

Roads “which are commonly wonderful for the musicians” – Early Modern Times Musicians’ Mobility and Migration

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The Early Modern Times musicians’ migration is often examined in its positive role in music and cultural history research:¹ it is mostly considered as the motor for the development of European culture and identity carried by music and musicians, defined by processes of cultural communication and cultural exchange as well as the associated cultural interactions.² However, the fact that the mobility pertaining to the distribution of repertoire and transregional repertoire development did not generally have a positive connotation for the players in Early Modern Times is strongly evident in research in the cultural history sector of music, which – far from the biographies of outstanding musicians and virtuosos, the history of extraordinary musical institutions or the so-called “elite migration” – systematically documents the movements in the local, regional and transregional area also of anonymous composers, instrumentalists and singers.³ Mobility for most of these musicians was not a self-deter-

1 The term “musician” in this case pertains to instrumentalists, singers, composers, cantors and musical theorists. This occupational group is to be investigated in its actions and networks, in which sometimes also scene painters, librettists and dancers/dance masters played an important role.

2 Cf. e.g. EMMER, 2013, pp. 21-29, or LEOPOLD, 2013, p. 38.

3 As paradigmatic, reference is made to the research in the Northern German area, among those EDLER, 1982; KREMER, 1997; ID., 1995; SOLL, 2006; PFEIFFER, 1991, pp. 11-19; WACZKAT, 2004b, pp. 157-170. Regarding the cultural-historical term of mobility and its not always positive classifica-

mined design, but a forced condition resulting from the search for permanent employment, the pursuit of a sedentary life and the desire for social advancement. This principal pursuit also blurs the border between the concepts of mobility and migration as the sedentariness represented the drive in most movements, be it visits, travels or permanent changes of location. For most Early Modern Times musicians, whose regional or transregional movements can be documented, this principally involved mobility with the objective of migration.

Such association is ultimately also displayed by the “Lebensbeschreibungen” (biographies) from the 18th century, where locations strongly connoted with the period of work, were only changed based on specific offers of a better position and were collectively also given first priority over social and particularly familial networks, as illuminated by the example of Johann Christoph Heuser, a musically versed cantor who, following his education in Stade and Jena, worked in Glückstadt during the second half of the 18th century and died in Altona in 1799:⁴

“(Vita)

I, Bernhard Christoph Heuser am born of Christian parents at Otterndorff über der Elben in the county of Hadeln [...] in 1717 on the 22 Dec: born, where my deceased: Sir Father was a merchant. Anno 1743, through God’s guidance, I was elected deputy and castle or garrison cantor in the city and fortress Glückstadt, where I have faithfully held my office in school and church through Highest counsel for a total of 14 years. Ao 1745, I betrothed myself to a young widow named Dorothea Dithmar, born in Winterburgen and resident preacher’s daughter, to whom, however, I was only married for 16 weeks. For the 2nd time I wed again a *Mademoisell* in Altona by the name of Frisch, whose Sir Father had been treasurer to this city several years ago. In this, thanks to God 36 yearlong happy marriage, the wife, now deceased ao 1781 on the 16 Apr: has born 5 dear children, 3 sons and 2 daughters, and of which the 4 oldest died in Glückstadt and of which a son ~~3 of those~~ [...] is still alive. Ao 1757, to my surprise, I received the position as cantor in Altona and was employed as 4th colleague at

tion, it is stated in Bonß and Kesselring: “Mobility is only experienced as an independent dimension with positive connotations since the 18th century.” BONSS/KESSELRING, 2001, p. 178.

4 Regarding Heuser’s music making see NEUBACHER, 2001, pp. 275f.

the resident pedagogue by professor and director Schütz. Through the grace and mighty support of God, I have now administered my office for more than 28 years so that I have never received even the smallest reprimand due to the administration of my office, and I shall continue to do so with all diligence according to God’s mercy as long as my strength permits [...] and as long as the Dear Lord will grant me life.”⁵

Such striving for migration and the associated mobility were initiated and became a transregional phenomenon due to the geographically widely spread, yet limited market of the court, church and town music operations, characterised by diverse ranges of musical patronage, political-symbolic representation efforts and, partially, also due to scientific-

- 5 “(Lebenslauf.) Ich Bernhard Christoph Heuser bin von christl. Eltern zu Otterndorff über der Elben im Lande Hadeln [...] gebohrn 1717 d. 22 Dec: gebohren, woselbst mein seel: H: Vater Kaufmann gewesen. Anno 1743, bin ich durch Gottes besondere Fügung in der Stadt und Vestung Glückstadt zum Conrektor und Schloß oder Garnisons-Cantor erwehlet, wo selbst ich mein Amt in Schul und Kirche durch den höchsten Beystand ganze 14 Jahre lang treulich geführet habe. Ich verheirathete mich daselbst ao 1745 mit einer jungen Witwen Namens Dorothea Dithmar gebohren Winterburgen und dort gewesen Predigers Tochter, die ich aber nur 16 Wochen in der Ehe hatte. Zum 2ten Mahl verband ich mich wieder mit einer Mademoisell in Altona Namens Frisch, deren H. Vater Cämmerer zu dieser Stadt vor einig Jahren gewesen ist. Zu dieser GottLob in die 36 Jahr vergnüglich geführten Ehe hat die nunmehr ao 1781 d 16 Apr: seelig verstorbene Frau mir 5 liebe Kinder, 3 Söhne und 2 Töchter zur Welt gebracht, wovon die 4 ältesten in Glückstadt wieder gestorben, und dazu ein Sohn 3-davon [...] noch am Leben sind ist. Ao 1757 erhalte ich ohne mein Vermuthen die Cantorat-Stelle in Altona und wurde als 4ter Colleg bey dem hiesig Paedagogio vom H: Professor u Recktor Schütz eingeführt. Allhier habe ich nun durch Gottes Gnade und mächtigen Baistand bereits über 28 Jahr mein Amt täglich verwaltet, so daß ich niemals wegen Führung meines Amtes den geringsten Verweis bekommen, und werde forderhin dasselbe nach Gottes gnädig Willen so lange mit allem Fleiß verwalten, bis meine Kräfte es zulassen [...] und der liebe Gott mir das Leben fristen wird.“ Archive of the Christianeum Altona, S 41: Nachlass Bernhard Christoph Heuser. Based on the contained information, the *vita* most probably originates from 1785. In this *vita*, Heuser seems to ignore his education stages in Stade and Jena and, from the onset, seems to concentrate only on the permanent positions. Cf. NEUBACHER, 2001, p. 275.

artistic interests of the princes.⁶ Also musical institutions, such as the Italian theater with its “Stagione” principle or schools ranging from the Thomas school to the Neapolitan conservatories, were set up for the fluctuation of musicians and apprentices from the very beginning.⁷ The court orchestra, city musician as well as cantor or *Kapellmeister*/musician employment in churches and cloisters represented the final destination of musician careers, with the exception of the touring companies or traveling virtuosos; a fact which is impressively illustrated in the establishment and implementation of familial networks of court as well as city musicians who bequeathed offices or procured privileges by marriage.⁸ At the same time, the principality and the city elders not only promoted the permanent settlement at a particular location, but also utilized musicians for diplomatic or representative tasks for limited periods of time, be it during the Grand Tour of individual princes, the conveyance of messages or to ensure political connections or the arrangement of particularly important festivities. In addition, also the movements of the entire court generated mobility among the traveling court musicians, while city musicians were rather induced to leave due to the influx of military units or touring companies, especially since their income resulted mainly from participations based on privileges for playing and teaching in the urban area. On one hand, these exits were greatly influenced by family ties and networks among the musicians, but were also prepared by dedications and content of musical works which created a reference to important princes and courts. Such references, this is particularly obvious up to the first half of the 18th century, were quite often generated in form of musical riddles or detailed technical demands, which necessitated a direct contact between musicians and patrons for the rendition and reception of the music.⁹

The rationale for the continuation of a journey or the general mobility could vary greatly depending on the place of work, musical status

6 Based on the background of the vast literature to these points, a few references to the Schwerin court may suffice here: KLETT, 1999, pp. 91-96; WACZKAT, 2004a, pp. 252-263. The scope of the musical institutions, promotions as well as mere interests varied depending on the ruling system which could also differ depending on the geographic-cultural location (e.g. Kingdom of France and principalities in the German region).

7 I would like to thank Berthold Over for this information.

8 Cf. in this context the paradigmatic publication AHRENS, 2009.

9 ZUR NIEDEN, 2015, p. 124.

and level of recognition of the musician. These differences are primarily expressed via the drive for further musical education and perfection. If these predominated, mobility was connoted positively. As a consequence, the term of mobility during the 17th and 18th century has to be located in a range of reputation of certain positions, the cultural and social characterization of individual cities or courts and the musician himself. This is also evident in the example of Early Modern Times ego-documents. For example, in 1792, Heinrich Conrad Wille who – like Heuser – was also employed in Glückstadt, describes his departure from there with a specific recourse to the name of the city:

“For a long time, the desire in me has been vivid/: as I have never been happy in Glückstadt, and will never be happy/: to travel in order to see whether Mad[ame] Fortuna has kept a good lot for me in her pot of luck/happiness.”¹⁰

However, the extent to which the term of luck/happiness is also connected with the description of résumés between livelihood and further development as musician is evident in a *vita* “written by Joachim Quantz himself” (“von ihm selbst entworfen[en]”), which was published in Marburg’s *Historisch-kritischen Beiträgen zur Aufnahme der Musik* (History-critical contributions for the admission of the music) in 1754. Quantz uses the term “Glück (luck/happiness)” in three different contexts: (1) In view of a satisfactory future as musician,¹¹ (2) in descriptions of extraordinary acquaintances and friendships¹² and (3) as an adjective for a trouble-free journey.¹³ All three of Quantz’s points aim at the improvement of his musical abilities with which he imagined achieving the “ultimate purpose” (“Endzweck”) of comprehensive musical knowledge, a

10 “Lange schon war der Wunsch in mir rege/: da ich nie glücklich in Glückstadt war, und auch nie sein kann/: mich auf Reisen zu begeben, um zu sehen, ob Mad[ame] Fortuna nicht in ihrem Glückstöpfchen noch ein gutes Loos für mich aufgehoben.” City archives Glückstadt, No. 1015; letter of the city musician Heinrich Conrad Wille, 8 August 1792, cited from: SOLL, 2006, p. 208.

11 QUANTZ, 1754, pp. 198, 204, 228, 234, 249.

12 IBID., pp. 210, 228, 243.

13 IBID., p. 239.

permanent position at a renowned court¹⁴ and, last but not least, also inherent “liberties” (“Freiheiten”) in the execution and fulfilment of this position.¹⁵ This “ultimate purpose” is almost exclusively achieved by changing locations from Merseburg via Poland, Dresden, Italy, France, the Netherlands, England and Berlin, which also led to new acquaintances and the expansion of his network.¹⁶ In contrast, he spoke clearly against the unauthorised distribution of his works by the Amsterdam publisher Roger.¹⁷ The fact that the changes of locality were positively connoted in comparison to a non-person-related distribution of his musical productions is surely due to his success as a musician, but he himself attributes this to “divine providence” (“göttliche Vorsehung”) in the style

14 *IBID.*, pp. 206, 222.

15 “In November 1741, I was appointed to Berlin for the last time by His Majesty of Prussia, who offered me such advantageous conditions, services that I could no longer refuse to accept them. Two thousand thaler *per annum* salary for life; furthermore a special payment for my composition; one hundred ducats for each flute I would deliver; the freedom of not playing in the orchestra, but only in the royal chamber music and to report to none other than his Royal Majesty, deserved forgoing a service [in the Polish court orchestra, GzN], where I never had such prospects.” (“Im November des 1741 Jahres wurde ich zum letztenmale von Seiner Majestät von Preussen nach Berlin berufen, und von Höchstdenenselben mir mit so vortheilhaften Bedingungen, Dienste angeboten, daß ich sie anzunehmen mich nicht länger weigern konnte. Zweytausend Thaler jährliche Besoldung auf Lebenszeit; ausserdem eine besondere Bezahlung meiner Composition; hundert Dukaten für jede Flöte die ich liefern würde; die Freyheit nicht im Orchester, sondern nur in der Königlichen Kammermusik zu spielen, und von Niemand als des Königs Befehl abzuhängen, verdienten wohl einen Dienst [in der polnischen Hofkapelle, GzN] aufzugeben, wo ich solche Vortheile niemahls zu hoffen hatte.”) *IBID.*, pp. 247f.

16 “Dresden and Berlin were places where I would have liked to settle in time: as I could have heard more beautiful music there and learned much more than in Merseburg.” (“Dresden, oder Berlin waren die Oerter, wo ich mit der Zeit meinen Aufenthalt zu finden wünschete: weil ich da viel mehr Schönes von Musik hören, und viel mehr lernen zu können glaubte, als in Merseburg.”) *IBID.*, p. 202.

17 “I do not avouch for the edition of other sonatas which have long since been published under my name in Holland.” (“Zu der Ausgabe anderer Sonaten, die, unter meinem Namen, schon lange vorher in Holland herausgekommen, bekenne ich mich nicht.”) *IBID.*, p. 247.

of Mattheson’s *Ehren=Pforte*, which had made his luck/happiness possible.¹⁸ In Quantz’s *vita*, luck/happiness is illustrated as the fulfilment of a “desire” (“Verlangen”), the realization of which is not within his own power, yet is simultaneously bound to certain – earthly – locations:

“This is my *vita*: and the divine providence has led me in this manner, and my desire which I have had for many years in times when there was not the least indication, to make my fortune in Dresden or Berlin has been fulfilled at both places. I thank providence and the grace of God that I am still well at this time.”¹⁹

The ego-documents utilized here indicate that the musicians’ migration is a comprehensive complex between – depending on the location – differently applied princely, ecclesiastic and civic promotion and/or representation and individual musical as well as socially and often still religiously defined careers. In this complex, collective mobility motivations, such as sedentariness or the social rise, encounter simultaneously artistically and socially geared individual biographies, because the own “Glück” was often pursued quite individually based on the background of the distinct offer or established on musical standards which were quite different. Accordingly rich in variation are also the cultural and social levels upon which the drive for mobility, the associated motivation and the consequences between work and elite migration is reflected in the traditional sources. It is thus important to observe both perspectives – that of the musicians and that of the employers and recipients – in individual case studies in order to record the difference of the social and artistic career conditions as well as the cultural radiation of individual cities, churches/cloisters and courts. It is furthermore important to detail migration movements, such as the migration of Italian musicians to Northern Europe, or collective mobility drives, such as the search for permanent

18 Regarding the reflection of religious aspects in autobiographies of the Age of Enlightenment cf. SCHENK, 1957, pp. 4f.

19 “Dieses ist mein Lebenslauf; und auf diese Art hat die göttliche Vorsehung mich geführt, und mein Verlangen, das ich seit vielen Jahren, in Zeiten, da noch nicht der geringste Schein dazu war, immer gehabt habe, entweder in Dresden oder in Berlin mein Glück zu machen, an beyden Orten erfüllet. Ich danke es derselben und der Gnade Gottes, daß ich mich hier noch in erwünschtem Wohlseyn befinde.” QUANTZ, 1754, pp. 249f.

employment, which also secured the working conditions for the future generations of the family, by case studies on different social and musical levels. In doing so, the Early Modern Times mobility and migration term can be continued, which also allows the distinct classification of transfers of musical genres, works and performance practices as well as innovations of instrument manufacturing and theoretical music ideas between cultural interest and social pragmatism.

The consideration of the individual social and musical standards is particularly exciting where biographic experiences or perceptions are reflected in musical works, as was the case with Johann Jakob Froberger in mid-17th century, who set the fall down the stairs of his French friend and his stormy crossing over the Rhine to music, as well as allowing the death of his life-long patron, Ferdinand III, to fade out with the triple sounding of an *f*.²⁰ During his entire life, Froberger carried the title of a Vienna court musician, most probably commissioned the fabrication of a coat of arms at the end of his career and spent his last days in an apparently balanced hierarchical relationship with the princess in Héricourt.²¹ However, the example of Johann Conrad Rosenbusch, who worked in the so-called city of exiles Glückstadt for more than 20 years, who secured his privileges there by his individualism rather than musical compositions suitable for church and who was praised by Johann Mattheson for his perfect description of the motivation of his biographically designed compendium of the *Ehren=Pforte*, shows the comprehensive music term, which also reflected mobility and sedentariness with respect to a religiosity between earthly self-stylization and vertically applied worship.²² Mattheson emphasizes Rosenbusch for the perfect education of the blind city organist in Itzehoe, before quoting Rosenbusch's letter of 9 December 1739 in the *Ehren=Pforte*:

“I am pleased Your Highness finally allows the *Ehrenpforte*, which was established laboriously over many years: the Lord may bless such

20 SCHULENBERG, 2010, pp. 271-302; CYPESS, 2012, pp. 45-54. The composition dedicated to Ferdinand III carries the name *Lamentation faite sur la très douloureuse mort de Sa Majesté Impériale Ferdinand le Troisième, et se joue lentement avec discrétion*.

21 ANNIBALDI, 1998, pp. 56f.; RUGGERI, 1998, pp. 23-37.

22 EDLER, 1982, pp. 83, 110, 190-191.

work in His honor and let those who read it discover His ways on earth (**which are commonly wonderful for the musicians**)”²³

Following this cultural and music historical research status, this volume emphasizes the biographies of Early Modern Times musicians and music theorists rather than the Early Modern Times music migration as a collective phenomenon and origin of a cultural hybridity concerning composition, genres and ideas. The mobile musicians are illuminated from various conceptual aspects based on a very broad range of sources and particularly also as acting transregional in their musical and written artefacts. In this manner, it is not only possible to document motivations, intentions and strategies of musicians who taught own family dynasties at foreign courts, worked between musical compositions and clerical offices or brokered other musicians. At the same time, the social and institutional environment of the musician becomes evident through their networks, where it made a difference whether it was a medium-sized court or a small-town *Collegium Musicum* in the southern German region, or whether it pertained to the musically well-equipped Polish or Danish court. At all these locations, connections between the musician and his prince or competitive relationships between the individual musicians were aspired and managed.

In turn, the influence of dynastic and political aspects related to individual courts, churches/cloisters, cities or music event types can be determined by the approach of the collective biography. This step is particularly important in understanding the cultural radiation of also “medium-sized” courts, which only served as way stations for some musicians and were targeted by others for permanent establishment. A collective biography can therefore not only be assigned to the interface between individual *vita*e and musical institutions (court orchestra, churches, educational institutions) whose members are collectively observed, but can also be related to cross-geographical entities, because a person collective can also be compiled based on the native language, the place of education or even the still pre-governmental kingdoms, republics and principalities.²⁴

23 “Es ist mir eine Freude, daß Ew. Hochedl. die in vielen Jahren mühsam errichtete Ehrenpforte endlich wollen ans Licht treten lassen: der Herr seegne solches Werck zu seiner Ehre, und lasse die es lesen dadurch zur Erkenntniß seiner Wege auf Erden (**welche gemeinlich bey den Musicis wunderbar sind**) gelangen” MATTHESON, 1740, p. 296 (highlight in original).

24 KÄGLER, 2015, pp. 236-268.

Such a specifically designed research customization between individual and collective biography is indeed able to provide a cultural contextualization of the mostly patchy individual biographies and to give insight into the development of culturally comprehensive attributions, functionalities of institutions or terms of taste. Much more than with respect to this field of reference between music and geographic-cultural attribution, they provide insight into that which is located between music and socio-cultural matters of fact and what can be heuristically described with the term of authenticity. As particularly illuminated by administrative sources, musicians were confronted with issues of credibility or authenticity particularly on foreign soil, which manifested themselves especially when they intended to settle permanently. Issues regarding credibility arose not least in connection with prohibitions and liberties which were granted to the strangers at the new location or decidedly attributed to them in advance, for the circumnavigation or claim of which, however, they had to demonstrate a certain affiliation. This is initially evident based on passports, which simultaneously reflect the extent of mobility which could characterize unknown musicians. For example, the “Musicus” Michael Schmoll, who most likely originated from Lille, intended traveling from Cologne to Brussels in 1788, and to continue further from there, traveled to Glückstadt in the north of Hamburg in 1789 and ultimately returned his passport in Schwerin, where it is kept in the city archives to this date:

“Accordingly, the presenter of this pass, Michael Schmoll, is a musician from Lile in Briseau who, arriving here with his 3 children and a true pass and authentic certificates has sufficiently legitimized himself and who wishes to travel from here where the air is clean and free from pollution, so God will, to Brussels and further, in order for his music to be heard. We thus request authorities everywhere, in accordance with the reciprocal establishment of services, to allow the above mentioned presenter Michael Schmoll to pass freely and without hindrance. Issued with personal signature and application of the greater seal in Wiedingen am Rhein in the Nieder Erzstift Cologne on 30 October 1788 Erlenwein electoral court counsellor of Cologne, the city and Amtschulteis at Linn and Ürdingen
Prod.: Glückstadt, 31 May 1789²⁵”

25 “Demnach zeiger dieses Michael Schmoll ein Musicus aus Lile in Briseau mit 3 Kinderen dahier ankommend, und sich mit seinen aufrichtigem pässe

If one considers the concept of authenticity as a concept of testimony which is characterised by the correctness of the message and the credibility of the messenger,²⁶ it indicates the measure of foreignness with which the newly arrived was confronted within the civic and court sociality. This becomes paradigmatic in the example of the Huguenots, who settled as complete colonies in the German area particularly in the 1730s, where they were guaranteed freedom of religion. The reformed colonies included at least one priest, mostly also an organist. Particularly in case of the cantor, it was important that he was a native French speaker so he could teach the children of the colonies in French.²⁷ The French par-

so als sonstig authentischen urkunden genugsam dahier legitimiert, nunmehr aber von hieraus, allwo gott dank eine reine und von aller Contagion frayen Luft ist, nach Brußel und weiter, um sich in der Music hörnn zu laßen; zureisen willens, als wird hiemit jedes ortes obrigkeit [...] gebühr Suboblacione ad reciproca dienst freundlich ersuchet, obbem[elter] Zeigern Michael Schmoll allerorten frey und ungehindert paß, und repaßiren zu laßen gegeben unter eigenhändiger unterschritt und beige druckt größerem insingne widingen am Rhein im Nider Erzstift Köln den 30. 8bris 1788.

Erlenwein Curkolnischer Hofrath dem Stadt und Amtsschultheis zu Linn und Ürdingen

Prod: Glückstadt d 31 Maj 1789”

City Archives Schwerin, 12.06 Paßwesen, Akte 10678. I would like to thank Berthold Over for his help in the transcription of the passport.

26 KRÄMER, 2012, pp. 15-26.

27 This argument was expressed by Cantor Gardiol, who was recruited by Consul Leers from the French-reformed colony Bützow in Mecklenburg: “It surprises me that your cantor does not want to hold the lessons, because it is an extremely necessary matter for which the cantor is responsible, because without it, the reformed children are forced to visit the Lutheran schools, which would do great injustice to the colony which has just begun to establish itself; and I believe that Pastor Bride would be well advised to force him to hold the lessons, as is the case all over Brandenburg and here; [...] once the lessons have ended, the cantor is free to give private lessons, but school may not be neglected in the process; I well believe that the cantor is not willing to devote himself to the school lessons as he can be sure to make a living in Hamburg just as well as in Glückstadt.” (“Ce qui me surprend beaucoup, c’est que votre Chantre, ne veut pas tenir école, c’est pourtant une chose fort necessaire et dont le Chantre est obligé, car sans quoi les enfans des Reformés seroient obligés d’aller aux Ecoles Lutheriennes

ishes also seemed able to operate an organ, as is evident from a petition of the director of the scheduled French-reformed colony Glückstadt in the year 1762.²⁸ The first mass “by the Pastor Lavigne in the reformed church at Glückstadt was simultaneously an inaugural sermon which was altogether pleasing, and the *Te Deum Laudamus* was being sung under trumpets and kettle drums”.²⁹ However, the responsible Cantor Gardiol particularly brought a comprehensive network with him, which consisted of members of his former colony in Bützow in Mecklenburg and Güstrow, in close proximity thereof, furthermore, also acquaintances from Berlin, Geneva, Wismar and Stade. Among other, Gardiol asserted

ce qui feroit beaucoup de tort à cette Colonie qui ne fait que de commencer à s'établir, et je trouve que Monsieur le Pasteur Bride fait fort bien de le forcer à tenir l'Ecole, comme cela se pratique dans tous le Brandebourg aussi bien qu'ici, [...] après l'Ecole fini le Chantre peut donner des leçons mais il ne faut pas que l'Ecole soit négligée, je veut bien croire que votre chantre ne voudra pas se soumettre à l'Ecole, sur tout s'il est assuré qu'il puisse gagner à Hambourg sa vie aussi largement qu'à Glückstadt.” Letter from Gardiol to Consul Leers dated 22 April 1761, in: D-SWGa, Abt. 65.2: Deutsche Kanzlei zu Kopenhagen, Nr. 3390: Französisch-reformierte Gemeinde in Glückstadt.

- 28 “The German reformed church shall peacefully grant the French their meeting whenever it seems appropriate to pursue their mass; one will give them a key to the church and allow them to use the organ, and in order to avoid any discussion, one shall allow them to inspect the organ together with one or two experts to decide over its condition when the French have used it and returned it in the event that the French build a church of their own.” (“Que l'Eglise allemande Reformé laissera paisiblement jouir Les françois de s'assembler, quand bon leur semblera, pour y faire leur exercice Divin, on leur donnera une Clef de L'Eglise, et ils auront La disposition des Orgues, et afin de prevenir tout debat on fera visiter Les orgues, par un ou deux Expert, affin que Lon puisse juger dans quel état Elles sont, quand Les français auront eu La Liberter de s'en servir, et Les auront remises, Pour que entout cas, cÿ Les francais vissent à battir une Eglise pour eux.”) Letter from the Danish Consul Leers to the Chancellor Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernsdorff in Copenhagen dated 29 October 1762, in: *IBID.*
- 29 “durch den Geistlichen Lavigne in der reformierten Kirche zu Glückstadt gleichsam eine Antritts-Predigt, mit welcher man überhaupt sehr vergnügt gewesen, [ge]halten, und das *Te Deum Laudamus* unter Trompeten und Paucken-Schall singen [ge]lassen”. Letter of City Councilman Friedrich von Eyben from Plön to the Budget Council dated 4 August 1762, in: *IBID.*

this network by being able to send letters with the acceptance of persons for a joint move to Glückstadt to the locally organized Consul Leers “en original”.³⁰ This also applied for Pastor Lavigne, whom Leers had recruited from Stockholm, however before having received the royal allocation of an annual wage from Copenhagen. When Lavigne arrived in Glückstadt, Leers was only able to pay him a small part of the promised wage. Subsequently, Leers and Lavigne accused each other of incredibility. While Lavigne asserted that “I can prove the opposite with authentic documents in my possession and the testimony of the honorable French-reformed consistory of Stockholm, which one cannot deny me”,³¹ Leers rolled up the entire city of Glückstadt as witness for his good deeds for the settlement of a French colony (“I take all of Glückstadt as my witness because, as Saint Paul says: show me your faith through your works, may Glückstadt judge over my conduct”).³² The testimonies became so important as Gardiol, Leers and Lavigne lacked the documented basis for their incomes and the privileges in the new colony because the King of Denmark and Norway had long since failed to renew the privileges or reply to repeated requests for a salary for the preacher and the cantor as well as financial allowances for the reimbursement of travel expenses to Glückstadt. With respect to the fulfilment of the requests, Leers – and obviously also Gardiol – stylized their intention in a deeply religious zeal (“zèle”) with the opulent church-music arrangement of the masses over a long period of time, entirely in line with a divine deed on earth.³³ Ultimately, all three left Glückstadt once again; Gardiol returned to Bützow, Lavigne travelled to Hamburg and Leers sold his house “behind the house a large garden a bricked

30 Letter from Gardiol to Consul Leers dated 22 April 1761, in: IBID.

31 “je puis prouver le contraire et par les pièces authentiques que j’ai et par le temoignage du vénérable Consistoire Reformé François de Stockholm, qui ne me sera pas refusé”. Letter from Lavigne to Consul Leers dated 21 December 1762, in: IBID.

32 “je prend tout Gluckstadt pour Temoin, Car comme dit St. Paul, fais moy voire ta foÿ par tes œuvres, que Gluckstadt juge de ma Conduite”. Letter from the Danish Consul Leers to the Foreign Minister Chancellor Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernsdorff in Copenhagen dated 6 January 1762, in: IBID.

33 Letter from the Danish Consul Leers to Chancellor Johann Hartwig Ernst von Bernstorff dated 19 August 1764, in: IBID.

Lusthaus”,³⁴ which was apparently designed to once serve the community as a church and for the extension of which he had already planned an extensive collection.³⁵ As also the French-reformed community of Bützow in Mecklenburg – from which Gardiol had traveled – had conducted an extensive collection in 1761-1763, among other in The Hague (Den Haag), Utrecht and Amsterdam, the extent at which purely financial reasons could rather have been decisive for the foundation of a Huguenot colony in Glückstadt, remains unclear.³⁶

All these examples refer to the importance of the “degree of authenticity” of documents for the mobility, but also for the establishment of certain persons at a location. Through documents considered authentic it was possible to verify things over a certain geographical distance; however, they conversely and quite correctly also served for integration at places where the “presenter” was unknown. Accordingly, written documents, such as passports, privileges and certificates were a direct part of persons and their networks in times when authenticity was defined through authorities established according to status and, based on this, led to the sociality of citizens which not necessary belonged to the elite. Contrary to this, actions were considered much less important at times, particularly if they lacked an authorized base issued by a local or transregional authority. The above mentioned recourses to the Bible and other written testimonies speak volumes.

Based on the fact that the mobility, which was so distinctive for the Early Modern Time music history, was also characterized by such administrative as well as music-historic documents, this triple step of authority, authenticity and sociality may be considered an important basis also for the assessment of musical or music-theoretical written testimonies, which were also part of the musicians’ mobility. The type of authority between author and dedicatee playing a role and the strategic-social intentions which generate sociality can probably be discerned in clear details

34 “Hintern Hause einen grossen Garten ein gemauertes Lusthaus”. *Glückstädtische Fortuna* Nr. 26, Mittwoch, 30 March 1763, in: IBID.

35 Project for a collection to obtain the necessary sum for the restoration of the new French-reformed church in Glückstadt (“Projet pour faire une Collecte qui puisse nous fournir les sommes necessaires pour mettre la nouvelle Eglise Reformé Française de Gluckstadt dans un etat decent et convenable”) of Consul Leers, in: IBID.

36 Cf. D-SWa, Domanialamt Bützow-Rhün, 2.22-10/3.

under the paradigm of an Early Modern Time situation of foreignness, as the foreign musicians simultaneously strove for an image of the prince as well as an image of the relevant social networks with their compositions and treatises.³⁷ Also here it is important to observe the versatility of the actors:³⁸ a copy of arias heard on the Grand Tour was able to generate cultural authenticity in the context of the education of the prince, just as a music tractate of Tartini, adopted in theoretical scriptures of the Adriatic region, was surely related to the travel experiences of the author and possibly also with the sociality within the European Republic of Scholars perceived by him.

Based on the authenticity definition and its intersections with authority and sociality it is furthermore possible to trace the alternating role of the divine instance in the 17th and 18th century, which was strongly characterised by the volte-face of education. Sometimes, an unbroken adherence to the religion also elucidates the social accesses on foreign soil associated by the actors with the mobility; this is once again particularly concise in the example of the French-reformed commune of Glückstadt: for example, Leers does not refer to an administrative document, but immediately to the Christian lore in the Bible to stylize his actions *in situ* as testimonies, similar to the case of Rosenbusch’s “wonderful” roads of the “Musicis” – even if, in the process, he thought of the earthly ways of the Lord. The authentication processes in today’s, i.e. personality-related, sense are surely only observable toward the end of the 18th century. However, the tension field between sedentariness and social ascent suggested above indicates that foreignness experiences necessitated the clarification of cultural character and affiliations much earlier and that written documents played an important part in the process.

Such an outline addresses three sections which are decisive for the examination of individual *vitae* with respect to cultural-historical implications of mobility and migration:

(1) The entanglement of prosopography, structural history and biography are urgently required to record and quantify systematic as well

37 Rudolf Stichweh characterises foreignness in Early Modern Times through cooperation formations (see e.g. national churches in Rome, colonies) and their “Immediate status [...] with respect to the prince or king”. STICHWEH, 2010, p. 115.

38 Regarding the legitimization chances of royalty resulting from the interaction with strangers cf. IBID.

as individual effects on mobility. This sector not least affects the issue of the relevance of case studies for transcending contexts, but also profits due to the immediate entanglement of musicians' migration and musical institutions such as the court, but also ecclesiastic chapels or educational institutions, also with respect to a general cultural history of the musical life in the 17th and 18th century. To this end, Colin Timms and Joachim Kremer point out the conditions and influences on individual careers based on the fact that musicians' migration was an everyday occurrence in Early Modern Times. During the 18th century, successes and failures contributed considerably to the development of individuality. While here also the of musicians' "way of life" is discussed as a unit of mobility and music experience, Britta Kägler and Berthold Over illuminate the institutional and dynastic conditions of the positioning of musicians at a foreign court and their dependency on the movement of the court, based on two collective biographies. Also foreign musicians succeeded to develop familiar networks at courts and, in doing so, co-constructed music-history relevant long-term perspectives of these courts, which excluded a career desire. Whereas Alina Żórawska-Witkowska and Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska compared individual biographies with a systematic overall view of the presences of foreign musicians at the Polish court of the 17th and 18th century. This approach not only emphasizes the importance of interregional networks for the individual careers, but also the versatility of the musicians in various contexts. Vjera Katalinić documents how much-traveled musicians enhanced the local music life in Dubrovnik (Ragusa), and which basic knowledge of foreign music styles were required for this with the "local citizens". It is important to define this bilateral versatility, reacting to different institutional and cultural circumstances as well as regionally educated musicians, also in the classification and categorization structure of the database, as suggested in a contribution by Berthold Over and Torsten Roeder for the MusMig Person Data Repository.

(2) The topic has a comparative perspective on the partially very previous areas of court, church/cloister and city, but also local, regional and transregional circles. This concerns not only the radius available for the search for sources, but also the reconstruction of cultural understandings, as they can be expressed in the context of long journeys and the achievement of career steps between divine providence and social ascent. According to a transcending contribution by Norbert Dubowy regarding

types of sources documenting musicians’ mobility between visits, trips and migration and whereby their intentionality can be captured by their contextualization with networks and institutions, Rashid-S. Pegah follows the trip of a singer without permanent employment between civic and court sources and points out the importance of selective gratifications for musicians at a variety of places. Subsequently, Jan Kusber and Matthias Schnettger look at the Moscow image of an Italian castrato who rendered the tension field between the court of the Tsar, his employer, and the foreigner’s quarter in autobiographic verses. The centrality of the prince was obviously not sufficient for the integration of a foreign singer, who furthermore asserted confessional, socio-cultural and educational reasons for his experiences as a foreigner. Bohemian sources are paramount at the end of this section: Jana Spáčilová assesses opera libretti of Bohemian productions in order to emphasize the importance also of regional networks and exchange structures between individual regional opera houses and traveling opera troupes for the Italian singers. This view is joined by the contribution of Jana Perutková, which focusses on the recruiting of Italian singers between Vienna, Brno (Brünn), Prague and Graz based on a court correspondence.

(3) It is advisable to also devote a detailed study to the handling of musical and music theory documents. The personal playing of music in a certain ensemble or in front of a certain audience is not the same as a report about it in an ego document or a copy of the played composition or, in turn, an aesthetic or music-theoretic essay about it in a tract. Each communicative act is characterized by different authorities, testimonies and social contexts and – this is ultimately demonstrated by Froberger’s compositions on a musical level – is reflected in different narratives. Rudolf Rasch and Michael Talbot, in their contributions for the publisher Estienne Roger in Amsterdam and for the reception of Italian *concerti* of the Scarlatti brothers in England, show how target-oriented compositions, and particularly editions, could be adapted to different musical practices and cultural reception samples and/or how quickly a composition could be distributed also without the consent of the author and with a multitude of unauthorized changes. Based on Roger’s received letters, Rasch verifies how important the written correspondence was for the distribution of musical repertoire. With the English copy of the *concerti* from the 1730s, Talbot documents certain pragmatism in the interlinking of works of migrated musicians with those of foreign musicians of rank-

ing, by showing how the acculturation of music occurs in an environment determined by other music-cultural experiences. In contrast, Aneta Markuszewska pursues the distribution of opera material in connection with the dedicatee Maria Clementina Sobieska Stuart, who lived in Roman exile and whose living conditions found reflexes in libretti. The extent to which music collections provide indications of biographical aspects of individual composers, touring companies or the princes themselves can be reconstructed based on the illustration of the Attems music collection from today's Slovenska Bistrica (Windisch Freistritz) near Maribor by Metoda Kokole. A similarly lively transfer of ideas is evident in the music tractates of music theorists from the Adriatic region, examined by Lucija Konfic and Stanislav Tuksar. Also here, the biographic stations of the authors, such as the personal acquaintance with Tartini in Padua or a stay in Rome and Moscow, are important elements for the understanding and cultural contextualization of the music-theoretic and music-aesthetic documents.

A total view of the contributions clarifies that the investigation of the Early Modern Times musicians' migration has to occur through biographic, institution-historical or prosopographical case studies, but that substantial and methodical connections also result from collective research in the context of digital humanities or generally by bundling essential research results. The extent to which works regarding musicians' mobility and migration can illuminate also the biography of an Andrea Bernasconi, the reception of the Mingotti touring company or Moscow's role in the European music life could already be indicated in the volume based on cross references between individual contributions.

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