

Competition at the Catholic Court of Munich

Italian Musicians and Family Networks

BRITTA KÄGLER

In the seventeenth century, Italian music with its interaction of music, scenery and costumes was *en vogue* at European courts. As a result of the breakthrough of Italian *drammi per musica*, the phenomenon of Italian musicians spreading all across Europe, from Scandinavia to Spain, from England to Russia, is fairly abundant and well known. On the other hand, systematical approaches referring to micro-historical perspectives on social and artistic integration of foreign musicians are still unexpectedly meagre and poorly researched. This article addresses foreign musicians at the court of Wittelsbach in Munich from as early as mid-seventeenth century up to late eighteenth century and comments on (mostly unsuccessful) efforts to establish lasting family networks. I am referring to the musicians themselves and the European courtscape as their major markets. This focus helps to complement the findings Tanya Kevorkian recently released about Munich town musicians.¹

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- 1 KEVORKIAN, 2012, pp. 350-371. The city itself maintained four pipers and one drummer for all public and private occasions before 1600. Court trumpeters and city pipers sometimes helped out on occasion. And it was not exceptional for city pipers to be both in the city service and court service at the same time. As the article in *The New Grove* strengthens: The city musicians did not form their own guild until after the Thirty Years War. LEUCHTMANN/MÜNSTER.

Introduction: research and sources

A few words should be said about current research on migration history, which is focusing to a great extent on the dimensions and the variety of migration processes in Early Modern Times.² Several studies which dealt especially with lower class migration proved that migration was not exceptional, but quite normal. The body of sources typically favored in migration history includes literature of biographical texts, eye-witness accounts, correspondence, and itinerary sources such as route descriptions or toll registration. Crises including wars and famines, along with religious and political expulsions and work migration among laborers have been emphasized as decisive factors to spark migration.³ Migration of elites, however, has found far less academic attention to date. Studies about the formation of networks shed more light on itinerant merchants or scholars who were educated abroad. Regarding traveling musicians, the focus was not so much on the single star composer – such as Handel and Hasse; it concentrated much more on the traveling “folk musicians” or the showmen with their touring theaters, who attracted attention. Early Modern musicians have repeatedly been at the center of historical, cultural-historical and musicological research,⁴ as these musicians had a lasting influence on the musical culture of Central Europe.⁵

- 2 Transnational migrations: OBERPENNING, 2001, pp. 123-126; MOCH, 1992, pp. 6-9. Regional migrations e.g. from Naples to Venice can be found in research dealing with Early Modern composers: STROHM, 1997, pp. 61-80; GESTRICH, 2013, pp. 297f., 300f.
- 3 Among them were hawkers and mercenaries as well as vassals, maidservants or craftsmen who were looking for work. Drawing on work by Klaus J. Bade and Leslie Page Moch over the last decades, migration history focused on a wide range of topics, from individual immigration, to integration strategies of migrating groups, to the rise of immigration during the nineteenth century in Europe.
- 4 Latest publications are dealing with foreign musicians at Hungarian courts. KIRÁLY, 2014, pp. 253-270. An overview on research concerning Hungarian court music and the musical life of its high nobility can be found in KIRÁLY, 2005, pp. 439-443; KIRÁLY, 2003, pp. 79-82.
- 5 Thus, the Bohemian musicians had a lasting influence on the musical culture of Central Europe during the eighteenth century. Leopold emphasizes in her recent publications that the “Mannheim School” in the middle of the eighteenth century would not have been possible without the Bohemian

Challenging the traditional sparse sources on migrating musicians, the ANR/DFG-sponsored MUSICI Project has produced a systematic survey of foreign musicians in Italy with focus especially on Venice, Rome and Naples between 1650 and 1750.⁶ By bringing together famous and well-known musicians such as Johann David Heinichen (1683-1729), George Frideric Handel (1685-1759) or Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783), whose careers certainly belong to the best-documented,⁷ and those less successful, less known – and less-documented – into the center of discussion, made an important contribution to our understanding of the role played by migrating musicians throughout Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The project members developed the structure of a relational database for migrating musicians, their patrons, and customers, as well as networks of reciprocity between patrons themselves and their dependents. Nevertheless, an extensive database such as this requires further collaboration with researchers from different disciplines. Intense exchange is guaranteed in the HERA MusMig project, which has been set up by Croatian, German, Polish, and Slovenian historians and musicologists in 2014.

Searching for names and context in micro-historical perspective

My first objective is the identification of foreign musicians who worked in Munich during the seventeenth and eighteenth century. I am considering those musicians who worked at court temporarily as well as those who established themselves and stayed in Bavaria for the remainder of their careers. Secondly, I am going to examine if foreign musicians were able to succeed in placing some of their family members in salaried jobs also at foreign courts – or if there is evidence to suggest that positions which passed down for generations were reserved for local musicians only. To explore these two consecutive aspects, it is necessary to look outside the corpus of standard sources to the still largely unexplored re-

immigrants. LEOPOLD, 2013, pp. 31 and 38. See also NAGEL, 1982, pp. 32-40; WÜRTZ, 1982, pp. 7-11; LARSEN, 1962, pp. 303-309.

6 See www.musici.eu, 07.07.2016.

7 And even Handel's stay in Rome is not well documented, but lies rather in the shadows of history.

cord administration. The Wittelsbach court in Munich offers an especially appropriate framework in as far as its record administration – including annual account books dating back to 1556 – which is completely preserved for a consecutive 250 years. For each calendar year, there is a record for every single person who received a salary⁸ from the court, sometimes even several pay slips handed down through history. Due to the selective survival of other sources, “Hofamtsregistraturen” – files of the registry – and “Besoldungsbücher” – salary records – are the best sources for the reconstruction of names and positions, as well as reports about the lives of foreign musicians. As the court of Munich was one of the most important Catholic courts within the Holy Roman Empire, close connections to other Catholic courts in Europe can be assumed, especially close relationships with Italy.⁹ Thus, not surprisingly, a significant number of foreign musicians in Munich came from the Italian peninsula. Munich’s *Hofkapelle*¹⁰ and its personnel structure mainly followed that of the Viennese imperial court; it was just a little smaller. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, about 1,500 persons were formally employed at the Bavarian court, which depicted a hierarchy that was, in a number of smaller households,¹¹ completely focused on the sovereign and his family. The largest European courts comprised hundreds of official musicians. Many of those who regularly attended the court for special events and festivities were not formally employed. Though most courts can be seen as places of quick turnover and invariable exchange, every once in a while, local musicians managed to establish family dynasties of musicians, such as the Kröner and Pez families throughout the eighteenth

8 Sometimes, even unpaid positions are listed.

9 The Italian peninsula was far from being one Early Modern territory reigned by one sovereign, but consisted of different duchies, republics, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and the Papal States. Nevertheless the idea of “Italy” was linked to the Italian language and culture that is why contemporary German sources absolutely adhered to the description “Italy” as “Welschland”.

10 The German word “Hofkapelle” means on the one hand a court chapel as a building, on the other hand it stands also for a chapel as a musical ensemble associated with a noble court.

11 Next to the princely household there were also the households of the electress, the children, and possible other households e.g. one of the widow of the late elector. KÄGLER, 2011, pp. 7, 47f., 60.

century in Munich. Based on the international job market for European musicians it is possible to estimate how many foreign musicians – both instrumentalists and vocalists – joined the extended household compared with the number of German musicians formally employed at court.

However, please allow me to first explain where we are and who we are dealing with in the Bavarian electorate: during the sixteenth century, the Bavarian court comprised just about 500 people and did not seem to rank highly among other contemporary courts in Europe. The same has to be said about the Bavarian *Hofkapelle* and its musicians. Though, first evidence of a *Kapelle* dates from the time of Duke Albrecht IV (1465/1467-1508),¹² the standing of the *Kapelle* waned after Ludwig Senfl,¹³ director of the *Hofkapelle*, died in 1543.

Nevertheless, in time, the Bavarian court became undoubtedly one of the most important Catholic courts within the Empire, which gave the Wittelsbach opportunity to closely align themselves with the Habsburg emperors, whose concern it was to strengthen the Roman Catholics in the course of the Counter-Reformation. Furthermore, an absolutistic court life was already shaped in Munich throughout the sixteenth century. This was particularly early with regard to the characteristics later known as signs of absolutism, and at least very early compared to other German-speaking courts. After the imperial court in Vienna, it was first and foremost Bavaria that adopted the imperial model and developed a cultural impact which was competing with the Habsburg court.¹⁴ When, from the seventeenth century onwards, Italian music triumphantly conquered Europe, Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (*1528, reg. 1550-1579) felt obliged to attempt the creation of a musical establishment in Munich *en par* with that at the most important courts in Europe, at least those of middle power status. As a result, Albrecht began upgrading his *Hofkapelle* from the 1560s by increasing the number of singers, the number of musicians playing the trombone,

12 The first court chapel included already two far traveled Bavarian musicians who had worked in London. LEUCHTMANN/MÜNSTER.

13 Different spellings: Senfli, Sennfel. Current research is dealing with Senfl's work, generating a complete catalog of his works. Preliminary results can be enquired online: <http://www.senflonline.com>, 08.01.2015. FISHER, 2014, pp. 79f., 83.

14 KÄGLER, 2011, p. 11.

and especially the strings.¹⁵ During his reign, Albrecht V was clearly responsible for transforming the court of Munich into a leading cultural center, which became increasingly “European in its musical outlook”.¹⁶

The culture at the ducal court in Munich is often characterized by a coexistence of traditional as well as open-minded concepts.¹⁷ The latter were definitely expressed in the dukes’ artistic patronage, particularly focusing on musicians who could enrich the *Hofkapelle* and its perception. Musicians outnumbered medical practitioners, writers, even confessors. However, salary records, travelogues and letters prove an astonishing standard of court music and an increase in efforts to improve musical performance and style.¹⁸ Considering the development up to the eighteenth century, salary records and court administration records confirm the assumption that foreign musicians at court did change in number and function. First, there were only a few foreign musicians – among them for instance Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594), who joined Albrecht’s *Hofkapelle* in 1556¹⁹ and was officially appointed as *Hofkapellmeister* in 1563. Under his auspices and the generous endowment of music by the duke the court ensemble, which originally had a strong Netherlandish

15 Duke Albrecht V was clearly responsible for transforming the small duchy of Bavaria during his reign into a leading cultural center: „Auch für andere deutsche und europäische Höfe läßt sich ungefähr ab Mitte des Jahrhunderts eine systematische Vergrößerung der Kapellen belegen. Neue organisatorische Strukturen zeigen, daß Instrumentalisten nun selbstverständlich zur Hofmusik dazugehörten. Ab 1552 wird z.B. am Münchner Hof nicht mehr zwischen Kantorei und Instrumentalisten unterschieden; sie bilden von nun an eine institutionelle Einheit. Der allgemein zu beobachtende Ausbau der Hofmusiken diente zuerst der Repräsentation im weltlichen Bereich, wurde jedoch auch für die Kirchenmusik bedeutsam.“ WIERMANN, 2005, p. 3.

16 LEUCHTMANN/MÜNSTER.

17 LÜTTEKEN, 2006, p. 14.

18 Research depends on various archival sources like the salary records provided in the Bavarian State Archives (inventory: D-Mhsa, Kurbayern Hofzahlamt), travelogues edited in several themed transcripts (e.g. travelogues edited by KARL VON REINHARDSTÖTTNER/KARL TRAUTMANN in *Jahrbuch für Münchener Geschichte*).

19 The earliest record of Lasso’s residence in Munich dates back to 1557 suggesting he joined the court of Munich in 1556. BOETTICHER, 1963, pp. 84-94, 121-137; FISHER, 2014, pp. 90-92; PIETSMANN, 2006; O’REGAN, 1999, pp. 132-157.

contingent, recruited more and more Italians.²⁰ And Munich had indeed much to offer to the musicians it attracted from abroad, as Albrecht V made a name for himself with the collection of antiques, art, valuable books and manuscripts, still an essential part of the Bavarian state library and the Bavarian state art collections. Publishers as Johann Andreas Schobser and especially Adam Berg and his successors (Nicolaus Henricus the Younger †1654, Johann Jäcklin †1710) founded Munich's reputation as a publishing center,²¹ Adam Berg specialized in music publications, including e.g. numerous editions of Lasso's works.²²

To date, research has been concentrating particularly on these top composers like di Lasso. However, there were more and mostly fameless musicians, whose number increased during the seventeenth century, which in turn led to fierce competition between local musicians and the increasing number of musicians, conductors and choir masters from the Italian peninsula for access to the Munich court. Important factual data on migration patterns of musicians in southern Germany can be gathered by carrying out a detailed prosopographical survey and a study of foreign musicians employed at the Wittelsbach court in Munich.

Nevertheless, it is no easy task to trace those musicians who were formally employed at court. When analyzing the salary records, it is possible to reconstruct who occupied which position(s) and how much they were paid quarterly, but it is rarely possible to gather detailed information about their tasks, their language skills, concerns or if (and where) these musicians proceeded on their career path once they can no longer be traced in Munich's administration records. In addition to the names and salaries of foreign musicians, only some records – especially records from the eighteenth century – reveal information about the beginning and the end of their employments.²³

20 LEUCHTMANN/MÜNSTER: "From then on Munich was a musical center of significance, with a chapel that could stand comparison with those of the emperor, the King of France and even the pope."

21 KÄGLER et al., 2012, p. 1503.

22 Different notations: Adamus Berg, Adam Montanus, Johannes Montanu (†1610). RESKE/BENZING, 2007, p. 625f.

23 The records rarely give insight into the reason why a musician left the court. For instance, the reasons for female singers at times were marriage, but also death. Additional information includes the marital status often with a mention of the husband's or wife's name, for female employees the maiden

A first list of foreign musicians suggests that it is mostly Italians who regularly found employment at the Wittelsbach court.²⁴ Also a small number of Dutch instrumentalists can be found. Many of these musicians are only mentioned for short term visits, implying that actors, singers and instrumentalists may have belonged to a troupe of actors giving a guest performance only. Most of the musicians traceable in the salary records stayed for more than six years. Singers and well-paid conductors and instrumentalists in high positions, such as composers, directors of the *Hofkapelle* and some of the string players, stayed longer and were members of the court ensemble in Munich until the end of their careers.

The salary records, however, are not our only record for foreign musicians. There are also contemporary catalogs of musical instruments. One of the most significant catalogs was set up in 1655.²⁵ All instruments belonging to the Bavarian court are listed with utmost care. But it is important to note that even this rudimental list reveals some information about foreign musicians: One of the valuable harps was mentioned as being stored in a case and kept at the home of an Italian priest (see figure 1). The former Italian priest and later court harpist mentioned in the short passage was surely Giovanni Battista Maccioni (employed: 1651-1674), born in Orvieto, subsequently living in Rome for years.²⁶ The result of comparing this catalog with the administration records is that Maccioni was formally employed at the Bavarian court since 17 May 1651. He was both listed as member of the princely household as well as member of the *Hofkapelle*. After ten years in Munich he returned to Rome where he continued working for the Bavarian elector. In his role as an agent of the Wittelsbach court, he recruited several Italian musicians including e.g. Ercole Bernabei (c. 1622-1687) who left his post as *maestro di cappella* in St. Peter in Rome for the lead of the Munich *Hofkapelle*.²⁷

name, too, as well as relationships, if father or mother were also employed at court. Finally, in some cases, the taxation is reported, making it possible to calculate the relation between gross and net income. KÄGLER, 2011, p. 57f.

- 24 These musicians are part of preliminary research results that will expand as I progress.
- 25 WACKERNAGEL, 2003, pp. 13-37 (facsimile).
- 26 For Bavarian connections and Maccioni's activity as Bavarian agent in Italy see EITNER, 1902, p. 263; DAOLMI; REINHARDSTÖTTNER, 1887, pp. 93-172.
- 27 Unfortunately, I could not find any reliable information on whether being head of the Munich *Hofkapelle* was better paid or linked with special privileges for the Italians.

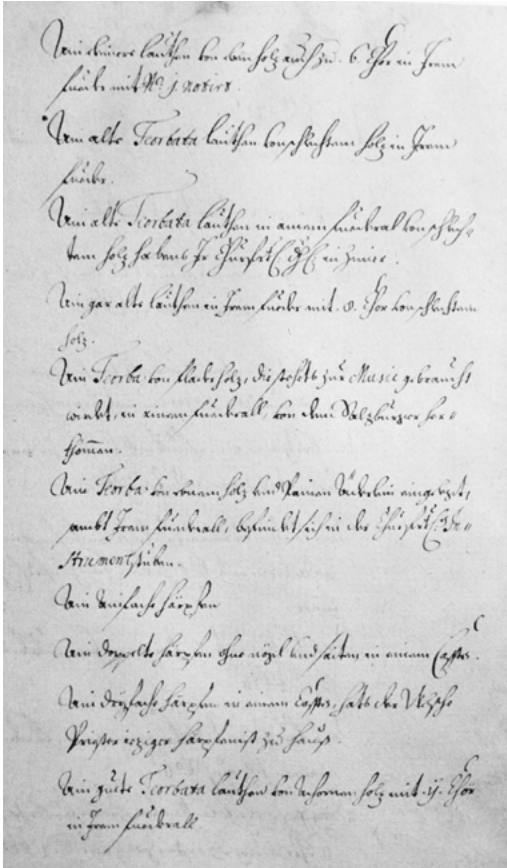


Figure 1:
Catalog of musical
instruments, 1655 –
“Inventarium über
die Churfürstliche
Instrumentenstuben,
so beschriben worden
Anno 1655”, fol. 10v
(WACKERNAGEL, 2003)

Together with the overall picture of foreign musicians it can be stated that more and more Italians came to Munich up to the mid-eighteenth century. One of them was Andrea Bernasconi (c. 1706-1784), a representative example of a successful and well-paid employee. Bernasconi was an Italian composer, mainly of operas. In 1753, he came to the court of Munich and was appointed to the post of *Hofkapellmeister* two years later. He successfully produced several compositions of the conservative *opera seria*. Gerber²⁸ reports that Johann Adolf Hasse’s wife, the soprano Faustina Bordoni (1697-1781), liked Bernasconi’s operas, and

28 GERBER, 1790-92, col. 146.

that his arias pleased her as much as those of her husband.²⁹ Clearly, Bernasconi was not a genius of his century. Subsequent judgments, which were taken out of context, overemphasized that Bernasconi composed some enjoyable, light and dramatic operas as well as those which failed, were dull and trivial with no dramatic effect.³⁰ However, it is very likely that Bernasconi not only satisfied the requirements of the Bavarian court, but that he was also very popular and seemed to reflect the spirit of his age in particular. So, how did Andrea Bernasconi come to the Munich court? – Well, little is known of Bernasconi's education. He was *maestro di cappella* at the Ospedale della Pietà in Venice for nearly ten years.³¹ His wife, Maria Josepha Wagele (c. 1722-1762), was German. He met and married her in Italy before he was invited as assistant *Kapellmeister* of vocal music in Munich. He was probably recruited by one of the elector's agents, much like a century ago, when Maccioni recruited several musicians in Rome for the Bavarian court. However, with the exception of his appointment, commencing in August 1753 and coinciding with the opening of the residence theater, none of this can be verified. One year later, he became the music teacher of Princess Maria Anna Josepha (until July 1755) and Princess Josepha Maria (until January 1765). Even the monarch himself, Max III Joseph, received music lessons from him.

Formally employed musicians and those who regularly attended the court without an official function also took part in Early Modern decision-making processes, as well as other servants. Their closeness – or distance – to the prince was an important indication of the status they held within court society. Court musicians were under the command of the High Steward (*Obersthofmeister*). In principle, the musicians did not belong to the aristocracy and, thus, were outside of the framework of noble hierarchy at court. Hence, they had no position of trust or direct access to the prince based on their range of musical tasks. Several studies on court history have shown, however, that there could be situations where those characteristics underlying courtly hierarchy were disregarded. These included the age, the tenure of serving at court (anciennity), the social rank

29 SADGORSKI, 2010, p. 261; LIPPMANN, 1987, pp. 17-65.

30 For efficacious judgements in the nationalistic spirit of the 19th century: "... viel Angenehmes, Leichtes, Effectvolles, neben viel Verfehltem, Leerem, Gehaltlosem", VON WURZBACH, 1856, p. 325.

31 Since 1744, SADGORSKI, 2010, pp. 48, 254.

of the family of origin, the age of the family if noble etc.³² In this respect, the function-oriented hierarchy at court was easily brought off balance by preference and favor.³³ Taking a close look at the particular situation, when the prince and a selection of his court members traveled, reveals a special feature of court musicians: Who and how many officeholders accompanied the prince during travels was connected with procedural tasks on one hand and how prestigious the entourage was considered on the other. In order to be seen as representative in Early Modern Times, not only the liveries of the servants had to be right, there were always musicians and trumpeters³⁴ necessary, too.³⁵ As a result, musicians could seek out the proximity to the prince; and being close to the elector could be an indication of their possible influence at court, for spending time with the prince and his family was a first step in the most common careers at courts. The personal proximity was of major interest: the elector was the most powerful advocate for any servant at the Munich court. Contemporaries saw the advocacy and mediation by the elector as a perfectly legitimate procedure, whether applied to court-internal matters, public matters or political decision making processes.³⁶

Bernasconi revealed a strong preference for positions close to the sovereign. But was he able to build a professional network or to secure positions at the court for his relatives? It is difficult to analyze the personal networks of Bernasconi, as we do not have many reliable sources. He shaped the court life for 19 years, and during this period many Italian musicians were attracted to the Bavarian court. Nevertheless, it is only possible to provide evidence of *one* protégé: Bernasconi cared about the musical education and the *début* of his stepdaughter Antonia Bernasconi (1740/1-1803), née Wagele, married Rieler. He instructed her in singing and arranged the opportunity of a very public *début* in Munich: She was singing the *Aspasia* in Bernasconi's own opera

32 HENGERER, 2004, p. 187.

33 KÄGLER, 2011, p. 408; WINTERLING, 1997, pp. 11-25.

34 Trumpeters were not listed in the same category as musicians (singers and instrumentalists), they were separate in the account books as were drummers. Both trumpets and drums had a long tradition of military importance. See WATANABE-O'KELLY et al., 2004, pp. 89, 167, 337, 435.

35 HENGERER, 2004, p. 136.

36 Referring to advocacy, closeness/distance and mediation see HENGERER, 2004, pp. 376-381, 443-446, 494-499; SCHLÖGEL, 2008, pp. 155-224.

Temistocle in January 1762 and started her successful career as a soprano in serious operas.³⁷

Here, the focus shifts to the networks of foreign musicians at the Bavarian court. Is Bernasconi's promotion of his stepdaughter a paradigm for networks of musicians? Did foreign court musicians succeed in establishing family members, placing some of them as colleagues at court? Analyzing the salary records, it can be proved that foreign musicians at court worked together as husband and wife only in rare cases, and hardly ever with other relatives. In the late eighteenth century, there was the married couple Le Brun (Le Brüne): Ludwig August was employed as oboist at the *Hofkapelle*, Franziska (née Danzi) was a soprano singer. Both are traceable for exactly the same period from 1780 up to the year 1791.³⁸ They came to Munich at the same time, as both of them had already been a working couple in Mannheim.³⁹ A hundred years earlier, Luigi Orlandi was employed for more than two years before also his wife received a post as a singer at the Munich court.⁴⁰ When Angela Orlandi died 13 years later, her husband resigned, left Bavaria and returned to Italy.⁴¹

However, it is striking that networks of local musicians are quite different and more far-reaching: Examples include the families Kröner and Pez, just two of many that placed relatives at court, starting as court musicians

37 Mozart said "he would have trusted her with a part in the German performance of *Idomeneo* that he was planning." Antonia Bernasconi, as Mozart said (letter from 29 August 1781), really sang well only in serious operas. Aside from that his letter is severely critical of her intonation and German declamation. See MÜNSTER; SADGORSKI, 2010, pp. 92, 107. Mozart's letter is online available (facsimile and transcript): <http://dme.mozarteum.at/DME/briefe/letter.php?mid=1186&cat=,08.11.2015>.

38 D-Mhsa, HR I 469/614.

39 See OVER, in print.

40 D-Mhsa, Hofzahlamt Kurbayern: Luigi Orlandi was court poet with the additional title of a secretary (1684–1697). His wife Angela Orlandi joined the court of Munich in 1686 as a vocalist. She received the honorary title as *Kammersängerin* and died in the first quarter of the year 1697 in Munich. D-Mhsa, HR I 471/751.

41 As my project's close examination of the situation at the Wittelsbach court will be complemented by a broad reference framework of musicians working at the courts of Eichstätt, Ansbach, Bamberg and Stuttgart, it might be possible to find related musicians at these courts, too.

and later gaining access to even more lucrative positions close to the elector. Starting points for this networking were often individual musicians in a position of trust. For example, the violinist Anton Kröner placed brothers and/or cousins, at least one son and daughter⁴² in the Munich court and helped in the award of a noble rank for himself and his family. It may have been an advantage that all family members were violinists: Anton Kröner started as court violinist before being employed as chamber violinist.⁴³ Since the 1750s, Anton Kröner helped to establish Franz Karl Kröner, who started at the same time as Anton as an *Instrumentalakkzessist*, i.e. assistant instrumentalist, before also being employed as a violinist. He, Franz Karl was ennobled in 1750 and became vice-concertmaster at court in 1764.⁴⁴ The same office was held later by Johann Nepomuk Kröner (1775-1780) and Johann Kröner (1780-1785).⁴⁵ Maria Josepha Kröner (née Berberich) was a singer and chamber virtuoso, too, according to the salary records.⁴⁶ Finally, Joseph Kröner held the office of “Ballmeister” at the University of Ingolstadt between 1778 and 1780.⁴⁷ Taking such a close look at the Kröner family members reveals a strong preference for similar or the same positions, staying true to their strength of playing the violin. Here, they had to compete with foreign musicians, mainly from Italy.

- 42 It might be a daughter-in-law, too, as the exact relationship could not be proven so far.
- 43 I assume the position as *Kammerviolinist* was a kind of honorary title at court for some violinists as chamber secretaries among other secretaries at court. These positions were not related to further duties but included chamber access and therefore closer proximity to the princely family. Anton Kröner was violinist from 1745 to 1770, *Kammerviolinist* (EITNER: Violoncellist) from 1744 to 1769. He died on 30 September 1770. Sources: D-Mhsa, HSK, DS 1754/I/9, DS 1768/XII/13, HR I 467/501.
- 44 *Instrumentalakkzessist* 1738, violinist from 1748 to 1778, vice-concertmaster during the year 1764. Sources: D-Mhsa, HSK, DS 1753/I/16, DS 1765/III/6, HR I 467/502.
- 45 Kröner, Johann von: “Vizekonzertmeister bei der Instrumentalmusik der Hofmusik” from 1780 to 1785. Sources: D-Mhsa, HSK. Kröner, Johann Nepomuk (might be identical with Johannes von Cröner): court and chamber violinist from 1751 to 1774, vice-concertmaster at court from 1775 to 1780. Sources: D-Mhsa, HSK, DS 1751/VIII/19, HR I 465/326, HR I 467/500.
- 46 D-Mhsa, HSK, DS 1755/V/30, HR I 463/136.
- 47 Kröner, Joseph (died on 2 November 1780): Sources: D-Mhsa, Hofzahlamt Kurbayern.

I previously mentioned another German family: members of the Pez family can be found throughout the second half of the seventeenth up to the middle of the eighteenth century. Johann Baptist Pez started as trumpeter at court and cleared the way for his children. Johann Christoph became a musician too, though the sources do not reveal which instruments he used to play. Between 1689 and 1692, Johann Christoph Pez was staying in Rome. Nothing is known about his stay in Italy but it suggests itself as a time for advanced education. Back in Germany, he returned to Munich for a while and became *maestro di cappella* at the court of Cologne shortly afterwards.⁴⁸ A close relationship between Munich and Cologne was rather normal at that time as the two electors were brothers and their personal relationship led to a steady exchange of artists, musicians, architects and other employees.⁴⁹ Franz Anton Pez is a son of Johann Christoph Pez; he also started as musician in Munich before leaving court music to become a toll collector for the court administration.⁵⁰ This position was a first step for the family to start a career outside of the pure music setting: His sister was lady-in-waiting at the princely household in Munich,⁵¹ her daughters both worked at court as servants between 1720 and 1748.⁵² Members of the Pez family showed a strong preference for positions close to the sovereign, culminating both in positions in the personal household of the princely family, and in the court and state administration. There, they detached themselves from the keen competition among musicians at court, where Italian origins, at least Italian family background and Italian experience, were still favored over the years of the turn of the century.

48 See OVER, in print.

49 Pez (Pöz), Johann Christoph. – Musician at court from 1689 to 1693, in 1694 he left Munich and was until 1705 at the Wittelsbach court in Cologne. – Sources: D-Mhsa, Hofzahlamt Kurbayern, HR I 463/156.

50 Pez, Franz Anton. – Court and chamber musician from 1718 to 1724 (he left the court to become a toll collector in the small Bavarian town Neuötting). – Sources: D-Mhsa, Hofzahlamt Kurbayern, HR I 463/152.

51 Pez, Anna Maria (mother of Christina Theresa Pez and Maria Anna Lombé, died at the beginning of 1728). She served at court as a chamber maid at from 1722 to 1728. – Sources: D-Mhsa, Hofzahlamt Kurbayern.

52 Pez, Theresia Christina (daughter of Anna Maria Pez, sister of Maria Anna Lombé). – Chamber servant of duchess Maria Anna from 1720 to 1736, left the court marrying and becoming a wife and returned widowed in the year 1746. – Sources: D-Mhsa, Hofzahlamt Kurbayern, HR I 8/40/8. Pez, Anna. – Chamber servant 1748. – Sources: D-Mhsa, HR I 8/40/8.

Conclusion

This insight into administrative sources shows their potential for analyzing Early Modern court musicians. For them, it was not just a question of obtaining a regular salary. Musicians were attracted to the court because of the privilege to serve at the center of the electorate. And as the society's elite was attracted to the court, musicians were able to join the noble networks and be part of representation processes at court. I noted earlier how it is often observed that local musicians were more successful in establishing lasting family networks than foreign musicians and their family members. The comparison between foreign and local musicians at the court in Munich hereby offers unique perspectives. Difficulties involved in trying to reconstruct migratory movements of Early Modern musicians always depend on variety and divergence of archival sources. Though the various factors that could determine the success or failure of integration processes at the Munich court cannot only be figured out by analyzing salary records and dominant positions of single families, yet this has value in itself: The difficulties of foreign musicians in establishing lasting family networks during the seventeenth and eighteenth century provides a framework against which we can judge alterations or continuity that may occur in later centuries.

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