

“try it elsewhere [...]” – Konrad Hagius and Musician’s Mobility in Early Modern Times in Light of Local and Regional Profile

JOACHIM KREMER

1. Research basis

Music history and musical action is situated in geographic spaces and it seems superfluous to point out that also any kind of migration of musicians depends on space. Thus, mobility and migration put the idea of strict delineation of geographical spaces into perspective and even question them, as the phenomenon of immigration and migration of musicians could be found whenever and wherever, e.g. also in case of a narrow geographic limitation of local and regional research.¹ Migration is considered as a form of spatial mobility which does not represent an individual but a collective phenomenon. In the past, particularly migration movements which were either based on political-ideological reasons or which concerned large numbers of people were of interest. The former includes exile research as well as remigration research,² also the

1 The contemplations regarding mobility and migration formulated here are associated with: KREMER, 2004.

2 See, e.g. during the 16th century the migration of Jews from Spain and Portugal to the Netherlands and Turkey, or during the 17th century of the Huguenots from France to Prussia. Regarding remigration see KÖSTER/SCHMIDT, 2005.

overseas migration, e.g. to America or Australia. The voluntary nature of migration processes – shown by the last two examples – was often not provided or merely in a restricted sense. Based on this fact, the term migration requires a minimum amount of change of locality: Only “those persons [are considered] international migrants who transfer their residence abroad for a certain minimum duration or an undetermined period of time – possibly forever. Tourists, daily or weekly commuters with a place of work in the adjacent country and persons employed in another country for a short period of time are thus not considered international migrants”.³ Only such determinations permit the enquiry about the specific reasons and motivations for the migration in view of permanence. The search for such motivations provide insights in the elementary decision-making processes of the individual and collective actions and indicate conditions and latitudes of the respective ranges, the origin as well as the destination of the mobility. As the “migrations as social processes [...] [are] answers to the more or less complex economic and ecological, social and cultural as well as religious-paradigm, ethnic and political existence and framework conditions”,⁴ so is the migration with respect to music history to be considered as a part-phenomenon of greater music history issues, embedded in interdisciplinary and particularly cultural-historical contexts.

Musicology has already dealt with these models of migration research derived from these settlements: with the seminar reports *Musica Baltica. Interregional musical-cultural relationships* the issue of mobility and migration became programmatic for the Baltic region research.⁵ Some fields of research, such as the so-called *Mannheim School* cannot deal without the phenomenon of mobility, for example with respect to the migration of Bohemian musicians or the Mannheim contacts to Paris. The phenomenon of mobility is also related to aspects of cultural transfer, not only with respect to the increasing network of the world in terms of traffic during Modern Times.⁶ If music history research speaks of “influence”, “music connections” or “cultural transfer”, it always also implicitly refers to the phenomenon of mobility, because the migration of musical repertoires is not conceivable without the relationship of people

3 MÜNZ, 2009, 29.01.2015.

4 BADE, 2002, p. 21.

5 OCHS et al., 1996, and OCHS et al., 1997. See also RAATZ, 1999.

6 ARLT, 1993, and DETERING, 1996, pp. 96-114.

over distances, i.e. without the network of geographical spaces.⁷ Here, mobility could satisfy current needs, as the recruitment of numerous Italian musicians by German courts during the Early Modern Times verifies. However, there could also be moments of retardation when old repertoire was imported, i.e. in Riga, where the cantor and organ player Georg Michael Telemann staged compositions of his grandfather, Georg Philipp, even though with traces of an update.⁸ It is the essence of regional and interregional research that migration research devoted to collective phenomena is an alternative concept to individual biographies and any form of “hero history” by focussing on groups of persons and, furthermore, not only those musicians who entered the history books as “heroes”. In contrast, the phenomenon of migration concentrates much more on the incorporation of musical creation (individual or certain groups of musicians) in social and musical contexts. However, any depreciation of, thus, important musicians as “Kleinmeister” would ignore the potential of a contextual reconnection in favour of a constriction to issues of quality, and would classify all forms of repertoire distribution and transfer processes as aspects of music history of minor importance.⁹

2. The individual musician in the cultural landscape “Weser Renaissance”: The example of Hagius (1550-1614)

In his articles pertaining to music history of the 18th century published approx. 100 years ago, Romain Rolland pursued the objective of making forgotten musicians, their *vitae* and works, known. He wanted to do justice to the musicians forgotten by historians¹⁰ and, in doing so, he rejected the historiography that had decisively determined the just finished century: the hero history description. Thus, Johann Sebastian Bach is hardly mentioned in Rolland’s articles (only as antithesis). Rolland virtually reversed the categories of historiography with Telemann, Kuhnau and Stamitz: the hero category was even replaced by the formerly often

7 Vol. 9 of *Arolser Beiträge zur Musikforschung* regarding “Migration [...] during the Baroque period” explicitly refers to this issue. BRUSNIAK/KOCH, 2002.

8 KREMER, 2006, pp. 159-168.

9 KREMER, 2000, pp. 161-183. Also: RASCH, 2008.

10 ROLLAND, 1919 and regarding the following: SANDBERGER, 2004, pp. 182-190.

so-called “Kleinmeister” category. However, despite the high estimation of Rolland’s historiographic role, the rehabilitation determined by a sense of justice is not the major issue of my article. Rather, it is the understanding of the basic options of the musical acts and designs during the time of the “Weser Renaissance”, thus, in a geographical space illustrating a certain cultural unit between Reformation and the Thirty Year’s War. Focussing on this geographic space as a cultural unit also follows Hermann Aubin and his research on the Westphalia area, namely the description of a regional profile, which allows to differentiate a certain space from other spaces, to distinguish it and to capture by characteristics, which allows the recognition of accumulations, centering or (also geographical) marginalization. However, such a profile may not be understood as a rigid scope of action. Rather, numerous musicians operate in a structural frame changing more slowly than an individual *vita*. Consequently, the connection of regional profile formation and musician’s mobility represents a combination of structural-historical and individual-biographic approach to music history. The musician Konrad Hagius is to serve as a type of case study, as his *vita* exhibits mobility in a remarkable manner.¹¹

In 1550, Hagius was born in Rinteln; however, not much is known about his education and studies. From 1581, a musician with this name applied several times for a position in the Stuttgart *Hofkapelle*, namely in 1581 and 1591, and received from the court in Stuttgart two Gulden for “numerous compositions” as early as in 1582, i.e. still under the reign of Duke Ludwig of Württemberg.¹² In between, he stayed at the court of Count Edzard II of East Frisia in Emden in 1584, applied there for the position of cantor and is verifiable at the court of Duke Johann Wilhelm the Rich at Jülich, Cleves (Kleve) and Berg in Düsseldorf in 1586. This was obviously followed by extended travels soon thereafter because, in the introduction of his *Neue künstliche musikalische Intraden* (New artificial musical intrades) in 1615, Hagius writes that he had traveled Aus-

11 As early as in 1812, Konrad Hagius has been included by Ernst Ludwig Gerber in his *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (New historical-biographical lexis of musical artists) (GERBER, 1812, vol. 2, col. 480ff). Also Gustav Schilling considered him in 1836 in his *Enzyklopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften* (Encyclopedia of the entire musical sciences); SCHILLING, 1836, p. 418.

12 The early attempts are not mentioned in: GOLLY-BECKER, 1999. See here BOSSERT, 1910, p. 339 and BOSSERT, 1900, pp. 273, 283ff.

tria, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Prussia and Lithuania. After a further sojourn to Stuttgart, Hagius is again mentioned in a letter in 1586, where the secretary and teacher of Count Simon VI of Lippe recommended him, which – according to Hans Joachim Moser – had even led to employment at Count Simon. Once again, after a certain period of time, Hagius went to Stuttgart where, in 1600, he was accepted into the *Hofkapelle* as bass singer. In 1602, he received a commendation as well as extra pay for copying a fifteen-voice composition for viols.¹³ However, he only appeared as a composer in Stuttgart in the register of the court lute player Paul Jenisch for whom he composed the canon *Christus ist mein Leben* (Christ is my life) in 1602, which was later bound into the register as endpaper (see figures 1 and 2).¹⁴ This register dating to the years 1575 to 1647 originates from Paul Jenisch, a theologian and musician, who worked as a lute player in the *Hofkapelle* from 1613 following his career as a theologian, and who died in 1647.¹⁵ The sad fortune mentioned in the inscription (“miserum fatum”), can definitely be interpreted biographically and provides insight into a forced geographical (and subsequently professional) mobility of the register owner: because Jenisch and Hagius shared an adherence to the Catholic confession,¹⁶ and Jenisch had to leave Augsburg in 1595 due to the publication of a mystical text and subsequently settled in Lauingen. Here, he was also visited by the Gdansk *Kapellmeister* Nikolaus Zangius and it is surely not a coincidence that Hagius married there on 20 April 1602.¹⁷ In 1603, Hagius once again received an extra payment from the court in Stuttgart; however, soon thereafter, on 20 June, he was dismissed, presumably during the preparations for the glamorous festivities in occasion of the bestowed Order of the Garter (*Hosenbandorden*) to Duke Friedrich I of Württemberg, one of his greatest achievements in foreign affairs.¹⁸ Following a short employment at the court of Friedrich IV of the Palatinate in Heidelberg

13 BOSSERT, 1910, p. 356.

14 D-Sl, Cod. Hist. 4^o 299, fol. 9r and 9v.

15 See KREKLER, 1999, pp. 38ff. as well as GOTTWALD, 1969, p. 93.

16 Renate Federhofer-Königs notes that Hagius converted from Lutheran to Catholic faith and was even ordained a priest in 1572; FEDERHOFER-KÖNIGS, 1957, p. 35, note 11.

17 GOTTWALD, 1969, p. 93.

18 See here RÜCKERT, 2010, particularly chapter “Ritter beider Orden” (Knight of both medals), *IBID.*, pp. 381-395.



Figure 1 (for the caption see figure 2)

and the Kurmainz *Amtshof*, which, however, is not proven by sources, Hagius was once again accepted in the Stuttgart *Hofkapelle* on 9 November 1607. However, negative tendencies following the death of the duke in 1608 caused the final termination of his employment: although Ludwig Finscher points out that Hagius, as well as numerous other musicians, had followed a variety of denominations,¹⁹ however, this inter-denominationally orientation of the *Hofkapelle* – not least due to the mobility and different origins of the musicians – became difficult in Wurttemberg after 1608: The new Duke Johann Friedrich ordered that “Papists were no longer to be tolerated”.²⁰ The established Hagius was initially granted protection, yet under the proviso that the Duke would be able to terminate his employment at any time. This termination occurred soon thereafter on 20 February 1609. Meanwhile, Hagius had made contact with the ambitious Count Ernst III of Holstein-Schaum-

19 FINSCHER, 1989, p. 385.

20 BOSSERT, 1911, p. 157.



Figure 2: Konrad Hagius, Canon à 4, Christus ist mein Leben. Register page, Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart, Cod. Hist. 4° 299, fols. 9r and 9v (with the kind permission of the Württembergische Landesbibliothek Stuttgart).

burg by bestowing to him his *Tricinien* collection in 1604. On the other hand, it is most remarkable that Hagius failed to dedicate either this collection nor any other of his music sheets to the Wurttemberg Duke Friedrich I as his long-standing employer, even though other sheets can be related to the specific place of work, so the Gdansk *Glückwunschung: zu einem glückseligen Eingang des 94. Jahrs* (Felicitations: to a beatific start of the 94th year) (Thorn 1594) or the Ulenberg Psalter, which indicates a Catholic, in the eyes of some music researchers also counter-reformatory application. However, the latter mentioned dedication would have been unthinkable in Wurttemberg after the Austrian administration of the dukedom during the 16th century, following the impending re-catholicization and the subsequent reconversion of the dukedom into a fiefdom (*Reichslehen*) in the Treaty of Prague (*Prager Vertrag*) (1599) purchased by Friedrich I for 400,000 Gulden. Such religious-denomination-associated compositions would only have re-

ceived marginal significance in 1600 Wurttemberg and the “cleaning” of the *Hofkapelle* in 1609 can even be interpreted as an expression of Lutheran self-localization. It is remarkable that Hagius, with the *Psalmen Davids* published already in 1589, was geared toward contexts that were quite different from the Wurttemberg circumstances with regard to religious denomination-politics as well as musical aspects. It is therefore safe to assume that the subsequent Stuttgart employments could only have been transitional stations for him. In contrast, the introduction to the *Tricinien* indicates that Hagius had met Count Ernst III many years before. In addition, contacts to the cloister Möllenbeck had been established as early as 1596, from which a recommendation had been made to Count Simon VI of Lippe, to whom he had dedicated the compositions. This obviously long-standing relationship lasting beyond the terminations in Stuttgart paid off for Hagius in this last stage of his life: negotiations had commenced in 1608 in order to employ a “Wolgeübten unndt Kunstreichen Capellmeister”, i.e. a well versed and artistic *Kapellmeister* in Bückeberg.²¹ Hagius would probably have left Stuttgart much sooner, but he was only released from employment Easter 1609; long time before he had signed the Bückeberg *revers* at this point in time, namely on 17 January 1609, thus one month prior to his actual termination, upon which the letter of passage had been penned immediately.²² At that time, there were obviously not enough reasons to hold Hagius in Stuttgart. Although the stage of life now following with the assumption of office Easter 1609 was short, it was successful in every aspect, yet: it almost seems as if Hagius had finally found his purpose after many years of preparation and contact maintenance. As the new *Hofkapellmeister* in Bückeberg Hagius established the first *Hofkapelle*, but received his release from court services and the nomination as “Composer [...] at the court music” as early as 1611. Easter 1612, he retired to his native town of Rinteln with a significant annual wage and had to deliver a print publication annually. However, he died during the first six months or in summer of 1616.

One constructive moment of this musician’s *vita* is his mobility which led him staying at one place hardly longer than a few years. Although Hagius did not visit the politically and artistically most aspiring

21 See the letter by the Prior of cloister Möllenbeck, Hermann Wedemhoff, in: LAAKMANN, 2000, p. 1 and the rendition *IBID.*, pp. 305ff.

22 LAAKMANN, 2000, pp. 283, 306ff.

courts (Munich, Copenhagen or Kassel), he approached courts which were either culturally interested or promoted the establishment and/or re-establishment of their *Hofkapellen*. The ultimate structure change of the *Hofkapellen* described by Wolfgang Hirschmann toward mixed *Kapellen* (*cantorey*) or the establishment of instrumental court music²³ can also be recognized in Bückeberg under Ernst III and in Detmold under Count Simon. Although the court in Stuttgart, under the direction of the *Hofkapellmeister* Balduin Hoyoul and Leonhard Lechner, was also one of the aspiring courts which even tried to compete with Munich, a less methodical music policy was pursued under the government of Duke Friedrich I; one eagerly hired musicians (also from Italy), but this international orientation was only marginally deliberated.²⁴ This also becomes evident in the fact that – on the one hand – many musicians were hired for a short period in Stuttgart (among those also Hagius) and – on the other hand – that many traveling musicians visited the court; however, among those are hardly any names still known today.²⁵ Hagius, as bass singer, hardly played a significant or even leading role in this musical policy. In addition, he did not possess the qualities favored by the duke of Stuttgart: He was neither Italian nor one of the English actors, which were popular there at this time.²⁶ His activity was more traditional than those of the Englishman John Price, who was used as lute player at special festivities, such as during a performance of the musical play *Phoebus und Lucina* in 1609 in the context of the wedding feast for Duke Johann Friedrich. Price was admired in Marin Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle* because he could play through three octaves on a three-hole-flute and Philipp Hainhofer was impressed because Price was able to play *viola*

23 HIRSCHMANN, 2015, pp. 189-198.

24 See here KREMER, 2010a, pp. 315-334.

25 See here the analysis of the court files and the list of traveling musicians who livened up the music scene at court in Württemberg by dedicating compositions to the Duke or received wages for courtesies; see lists in: BOSSERT, 1910, pp. 359-362. In all, the list hardly includes musicians from the great music centers such as Vienna, Munich or Paris. At most, Valentin H[a]ussmann stands out among them who presented the duke with a composition in 1594, thus on the way to or from the *Reichstag* in Regensburg, and who repeated such a gift in the following year. A pendant illustrates the evaluation of the granting of passports: KOU DAL, 1993.

26 KREMER, 2010b, pp. 235-256. Here also HENKE, 2014.

da gamba with one hand while simultaneously playing “English pfeiflin” with the other.²⁷ This makes Price appear as a personified musical curiosity of a type collected by Friedrich also for his princely “art chamber” (*Kunstammer*); in a minor capacity, he represents a certain type of music or even a certain – possibly newly created – repertoire. One diversion may be permitted: if Hagijs, beside his activity as musician, would have also taken on the role of an alchemist, his chances at the court in Stuttgart would surely have increased enormously, because Duke Friedrich I employed a large number of alchemists whose physical existence, however, was constantly jeopardized: if unsuccessful, they ended up on the gallows.

3. The role of the sovereign personality

Hagijs stayed at no other court as often as he did in Stuttgart, where the politico-cultural ambition constantly offered new possibilities for confirmation, but the lack of systematic planning of the princely music policy represented a mixture of security and uncertainty for him. This was not the case at Bückeburg, where Count Ernst awarded him with the central musician office to establish the *Hofkapelle*. Hagijs used this artistic latitude by hiring other musicians: the singer Martin Glatz and the alto Georg Mayer followed him from Stuttgart. The letter of passage further mentions bringing one alto and one tenor each to Bückeburg.²⁸ The Italian Josephus Marini from Venice also reached Bückeburg via the court in Stuttgart.²⁹ In June 1609, Hagijs obtained information on Bückeburg via Marini, who was lent to the Zollern court at the time. This permits the conclusion of a profound difference between the conditions at Stuttgart and Bückeburg. As much as the structural conditions were able to affect the work of a musician, his mobility and his *vita*, so formative was also the person of the sovereign during Early Modern Times, his individual propensities and preferences. The significance of this personal compo-

27 MERSENNE, 1636, Vol. 3: *Traité des Instruments à cordes*, pp. 231ff. Hainhofer states as follows: “spielet auf der viola di gamba und pfeiffet wie gemelt zugleich mit der rechten hand auf einem englischen pfeifflin”, he “habe ihn Ao 1615 in Stuttgart auch also spilen hören”; MEYER, 1962, col. 1623.

28 LAAKMANN, 2000, pp. 71ff., note 258.

29 LAAKMANN, 2000, p. 73.

ment is particularly evident in the fact that, following the death of the sovereign, the successors set different priorities and sometimes dissolved *Hofkapellen*; this, for example, was the case in Detmold under Count Simon VII or in Heidelberg with the accession of Friedrich V of the Palatinate in 1610. Luckily, the development in Stuttgart (i.e. the personnel restructuring), after the death of Friedrich I in 1608, coincided for Hagius with the option of changing over to Bückeburg. Here, he met with a regent who strove for the intensive expansion of the *Hofkapelle* and whose role is retrospectively applauded by Johann Rist in 1666:

“In this hour, I must praise the deceased, knowledgeable Lord and Prince Ernst, Count of Schauenburg and Holstein, Lord of Gehmen and Barga; this energetic prince loved his musicians whom he employed at his magnificent court from various nations, but particularly from Germany and England in such a manner that he paid them like his very reasonable chancellors and advisors and clothed like his peers [...]; this is why it was also required that two *Kapellmeister* were present for his incomparable music, of which each received wages of 1200 Reichsthaler *per annum*. The other musicians were paid 1000, some 1200 Reichsthaler each/ [...] The prince had furthermore clothed the mentioned musicians in magnificent clothes/ [...] and it is not to be mentioned that the gentlemen *Kapellmeister* and also some of the other musicians wore a presentable golden chain and held such esteem with the entire court society as well as the citizens and residents of the country that the prince himself found pleasure in it because it resulted in the fact that the prince had such music at his court as could hardly be found at the imperial or other princely courts.”³⁰

30 “Ich muß noch diese Stunde loben/den Weiland hochqualificirten Herren/Fürsten Ernten/Graffen zu Schauenburg und Holstein/Herren zu Gehmen und Barga/welcher tapferer Fürste seine Musicanten/die er von unterschiedlichen Nationen/sonderlich Teütschen und Engelländern/an seinem prächtigen Hofe hielte/dermahssen liebte/daß Er sie/wie seine hochvernünftige Kantzler und Räte/besoldete/und wie seine Edelleute kleidete. [...] Also mussten auch bey seiner unvergleichlichen Music/zwene Kapellmeister sein/derer ein jedweder zwölfhundert Reichsthaler jährliche Besoldung hatte/den anderen Musicanten gab Er einem jeglichen Tausend/etlichen auch zwölfhundert Reichsthaler/[...] Über dieses alles/ließ hochgedachter Fürst besagte Musicanten prächtig kleiden/[...] zu geschweigen/daß die

Based on the chronological distance, Rist's eulogy may not entirely illustrate reality, but it provides an impression of the role of the person, as it describes Count Ernst as the center of this musical promotion. Also Hagius attests to such an attitude of the prince in the introduction of his *Neue deutsche Tricinien* of 1604: he had "seen and known how Your Worship, apart from the other liberal arts, appreciates and loves music with particular delight".³¹ Accordingly, Count Ernst showed interests which were also shared by his brother-in-law, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse, whose court he had experienced, or which were pursued by his cousin, Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel: in such a concept, music was understood as a part of the liberal arts, beyond all political and representative productions.³² Helge bei der Wieden explicitly compares the music policies of the Bückeburg Count Ernst III of Holstein-Schaumburg with those of his brother-in-law, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse and, summing up, declares:

"However, maybe this is part of the secret of Ernst's success: he does not scatter himself. He prefers an excellent instead of a mediocre *Kapelle*, also when he could additionally afford a slightly glamorous theater. [...] He sets other priorities."³³

Herren Kapelmeistere/ auch etliche von den anderen Musicanten/ihre statliche güldene Kette trugen/wobey sie in solchem Respect und Ansehen bey der sämtlichen Hofeburß/auch Bürgern und Landes-Leuten waren/daß der Fürst selber seinen Lust und Wolgefallen daran hatte/zumahlen dahiedurch ward zu wege gebracht/daß der hochlöbliche Printz eine solche Music an seinem Hoffe hatte/derer gleichen kaum am Kaiserlichen/wil geschweigen anderen Fürstlichen Höfen müchte erfunden werden." RIST, 1666, preliminary report (without pagination), quoted also in: LAAKMANN, 2000, p. 2.

31 "gesehen und erfahren/wie Ew. G. nebens den andern Freyen Künsten/der selben auch die Musicam [...] nicht für die schlechteste zu schätzen/mit sonderbahrem lust hat gelieben lassen". Quote according to LAAKMANN, 2000, p. 68.

32 See SCHMIDT, 2010, pp. 279-298.

33 "Aber vielleicht liegt hier ein Teil des Geheimnisses von Ernsts Erfolg: Er zersplitterte sich nicht. Eine hervorragende Kapelle war ihm lieber als eine mittelmäßige, auch wenn er sich dann zusätzlich noch ein wenig glanzvolles Theater hätte leisten können. [...] Er setzte andere Schwerpunkte." BEI DER WIEDEN, 1994, pp. 41ff.

Compared to these two court positions, the Stuttgart findings under Friedrich I with respect to the artistic program are rather diffuse. Friedrich consistently promoted the economy of his country in the spirit of mercantilism, particularly the cultivation of flax as well as its processing and at the same time metal processing; after all, it was important to recover the 400,000 Gulden which he had paid to Habsburg for full sovereignty over the dukedom.³⁴ Yet, he was personally less fond of music. However, he was eager to learn, which is evident by the descriptions of his travels to Italy, the Netherlands and England.³⁵ However, his musical education or activity, as explicitly noted in the report of his travels to England for Queen Elisabeth I, is not verifiable.

4. Specialization and professionalism

Even though Hagius was employed as a singer in Stuttgart, his *vita* shows that he principally saw himself as a composer. As early as in 1584, he applied – although in vain – as “Componista” for choir service in Emden; in 1594, he devoted a composition to the burgraves, mayors and senators of the city of Thorn; in 1604, he devoted his *Neue deutsche Triciniumen* to Ernst III; and the second edition of the Psalter is devoted to the Kurmainz Archbishop Johann Schweickhart. The organist and composer Wolfgang Getzmann also included Hagius among the few specifically mentioned “musicae coryphaeis” in his *Fantasien* print of 1613.³⁶ In contrast to this nationwide profile, from Stuttgart it is only known that he had presented the Württemberg duke an eight-part composition in 1603.³⁷ Although – on the occasion of the denomination-related dismissals in Stuttgart in 1609 – it was pointed out that Hagius was a “good composer”, yet a composer activity at the court in Stuttgart is not verifiable, with the exception of the page from the Jenisch register (figures 1 and 2). However, particularly this genre of composition indicates that the work as a composer was not specifically required: in Stuttgart,

34 LORENZ, 2010, p. 7.

35 RÜCKERT, 2010.

36 This print assumes the sequence technique of the English *fancies*. WOLFGANG GETZMANN, *Phantasiae sive Cantiones mutae* [...], Frankfurt 1613, information according to: SL (REIMANN), 2002, col. 851.

37 Regarding the application in Emden, see NIEMÖLLER, 1969, p. 215 and the Stuttgart dedication BOSSERT, 1910, pp. 339, 357.

Hagius was employed as a singer, rather at the center of the traditional music repertoire and not in areas where innovations were pursued.

Hagius extensively worked as composer and editor of instrumental music before or after his time in Stuttgart and his collective print *Neue künstliche, Musicalische Intradan, Pavanen, Galliarden, Passamezen, Courant und Uffzüg* (Nuremberg 1616) served those interests which were obviously not sought in Stuttgart: because, the print emphasizes the novelty of the music, its latitude with respect to genre and degree of style (from parade to fugue) and aims to vocal and instrumental design. It combines the compositions of various composers (such as the four-part movement *In laudem Musices* of the Bückeberg *Kapellmeister* Tobias Hoffkuntz) and, with its five-part dances (among those works by Alessandro Orologio, Johann Grabbe and Thomas Simpson), it participates in the instrumental music production of its time. Interestingly, it also conveys a composition by Gioseffo Biffi whom Hagius surely knew or knew of from Stuttgart: Biffi had been employed there since 1 August 1597, but it is noted that he disappeared in a “dishonest manner” as early as 6 November 1600, thus five days before the employment of Hagius.³⁸ Biffi is therefore one example of a foreign musician who practiced internationality, and who, with his madrigal prints published prior to his Stuttgart employment,³⁹ stood for a repertoire which was, however, rather marginal in Stuttgart. Contrary to the Württemberg court, in 1607, Count Simon VI of Lippe sent his musician Johann Grabbe to Venice for a two year education and, subsequently, Grabbe’s *Primo libro de’ madrigali* published in 1609 is verifiable in Bückeberg.⁴⁰ Biffi’s Italian madrigal *Questi freggi celesti* on the Stuttgart music table created in 1599 and preserved until today together with the collection of the duke’s *Kunstkammer*, remains an exception in the Stuttgart repertoire.

The aspiring music policy of the Bückeberg Count Ernst of Holstein-Schaumburg obviously permitted the connection of denominational openness and creative ambition.⁴¹ The last print of Hagius is obviously tailored to this situation, because only 15 of the overall 60 compositions

38 BOSSERT, 1910, p. 348. Konrad Hagius included a *Galliarda amorosa a 4* by Biffi in his *Neue künstliche, Musicalische Intradan, Pavanen, Galliarden, Passamezen, Courant und Uffzüg* [...] (Nuremberg 1617).

39 BIFFI, 1596, and ID., 1600.

40 LAAKMANN, 2000, p. 218.

41 BEI DER WIEDEN, 1994, pp. 39-43, regarding Hagius *IBID.*, p. 41.

originate from Hagius, among those a *Pavan de Schawenburg* and a *Galliarde di Rentle* [Rinteln]. In Stuttgart, there is only a small reference to the independent instrumental music during the reign of Friedrich I, which is connected to Hagius: for the copying of a fifteen-part composition for viols he received a commendation and extra payment of one Gulden in 1602, when 14 instrumental musicians were hired.⁴² A Stuttgart inventory of 1589 registered only few viols, and even if one were to assume a blurred equalization of “Geygen” and “Violen” (violins and viols) in this source, the cast of the copied compositions must have been extraordinarily large with respect to the size of the viol ensemble. This applies for the entire ensemble repertoire of the time, not just for the circumstances in Stuttgart. However, there were no independent instrumental music prints in Stuttgart at that time. This is also due to the fact that Stuttgart was not a trading center similar to the commercial and university cities, for example Frankfurt, Leipzig or Nuremberg. In contrast, Hagius’ last edition carries international repertoire, namely respective a *Galliarde* by the English-Dutch lute player Gregorius Huwet (Heuwett, Howett, Huwer), whom Hagius could have met previously at the wedding at Jülich, by Gideon Lebon and by Alexander Orologio six intrades set with German text. It therefore fits the Bückeberg musical policy which favored instrumental as well as English music, and which was not verifiable in Stuttgart.

5. Mobility and work options or “try it elsewhere”

In light of the different latitudes in Wurttemberg and Schaumburg-Holstein it is once more emphasized in clear words: this contribution does not attempt the “honor rescue” of the musician Hagius, who never played a central role, neither in music history of his time nor in modern historiography. It is also not about appropriating a musician for a territory (such as Wurttemberg) in order to write a broken down hero-story. As the number of Hagius’ compositions is limited, a person-related illustration can only be

42 BRENECKE, 1956, col. 1312 and BÖLLING, 2001, col. 395-397. Presumably, this meant 15 parts (partes) and not a real fifteen-part composition for viols. Regarding Hagius see BOSSERT, 1910, p. 339. Regarding “Geygen” and “Violen” (violins and viols) at the Stuttgart court see GOLLY-BECKER, 1999, p. 208.

about the representation of the different opportunities and circumstances encountered by a musician in various situations. This allows the contextualization of the mobility behavior of a musician. Hagius' *vita* is ruled by employments and changes, by settlement and mobility. This heterogeneity is also reflected in his œuvre. It includes occasional works at the beginning of the year 1594 or for Jenisch's register, the psalm designated for congregation vocals and lessons, his first book of 12 *Magnificat*-scorings, which were printed in Dillingen and dedicated to the brothers Marcus and Christoph Fugger, the *Neue deutsche Tricinien*, which provide a variety of movement techniques for secular and theological text, and the collective print with numerous compositions (also instrumental works) of other composers of 1616. It is difficult to detect any uniform musical profile; one could almost say that it was only consequential that the heterogeneity of the *vita* had also caused a heterogeneous Œuvre. Even the extremely favorable opportunity of changing to the Bückeberg Court failed to produce a radical change in this context, not least due to the early death of the composer. To some extent, Hagius' activity as composer runs parallel to the local options, ignores his musical actions as bass singer and demonstrates artistic multi-professionalism. Since Hagius had never held an active position prior to his employment at Bückeberg, his mobility behavior and the latitude of his compositions are like two sides of a coin: they are an expression of the constant search for the improvement of his career as musician. However, in this context, Hagius is neither an individual nor a special case: during Early Modern Times, many musicians have made conscious decisions and were mobile. In 1723, Johann Sebastian Bach voluntarily and with conviction changed from the Köthen court to the cantor office to Leipzig (also this change resulted in more than just a spatial modification),⁴³ and a *vita* such as that of Johann Adolph Scheibe was virtually determined by the moment of mobility. Even though the article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* describes Scheibe's profession with terms such as "musical writer and composer",⁴⁴ it must be noted that this by no means took care of living expenses during the 18th century, because both activities were normally not associated with a musician office. Several applications for an organist position in Leipzig and the position as *Kapellmeister* in Prague, Gotha, Sondershausen and Wolfenbüttel indicate Scheibe's constant search, and only few years of his life were associated

43 See SCHNEIDERHEINZE, 1982, pp. 247-258.

44 MACKENSEN, 2005, col. 1201.

with an office: he worked as *Kapellmeister* in Copenhagen between 1740 and 1748. The publication of his book *Der critische Musicus* (1737-1740), considered to be innovative by modern historiography, and the no less innovative establishment of a vocational music school in Sønderborg in 1757 is thus opposed by mobility and a high degree of financial and economic uncertainty. As these findings are to be considered less a special, but rather a regular case, it was publically contemplated during the 18th century: in his *Universal-Lexicon*, Johann Heinrich Zedler reflects on talent, disposition and the extent in which they could be realized with an individual "lifestyle". Here, he practically encourages mobility and speaks openly of the option to change a preordained progress of his own *vita* and offensively steer it into a direction, which justifies the Godly provenance of the musical disposition:

"If your chosen way of life in your home country is not successful, try it elsewhere. The world belongs to the Lord everywhere and the prophet usually counts least in the homeland. If your merits are not recognized in this land, you are not bound to it. Try it elsewhere. If you are oppressed at this place, you may be raised at another. If the present time is not ready for your sciences, work for the future."⁴⁵

Meanwhile, the example of Konrad Hagius indicates that the mercantilism and *embourgeoisement* of the music culture during the 18th century has not just created, but possibly intensified this awareness in such a manner that now the individuality of the mobility was discussed.⁴⁶ Mobility and musical experience are reflected in the "Lebensart" (lifestyle) category and the verification of musical experiences evident through migrations became extremely important in the musician autobiographies of the early 18th century. One example, *ex negativo*, to verify this fact:

45 "Gehet es mit der ergrissenen Lebens=Art in deinem Vaterlande nicht fort, versuche es anderwärts. Die Erde ist überall des Herrn, und der Prophet gilt gemeinlich im Vaterlande am wenigsten. Erkenntet man in diesem Lande deine Verdienste nicht, bist du doch nicht an dasselbige gebunden. Versuche es anderwärts. Unterdrucket man dich an diesem Orte, wird man dich an jenem vielleicht erheben. Sollten auch vielleicht gegenwärtige Zeiten deiner Wissenschaft noch nicht fähig seyn, arbeite aufs künftige." ZEDLER, 1737, col. 1276.

46 The musician's biographies and autobiographies of the 18th century are impressive examples in this case.

the *vita* of Georg Philipp Telemann, so poor in international experience compared to that of George Frideric Handel, relied extremely on the allocation of broad space to the encounter with Polish and Moravian music in Upper Silesia. Mobility and musician's experience are thus becoming a partial moment of Telemann's "Lebensart" for the reader by way of the extensive and spirited narration through the author.⁴⁷

Printed sources

- BIFFI, GIOSEFFO, *Il primo libro delle canzonette a sei voci per cantar [...] da lui novamente composta*, Nuremberg 1596.
ID., *Madrigali a sei voci [...]*, Nuremberg 1600.
MATTHESON, JOHANN, *Grundlage einer Ehren=Pforte*, Hamburg 1740.
MERSENNE, MARIN, *Harmonie Universelle contenant la Théorie et la Pratique de la Musique*, Paris 1636, reprint, ed. by FRANÇOIS LESURE, Paris 1975, vol. 3: *Traité des Instruments à cordes*, Paris 1975.
RIST, JOHANN, *AllerEdelste Belustigung Kunst- und Tugendliebender Gemüther*, Frankfurt 1666.
ZEDLER, JOHANN HEINRICH, art. *Lebens-Art*, in: *Grosses vollständiges Universal LEXICON Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, ed. by ID., vol. 16, Halle/Leipzig 1737, cols. 1273-1276.

Literature

- ARLT, WULF, *Italien als produktive Erfahrung franko-flämischer Musiker im 15. Jahrhundert* (Vorträge der Aeneas-Silvius-Stiftung an der Universität Basel 26), Basel/Frankfurt a.M. 1993.
BADE, KLAUS, *Historische Migrationsforschung*, in: *Migration in der europäischen Geschichte seit dem späten Mittelalter. Vorträge auf dem Deutschen Historikertag in Halle a.d. Saale, 11. September 2003 [i.e. 2002]* (IMIS-Beiträge 20), ed. by ID., Osnabrück 2002, pp. 21-43.
BEI DER WIEDEN, HELGE, *Ein norddeutscher Renaissancefürst. Ernst zu Holstein-Schaumburg 1569-1622* (Kulturlandschaft Schaumburg 1), Bielefeld 1994.

47 Regarding Telemann's autobiography, see MATTHESON, 1740, p. 360 and regarding "Lebensart" KREMER, 2014, pp. 259-280.

- BÖLLING, JÖRG, Hagius, Konrad, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by LUDWIG FINSCHER, Personenteil 8, Kassel et al. 2001, cols. 395-397.
- BOSSERT, GUSTAV, *Die Hofkantorei unter Herzog Ludwig*, in: *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, Neue Folge, IX* (1900), pp. 253-291.
- Id., *Die Hofkapelle unter Herzog Friedrich 1593-1608*, in: *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, Neue Folge, XIX* (1910), pp. 317-374.
- Id., *Die Hofkapelle unter Johann Friedrich 1608-1628*, in: *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte, Neue Folge, XX* (1911), pp. 150-208.
- BRENNECKE, WILFRIED, Hagius, Konrad, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by FRIEDRICH BLUME, vol. 5, Kassel et al. 1956, cols. 1311-1315.
- BRUSNIAK, FRIEDHELM/KOCH, KLAUS-PETER (eds.), *Probleme der Migration von Musik und Musikern in Europa im Zeitalter des Barock*. 15. Arolser Barock-Festspiele 2000. Tagungsbericht in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Institut für deutsche Musikkultur im östlichen Europa Bonn (Arolser Beiträge zur Musikforschung 9), Sinzig 2002.
- DETERING, HEINRICH (ed.), *Grenzgänge. Skandinavisch-deutsche Nachbarschaften (Grenzgänge. Studien zur skandinavisch-deutschen Literaturgeschichte 1)*, Göttingen 1996.
- FEDERHOFER-KÖNIGS, RENATE, *Johannes Oridryus und sein Musiktraktat (Düsseldorf 1557) (Beiträge zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte 24)*, Cologne 1957.
- FINSCHER, LUDWIG, *Die Musik des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts (Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft 3)*, Laaber 1989.
- GERBER, ERNST LUDWIG, *Neues Historisches-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, vol. 2: E-I, Leipzig 1812.
- GOLLY-BECKER, DAGMAR, *Die Stuttgarter Hofkapelle unter Herzog Ludwig III. 1554-1593 (Quellen und Studien zur Musik in Baden-Württemberg 4)*, Stuttgart 1999.
- GOTTWALD, CLYTUS, *Humanisten-Stammbücher als musikalische Quellen*, in: *Helmuth Osthoff zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag (Frankfurter Musikhistorische Studien)*, ed. by URSULA AARBURG/PETER CAHN, Tutzing 1969, pp. 89-103.
- HENKE, ROBERT/NICHOLSON, ERIC (eds.), *Transnational Mobilities in Early Modern Theater*, Surrey 2014.

- HIRSCHMANN, WOLFGANG, Die 'gemischte Kantorei' und ihr 'Capellmeister'. Neue Organisationsformen der Kirchenmusik im 16. Jahrhundert zwischen geistlicher und weltlicher Sphäre, in: *Der Kirchenmusiker. Berufe – Institutionen – Wirkungsfelder* (Enzyklopädie der Kirchenmusik 3), ed. by FRANZ KÖRNDLE/JOACHIM KREMER, Laaber 2015, pp. 189-198.
- KÖSTER, MAREN/SCHMIDT, DÖRTE (ed.), "Man kehrt nie zurück, man geht immer nur fort." Remigration und Musikkultur, München 2005.
- KOUDAL, JENS HENRIK, Musikermobilitet i Østersøområdet i 1600-og 1700-tallet, in: *Dansk Årbog for Musikforskning XXI* (1993), pp. 9-32.
- KREKLER, INGEBORG, Stammbücher bis 1625 (Die Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek, Sonderreihe 3), Wiesbaden 1999.
- KREMER, JOACHIM, Zur Mobilität und Repertoireverbreitung im 19. Jahrhundert. Der Lüneburger Organist Louis Anger (1813-1870) im Urteil Mendelssohn-Bartholdys, Schumanns und Hummels, in: *Niedersachsen in der Musikgeschichte. Zur Methodologie und Organisation musikalischer Regionalgeschichtsforschung. Internationales Symposium Wolfenbüttel 1997* (Publikationen der Hochschule für Musik und Theater Hannover 9), ed. by ARNFRIED EDLER/ID., Augsburg 2000, pp. 161-183.
- ID., Regionalforschung heute? Last und Chance eines historiographischen Konzepts, in: *Die Musikforschung* 57 (2004), pp. 110-121.
- ID., Georg Michael Telemanns Weg von Hamburg nach Riga: Mobilität als Problem einer Regionalgeschichtsforschung, in: *Orgelbau, Orgelmusik und Organisten des Ostseeraums im 17. und 19. Jahrhundert. Internationale musikwissenschaftliche Konferenz Musica Baltica – Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen im Ostseeraum, Greifswald-Lubmin, 8. bis 11. September 2002* (Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 14), ed. by MATTHIAS SCHNEIDER/WALTER WERBECK, Frankfurt a.M. et al. 2006, pp. 159-168.
- ID., Madrigal und Kulturtransfer zur Zeit Friedrichs I. von Württemberg. Zu einem Konzert mit Werken von Schütz, Monteverdi, Grabbe, Lechner und Zeitgenossen, in: *Hofkultur um 1600. Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld* (Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 15), ed. by ID. et al., Ostfildern 2010[a], pp. 315-334.
- ID., Englische Musiker am württembergischen Hof in Stuttgart. Musikermobilität und der strukturelle Wandel der Hofkantorei um 1600, in:

- Hofkultur um 1600. Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld (Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 15), ed. by ID. et al., Ostfildern 2010[b], pp. 235-256.
- ID., "Von dem Geschlecht deren Bachen". Kommentierte Quellen zur Musikerbiographik des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts, Neumünster 2014.
- LAAKMANN, ASTRID, "... nur allein aus Liebe der Musica". Die Bückeburger Hofmusik zur Zeit des Grafen Ernst III. zu Holstein-Schaumburg als Beispiel höfischer Musikpflege im Gebiet der "Weserrenaissance", Münster 2000.
- LORENZ, SÖNKE, Herzog Friedrich I. von Württemberg (1557-1608): ein Fürst zwischen Ambition und Wirklichkeit. Zur Einführung, in: Hofkultur um 1600. Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld (Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 15), ed. by JOACHIM KREMER et al., Ostfildern 2010, pp. 1-23.
- MACKENSEN, KARSTEN, Scheibe, Johann Adolph, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by LUDWIG FINSCHER, Personenteil 14, Kassel et al. 2005, cols. 1201-1205.
- MEYER, ERNST HERMANN, Price, John, in: Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by FRIEDRICH BLUME, vol. 10, Kassel et al. 1962, cols. 1622-1623.
- MÜNZ, RAINER, Internationale Migration, [April 2009], http://www.berlin-institut.org/fileadmin/user_upload/handbuch_texte/pdf_Muenz_Internationale_Migration_09.pdf, 29.01.2015.
- NIEMÖLLER, KLAUS WOLFGANG, Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600 (Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung 54), Regensburg 1969.
- OCHS, EKKEHARD et al. (eds.), Musica Baltica. Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen im Ostseeraum. Konferenzbericht Greifswald-Gdansk 28. November bis 3. Dezember 1993 (Deutsche Musik im Osten 8), Sankt Augustin 1996.
- ID. et al. (eds.), Musica Baltica. Interregionale musikkulturelle Beziehungen im Ostseeraum (Greifswalder Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 4), Frankfurt a.M. et al. 1997.
- RAATZ, KATHLEEN, Musikermigrationen im deutschen Ostseeraum in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts. Die Kleinstadt Greifswald – ein Schnittpunkt zahlreicher Reiserouten (Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe XXXVI, 195), Frankfurt a.M. et al. 1999.

- RASCH, RUDOLF (ed.), *The Circulation of Music in Europe 1600-1900. A Collection of Essays and Case Studies (Musical Life in Europe 1600-1900. Circulation, Institutions, Representation, vol. II)*, Berlin 2008.
- ROLLAND, ROMAIN, *Voyage musical aux pays du passé*, Paris 1919.
- RÜCKERT, PETER, *Ausstellungskatalog Fürst ohne Grenzen – Duc sans frontières: Herzog Fridrich I. von Württemberg (†1608)*, in: *Hofkultur um 1600. Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld (Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 15)*, ed. by JOACHIM KREMER et al., Ostfildern 2010, pp. 335-405.
- ID., *Fürst ohne Grenzen: Herzog Friedrich I. von Württemberg auf Reisen*, in: *Hofkultur um 1600. Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld (Tübinger Bausteine für Landesgeschichte 15)*, ed. by JOACHIM KREMER et al., Ostfildern 2010, pp. 207-234.
- SANDBERGER, WOLFGANG, “Held” und “negative Kontrastfigur”. Zur Konzeption der Musikerbiographie im 19. Jahrhundert, in: *Biographie und Kunst als historiographisches Problem. Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz anlässlich der 16. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage Magdeburg, 13. bis 15. März 2002 (Telemann-Konferenzberichte 15)*, ed. by JOACHIM KREMER et al., Hildesheim et al. 2004, pp. 182-190.
- SCHILLING, GUSTAV, *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst*, Bd. 3, Stuttgart 1836.
- SCHMIDT, DÖRTE, *Zwischen Wissen, Repräsentation und Kommunikation. Moritz von Hessen-Kassel und die Bedeutung der Musik für das Herrscherbild der Zeit*, in: *Hofkultur um 1600. Die Hofmusik Herzog Friedrichs I. von Württemberg und ihr kulturelles Umfeld (Tübinger Bausteine zur Landesgeschichte 15)*, ed. by JOACHIM KREMER et al., Ostfildern 2010, pp. 279-298.
- SCHNEIDERHEINZE, ARMIN, ‘Ob es mir nun zwar anfänglich gar nicht anständig seyn wolte ...’ – Bemerkungen zum Kapellmeister im Kantor Johann Sebastian Bach, in: *Bach-Studien 7 (1982)*, pp. 247-258.
- SL (MARGARETE REIMANN), *Getzmann, Wolfgang*, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by LUDWIG FINSCHER, Personenteil 7, Kassel et al. 2002, cols. 850-851.