik I of Denmark. *ADB*, XXXIX (1895), 225–226; online at *DB*. Ulrich had attempted to finish the canal in June 1577, even planning nine locks between Wismar and the Schwerin See, but work slowed considerably during the 1580s when finances became tight. For Ulrich's thrify nature and regional policies with reference to Denmark, see Heinrich Schnell, *Mecklenburg im Zeitalter der Reformation, 1503–1603* (Berlin, 1900), 275–280, esp. 278. Bypassing the Sound continued to be a 'worst comes to worst' possibility during the 1590s. Cheney, 'England and Denmark', 16.

[42] Left margin, 'Eidor fl:'; i.e. the Eider, which was intended to connect with the Schlei, which runs from Schleswig out to the North Sea.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and the riuer of Slie, comming out of the Danish sea by Sleswycke, vnto Gottorpe, ioyne together, where the grounde were to be Cutt, but one mile longe, which enterprise were most easie to be effectuated, if eyther the king of Denmarke would suffer it,

[begin 2v]

or that Adolphes Children were so mightie, as they might resist him[.] If t[he][43] two riuers did one enter into another, all such shippes, as were bent out of Italie, Spaine, England, Fraunce, the Low Countries, and Dutch-lande, for to passe into Prussia, and to the Narue,[44] would then take this way, & not the way of Elsenoer, through the sounde where the king may staie all the shippes, which from all Europe come that way. The last yere the late kinge staied aboue 600 shippes of Hollanders and Zealanders, in theise partes, and fined them at 30000 Dollars, for spoiling an Embassador of the house of Rantzow, whom he had sente vnto the prince of Parma, as also for that Th'estates had not onelie opened his letteres, but Counterfayled his seale, to send him his letteres shutt againe.[45] The tole in this place amounteth commonlie by the yere, vnto Two hundred Thowsand poundes sterlinge: But the last yere by reason of scarcetie of Corne, 6800 shippes, passed that way, which were worth vnto the kinge, Thirteene hundred thowsand dollars, which amounteth to Three hundred thowsande pound sterlinge[.] The last kinge perceauinge the sweetenes of this Custome, was wonte to say, that he felt this sound to be verie sound for him. They of Lubecke aswell in their owne name, as in the name of the Hanse Steedes, anno 1582 at the Diett of Th'empire, holden at Ausburghe, complained of the king of Denmarke for encreasing of the Tole to be paid in the sounde, but the king mindinge to declare how little he esteemed th'accusacions of them of Lubecke, and that he did not acknowledge Th'emperour for his Judge in matters apperteyning vnto Denmarke, sett a double tole vppon them[.][46] for whereas his Custome is to receaue an 100 Dollars for an 100 last, he caused them of Lubecke to paie 200.

[43]MS obscured at centre fold.

[44]i.e. modern Narva in Estonia, east of Tallinn.

[45]Kai Rantzau, son of Heinrich the Danish *Statthalter* in the Duchies, was serving as courier between Frederik II and the Duke of Parma during the king's secret but sincere efforts to mediate in the Netherlands. For discussion from a Danish perspective, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 280–282. For the English view, see Sir Thomas Wilkes's letters to Elizabeth, Leicester, and Walsingham, 19 January 1587, TNA, SP 105/91, fos 21r–24v; *CSPF*, XXI, part 2, 320–324, followed by the States General to Frederik, 324–325.

[46]Left margin, 'A double taxacion of those of Lubecke.' Representatives of Lübeck and the Hanse cities voiced complaints regarding Danish tolls, English monopolies, and Swedish machinations. See Josef Leeb (ed.), *Deutsche Reichstagsakten: Reichsversammlungen 1556–1662. Der Reichstag zu Augsburg 1582*, 2 vols (Munich, 2007), I, 606, 624–5; II, 792–795, 843–861.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

But the yere following at the baptisme of his youngest sonne John, he receaued them of Lubecke into fauor againe, and did exacte no more of them, then of the rest of the Cytties. Besides this, I know that the king hath aboue fiftie Thowsande pound sterlinge yerelie for the tole ~~of~~, which he receaueth for Hamburgh and Rostock beare[47] (with which, all his kingdomes and dominions are serued) adding such money, as he receaueth for licencinge of oxen and horses to be transported out of his Countries into Germanie. There is another small Islande called Huena[48] about 6 English miles distaunte from Croneburghe, most pleasantelie situated, which is rounde, and about 2 English miles in length, and 6 in Compasse, where a gentleman of an auncient house called Ticho Brahe,[49] verie well seen in Alcumie, but especiallie excellinge in Astronomie, and all the mathematicall sciences: where this gentleman, as in a place most fitt for celestiall obseruacions, hath erected singuler instrumentes, to obserue the Courses

[begin 3r]

of the celestiall bodies, the like whereof were neuer heretofore so fyttlie framed, sparing no coast or trauell that way: who is a man not vnworthy here to be spoken of, and remembred. Next vnto Zealande, in greatenes and riches, is another Islande called Fionia,[50] not alltogether so greate as Zealande[,] but a most fertile Islande, and full of townes where manie merchauntes doe inhabite. The king hath 4 Castles in the said Islande, besides Rugarde,[51] where he was wonte, especiallie to keepe his Courte, at his Comming into the saide Island. Gentlemen dwell here in great number, partelie for the pleasauntenes of the aire and soile, partelie for the number of woodes and forrestes,

[47]Left margin, 'Tole for Rostock & Hamburgh beare.'; i.e. beer. The same phrase occurs in Rogers's letters to Walsingham and Burghley.

[48]Left margin, 'Huena'; i.e. Hven (or Ven).

[49]Left margin, 'Ticho Brahe'. Rogers visted Hven and Brahe's Uraniborg on 9 July; see Mercier's glowing description in Behrend, 'En dagbog', 337–338. Rogers also noted his meeting Brahe when en route from Kronborg to Copenhagen (where he arrived on 10 July) in his first letter to Walsingham, 24 July 1588, TNA, SP 75/1, fo. 258r. King James VI of Scotland also later visited Brahe in March 1590. David Stevenson, *Scotland's Last Royal Wedding: The Marriage of James VI and Anne of Denmark* (Edinburgh, 1997), 50–51. The standard biography is Victor E. Thoren, *The Lord of Uraniborg: A Biography of Tycho Brahe* (Cambridge, 1990). See also Hans Raeder, Elis Strömgren, and Bengt Strömgren (trans and eds), *Tycho Brahe's Description of his Instruments and Scientific Work: As Given in Astronomiae Instauratae Mechanica (Wandesburgi 1598)* (Copenhagen, 1946); John Robert Christianson, *On Tycho's Island: Tycho Brahe, Science, and Culture in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2000); his works and correspondence, *Tychonis Brahe Dani Opera Omnia*, J.L.E. Dreyer (ed.), 15 vols (Copenhagen, 1913–1929; repr. Amsterdam, 1972); on Brahe in Frederik's service, Christianson, *On Tycho's Island*, 7–27; Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 80.

[50]Left margin, 'Fionia'; i.e. Funen (or Fyn); cf. Ortelius's 'Fvinen'.

[51]Left margin, 'Rugarde'; i.e. Rugård, about 10 miles north-west of Odense.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

where they wante no hunting of stagges, wolfes, foxes, and hares. In the middest thereof is the cittie of Ottenzee,[52] which in times past was a famous Bishopricke. To this Islande belonge manie other Islandes, all fruitfull and inhabited; besides two other, which are not farre from Zealand, and situated towardes the south, called Lolandia and Falstria,[53] which are most fertile, and allotted to the presente Queen for her Dowrie, wherein are goodlie Townes, and Castles, faire pastures, good Corne, and great aboundance of huge woodes, which lie ouer against the Queenes father, the Duke of Meckleburghes, landes. Fimbria,[54] for the fertilitie of the grounde, is inferior to none, so full of howses as is possible to beare. It hath 4 parishes, to witt Landtkirche, Burghe, Petersdorfe, Badendorfe. Burgh is a proper Towne, not farre from whence, is the Castell of Glambecke apperteyning to Duke Phillip of Holste, sonne vnto Duke Adolph[u]s[,] which Island is verie populous[.] Alsen,[55] a goodlie Islande 16 miles longe 8 miles broad, in which Island is Sunderburgh a towne and Castell of the same name, besides Norburgh, Osterhollem, Holle, Gammelgaart, it hath 13 parishes, verie well frequented, full of goodlie woodes, wherefore great abundance of stagges is there[.] all this Island apperteineth to Duke John the last kinges brother, who hath bought from the gentlemen which dwellt in the said Island, their possessions: he paid vnto Hans Blome a gentleman,[56] for such lordshippes as he had in this Island, an hundred sixtie six thousand Dollars, which summe maketh in English money Thirtie seauen Thowsand pound sterlinge. Langeland[57] another Island hath 30 miles in length, in which is the Towne of Rutcopinge, and the kinges Castle Called Tranker, which Island hath 16 parishes. Lessoe,[58] an Island of 12 miles longe, which hath 3 parishes, and hath goodlie woodes. Tassinga[59] which hath not pass 4 miles in length, but is very fertile, in which [is] the lordship of

[52]Left margin, 'Ottenzea'; i.e. Odense, established as a bishopric in 988 during the period of Danish diocesan organization. Eljas Orrman, 'Church and society', in *CHS*, I, 421–462.

[53]Left margin, 'Lolandia. Fastria'; i.e. Lolland and Falster; cf. Ortelius's 'Lollant' and 'Falster'. Mercier noted on 23 July 1588 that Lolland and Falster were part of the queen's dowry. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 341.

[54]Left margin, 'Fimbria'; i.e. Fehmarn; cf. Ortelius's 'Femeren'.

[55]Left margin, 'Alsen'; i.e. Als; cf. Ortelius's 'Als'.

[56]Hans Blome (b.1530, d.1599), Holsteiner and German expatriate in Danish royal service, was later implicated in the political rivalry between the queen mother, Sofie, and the Rantzaus. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 192, 308; *DBL* (3rd edn), II, 266; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[57]Left margin, 'Langeland'; cf. Ortelius's 'Lange lant'.

[58]Left margin, 'Lessoe'; i.e. Læsø; cf. Ortelius's 'Leße', well north of Zealand.

[59]Left margin, 'Tassinga'; i.e. Tåsinge.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

[begin 3v]

Kettorpe, apperteyninge to the familie of the Rosekrantz and Rantzows. Bornholmia[60] neare the Coast of sweden, hath 30 miles in length, it hath diuerse parishes and villages, and a Castell called santwicke.[61] It was some times morgaged by Frederick the first of that name, vnto them of Lubecke, but was recouuered againe. There are manie other fertile Islandes, whose names I will onlie rite, for to describe them all would be to longe, which in diuerse Cardes of Denmarke are omitted: as are, Fare,[62] Massol, Sproe, Durholme, Fanne, Asse, Wedderre, Fee, Roe, Lintholme, Oem, Aggars, Ekholme, Toroe, Cioe, Strune, Arnae, Muncoe, Luoe, Moena, which hath diuers parishes, and the Towne called Stekoe, with the kinges Castell called Elmelonde, in which Island are most highe mountaines, out of which Th'inhabitauntes digge Chalke: and this much for the second parte.[63] The thirde parte is called Schonia,[64] which Contayneth two great shires, Halland and Blekinge,[65] which Cuntries are adioyninge vnto Sweden and Norway; which thirde parte of Denmarke is as great againe, as the two former partes, full of Townes, Castells, forrestes, mines of iron, all kinde of Deare for huntinge, riuers, lakes, with all store of good fishes, abounding with all kind of Corne, and beautified wth goodlie hauens. It is said, that it taketh his name of beautie, being more pleasaunte then the rest of the partes of Denmarke.[66] In this Countrey is the Citie of Londen,[67] famous by reason, that it is the Archbishoppes metropolitane sea, where is the fairest Church in all Denmarke: of which Cittie there is a prouerbe amongest the Danes

[60]Left margin, 'Bornholmia'; i.e. Bornholm.

[61]Rogers seems mistaken here, as the castle on Bornholm was called Hammershus, a key ecclesiastical stronghold from the 13th c. Medieval Danish kings occasionally gained (and lost) control of the castle from the Church, but it was ultimately ceded to the crown during the Reformation. Orrman, 'Church and society', 446. According to Mercier's account, Rogers does not appear to have actually visited Bornholm.

[62]Left margin, 'Fare, Massol, sproe, Durholme, Fanne, Asse, Wedderre, &c.'

[63]Moena; i.e. Møn or Ortelius's 'Mven', has white cliffs of chalk on the east coast of the island. The royal castle was Stegeborg, not Elmelunde, which was a church 5 miles east of Stekoe; i.e. Stege or Ortelius's 'Steck'.

[64]Left margin, 'The thirde parte of Denmarke: Schonia'; i.e. Scania, or modern Skåne, Sweden; cf. Ortelius's 'Scania'. Rogers's 'Schonia' appears a blend of the German 'Schonen' and Latin 'Scania'.

[65]Modern Halland and Blekinge are now separate provinces; cf. Ortelius's 'Halandia' and 'Bliecker'.

[66]Rogers's understanding of 'Schonia', as reflecting 'beauty', or the German *schön*, is a false etymology. 'Scania' and 'Scandinavia' are more plausibly linked to the Latin of Pliny the Elder and the Germanic stem ∗*skaðan*, signifying 'danger' and 'the dangerous land on the water' due to the reefs and sandbanks threatening seafarers between Kattegat and the Baltic. Knut Helle, 'Introduction', in *CHS*, I, 1–2.

[67]Left margin, 'Londen'; i.e. Lund; cf. Ortelius's 'Londen'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

in meeter, testefying, that their Londen was before the natiuitie of Christ.[68] In times past, there were 22 parishes and parish Churches in that Cyttie. Vppon the Coast of this Countrey, about Falsterbie[69] is great fishinge for herringes, which was wonte to be before at Rugen, and vppon the Coast of Pommerlande[.] But as the taking of theis herringes, was in times past in other places, and is now neare Falsterbie, so doe fishers obserue, that the taking of them is not so frequent here, as ~~it~~ was wonte to be: and that they be now taken in greater number, about the Coastes of Norway towardes Mastrand. I will make an end with Denmarke, after I haue touched one matter, which is, that the 7 Bishoprickes[70] of this realme, wherof fowre I haue specified to be in Jutlande, two in Zealande, and one in Schonia, were wonte to mainetaine mightie prelates, which were in a manner Electors of the Crowne of Denmarke, of which

[begin 4r]

the least, was wonte to keepe, an hundred horses, all which Bishoprickes with their reuenues were annexed to the Crowne, by the last king and his father[.][71] As for Cloisters,[72] the late king hath Conuerted diuers to good schooles, in which he liberallie to his Continuall praise, and the profytt of the kingdome, maineteineth schollers, as in the monasterie of Soren[73] in Zealande[,] the principall

[68]The first written evidence citing Lund's importance is King Cnut's charter dated 1085 in favour of the cathedral of Lund, but it is possible that a previous oral tradition of verse and poems linked Lund to Uppåkra, which is just 3 miles south and dates to the 1st c. BC. Archaeological and historical work is ongoing at Uppåkra, with findings in Birgitta Hårdh (ed.), *Viking Age Uppåkra (Acta Archaeologica Lundensia. Uppåkrastudier 11)* (Stockholm, 2010).

[69]Left margin, 'Falsterbie. Taking of herringes'; i.e. Falsterbo, the south-west tip of Scania; cf. Ortelius's 'Falsterbode'.

[70]Left margin, 'Seauen Bishoprickes of Denmarke annexed to ye Crowne.' The four of Jutland were Vendsyssel (with Børglum the episcopal seat), Viborg, Århus, and Ribe; the one (not two) of Zealand was Roskilde; the one of Funen was Odense (Rogers seems to have been confused here); the one of Scania was Lund.

[71]King Christian III introduced an official, Lutheran Reformation from 1536 with a Danish church order following the next year; the order was then translated into English and appended to Jean Calvin's *A Faythful and most Godly treatyse concernyng the most sacred sacrament of the blessed body and bloud of our sauiour Christ* (London, 1548) (STC 4409.5–12). See esp. Martin Schwarz Lausten, 'The early reformation in Denmark and Norway 1520–1559', and Thorkild Lyby and Ole Peter Grell, 'The consolidation of Lutheranism in Denmark and Norway', in Ole Peter Grell (ed.), *The Scandinavian Reformation: From Evangelical Movement to Institutionalisation of Reform* (Cambridge, 1995), 12–41, 114–143. See also Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 16–17, 65–83. On the elective monarchies across Scandinavia during the late Middle Ages, Herman Schück, 'The political system', Jens E. Olesen, 'Inter-Scandinavian relations', *CHS*, I, 679–709, 710–770.

[72]Left margin, 'The kinge conuerted cloisters to schooles.'

[73]Sorø Abbey had been the most prestigous and powerful monastic house in Denmark prior to the Reformation, but during the 1580s Frederik sent his two sons (Christian and

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Island of Denmarke. As for the relligion[74] preached throughout the king of Denmarkes Dominions, for the most parte, it agreeth with the Ausburghe Confession, as lykewise in Ceremonies, saving that they be more moderate then the Lutheranes; for the last king could not abide the booke of Concorde,[75] deuised against the Caluinistes, by Certaine princes in the Empire, stirred forward by subtill persuasions of certaine factious preachers, which booke, when Augustus last Elector of Saxonie, sent by an Embassador vnto Fredericke the seconde, late king of Denmarke, costelie bound, and richelie besett with pretious stones, the king Cast it into the fire, affirming that the said booke would sett the whole Empire one fire.[76] The cheifest deuine, which is in theise kingdomes, is Nicolaus Hemmingius[77] a man of 76 yeres, verie well learned, and well affected towardes the refourmed Churches. Generallie in great Townes and places of much resorte, they preach not onelie in the Danish, but also in the Dutch tongue: and in the Courte, the king maineteineth preachers in both tongues[.]

Ulrik) to 'Sorø Cloister' for their royal education. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 224, 300. On Sorø's Benedictine foundation and later Cistercian development, see Kim Esmark, 'Religious patronage and family consciousness: Sorø Abbey and the "Hvide family", *c.*1150–1250', in Emilia Jamroziak and Janet E. Burton (eds), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400* (Turnhout, 2007), 93–110; Nils Hybel and Bjørn Poulsen, *The Danish Resources c.1000–1550* (Leiden, 2007).

[74]Left margin, 'Religion.'

[75]Left margin, 'Booke of Concorde.'

[76]On Frederik and the 'Book of Discord', Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 157–174, esp. 172–173. Frederik's burning of the book was well known in the Empire and was discussed among ambassadors elsewhere. See Bernardino de Mendoza's comments in his letter of 15 May 1582 to King Philip II after the former's conversation with the Danish ambassador in London: Martin A.S. Hume (ed.), *Calendar of Letters and State Papers Relating to English Affairs, Preserved Principally in the Archives of Simancas* (London, 1896), III, 361–362. For the situation in Denmark vis-à-vis Rogers's attempts on Queen Elizabeth's behalf to quell controversy in Lutheran Germany and build a Protestant league, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 55–79, nn. on 179–188). For an overview of the Reformation in Denmark (as well as Norway and Iceland), see Jens E. Olesen, 'Dänemark, Norwegen und Island', in Matthias Asche and Anton Schindling (eds), *Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Nordische Königreiche und Konfession 1500 bis 1660* (Münster, 2003), 27–106.

[77]Left margin, 'Nicolaus Hemingius.' Ten works by Niels Hemmingsen (or Hemmingius) were translated into English and printed over 20 times during Elizabeth's reign (STC 13056.5–13067), though his influence and recognition among Elizabethans has yet to be fully appreciated by modern scholarship. Hemmingsen's reputation in Lutheran Germany was split between Philippists who called on him as one of their own, and Gnesio-Lutherans who considered him a dangerous Calvinist. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 159–163. The only full-length study dedicated to Hemmingsen is Martin Schwarz Lausten, *Niels Hemmingsen: Storhed og Fald* (Copenhagen, 2013). Mercier dubbed Hemmingsen *Lumen eius urbis* [Roskilde] *et totius Daniae magnum* after he and Rogers met the theologian on 29 July 1588. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 343. Rogers, like Mercier, was wrong about the age of Hemmingsen, who was born on 22 May/4 June 1513, making him 75 years old in September 1588. *DBL* (3rd edn), VI, 247–249; online at *DSD-DBL*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

The Pope throughout all theise Dominions, is bannished, in such sorte, that scante is there anie that can remember (vnles they haue trauelled abroad) what the[78] masse is. This is also to be obserued, that if there be anie fastinge, for prayers generallie to be made thorow the whole kingdomes, the king himselfe prescribeth them, for 3 or 4 daies, to be celebrated thorough his whole realmes at one tyme.[79] And as for gouuernemente in matters ecclesiasticall,[80] decydinge questions about ~~of~~ marriages, and other like ~~questions~~ controversies, the king hath ordeyned a Consistorie, composed of the most famous deuines of the Cuntrie, whom the Chauncellor, and some other of the kinges Counsaile, with there aucthoritie doe assist, according as occasion shall require. As for the lawes[81] by which the realme is ruled, they are municipall, and follow most such ordinaunces as Waldemarus prescribed.[82] Norway hath some particuler Constitucions, so hath Jutia, and Schania[.] As for vsurie,[83] the king doth not suffer aboue 6 in the hundred to be taken. In matters of succession,[84] if there be manie brethren, the eldest is wonte to prescribe the diuision, but the youngest hath permission to Choose first. To come to Norway,[85] ~~being at~~ this[86] ~~least~~ kingdome doth farre passe in greatenes the kingdome of Denmarke, being at the least

[begin 4v]

Two thousande English miles in length, which Cuntrie hath 4 Bishoprickes, Nidrosia,[87] is the metropolitane sea which in times past

[78]Rogers has written 'the' on top of the original writer's 'a'. Note Rogers's attention to detail here and elsewhere.

[79]Superscript in Rogers's hand, here and below. On fasting as political action in an English context, see Natalie Mears, 'Public worship and political participation in Elizabethan England', *Journal of British Studies*, 51:1 (2012), 4–25.

[80]Left margin, 'Gouuernemente Ecclesiasticall.' On the use of the clergy to police public morals, the beginning of social discipline, and the first secular marriage law in Denmark, as promulgated in 1579, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 70–71.

[81]Left margin, 'Lawes.'

[82]For a brief discussion of royal legislative initiative during the Valdemarian age, with specific reference to Valdemar II (b.1170, d.1241) and the Law of Jylland, see Inge Skovgaard-Petersen, 'The Danish kingdom: Consolidation and disintegration', *CHS*, I, 356–360. For an in-depth treatment in a provincial context, see Per Andersen, *Legal procedure and Practice in Medieval Denmark* (Leiden, 2011), 71–203.

[83]Left margin, 'vsurie.'

[84]Left margin, 'Succession.' Cf. the discussion of inheritance in 'The State of Germany' on pp. 85–86.

[85]Left margin, 'The Kingdome of Norway.'

[86]'the' modified to 'this'.

[87]Left margin, 'Nidrosia. Bergen. Staffanger. Hammaria'; i.e. Nidaros (with Trondheim the epsicopal seat), Bergen, Stavanger, Hamar. 'Trondheim' is a derivation from the Old Norse meaning 'home of the strong and fertile ones'; in German (and late 17th-c. English) it was rendered 'Drontheim'. Rogers's link to the Druids seems tenuous.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

was called Druithem, which is as much to say as the seate of the Druides; to which Citie all the churches of Island and Groneland[88] were in subiection. Bergen is likewise a Bishopricke, a Cyttie with an excellente hauen, where the Hanse Townes haue their residence: Staffanger: and Hammaria: which foure Bishoprickes were of great Jurisdiction, and all now reduced to the Crowne of Denmarke; for the kingdome of Norway by diuers transactions, hath been made subiecte vnto the realme of Denmarke, by hard Condytions.[89] Amongest others in time of warre, they are to maineteine threescore shippes; a kingedome rich in pasture, but for the most parte nourished with Corne brought vnto them from other places, whose traffique maie easelie be restrained by the king of Denmarke. As for the profytt, which the kinge hath from Norway, it consisteth most in such toles, as he hath out of hauens, as Bergen, and Warehouse[90] towardes Russia, and in stone, and Tymber, whereof is great aboundaunce, for the making of Mastes and shippes[.] he hath besides great store of marble in the said Cuntrie, and by his officers maketh great profytt of diuers skinnes, butter, and fish of sundrie sortes, as Stockfishes, and herringes, which there are taken, wherewith also he furnisheth his nauie in steed of other victualls. To which end serueth likewise innumerable quantitie of bacon, whereof, euerie hundred is bound to sende at Certaine times, a certaine quantitie vnto the kinge.[91] At Warehouse the farther most Castell of Norway, the king keepeth certaine garnisons, trauelling as much as he may, to hinder the traffique of forraine nations vnto St Nicholas porte.[92] Against which hauen, in the beginninge of the last yere, he had great enterprises, pretending that one side of the said hauen apperteined vnto him, and that it were not lawfull for anie nation to passe that way, without paying Custome vnto him: which was th'occasion, that in the yere 1583 her Majestie was Contented, to the intente, that the merchauntes tradinge to Muscouia might passe freelie, to and fro St Nicholas porte, to permitt that 80 Angells shold be giuen vnto the kinge yerelie: by which Contracte it is to be feared

[88] i.e. Iceland and Greenland.

[89] Discussions of the Kalmar Union of Denmark-Norway-Sweden in 1397 and subsequent developments in Schück, 'The political system', esp. 683–702; Olesen, 'Inter-Scandinavian relations', esp. 720–733

[90] Left margin, 'Warehouse. Bergen.' Rogers's 'Warehouse' is clear in the MS, but other Englishmen referred to modern Vardø (the north-easternmost tip of Norway) as 'Wardhouse'. See, e.g., Hakluyt's *The Principal Nauigations* (London, 1599–1600) (STC 12626a); and more recently, Cheney, 'England and Denmark', 22, 34–35.

[91] During his embassy to Frederik II in 1585, Thomas Bodley sent Walsingham some gammons, though he also remarked 'I knowe not howe your Honour can like ye bacon of this country'. Bodley to Walsingham, 28 June 1585, TNA, SP 75/1/55.

[92] i.e. Archangel (or Arkhangelsk), Russia. Left margin, 'The king of Denmark trauelleth to hinder ye nauigation vnto St Nicholas Porte.'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

least the kinge hereafter will pretende greater right vnto these seas and encroch vppon Englishmen, that traffique that way, more then by right he could haue challenged; which trade of our Countrymen seemeth to be most necessarie for the realme of Englande.[93] As for the Islande of Gotlande,[94] it is said to be verie fertile, from whence the king tooke the greatest parte of such marble stone as the Chimneys

[begin 5r]

in the Castle of Croneburghe, were builte with; which haue blew vaines in them, which do much beautifie the marble[.] It hath in length an hundred English miles, & sometime was subiecte vnto the kinge of Sweden: but for theise 200 last yeres it hath been vnder the Crowne of Denmarke. In this Island in times past, florished the towne of Wisbow,[95] where was great trade of merchaundises. Not farre from this place in the yere 1566 in the warre betwixt Denmarke and Sweden, perished eleuen shippes of the kinge of Denmarkes, with the Admiralles shippe of Lubecke, driuen to the shore by tempestes.[96] In which were drowned 7000 men. This Island yeildeth great store of Corne, butter, Cheese, diuers skinnes, and furres, besides a great number of firre trees, with adundaunce of lime. Besides theise Cuntries, the names whereof the king beareth in his titles, he pretendeth right to other Islandes; as to Islande,[97] called by auncient wryters Thule, a large Islande, which he holdeth, and doth not suffer that fforryners may fish there, for linge, haberdine &c as in times past was permitted vnto Englishmen,

[93]The trade agreement was negotiated by Elizabeth's envoy, John Herbert, in summer 1583, and is best understood as a product of Frederik's investiture into the Order of the Garter in 1582. Burghley's notes of July–August, Elizabeth's letters patent of 12/22 October, and other notes of October 1583 all record the value of 100 rosenobles, not 80 angels, but the letters patent did address the issue of currency fluctuation. TNA, SP 78/10/35 and SP 75/1/37–8; *CSPF*, XVIII, 98–100, 138–139, 191–192. Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 86–87, 190nn); Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 188.

[94]Left margin, 'Gotlande'; i.e. Gotland, east of Kalmar and south of Stockholm.

[95]Left margin, 'Wisbow'; i.e. Visby.

[96]The Seven Years' War of the North (1563–1570) hardly resolved the perennial issue of the dominion of the Baltic, though Denmark renounced claims to Sweden while Sweden did likewise for Norway, Skåne, and Gotland. According to one scholar, the Danish admiral, Hans Lauridsen, did indeed go down with 7,000 men in late July 1566. Robert I. Frost, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlow, 2000), on the war generally 29–37, nn. on 42–43, storm on 35–36; Frost relies significantly on the most exhaustive study, Frede P. Jensen, *Danmarks Konflikt med Sverige 1563–1570* (Copenhagen, 1982). For the role of Lübeck and the Hanse, Jason Edward Lavery, *Germany's Northern Challenge: The Holy Roman Empire and the Scandinavian Struggle for the Baltic, 1563–1576* (Leiden, 2002), 88–102; noting the storm that grounded 'three ships from Lübeck and eleven Danish ships' but numbering the dead as 'dozens', 90, citing inter alia, Jensen, *Danmarks Konflikt*, 184–186.

[97]Left margin, 'Islande: called by some Thule'; i.e. Iceland. Among others, Bede followed ancient writers when he wrote of Thule in *De Ratione Temporum*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

to whom by plaine treaties passed betwixt Henry the 7th king of England, and John kinge of Denmarke, and Norway, it is lawfull to trauell thither for fishinge; requiring (which Clause is in the treaties) the said permission to be renued at euerie 7 yeres; which article not hauing been dulie obserued, hath giuen an occasion vnto the Danes to pretend that we haue lost our interest therein.[98] This Island is about 200 English miles longe, where are two Bishoprickes, Holen and Skalkolten, suffragante vnto Nidrosia, Th'archbishoppes sea of Norway,[99] in which Cuntrie they vse the old language of the Gothes, and resemble much the speech, which the Norwegians vse; in which tongue they haue of late printed the old and new Testaments;[100] from which Island, the kinge receaueth great store of linge, stockfish, traine oile, and plentie of Brimstone, fitt to make his gunpowder withall; in such sorte that he maketh great profytt of the fish of that Cuntry, hauing lett to ferme the onelie trade of fishinge there, vnto the Thesaurer of Denmarke, besides such quantitie which is sente from thence, for the maineteynaunce of the kinges Armada.#[101] He pretendeth likewise

[98]Treaty and articles of 1490, BL, Cotton MS Nero, B. III, fos 47r–56v; Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera, Conventiones, Literae, Et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica, Inter Reges Angliae, Et Alios quosvis Imperatores, Reges* . . . , 2nd edn (London, 1727), XII, 381–387. Extracts from the treaties of 1432, 1449, 1465, 1473, 1490, and 1523 in L. Laursen (ed.), *Traités du Danemark et de la Norvège: Danmark-Norges Traktater, 1523–1750* (Copenhagen, 1912), II (1561–1588), 616–619, note; materials relative to negotiations by John Rogers and Anthony Jenkinson in 1577 and Peregrine Bertie, Baron Willoughby, in 1583, 612–644. Cf. Mercier's thoughts on the agreement between the English and 'Joanne I' in his entry for 23 July 1588. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 341. The Iceland fisheries were a frequent topic of commercial complaint by the English. In 1577, precisely when Rogers was serving as Elizabeth's ambassador in Germany and trying to forge a Protestant alliance, the queen sent Dr John Rogers (Daniel's brother) to negotiate with Danish commissioners regarding several issues, but before he left London he consulted existing Anglo-Danish treaties in the Tower. See the bill he paid, including charges for writing paper and the Keeper of the Records' opening of the door, BL, Lansdowne MS 25, fo. 116r, as well as his report after negotiations had ended in August 1577, TNA, SP 75/1/3. See also Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 61–67, nn. on 182–183; and Kirchner, 'England and Denmark', 8.

[99]Hólar and Skálholt were officially within the province of Trondheim, but some degree of autonomy remained. For late medieval developments, Orrman, 'Church and society', 426–440.

[100]Gudbrandur Thorlaksson (or Guðbrandur Þorláksson), Bishop of Hólar, was responsible for the first complete translation of the Lutheran Bible into Icelandic. It was published in 'Holum' (Hólar) in 1584. Thorlaksson was also responsible for the translation and publication in Iceland of other Lutheran works, such as Peder Palladius's *Catechismus* (Holum, 1576) (USTC 302230). See also Paul Douglas Lockhart, *Denmark, 1513–1660: The Rise and Decline of a Renaissance Monarchy* (Oxford, 2007), 76; Olesen, 'Dänemark, Norwegen und Island', 73–75.

[101]Corresponding to the hash, left margin, 'In this Islande is a mount called Hecla, which continuallie burneth, euen as Aetna in Sicilia. Fabulous wryters affirme that the soules of damned men are there martired: But ye true cause of ye perpetuall fire in ye said mountaine, commeth from the source of brimstone, which is there in great quantitie.' Cf.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

right vnto the Islandes of the Orcades and Hetlande; affirminge that by old right they doe appertaine to the Crowne of Norway: which Islandes 600 yeres since, hauing been annexed to the Crowne of Norway, were morgaged by Christierne the first, king of Denmarke and Norway, anno 1469, to James the thirde king of Scottes, vntill fiftie Thowsand guilders were paid by him, or his posteritie vnto the said kinge of Scotland, due for the Dowry promised with Margarite his daughter, which was maried to James the third anno 1470 10 *Julij* as after in the geneologie of the kinges of Denmarke shall appeare[.][102] which summe of money, the late kinge, sending an Embassador, a° 1585° vnto James the sixte now kinge of

[begin 5v]

Scotlande, offred to paie, demaunding restitucion to be made vnto him, of the said Islandes, according as by his othe, he had promised to redemande them[103] being crowned king of Denmarke; at which time the king of Skottes aunswered that he had *reuersales literas*, by which he was discharged of restoring the said Islandes, which he was minded to sende vnto him with speed; as also to treate with him touchinge farther alliaunces. Since which time the said king of Scotlande twise sente his Embassadors vnto him, demaunding his eldest daughter to be giuen him in matrimonie, but neuer shewed anie *reuersales literas*, by which he should be discharged of restoring the Orcades and Hetlande, at such time as the king of Denmarke should offer paiment of the mencioned summe, for which (as I haue specified) the said Islandes were first morgaged.[104] And certaine it is, if the late king had liued, he would eyther by force or Couuenaunt, haue trauuelled to recouuer the right, which he pretended to the said Islandes. ffurthermore besides theis specified Cuntries, the king hath in his possession the Islandes of Oesel,[105] Curland, Wicke, and Mokneme, an Island betwixt Lifelande

Mercier's description of Iceland as an *insula ferax sulphuris*. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 341–342. Hecla (or Hekla) was believed to be the gateway to Hell during the Middle Ages, but Rogers's contemporaries, including Caspar Peucer, still believed as much. The volcano is still active. Sigurdur Thorarinsson, *Hekla: A Notorious Volcano*, trans. Johann Hannesson and Petur Karlsson (Reykjavik, 1970), 1–6.

[102]Rogers is a little off on dates. The Orkneys and Shetland Isles were pawned in the Treaty of Copenhagen in 1468 for 60,000 Rhenish florins, and the marriage took place on 13 July 1469. See Norman Macdougall, 'James III (1452–1488)', *ODNB*.

[103]Superscript in Rogers's hand.

[104]For discussion of the disputed isles in the context of Anglo-Scots alliance and Protestant league-building, Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 116–119, 128–130, nn. on 200–201, 204–205).

[105]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Oesel' (or Ösel); i.e. modern Saaremaa, Estonia.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and Oesel, from whence it is distant eight English miles;[106] which Countries he obtained by the right of his brother Duke Magnus, who marying with Basilius, the great Duke of Muscouia his brothers daughter, had the said Countries with her, whom the said Muscouite made to beleiue, that he should be kinge of Liuonia.[107] Oesel hath in length 60 miles Englishe[108] in latitude 30. In which is a Cathedrall Church of Prebendaries, which is alltogether incorporated vnto the Crowne of Denmarke. The king maineteineth a Castell there, called Arensburghe with garnison.[109] There are in the said Islande 5000 inhabitauntes, and about 30 gentlemen. It Containeth 8 parish Churches, distaunt from Lifelande about 50 miles English.#[110] As for the Counties of

[106]Curland (or Courland) is the peninsula west of Riga, Latvia. 'Wicke' signifies the bishopric of Ösel-Wiek, and here Rogers is following the German place name. 'Mokneme', the island between Livonia (modern Estonian mainland) and Ösel (Saaremaa), is Muhu, also part of modern Estonia. For an overview of Danish rule in these territories, see Jens E. Olesen, 'Die Hochstifte Ösel und Kurland under dänischer Herrschaft', in Matthias Asche, Werner Buchholz, and Anton Schindling (eds), *Die baltischen Lande im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Livland, Estland, Ösel, Ingermanland, Kurland und Lettgallen: Stadt, Land und Konfession 1500–1721*, 4 vols (Münster, 2009), II, 191–216; see also contributions by Aleksander Loit on rural areas ('Reformation und Konfessionalisierung in den ländlichen Gebieten der baltischen Lande von ca. 1500 bis zum Ende der schwedischen Herrschaft', I, 49–215;) and Enn Tarvel on towns ('Kirche und Bürgerschaft in den baltischen Städten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', III, 17–99). For chroniclers' depictions of the territorial (and more abstract) divisions in the region, see Dennis Hormuth, *Livonia est omnis divisa in partes tres: Studien zum Mental Mapping der livländischen Chronistik in der Frühen Zeuzeit (1558–1721)* (Stuttgart, 2012).

[107]In 1560 Frederik II purchased Ösel as an appanage for his brother, who complicated matters signficantly when he got involved in disputes between Sweden and Russia during the following decade. Magnus's troubled relationship with Frederik II and title of 'King of Livonia' discussed in Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 38–39, 137–138.

[108]Superscript in Rogers's hand.

[109]The seat of the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek was the cathedral in Haapsalu, which is on the mainland, not the island of Ösel (Saaremaa). Arensburg Castle (modern Kuressaare Castle) is, however, on the island, but it is not to be confused with the Elector of Cologne's castle of the same name in Westphalia. On Haapsalu and Arensburg, see Olesen, 'Die Hochstifte Ösel und Kurland', 193–197.

[110]Corresponding to the hash, left margin and bottom of the page, 'As for ye diocess of Curlande left vnto ye king by Duke Magnus his brother: for so much as ye last kings of Poland & Denmarke were in controuersie for ye same, both were contented to permitt ye decyding of ye said controuersie vnto Georg Frederick Duke of Prussia: who in ye yere 1585 brought ye matter so farre, yat ye king should receaue 30000 dollars, being not full 7000[l] sterling, & giue ouer his right, suffring his owne sisters sonne, Christian Duke of Brunswycke and Luneburghe to hold & posseede ye same, as Feodum of ye king of Polande: wherefore in ye moneth of July 1585, Bredo Rantzow was sent from the late king of Denmarke to discharge Th'inhabitantes of ye said Diocess of their oath; with which they were bound vnto ye king before. Afterward ye Cardinall Radzeuill, the king of Polandes Lieutenant in Liuonia did institute as inuest ye said Duke with ~~of~~ ye possession of this Diocess.' Details corroborated in Breide Rantzau (b.1556, d.1618), *DBL* (3rd edn), XI, 604–606; online at *DSD-DBL*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Oldenburgh and Delmenhurst,[111] he hath presentelie nothing out of the same, but being descended of that familie, vseth the titles and armes thereof, according vnto the manner of the princes of Germany. The said Countes of Oldenburghe haue had a Controuersie with the Countes of Eastefrizelande, for the territorie of Jeueren, situated vppon the sea side, betwixt Oldenburghe and Eastefrizelande, which Controuersy, because yat Jeueren hath of late been annexed, as a fee to the house of Burgundie was to be decided, in the low Countries; where the Counte of Eastefrizelande found greater fauor, then the Counte of Oldenburghe: whereuppon the late kinge of Denmarke, a lyttle before his death, tooke occasion to aduertise the Duke of Parma, that he himselfe was descended out of the house of Oldenburghe, and because that in time to Comme the said territorie of Jeueren might descend vnto his heires

[begin 6r]

he required, that the proces might a new be examined, which the Prince of Parma Commaunded, who knowing the magnaminitie of the kinge of Denmarke, and vnderstanding the right of the Cause, trauellinge that iustice might be done therein, he brought the matter so fare, that in August last sentence was pronounced for the said Counte of Oldenburghe.[112] The kinges of Denmarke likewise pretende, that they are lordes of Hamburghe,[113] and of Lubecke; both which are situated in the Cuntrie of Holste, and if the late kinge had liued, till the first of June laste, Th'inhabitauntes of the said Cytties should haue done hommage vnto him. At this time, the king being in his minoritie, the last kinges brother is like to be their Gouuernor, vntill the king shalbe Comme to full age.[114] The king of Denmarke hath throughout all his Domynions faire hauens,[115] and pastures, which is the cause that a man may wonder that his Countries haue not longe agoe more florished, then they did, which (I thinke) is to be attributed vnto the lacke of industrie in Th'inhabitauntes. At this presente, by reason that manie of the low Countries, which are fledd into theise

[111]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Oldenburgh. Delmenhorst.'

[112]See the newsletter from Emden, noting that commissioners from Brussels had instructed the Count of Oldenburg to restore lordship of Jeveren (Jever) to the Count of Emden (not the other way round), 12/22 August 1588, *CSPF*, XXII, 156.

[113]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Hamburche.'

[114]Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 290 notes that the '[d]ate for [Hamburg's] formal homage to the king was set for July 1588. [Frederik] would already be three months dead by that date; 45 years would pass before Christian IV would manage to force Hamburg into the Oldenburg orbit.'

[115]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Havons of Denmarcke.' See Antoniszoon's discussion of the Sound, *The safegard of Sailers*, fos 58r–59r.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Dominions, the ground is farre better manured, then it was, and the trade of merchandises in Townes much bettred. The Island called Amaggar[116] ouer against Copenhagen is alltogether inhabited by men of the low Countries, whose industrie is highelie Commended by the whole nacion of the Danes. As for Th'armes,[117] which the king of Denmarke Carieth, I thinke it nott amisse to adde hereunto; because I haue heard diuers of our Heraldes to be ignorant in them. for the kingdome of Denmarke, he giueth 3 blew lyons in a Champ D'or: for Norway, he Carieth a lion rampant, holding a halliberde in a Champ rouge[.] Besides he vseth in his armes, 3 Crownes, which was wonte to be the kinge of Denmarkes armes, when Sweden was ioyned vnto the other two kingdomes, in ~~vni~~ token of 3 vnited realmes. Moreouer for the kingdome of the Gothes, he vseth a lion with 9 hartes: for the kingdome of the Wandales, he carieth a Dragon; ffor the Isleland of Gothelande, a lamb Carrying a banner with a Crosse in a Champ rouge; for Island a white linge Crowned in a Champ rouge: for the Dukedome of Sleswycke 2 lyons ore, in Champ azer; for the Dukedome of Holste, a white nettle leafe: for the Dukedome of Stormar, a white swan with a Crowne about her necke in a Champ d'or: for the Dukedome of Dytmarsen, a horseman syttinge vppon a white horse in Champ rouge: for Oldenburghe, Barrs rouge in Champ d'or: for Delmenhurst, a white Crosse in Champ rouge: for the Island of Oesel, an Eagle.[118]

Generallie th'inhabitauntes[119] of theise Cuntries are stronge of bodie, tall, of good Complexion, verie like vnto our northerne men, of longe

[116]Left margin, 'Amaggar.' Ortelius noted this island as 'Anick' and its principal town 'Drackoer'; i.e. Amager and Dragør. After Christian II's visit to the Netherlands in 1521, the king invited a large group of Dutch farmers to Amager to supply produce for Copenhagen and to cultivate wet meadows. Christian II, *DBL* (3rd edn), III, 293–7; online at *DSD-DBL*. P. Holm, 'South Scandinavian fisheries in the sixteenth century: The Dutch connection', in Juliette Roding and Lex Heerma van Voss (eds), *The North Sea and Culture (1550–1800)* (Hilversum, 1996), 108–123, esp. 113–114.

[117]Left margin, 'The kinges armes.'

[118]The detailed description here includes three items not found on the royal coat of arms as used by Frederik II and Christian IV: a lamb carrying a banner, a crowned white ling (stockfish similar to cod), and an eagle; though these items were the arms for Gotland, Iceland, and Ösel. Additionally, one item on the royal arms is not noted by Rogers: a yellow cross on a blue background. The arms are depicted in Hans Knieper's portrait of Frederik II in 1581. The original remains in The Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle in Hillerød, Denmark; a reproduction is available as Plate 1 in Lockhart, *Frederik II*, following 122. Edmund Tilney's MS account of European regiments and topography still did not have the Danish arms correctly depicted when it was completed *c.*1597–1601, but he was fairly close. Folger Shakespeare Library, MS V.b.182, fo. 125r; cf. the later version completed for James VI and I, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Pre-1650 MS 0109.

[119]Left margin, 'Th'inhabitantes of ye kingdomes of Denmarke and Norway.'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

life, hardie, and able to take great paines, great eaters and drynkers, and good seafaryng men. Surelie all thinges well

[begin 6v]

Considered, the presente kinge after he shall Come to yeares, wilbe a mightie prince[120] whom Monsieur Danzey, (who hath been the ffrench kinges Embassador in Denmarke the space of 40 yeres)[121] iudgeth ~~wil~~ to[122] be one of the richest kinges in Europe; for that, besides he is not indebted, he hath great treasure in readynes, and spendeth lyttle, Consideringe that his Corne, fish, and flesh of what sorte soeuer it be, is so dailie prouided for him, that it deminisheth nothinge of his treasure, mightie of men and shippinge.[123] Being come this farre, I thinke it now requisite to adde somewhat, touchinge the gouuernement[124] of theise kingdomes, which depend not vppon succession, but vppon election: which Custome allthough th'estates of the Cuntrie doe obserue, yet neuertheles, they willinglie Choose, their last kinges eldest sonne, if there be anie vertue in him; or at the least, one that is next of blood, of the kinges famelie.[125] Oftentimes the kinges in their life times, haue trauelled to cause their sonnes to be elected kinges. As the late kinge Fredericke the seconde, foreseeinge the great priuiledges which the gentlemen of the Cuntrie haue, and to leaue the sure succession of those realmes vnto his Children, caused his eldest sonne, three yeres before his death to be chosen his successor in the kingdome of

[120] Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'The king of Denmarck mightie.'; i.e. Christian IV.

[121] Charles de Dançay had been the French legate in Copenhagen since 1548 and was firmly attached to (and trusted by) Frederik and his councillors. Dançay spent a good deal of time with Rogers from 11 to 20 July 1588 and proved an advantageous correspondent for the English. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 338–339. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 107 *et passim*.

[122] Superscript in Rogers's hand.

[123] Compare the comment on Augustus of Saxony's wealth in the account of 1569, pp. 71–72.

[124] Left margin, 'Gouuernemente of Denmarke.'

[125] Far from the absolute monarchy instituted in 1660, the elective monarchy in Denmark was nevertheless largely hereditary and the king held prerogative powers in deciding foreign policy. The king's other abilities were limited by a consensual, power-sharing 'dyarchy' between himself and the aristocracy known later as *adelsvælden*, and '[u]nlike elsewhere in Europe, the term "crown" did not refer to the particular interests of the king; instead, the king and Council together made up the "crown of Denmark" (*Danmarks krone*), and shared joint stewardship of the kingdom.' Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 26. On the 'death of government by consensus' and the rise of absolutism in Denmark, see the excellent overview and bibliography in Lockhart, *Denmark, 1513–1660*, 194–210, 226–247. For a historiographical survey, Leon Jespersen, 'Knud Fabricius og den monarkiske bølge: Nogle kommentarer til de statsretlige brydninger i 15–1600-tallets Danmark', *Historie* (1997), 54–85.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Denmarke &c. who at this presente hath the title.[126] The kingdome being gouuerned in his nonage by his mother, and especiallie by the 4 Gouuernors, of which hereafter I purpose to make mencion. Commonlie, he that is Chosen king of Denmarke, is also to succeede in Norway: howbeit, it is not enoughe for the sonne of a king to be elected the father liuinge, but is besides requisite, that hommage be done vnto him in 4 places of Denmarke:[127] first at Wiburgh in Jutlande, secondelie at Odensee in the Isle called Fionia; thirdelie in Zealand, at Rinsteede, last of all, at Londen, in the Island Called Schonia;[128] and so likewise they are to be receaued at Nidrosia, the Metropolitane Citie of Norway:[129] where, and in some other places of that kingdome, hommage is dulie to be done, for to succeede certainelie in that kingdome after the fathers death[.] whereuppon the last kinge toulde me at Hadersleben, the last winter,[130] that he minded to send his eldest sonne the spring followinge into Norway, and afterward vnto the Dukedomes of Sleswycke and Holste, there likewise to be acknowledged, as successor after him. In which Dukedomes the gentlemen haue an auncient priuiledge, that they are not bounde to Choose for their ruler, the eldest soone of the kinge, but which of his sonnes, it shall like them beste. Their histories make mencion, that the succession of the Crowne of Denmarke &c continewed in the famelie of the Waldemares, about 200 yeres. And certain it is, that the scepter of theis kingdomes, hath Continued in the famelie of the Countes of Oldenburghe (from whence this presente king is descended) for the space of an hundred and fortie yeres, as may well appeare

[begin 7r]

by his lineall discente, which I thinke good to sett here downe.[131] Christierne (which in the Danish tongue is as much as Christian) the

[126]Frederik took the initiative to secure the royal succession for his son after the failed assassination attempt on his life in early 1585 (known as the Sabinus Plot) and the failed Parry Plot against Elizabeth's the previous year. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 219–225.

[127]Left margin, 'Places where hommage is done vnto ye kinge.'

[128]i.e. Viborg, Odense, Ringsted, and Lund. Viborg and Odense were episcopal seats, Rinsted abbatial, and Lund archiepiscopal. Scania (or Skåne) is almost an island – a peninsula (if a stubby one). Neither Ortelius's maps nor Jordanus's depict Skåne as an island, though Gerard Mercator's later *Daniae Regnvm* (in his *Atlas*, Düsseldorf, 1595; VD16 K 2334) did connect two rivers stretching from Ängelholm in the west and Sölvesborg in the east. On Jordanus, see p. 31 and p. 134, Figure 5.

[129]i.e. Trondheim, the archiepiscopal seat.

[130]See above, p. 111 n. 3.

[131]King Valdemar I (the Great) acceded to the throne in 1157; his descendent, Valdemar IV (Atterdag), died in 1375, after which the Danish crown changed hands among several houses until Christian I, Count of Oldenburg, established the Oldenburg dynasty in Denmark when he was elected king in 1448, precisely 140 years before Rogers's treatise.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press






**Figure 5.** (Colour online) Map of Denmark by Marcus Jordanus in Braun and Hogenberg, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, Part IV (Cologne, 1588). Reproduced by permission of Antiquariaat Sanderus, www.sanderusmaps.com.

first of that name,[132] Counte of Oldenburgh and Delmenhurst, borne of the kinge his predecessors sister, began to raigne, being elected, anno 1448 who was kinge not onelie of Denmarke and Norway, but also of Sweden, allthoughe at the first they of Sweden did not admytt him, because he was not Chosen by their Common Consente; as their Custome prescribed. Betwixt this kinge, and kinge Henry the 6th king of England, was a league made, anno 1449° as likewise between king Edward the fourth and the said Christiern, in the yere 1465,[133] who died at Hafnia, anno 1481[,] leauing 3 Children, of which John[134] being the eldest, succeeded his father in all the 3 kingdomes; and was the second kinge of this famelie: between whom and king Henry the 7th was Contracted a farther league, anno 1490°[.] his second brother was called Fredericke, who was afterward the 4th king of this famelie[.] The third Child was a daughter called Margerite which[135] was married vnto James the thirde king of Scotlande, anno 1470° 10° *Julij*.[136] John had likewise 3 Children, Frances who died being yonge. Christierne the seconde[137] who succeeded his father in all the three kingdomes, the thirde kinge of this famelie betwixt whom and king Henrie the 8th was made a league anno 1523°[,] who had to wife Elizabeth, sister to the Emperor Charles the vth who for his Tyrannie was depriued of his kingdome, and Compelled to flie into Englande[.] Afterward by the aide of his father in law Charles the 5th[,] Henry the 8th king of Englande, and the ffrench kinge, gathering together 24 shippes, trauelled to recouuer his kingdomes againe, but was taken prisonner by Frederick[138] the sonne of Christierne the first, anno 1532[,] after which sorte he liued 27 yeres.[139] Frederick, whom I obserued to be the 4th kinge of that house, and first of that name, was Chosen king of Denmarke and Norway, vppon the depriuacion of Christierne the

[132]Left margin, 'Christierne ye first of yat name, king of Denmarke, Norwegen, and Sweden.'

[133]For materials relative to the treaties of 1449 and 1465 (as well as 1490 and 1523), BL, Cotton MS Nero, B. III, fos 38r, 47r–57v; Rymer, *Foedera*, XI, 264–267, 273–274, 537–538, 543–544, 551–556, 560; XII, 381–387; XIII, 798–804; *Danmark-Norges Traktater*, II, 616–619n.

[134]Left margin, 'John kinge of Denmarke &c.'

[135]Rogers has altered 'who' to 'wch'.

[136]See above, p. 128 n. 102.

[137]Left margin, 'Christierne the second king of Denmarke. &c.'

[138]Left margin, 'Frederick the first, kinge of Denmarke. &c.'

[139]Letters and papers relative to Henry VIII's dealings with Christian II of Denmark in BL, Cotton MS Nero, B. III, fos 64r–118r; J.S. Brewer, James Gairdner, and R.H. Brodie (eds), *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII*, 21 vols (London, 1864–1910), III–V, *passim*. See also Martin Schwarz Lausten, 'The contradiction between evangelical faith and political aims by the Danish exiled King Christian II with reference to his relations with King Henry VIII', in Ingmar Brohed (ed.), *Church and People in Britain and Scandinavia* (Lund, 1996), 109–121.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

seconnde, after whom Sweden was seuered from the rest of the two kingdomes; he left 6 Children, Elizabeth, maried to Duke Vlricke of Meckleburghe of which mariage was borne Sophia, the late king Frederickes wife, presente Queene, and mother of Christian the 4th which now raigneth: then Sophia[140] maried to Duke Alberte of Prussia; Christian[141] who after his fathers decease, was called the thirde of that name, and the 5th kinge of that famelie, who died anno 1559°. The other three Children of Fredericke the first, were Called, John, Adolph, and Fredericke: John died, anno 1582 without issue:[142] Adolph died 2° *Octobris*, anno 1586[,] who was knight of the garter: Fredericke was made Archbishoppe of Breme, Bishop of Hildeshem, and Sleswyke, who died a° 1556°. Christierne the third of that name (who detesting the Cruelltie of

[begin 7v]

Christierne the seconde) woulde not be called Christierne, but Christian) had 5 Children: viz: Fredericke the second, the 6 kinge of this famelie: Magnus: John: Anna: which was maried to Augustus Elector of Saxony, and Dorothea, which was maried to the Duke of Luneburge. Fredericke the second,[143] and as I said the 6 kinge, by Sophia his Auntes daughter had 7 Children. Elizabetha: Anna: Christian-Fredericke: Vlricke: Augusta: Hedwiges, and John, whose natiuities I haue noted herevnder in a shorte pettie degree, to th'intente it may the better be marked.[144]

[140]Rogers is mistaken here. Dorothea, first daughter of Frederik I with his first wife (Anna of Brandenburg), married Albrecht of Prussia on 1 July 1526. Dorothea (b.1504, d.1547), *DBL* (3rd edn), IV, 19; online at *DSD-DBL*. Frederik's four children with his second wife, Sophie of Pomerania, were Adolf, Elizabeth, Frederik, and Hans the Elder. Frederik I (b. 1471, d.1533), *DBL* (3rd edn), IV, 523–525; online at *DSD-DBL*.

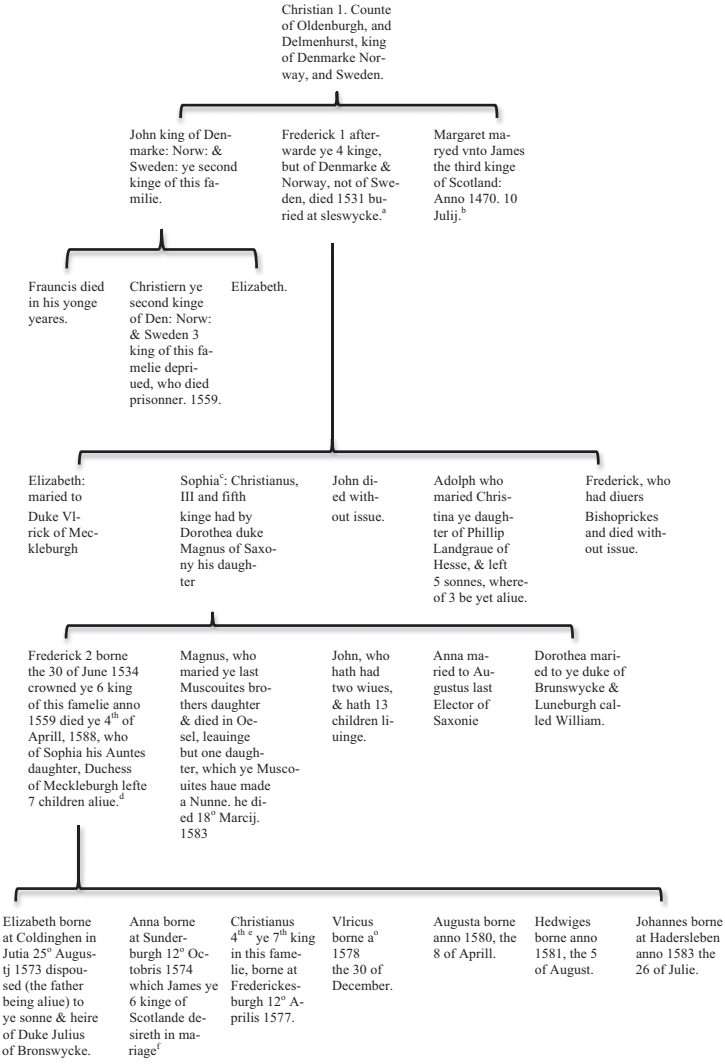
[141]Left margin, 'Christian the thirde king &c.' Christian (b.1503, d.1559), also a child of Anna of Brandenburg, *DBL* (3rd edn), III, 297–302; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[142]Hans the Elder (or den Ældre, b.1521) died in 1580, not 1582. *DBL* (3rd edn), V, 547–549; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[143]Left margin, 'Fredericke ye second kinge &c.'

[144]See Figure 6.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press




*In summa*, the last king with his brother Duke John, and his two sisters had two and fiftie Children.[g]

[a] Frederik I died in 1533.

[b] See above, p. 128, n. 102.

[c] See above, p. 136, n. 140.

[d] Frederik II was born 1 July 1534.

[e] Superscript 'th' in Rogers's hand.

[f] Anna was born 12 December 1574 at Skanderborg.

[g] The actual total is at least 60: Frederik II had 7; John 23 between two wives; Anna 15; Dorothea 15. *DSD-DBL* and *DB* do not, however, list all who died young.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

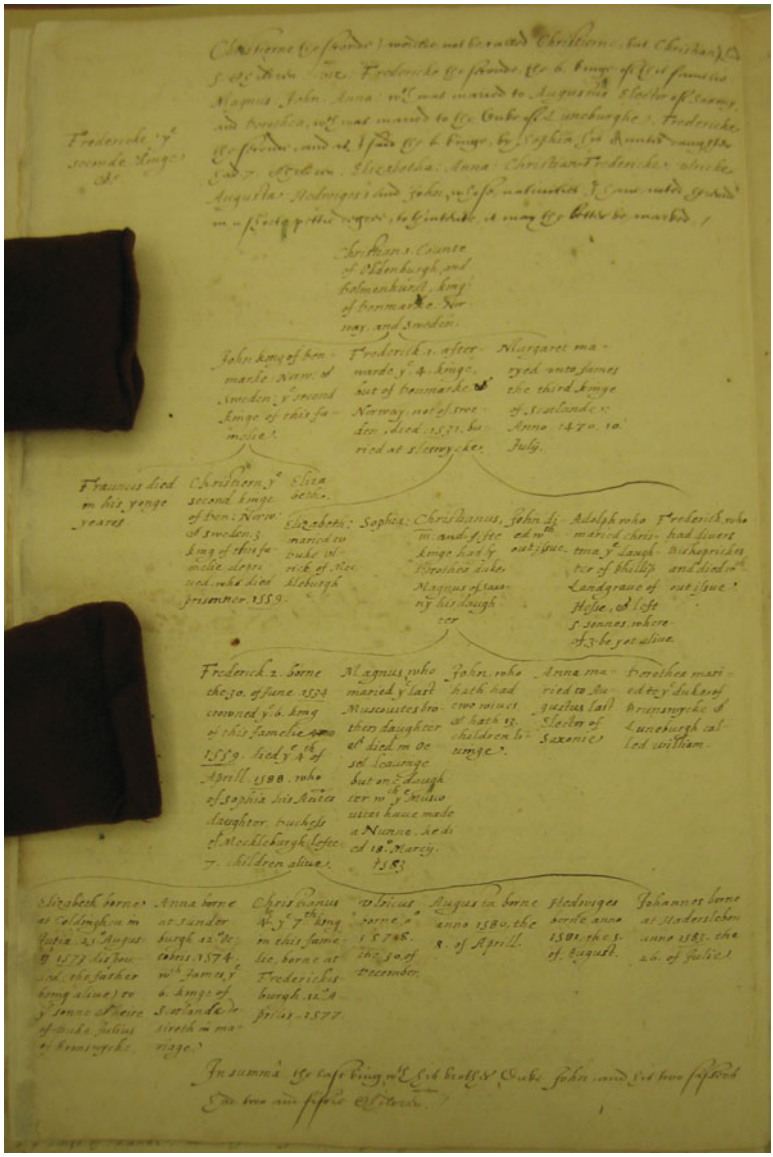


**Figure 6.** (Colour online) Danish Royal Pedigree, in Rogers's 'A discourse', fo. 7v. Reproduced by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

[begin 8r]

There are yet liuinge of this famelie, besides the king and his two brethren: The kinges vncle called Duke John,[145] who was borne at Coldingen anno 1545° 25° *Marcij* so that he is now 43 yeres of age, a tall prince, and as Cleanelie timbred as anie prince in Germanie, and brother to the last kinge: of whom the mother (who was Duchesse of Saxonie[146]) made more accompte, then of the last kinge[.] he hath had two wiues: The first was Called Elizabeth daughter vnto Ernestus Duke of Brunswicke and Luneburghe, which he maried anno 1567 and had by her 13 Children[147] all liuinge, whose names and natiuities I Copied out of a booke, which the last king lent me, and thinke good to specifie here. The first is Dorothea, borne at Coldinghen, anno 1569 16[o] *Octobris*. The next Child was Christianus borne at Sunderburghe 1570 26° *Nouembris*. The third is Called Ernsestus, borne at Sunderburgh, 1572 17° *Januarij*. The 4th is Alexander, borne at Sunderburgh 1573 12° *Januarij*. The 5th *Augustus*, borne 1574 21° *Julij*. The 6th is called Marie, borne at Sunderburgh 1575 22° *Augustj*. The 7th Called Adolphus-Johannes borne at Sunderburgh, 1576 17° *Septembris*.[148] Then Anna being the 8th was borne, 8° *Octobris* 1577°. The ninth Child is Sophia borne in the yere 1579 13° *Augustij*. Elizabeth is the 10th Child, borne a° 1580 24° *Septembris*. Th'eleuenth is Fredericke, borne 1581 26° *Nouembris*. The 12th is Called Margerite, borne 1583 24° *Februarij*. The last is called Phillip, borne 1584 15° *Maij*. The mother of which Children died in the yere 1586. His second wife is called Agnes Hedwiges daughter of Joachimus Ernestus, prince of Anhalde, which was widow of Th'elector of Saxonie Augustus; whom,[149] being but 15 yeres of age (for she was maried verie younge vnto the Elector) he tooke to wife the 14th of Februarie, 1588 at Sunderburgh, which is an Islande betwixt Jutlande and Fionia, at which mariage, the late kinge[,] Phillip Duke of Brunswycke[,] John-George, and Christian princes of

[145]John II, Duke of Sønderborg (b.1545, d.1622). Hans (den Yngre), *DBL* (3rd edn), V, 549–550; online at *DSD-DBL*; Johann der Jüngere, *NDB*, X (1974), 534–535; online at *DB*.

[146]Dorothea of Saxe-Lauenburg (b.1511, d.1571), Duchess of Saxony and Queen of Denmark.

[147]Left margin, 'Duke John of Sleswykes children'. Duke John (or Hans, or Johann) married Elizabeth, daughter of Ernst the Younger, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, on 19 September 1568. Elizabeth then bore him 14 (not 13) children (eight sons, six daughters). The final child, not named in the *DSD-DBL* or *DB*, was Albrecht, born 16 April 1585, died 26 October 1596.

[148]Hans (or Johann) Adolf, not Adolphus-Johannes; otherwise Rogers's details are correct. *DBL* (3rd edn), V, 551–552; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[149]Superscript 'Augustus' and comma after 'whom' in Rogers's hand. Agnes Hedwig (b.1573, d.1616), widow of August and daughter of Prince Joachim Ernst of Anhalt, would bear Duke John another nine children (three sons, six daughters).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Anhalte, the spouses brethren were presente.[150] Besides theise, Adolph Duke of Holste,[151] sonne to Frederick the first, hath lefte yett aliue 3 sonnes, beinge of this famelie hauing had in all 10 Children, of which Phillip and Johannes-Adolphus with a third brother,[152] are yet liuinge. Phillip was borne at Gottorpe, a faire Castle now apperteyning vnto him, anno 1570 10 *Augustj*[.][153] Johannes-Adolphus was borne 1575 who was Chosen Archbishop of Breme 1585° and is besides Bishoppe of Lubecke;[154] so that there are 11 males liuinge at this presente, all descended of kinges of Denmarke, out of the familie of the Countes of Oldenburghe, besides the kinge, which now beareth the title, and his two brethren; which all do wryte themselues heyres of Norway, Dukes of Sleswycke, Holste, Stormar, and Dytmars,

[begin 8v]

Countes of Oldenburgh and Delmenhurst. Amongest which Dukes of Holste in this presente monnth of September is some discencion, for the gouuerning of the said 4 Dukedomes: Phillip who after the kinge hath the most landes in the said Dukedomes, pretendeth as the eldest sonne now liuing of Duke Adolph, that the superioritie of gouuernement in the said Dukedomes apperteyneth to him. But the nobilitie of the Cuntrie addicted to the Conseruacion of great Priuiledges, which of long time they haue enioyed, marking that the said Duke Phillip, being but 18 yeres of age, followeth more the humor of his mother, then of his father, and to carrie (as they tearme it) rather *Hessicum caput*,[155] then *Holsaticum*, doe more encline to electe for their Gouuernor Duke John, the last kinges brother; partelie for that beinge 43 yeres of age, he hath more gouuernement in him, and partelie for the Commelines of his person; but especiallie to satisfie the said Duke John, who hath shewed himselfe of late miscontented, for that Th'estates of Denmarke, haue not had that regarde of him,

[150]The wedding on 14 February 1588 at Sønderborg (German: Sonderburg) Castle was indeed attended by King Frederik, despite his declining health. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 295. Sønderborg is not an island, but rather a place on the island of Als (Rogers's 'Alsen').

[151]Adolf, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein (b.1526, d.1585), had been a suitor to Queen Elizabeth in 1560 and subsequently played two hands as both a Knight of the Garter and pensioner of the Spanish king, Philip II. Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 26–27, 98; nn. on 167, 194.

[152]Comma in Rogers's hand. The third son was Johann Friedrich, Archbishop of Bremen from 1596 and Bishop of Lübeck from 1607 (b.1579, d.1634). *NDB*, X (1974), 481; online at *DB*.

[153]Philip, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf (b.1570, d.1590), ruled as Duke from 1587.

[154]Johann Adolf, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf (b.1575, d.1616), ruled as Duke from 1590 upon his brother Philip's death, as Archbishop of Bremen from 1585, and as Bishop of Lübeck from 1586; each of these titles was transferred to his brother Johann Friedrich. *NDB*, X (1974), 535–536; online at *DB*.

[155]Philip's mother was Christine (b.1543, d.1604), daughter of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

after the kinge his brothers death, as he thought they should haue had[.][156] for because the presente kinge, is not yet fullie 12 yeres of age, he looked that they should haue Chosen him to be the kinges Tutor, or at the least to haue made him one of the 4 Gouuernors, partelie for that he were the next of blood vnto him,[157] partelie for that the Electors and princes of Germany, doe follow this Custome, that in the nonage of the yonge prince the next prince doth gouuerne.[158] As at this presente Duke Cassimire is the tutor, ouerseer, and ruler of his brothers sonne, the yonge Elector Pallatine, and of all his Dominions.[159] And ~~Joachim~~ George[160] Fredericke, a Markegraue of Brandeburgh, gouuernor in the weakenes of Albert Fredericke Duke of Prussia, and of all his possessions[.][161] for which matter there will shortelie be a meetinge in the Dukedome of Holste: whither the 4 Gouuernors of Denmarke purpose to send a Counsellor in the kinges name to advaunce the said Duke John, and to take away all vnkindenes which might breed in the said Duke farther inconvenience against them. for the Gouuernors and nobillitie of Denmarke do thinke well of the said Duke John; but they trauell especiallie to mainetaine their priuiledges, which indeed are great; wherefore they doe alleage against him that th'estate of the princes of Germanie doth depend vppon succession by inheritaunce, and not by election, by which the kingdome of Denmarke Consisteth. The nobillitie[162] of theise Countries is onelie of gentlemen. Two hundred yeres past, they had Dukes, Earles, and Lordes, whereof somme encroching by ambicion vppon gentlemen, gaue them occasion to oppose themselues, and became in the end

[156]On Queen Sofie's role in the succession dispute, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 306–308. On the partition of lands in Schleswig-Holstein, *Territorien des Reichs*, II, 140–164.

[157]Left margin, 'The next of blood Gouuernors of yong Princes in Germany, in their nonage.'

[158]Compare the examples of succession and inheritance in the report of 1569.

[159]Johann Casimir, Count Palatine of the Rhine and Administrator of the Palatinate (b. 1543, d.1592). On his tenure as administrator and tutor of the young Friedrich IV from the death of the previous Elector, his brother Ludwig VI, in 1583, to Johann Casimir's own death, see Volker Press, *Calvinismus und Territorialstaat: Regierung und Zentralbehörden der Kurpfalz 1559–1619* (Stuttgart, 1970), 322–368. Johann Casimir's ambassador, Adam Gans von Podelitz, met Rogers in Helsingør on 7 July 1588 when they attended a church service with the entire Danish court in the chapel of Kronborg. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 336–337. See also Rogers's poems dedicated to Johann Casimir in HEHL, HM 31188, fos 152r, 214r.

[160]'Joachim' crossed out and superscript 'George' in Rogers's hand.

[161]Albrecht Friedrich (b.1553, d.1618) had shown symptoms of mental illness during the 1560s, but from 1572 his inabilities were widely recognized. *ADB*, I (1875), 310–314; online at *DB*. Both before and after 1572 he often sent Elizabeth falcons, which the queen gratefully accepted. See her letters to Albrecht Friedrich, Cambridge University Library, MS Dd.III.20, fos 16r, 46v–47r, 71r–v, 142v–143r (items 18, 53, 74, 173).

[162]Left margin, 'The nobilitie of Denmarke.'

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

masters of the higher nobilitie: And afterward dealt in such manner with the kinge, that order was taken

[begin 9r]

there should be no greater nobillitie then gentlemen:[163] whose aucthoritie is so great, that the king can lyttle effectuate against them, without th'aduise of the Councellors of the realme, which were wonte to be 24 in number, without whose Consente the king can Compasse or execute no great matter, which ought all to be borne in the kingdomes of Denmarke and Norway.[164] There are now but 20 and two of them are Germaines, one borne in the Dukedome of Holste, thother in the Dukedome of Meckleburghe[,] at which the nobillitie of the Cuntrie doth stomacke.[165] The names of theise 20 which are now in aucthoritie, are theise that follow.[166]

Nicholas Kaas, of Tarup: The kinges Chancellor.[167]
Peter Guldenstern of Tym: Mareshall of the kingdome.[168]
Peter Moncke of Estuatgaard: Admirall of the kingdome[169]
George Rosenkrantz of Rosenholme: Steward[170]
Christopher Valckendorfe of Glorup: Thesaurer[171]
Steno Brahe of Knudsturpe.[172]
George Skram of Thielle.[173]
Mandrope Passeberg, of Hagisholme.[174]

[163]As Lockhart states, '[o]fficially there was no ranking of the noble estate; there was no peerage *per se*, and there would be no titled nobility in Denmark until 1671'. *Frederik II*, 303–304. Nevertheless, Denmark's untitled worthies grew evermore influential during the 16th c. On the crises of the aristocracy during the late Middle Ages, and its revival during the early modern period, see Erik Ulsig, 'The nobility of the late middle ages', *CHS*, I, 635–652; E. Ladewig Petersen, *The Crisis of the Danish Nobility 1580–1660* (Odense, 1967).

[164]On the Council of State (or Rigsråd) vis-à-vis the king generally, and its problems upon Frederik's death in particular, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 26–27, 304–308.

[165]i.e. become angry. The two German-born councillors were Breide Rantzau and Henrik (or Heinrich) Below.

[166]Cf. Rogers's other lists: to Walsingham, TNA, SP 75/1, fo. 274r–v; to Burghley, BL, Lansdowne MS 57, fo. 82r, MS 112, fo. 107r–v; another copy, BL, Cotton MS Nero, B. III, fo. 266r–v. Rogers met and negotiated with many of the following in July–August 1588, and his comments below, e.g. on Gert Rantzau and Heinrich (or Henrik) Ramel, are corroborrated in Mercier's account. Behrend, 'En dagbog', 338–339, 342.

[167]Niels Kaas (b.1534, d.1594). *DBL* (3rd edn), VIII, 430–432; online at *DSD-DBL*. Rogers described Kaas as 'the Pearle of Denmarke' in his letters to Walsingham and Burghley.

[168]Peder Gyldenstierne (b.1533, d. 1594). *DBL* (3rd edn), V, 424; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[169]Peder Munk (b.1534, d.1623). *DBL* (3rd edn), X, 126–127; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[170]Jørgen Rosenkrantz (b.1523, d.1596). *DBL* (3rd edn), XII, 356–358; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[171]Christoffer Valkendorf (b.1525, d.1601). *DBL* (3rd edn), XV, 252–255; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[172]Steen Brahe (b.1547, d.1620). *DBL* (3rd edn), II, 428–429; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[173]Jørgen Skram (b.1534, d.1592). *DBL* (3rd edn), XIII, 486; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[174]Manderup Parsberg (b.1546, d.1625). *DBL* (3rd edn), XI, 161–162; online at *DSD-DBL*.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Ericke Hardenberg of Matterup.[175]
Haguinus Vlstandt of Huckeberge[176]
Andreas Binge of Smidsturp[177]
Henry Belouw of Spitterup: The kinges Lieutenaunt in Jutlande, and Captaine of castle of Colin[178]
Axel Guldenstern of Lingbuy, the kinges lieutenaunt in Norway.[179]
Coruitius Wiffert of Ness.[180]
Absolon Goie of Kielsturp[181]
James Sehefeld of Wisborne[182]
Breida Rantzow of Rantzouisholme.[183]
Christianus Skele of Fusinger[184]
Albert Fryse of Harritzkier.[185]
Aruidus Huitfeild of Odersberg: Chauncellor of ~~Denmarke~~ the kingdome of Denmarke.[186]
Amongest theise 20 there is mencion made of two Chauncellors. The first hath the honnor to be called the kinges Chauncellor[.][187] Th'other being the last (by reason of his late Cooptacion into the number of Counsellors) is Chauncellor of the realme.[188] The kinges Chauncellor is head of his royall Councell, th'other determineth rather Controuersies risen amongest gentlemen, and such as are to be decyded by law, and is not allwaies presente in matters of policie, and Concerning th'estate.[189]

[175]Erik Hardenberg (b. *c.*1534, d.1604). *DBL* (3rd edn), VI, 27–28; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[176]Hak Holgersen Ulfstand (b.1535, d.1594). *DBL* (3rd edn), XV, 154–155; online at *DSD-DBL*. Line of abbreviation above 'ins' in 'Haguins' clarified by comparison with TNA SP 75/1, fo. 274r, and BL, Lansdowne MS 57, fo. 82r.
[177]Anders Bing (b.1525, d.1589). *DBL* (3rd edn), II, 135; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[178]Henrik (or Heinrich) Below (b.1540, d.1606), of Mecklenburg. *DBL* (3rd edn), I, p. 551; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[179]Axel Gyldenstierne (b.1542, d.1603). *DBL* (3rd edn), V, 411–412; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[180]Corfitz Tønnesen Viffert (b.?, d.1592). *DBL* (3rd edn), XV, 519; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[181]Absalon Gjøe (or Gøye) (b.1539, d.1602). *DBLexicon*, VI, 54; online at *DBLexicon* (no entry in *DBL* (2nd and 3rd edn)).
[182]Jacob Seefeldt (b.1545, d.1599). *DBL* (3rd edn), XIII, 306–307; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[183]Breide Rantzau (b.1556, d.1618), of Holstein. *DBL* (3rd edn), XI, 604–606; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[184]Christen Skeel (b.1543, d.1595). *DBLexicon*, XVI, 15–16; online at *DBLexicon* (no entry in *DBL* (2nd and 3rd edn)).
[185]Albert Friis (b.1542, d.1601). *DBL* (3rd edn), IV, 617; online at *DSD-DBL*.
[186]Arild Huitfeldt (b.1546, d.1609). *DBL* (3rd edn), VI, 598–602; online at *DSD-DBL*. See Rogers's poem dedicated to Arild (or *Arnold*[*us*] *Wintfeld*[*us*] *Dan*[*us*], *nobil*[*is*]) in HEHL, HM 31188, fo. 142v; cf. another to the deceased *Ottonis Witfeldij, Danj adolescentis*, fo. 138r; and another to Rogers's 'singular friend', the Dane 'Karol[us] Quering[us]', fo. 156v.
[187]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Kinges Chauncellour.'
[188]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Chauncellor of the kingdome.'
[189]Cf. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 27–28, noting also the role of having German-born councillors in the execution of foreign policy (such as Breide Rantzau and Henrik (or Heinrich) Below).

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Out of theise 20 Counsellors with the consent of the rest of the nobilitie, 4 haue been Chosen to be the

[begin 9v]

principall Gouuernors of the realm in the kinges nonage, for the space of one yere:[190] which are Nicholas Kaas, the kinges Chauncellor, Peeter Moncke Th'admirall, George Rosenkrantz Steward, and Christopher Valkendorfe, Thesaurer: which fowre dispose in as ample manner all thinges apperteyning to the kingdomes of Denmarke and Norway, as the kinge Could doe himselfe, if he were of iust yeres. As for the Dukedomes of Sleswycke, Holst, Stormar, and Dytmarsen, there are 11 other Counsellors which in the kinges name do presentelie there gouuerne, as they did before the late kinges death: whose names I add hereunto.

Henry Rantzow of Breidenberg, Counestable of Segeberge: The kinges lieutenaunte in the Dukedomes of Sleswyke, Holste, Stormar, and Dytmarse.[191]

Peeter Rantzow of Troiburg: Counestable of Flensburghe.[192]

John Bloome of Sehedorfe: Counestable of Haddersleben.[193]

John Rantzow of Hassleberge: Counestable of Rendesberge.[194]

Benedictus Alefeld of Lemculen.[195]

George Sehested of Nortesche.[196]

[190] Opposing Rogers's account and Slavin's assertions, Lockhart points out that the four members of the Regency did not serve for only one year, and that they and the Council of State were the primary power brokers after Frederik II's death, not the German-born officers. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 310; cf. Slavin, 'Daniel Rogers in Copenhagen', 259–264.

[191] Along with his immense family wealth in Holstein, the *Statthalter* in the Duchies, Heinrich Rantzau (b.1526, d.1598) was probably, as Lockhart puts it, Frederik's 'single most valuable intelligence resource' and without question his 'primary adviser on Continental affairs'. Rantzau's correspondence network extended throughout the Empire and beyond, and he was well recognized as a devoted and consistent champion of the Protestant cause. *Frederik II*, 61, 88. Henrik Rantzau (b.1526, d.1598), *DBL*, (3rd edn), XI, 622–627; online at *DSD-DBL*. Rantzau, Heinrich, *ADB*, XXVII (1888), 278–279; online at *DB*. On Heinrich Rantzau's intrests and patronage, with connections to Albrecht Meyer's *Methodvs Describendi* and Marcus Jordanus's map of Denmark, see above, pp. 29, 31.

[192] Peder Rantzau (b.1535, d.1602). *DBLexicon*, XIII, 472; online at *DBLexicon* (no entry in *DBL* (2nd edn or 3rd edn)).

[193] Hans Blome (b.1530, d.1599). *DBL*, (3rd edn), II 266; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[194] Hans Rantzau (b.?, d.1608). *DBLexicon*, XIII, 436; online at *DBLexicon* (no entry in *DBL* (2nd or 3rd edn)).

[195] Benedict (or Bendix) Ahlefeldt of Lehmkulen (b.1546, d.1606) was the son of Bertram Ahlefeldt of Lehmkulen (b.1508, d.1571), the *Statthalter* who married into the Rantzau family in 1541. *DBL*, (3rd edn), I, 77–78; online at *DSD-DBL* (though without the tables of the Ahlefeldt family tree placing Bendix below Bertram).

[196] George (or Jørgen) of Kluvensiek, came from a different branch of the family than did Steen Maltesen Sehested, Frederik's Court Marshal. See below, p. 146 n. 205. The Sehesteds

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Detleuus Brocktorfe of Schreuenborne[197]
Daniell Rantzow of Sehegaard[198]
Henry Alefeld of Saturpholme.[199]
Nicholas Alefeld of Getlinge.[200]
Christopher Rantzow of Quernebecke.[201]
Whereof some are of most auncient houses, and of great wealth: for the first Henry Rantzow,[202] may be accounted to be the richest gentleman and subiecte in Europe, hauing Twentie Thowsand poundes sterling yerelie in reuenues; and to the value of an hundred Thowsand poundes at bancke. John Blome hath Tenne Thowsande pounde sterlinge yerelie, and is reported to haue no lesse at bancke, then Henry Rantzow. But to returne to Denmarke, of the fowre Gouuernors, which are appointed for a yere, during the kinges nonage, it is thought that the Chauncellor and Thesaurer, must allwaies Continue, by reason partelie of their owne excellencie, and trust; as partelie for their offices for they are not minded to Crowne the younge kinge, before he Come to iust yeres, and to that maturitie of iudgemente, as he may know vnto what Condicions he shall sweare. Th'estates of the Cuntry deliuered vp to the fower Gouuernors Certaine articles which they would haue to be obserued: who gouuerne verie warilie, not forgettinge their owne kinsfolkes; which they doe greatlie aduance, trauelling also to heape great treasures for the kinges vse, which at this presente, is at their disposicion. wherefore they discharge manie which serued the last kinge, who was wonte to haue Dukes and Earles in his court

[begin 10r]

to attende vppon him, which he maineteined liberallie, allowing to some 12 horses to some more, and to some less, which they thinke this king by reason of his nonage may well wante. They likewise haue

were nobility of north Jutland. See Table II mentioning Jørgen, *DBL*, (3rd edn), XIII, 313; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[197]Little is known of the Detlev (or Ditlev) here, but the Brockdorffs were nobility in Holstein. *NDB*, II (1955), 620; online at *DB*.

[198]Little is known of the Daniel here, but the Rantzau family connections were extensive; another Daniel Rantzau (b.1529, d.1569) served Frederik early in the reign as a military commander. *DBL*, (3rd edn), XI, 602–603 (family trees), 612–615 (Daniel); online at *DSD-DBL*.

[199]Henry (or Henrik or Heinrich) and the next person, Nicholas (or Nicolaus), remain elusive but must have been part of the Ahlefeldt nobility.

[200]'Geltinge' in Rogers's other lists.

[201]This Christopher (or Christoffer) is not the same Christoffer who died in 1571. *DBLexicon*, XIII, 417; online at *DBLexicon* (no entry in *DBL* (2nd edn or 3rd edn)).

[202]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Henry Rantzow'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Contracted abridged[203] the number of souldiors and mariners, which serued vppon the kinges shippes, to spare expences Thinking it not necessarie to keepe so manie, as the last king appointed, which being licenced to departe by order from the Thesaurer, gaue an occasion to the Admirall to be offended with the Thesaurer, for that it ~~being~~ apperteined to his Charge to licence such as serue in the kinges shippes.[204] Amongest other of the nobilitie (which as I said Consisteth onelie of gentlemen) I will here remember some, besides th'above mentioned, which partelie for their offices partelie for their vertues, are in greatest Credytt in the Courte of Denmarke. Stein Maltizen:[205] Mareschall of the Courte, a man skillfull in warlicke affaires, hauing been lieutenaunt vnto the Counte William of Nassaw, ouer his regimente in the low Countries, a longe time. Gerard Rantzow,[206] sonne to the kinges lieutenaunte, which Gerard is Counestable of the Castle of Croneburghe: and Capten of the kinges guarde: whose like,[207] I haue not seene for his yeres in manie kingdomes: for being but of th'age of 31 yeres, he hath seene the most parte of Europe, of Greece, and of Egypte: and speaketh 6 languages verie well, and is a Comelie and able gentleman,[208] of great spirite: of whom I do the gladlier make mencion for that being of great forwardenes, Credytt, and abilitie, he doth offer his seruice vnto her Majestie, in preparing and Conductinge of 4000 men for her highenes aduancement, when she shall please to commaund him. Eustach Tunen,[209] who is master of the horse. But none is of greater Credytt then Henry Rammell,[210] who in the yere

[203]Underlining and superscript in Rogers's hand.

[204]On the rivalry, reorganization, and isolationism during the regency, Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 300–308.

[205]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Stein Maltisen.' Steen Maltesen Sehested (b.1553, d.1611) had supported William of Orange in the Netherlands against the Spanish and afterwards became Court Marshal and one of Frederik's intimates. Steen also joined him during the Great Hunt of 1587. Christianson, 'The hunt of King Frederik', 182. *DBL* (3rd edn), XIII, 332–333; online at *DSD-DBL*.

[206]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Gerard Rantzow.' Gert (or Gerhard) Rantzau (b.1558, d.1627), son of Heinrich, also served Frederik as a diplomat and minor advisor, though after the death of his older brother, Breide, in 1618, he became *Statthalter* in the Duchies. *DBL* (3rd edn), XI, 618–621; online at *DSD-DBL*. *ADB*, XXVII (1888), 278; online at *DB*.

[207]Comma in Rogers's hand.

[208]Comma in Rogers's hand. Rogers recording 31 years was incorrect; in September 1588 Gert was 29, in mid October, 30.

[209]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Eustiche Tunen.' Little is known of Frederik's Master of the Horse, Eustachius von Thümen, but he – like Steen Maltesen Sehested – accompanied the king during the Great Hunt of 1587. Christianson, 'The hunt of King Frederik', 182.

[210]Left margin, 'Henry Rammell'. Heinrich (or Henrik) Ramel (b. *c.*1550, d.1610) entered Frederik's employ only in 1581 but rose to become the secretary of the German Chancery, travelled with the king, and was present at nearly every audience granted to foreign

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

1586 was sent Embassador from the late king his master vnto her majestie in most honnorable manner:[211] he is at this presente the yonge kinges ouerseer, and Stewarde: The Cheifest Counsellor which the Queen doth vse: who is the verie mouth of the fowre Gouuernors: a man better seene in matters of estate, then anie in this kingdome, or then a man shall easelie find in all Th'empire[.] for which Cause the late kinge, was verie liberall vnto him, Causing him to sweare, that he should not abondone Denmarke, but sticke vnto the Queene, and the younge princes his Children. He is not paste one or two and ffortie yeres of age, and hath seene as much as anie one of his yeres, hauing been thoroughout all Europe, seen Constantinople, and Jierusalem, passed through all Greece, Egipte, yea Arabia, and a great parte of Africke[.] he is borne of an auncient house in Pommerlande, where he hath 2000[li] sterling by the yere: and enioyeth as much by the liberalitie of the late king, in Denmarke. By the late kinges aduice, (who by all meanes trauelled to binde him to the kingdome of Denmarke) hath Contracted with a daughter of

[begin 10v]

the familie of Rantzow which he thought to haue maried this yere, had not the king died; but after, the full yere, from the kinges death, is ended (because in this mourninge time, no gentleman being of the Court can without reproch take a wife) he mindeth to marrie her.[212] The kinges Chauncellor Nicholas Kaas,[213] (who in gouuernement is of the greatest vertue and aucthoritie in theise kingedomes,) especiallie communicateth his Counsailes, and vseth th'aduice of this Henry Rammell, which are verie Carefull presentelie how to maineteine tranquillitie at home, where are certaine dissencions, which might breede inconvenience if in time they were not looked vnto.[214] Diuers of the nobilitie Complaine that the last kinge did greatlie infringe,

ambassadors by Frederik. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 192. *DBL* (3rd edn), XI, 590–591; online at *DSD-DBL*. Along with Heinrich Rantzau, Ramel had been a key councillor close to Frederik's ear and was a sympathetic ally and correspondent of the English before, during, and after his embassy in 1586.

[211]On the extravagant and impressive show of military strength that was the embassy, despite its underwhelming results, see Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 245–247.

[212]Ramel married Abel Rantzau, daughter of Daniel, on 2 February 1589, not a full year after Frederik's death on 4 April 1588.

[213]The 'heart and soul of the Regency', Niels Kaas (b.1535, d.1594), as with Heinrich Rantzau and Heinrich Ramel, was a correspondent of the English and sympathetic to the Protestant cause. The Regency did not really reject the cause so much as it was beset with domestic turmoil among the nobility, though isolationist tendencies did come to characterize those in power, despite the goodwill borne esp. by Kaas, Rantzau, and Ramel. Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 315.

[214]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Factions in Denmarcke'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and breake their liberties, which they should haue in huntinge[.][215] And there be some others which ioyne with them, who for some enormious faultes Committed, hauing been eftsoones and highelie fined by the last kinge, would haue their fines to be restored vnto them againe. ffor the king by the priuiledges of the nobillitie, cannot putt to death anie gentlemen, onelie it is lawfull for him, to fine them, and to putt them into prison. There is one, vppon whom the king sett fines twise or thrice, and at eache time, compelled him to pay Tenne Thowsand Dollars, whom he was minded to haue fined againe, but being in his deathes bedd, pardonned him: who being of a verie auncyent house, stirreth vp his freindes, & ioyning with other factyons, might trouble the quiettnes of his Cuntrey.[216] In appeasing of which, and the like humors, the fowre Gouuernors are verie Carefull. The Chauncellor of late was sore sicke, who is recouuered, whom if god should haue taken away, great Confusion might haue ensued, for that his integrytie, and Credytt, with th'aucthoritie of his office, being himselfe of a noble house, doth especiallie keep the rest of the nobilitie in good order: who with the rest are well affectionated to mainetaine good Correspondencie with the realme of Englande, and to vnderhold and preserue such alliaunces, as are betwixt the realmes on both sides,[217] which Cannot but be commodious for England and them; aswell for the Continuynge of traffique towardes St Nicholas porte, into Prussia, and the Narue, as for Conserving the Common tranquillitie of the kingdomes on both sides. Besides that, their freindshippe may be the more esteemed, for that they be, of the same religion, which is professed in Englande,[218] and great

[begin 11r]

affinitie betwixt the tongues of both kingdomes. The king of Spaine of late trauelled to haue had shippes and mariners out of Denmarke, to serue him in theise last exploites at which time diuers being wonne with great stipendes, were minded to saile towardes him: of which being truly aduertised, I dealt with the Queene and the 4 Gouuernors to stay them, declaring vnto them, how that it were against the leagues

[215]On Frederik's consolidation of royal lands and restriction of hunting privileges, Christianson, 'The hunt of King Frederik', 166–174.

[216]This gentleman remains elusive.

[217]Left margin, Rogers's hand, 'Alliaunce to be maynteyned betwixt the kingdomes of Dennemarcke and England.' Existing commercial treaties and agreements were to continue under Christian IV's reign, as did correspondence and embassies. Cheyney, 'England and Denmark'.

[218]On similarity in religion, see Rogers's comment above, p. 123: 'for the most parte, [religion in Denmark] agreeth with the Ausburghe Confession, as lykewise in Ceremonies, saving that they be more moderate then the Lutheranes'.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press

and entercourses, and not Conformable to the straight freindshippe which was betwixte the last kinge, and her majestie, neither agreable vnto the religion which they professed, to suffer their subiectes in so daungerous a time, to serue the king of Spaine, against her majestie[.] wherefore they tooke such order, that forthwith they were staied, not minding to suffer that any of the subiectes of their kingdomes should serue against her majestie.[219] Thus much may serue for this presente, touching th'estate and gouuermente of theis Northerne kingdomes.

Daniel Rogers[220]

[219]For English concerns regarding the Spanish Armada's seeking aid from Denmark, see Rogers's letters to Walsingham and Burghley. For Thomas Bodley's instructions regarding a mission to Denmark after Gravelines, see Gehring, *Anglo-German Relations*, 124–126, 203nn. See also Lockhart, *Frederik II*, 301–303, 310.

[220]Signed in Rogers's hand with *manu propria* symbol of abbreviation.

https://doi.org/10.1017/S0960116315000445 Published online by Cambridge University Press