

Musical Travels

Sources of Musicians' Tours and Migrations in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century

NORBERT DUBOWY

In modern times, everyone who practices the lifestyle of Western civilization leaves rich traces of data behind that allow his or her movements or travels to be tracked. Before the watershed of the digital revolution occurred, research into the movements, travels and tours of individuals relied upon basic methods, official as well as unofficial records, most of them in the form of easily perishable paper records. Despite the relatively huge amount of “testimonies”, let’s say, in the 20th century and the increasing loss of documents the further we go back in time, most of the types of sources we use for research in the digital era already existed in the 17th and 18th century albeit sometimes in a different format.

Sources for tracing the movements and travels of musicians are as manifold as the cases themselves. Everyone who undertakes biographic or prosopographic research on musicians is confronted with sources and documents that are peculiar to each individual case. Even though there are recurring kinds of sources, such as records from courtly employment, it seems hazardous to give a complete list or categorization of sources as scholars should always be aware that uncommon sources might be detected along the way. The sources presented here – most from personal research – are chosen as much for their exemplarity as for their uniqueness. A guiding principle when looking at them is the question of the perspective they offer on the traveling and touring done, and their informational value, i.e. the kind of information that can be gained from them.

Before entering into detail, it should be emphasized that no distinction has been made here between (a) “traveling” as touring and (b) “traveling” as migrating, emigrating and immigrating. The first may be defined as moving from place to place, sometimes in a loop, with the return to the place of departure, possibly with relatively short single trips, frequent stops and temporary stays. The second one, “traveling” as migrating, is more like moving from A to B with the goal of setting up a household, i.e. of making the destination the new center of life. However, one has to keep in mind that it is not always possible to draw a clear-cut line between touring and migrating. Therefore, migration is used here as a generic term covering both types of traveling.

This also is not the place to consider the different goals and motivations behind these types of movements, trips, and journeys, as important and interesting as that might be. Tourist activities, to gain some *savoir-vivre* by getting to know distant towns, artistic monuments and foreign cultures (motivating factors and educational goals for the upper class Grand Tour) are only a side effect for musicians who usually belong to the middle class. Socializing – as important as it may be judging from the large amount of space that is given to the description of encounters with family, colleagues, and patrons in many travelers’ reports – was rarely the goal either. Legal affairs and health issues are among the strictly personal reasons musicians invoke when seeking leave of absence from their employer. For the most part, however, the true motivations are found in the profession of the musician itself. Next to seeking musical education or recruiting other musicians,¹ migrating was about seeking employment in a stable position and about practicing the profession as a traveling virtuoso. The latter became more and more of an option in the 18th century. The goal was to make a monetary surplus, i.e. to make money, as Johann Christian Bach bluntly stated in a letter to his brother Carl Philipp Emanuel when he asked him to support the traveling Davies family.² In many cases, however, given the social and professional dependency of the musician on a patron, the decision to go on a trip and, even less, the

1 George Frideric Handel’s trips to Italy to recruit singers for his opera companies in London are well-known.

2 According to Johann Christian Bach’s letter, the Davies’ were “making this tour in order to earn a little money, and for that reason you would oblige me very much if you would help her [Miss Davies] to achieve this aim.” See MATTHEWS, 1975, p. 154.

choice of the destination was not within the musician's power. Trips were often ordered by the patron,³ or musicians traveled with their patron as part of the latter's entourage whether it was on a military expedition or a stay at a health spa.⁴

Research into the topic is often the art of connecting dots, dots that are geographically and chronologically often quite far apart. First and foremost it is in our interest to increase the frequency or number of these dots or, more precisely, the pieces of information that allow us to locate a person in a place. An often-overlooked aspect, however, regards the kind of "dots", their nature and quality: in other words, we have to ask what kind of information we can obtain, as the sources vary greatly in their "informational value". It might be useful, therefore, to start with a rough distinction between – what can be called – "records of presence" and "records of movement". In the first case, the record serves as evidence of someone being somewhere, in the second case for them getting there.

Among the variety of sources to be dealt with, there are recurring types that allow them to be grouped and organized into certain categories. The following remarks discuss some of these categories. It is tempting to place the criteria of presence vs. motion in relation to the factual types and classes of sources. Both ordering principles, however, will never match totally, even though, by the very nature of the source types, one category may contain predominantly information on presence while another may present more data on motion. This does not preclude that individual sources may not follow this pattern and the ratio between informa-

3 See the case of the concert master Franz Joseph Pirker sent to Italy by the duke of Württemberg (MAHLING, 1973) and Berthold Over's contribution to the present volume, pp. 91-133.

4 Claudio Monteverdi accompanied Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga on an expedition to Hungary in 1595 and to the Flemish city of Spa in 1599 (FABBRI, 1985, pp. 44f. and 47f.). Johann Sebastian Bach, too, traveled with his patron, Prince Leopold of Cöthen, to the health spa of Carlsbad in 1718 and 1720 (WOLFF, 2000, pp. 210f.). While the knowledge of Monteverdi's and Bach's trips are based on archival documents (in the case of Bach also on the *Necrolog* written by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel), travels to health spas may be documented in a special type of source, the *Kurlisten*, handwritten or printed listings of visitors to the spas that may also contain names of musicians. Some *Kurlisten* are accessible online (see <http://www.portafontium.eu/contents/kurliste/?language=de>); I would like to thank Berthold Over for drawing my attention to this phenomenon.

tion on presence or motion may be different. In this sense, the distinction between records of presence and records of motion is meant as a first guiding principle for our investigation and as a way of looking at the sources for musicians' migration.

Along the same lines it is necessary to ask some questions that are part of the critical assessment of the source (or of any source). These may be summarized with criteria such as precision, liability, objectivity, intentionality, function, and perspective. Needless to say that we are dealing, in most cases, with written text documents; sometimes a musical composition may be signed, dated, and "geo-tagged", and there may be iconographic sources as well, but I will not consider them here.

Records of presence

"Records of presence" may be defined as sources that show or imply the presence of someone in a certain place without reference to the act of traveling. It is just a point in time or a time-span, but does not give a precise date of arrival or departure. A record of this kind can be as simple as a name on a list, in a libretto or in a score. A single signature on a payment record can act as a witness. Such is the case with the violinist Jean Baptiste Farinel (1655-c. 1725) signing a receipt on behalf of Marc'Antonio Ziani (c. 1653-1715) for the latter's participation in three serenades for the duke of Hanover in Venice in 1686. This testifies to Farinel's presence in the city 28 years before he permanently settled in Venice.⁵

In contrast to the single item, there are "bulk" sources that offer a lot of names of musicians at one time. Listings of this kind may be documents showing musicians who were hired for a particular performance; very often there are administrative documents from the institution the

5 The record is preserved in a stack of material related to the duke of Hanover's visits to Venice in 1685 and 1686; D-Hs, Cal. Br. 22 No. 1077, f. 256: "Jay recu de Monsieur Korfei six sequins pour les trois serenade que le Seigneur Marc Antoine Ziani a servi pour le Sigre Gianetini par ordre de Son altesse Serenissime fait a Venise le trentiesme juillet mil six cent quatre vint et six / Jean Baptiste Farinelli." On the serenades see DUBOWY, 1998, p. 186. Farinel was violinist and concertmaster in the service of the duke from 1680 on. He moved to Venice in 1714; see TIMMS, 2003, p. 46.

musician belongs to,⁶ courtly account books, the payroll, or an evaluation of the chapel members by the *Kapellmeister*.

A common type of document in 18th-century Central Europe is found in the *Hof- und Adresskalender*, printed booklets that mirror the complete structure of the administration and the personnel of a court or sovereignty. As an example, we may look at lists found in the *Chur-Cölnischer Capellen- und Hof-Calender* for the year 1718,⁷ that is the *Hofkalender* for the court of the archbishop and elector of Cologne, who normally resided in Bonn. Here, among kitchen aids and grooms, we also find three groups of musicians or organizational units within the musical establishment of the court, the *Hof-Musicanten*, the trumpeters and kettledrum player, and the oboe players, often called the *Oboistenbande*, altogether totaling not less than 40 people.

It would be naïve to assume that all of them came from Cologne or Bonn; a large portion of the musicians probably came from elsewhere. There are plenty of musicians with non-German, mostly French, Flemish, or Italian sounding names. Already this simple fact points towards some kind of migration, as some movement to the place of employment must have occurred.

If we place several years of *Hof-Calender* issues next to one another – here for the years 1717 to 1719 –,⁸ changes or fluctuations that hint at migration also become apparent (see table 1).⁹

When we consider the group of oboe players, we note that Pürfüsch (Purfürst) listed in 1717 is not listed again in 1718 and 1719, but the name of Jamet appears instead. One of the other player's names is Biarelle, a name that does not seem to be German, but rather French or Walloon.

If we stay with the source type of the *Hofkalender*, the same name, Biarelle, shows up in a similar document albeit from a different geographic area, the *Hofkalender* of Salzburg for the year 1735.¹⁰ There, a certain Johann Franz Biarelle is mentioned as “Zwerchflautenist,” i.e. a transverse flute player. Could this be the same Biarelle from Bonn, who has moved south? The switch from oboe to flute – one treated as a secondary instrument to the other – would not be unusual, as we know from

6 See for example KNAUS, 1967-1969.

7 Court Calendar Bonn, 1718.

8 Court Calendar Bonn, 1717-1719.

9 Other reasons for fluctuation include retirement or death.

10 SCHNÜRER, 1735.

the case of Johann Joachim Quantz who was hired as an oboe player in Dresden, but became one of the most famous flute virtuosos of his time.

While the *Hofkalender* give us a basic framework for migration, other types of data may integrate the information. Braubach, who lists the court musicians of the last four electors of Cologne, gives 1700 as Biarelle's entry date and 1724 as the last time Biarelle was documented in Bonn.¹¹ Curiously, there is also a Giovanni Francesco Biarelle listed in Kirsch's *Lexikon Würzburger Hofmusiker*, who was present in Würzburg from May to October 1724, when he was dismissed due to the death of his patron.¹² While the employment of Giovanni Francesco (or Johann Franz) fits the date of Biarelle's departure from Bonn, the Würzburg Biarelle shares the names with the Salzburg one. If it is the same person in all three cases, Biarelle may have moved from Bonn to Würzburg and later to Salzburg. According to Hintermaier's study of the Salzburg Hofkapelle Johann Franz Biarelle entered the service of the Archbishop of Salzburg in 1731.¹³

It is unlikely that Biarelle was Italian, as Kirsch reports, even though he was listed as an Italian in the Würzburg documents.¹⁴ Maybe Biarelle used the Italian form of his name as a fashionable variant. It is also possible that the label "Italian" was used as a synonym for "foreigner". There are two more artists named Biarelle, the painter Johann Adolph Biarelle (†1750), active in Bonn and Ansbach, and his brother, the sculptor Paul Amadé Biarelle (1704-1751).¹⁵ The latter was born in Namur in the Walloon Region (today's Belgium), and this may well be the area where our musician is from. He could even be a relative of the two artists, who happened to work at some point in the same area, the court of the archbishop of Cologne. The Salzburg sources call Franz Anton "Leodicensis", i.e. from the Liège area,¹⁶ not far from Namur.

11 BRAUBACH, 1967, p. 33.

12 KIRSCH, 2002, p. 60; see also *Bayerisches Musiker-Lexikon Online*, ed. by JOSEF FOCHT, <http://bml.o.de/b2508>.

13 HINTERMAIER, 1972, p. 17; based on court records Biarelle died on 30 Oktober 1743. In 1731 he had married Maria Josepha Theresia Boussier, the daughter of the Innsbruck court musician Franz Anton Boussier. I would like to thank Dr. Eva Neumayer for providing me with information from Hintermaier's study.

14 I would like to thank Rashid-Sascha Pegah for this information.

15 BOSL, 1983, p. 71; BEYER, 1995, p. 457.

16 HINTERMAIER, loc. cit.

A *Hofkalender* is a very basic type of source, which contains information that varies in its amount and quality. The problem with the *Hofkalender* in particular is its limited precision and the occasional inconsistency of its data.¹⁷ It is like a snapshot, but it is hard to say when the snapshot was taken and who was responsible; in addition, there is no guarantee of its completeness. It is an interesting phenomenon to find similar listings of musical establishments comparable to the *Hofkalender* that appeared after the middle of the 18th century. These are the *Hofmusik* listings in musical periodicals such as Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik* or Johann Adam Hiller's *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*.¹⁸ The publication of the listings in periodicals hint at the changing perceptions of *Hofmusik* as a performing body and at a heightened awareness of the individual musician as a performing artist.

One other type of source that provides a "record of presence" deserves attention, i.e. printed opera librettos that often give the names of the singers. It is a common practice followed by music historians to use the information from the librettos for tracing the chronological and geographical trajectory of a singer's career, but there are some caveats. The practice of printing the names of the performers in the libretto was not consistently followed. Librettos often lack exact information about the date of the performance; in many cases only generic terms are used to indicate the season (autumn, spring, summer, carnival, fair, etc.), while the only exact albeit optional date to be found, the date of the dedication, needs to be taken with a grain of salt as well. As librettos were printed some time ahead of the performance, we cannot even say with certainty whether the singer was actually in town, or whether he or she was replaced by someone else, not to mention when he or she arrived, left, or moved to another place.¹⁹

17 Some issues of *Hofkalender* give more information than others (e.g. Salzburg 1768). The *Chur-Cöllnischer Hof-Calender* does not give first names for most of the musicians; the "Sing-" and "Concert-Meister" are not always listed.

18 See MARPURG, 1754-1762, 1778; HILLER, 1766-1770; FORKEL, 1782-1784; CRAMER, 1783-1787.

19 In some cases, printed librettos bear handwritten marks that testify to the replacement of a singer with another one. See for instance the printed li-

Collecting information from all of the sources mentioned so far can already provide a large amount of prosopographic data, which either by itself or in combination with similar sources, reveals basic information on the movements, and migration of musicians.

Records of movement

The latter kind of information, data about the actual movement of musicians such as arrival, departure, and route (start date, end date, path, destination) – which I have labeled “records of movement” –, are gained primarily from other types of sources, ranging from administrative records to news and memoirs. Sorted in some way by their degree of formalization and officiality, the following grouping is possible: a. official administrative documents, b. printed newsletters, handwritten newsheets, *avvisi*, dispatches from ambassadors and agents, chronicles and diaries (by someone other than the traveler), and c. personal documents such as letters (like personal letters of the traveler), including letters of introduction or recommendation, i.e. letters in support of the traveler written by someone else, and diaries, travel accounts or itineraries, and (auto-)biographical accounts.

It is not a problem that is peculiar to these kinds of documents, but the cases to be considered are particularly apt to illustrate inherent problems. These are the problems of precision and reliability, as well as scope and intentionality, which are all connected to the question of the perspective and role of the writer. The second group of sources, i.e. all kinds of news media available for the distribution and dissemination of information in Early Modern Europe, illustrates this point quite well.

In the 17th and 18th centuries – and not so different from today –, the decision of a news agent to mention a musician in a news record depends on its newsworthiness: is it interesting enough to appeal to the reader, i.e. is the case itself extraordinary and curious enough or is the person to be reported on important, interesting or famous? Whether the information finds its way into the newsheet depends on the writer’s judgment as well as on his reader’s interests. One factor that determines newsworthiness is surely the social rank of the traveler.

bretto to *Giannina e Bernardone*, Novara 1784 (printed at Milan), copy at US-CHH, (298livi); the singer’s name for the female title role, Barbara Sassi, has been crossed out and replaced with Clementina Clossé.

In the *avvisi* – the kind of newsheet (bulletin) scholars of Italian music are familiar with – information on high-ranking travelers abounds as in the issue of a Venetian newsheet from 1700 quoted below. It records the departure of the Prince of Hesse and the arrival of two Polish noblemen of the Sobieski family. It is not only the destination or route (Milan via Padua; Rome) that is revealed, but even the place of sojourn in the town (the Lion Bianco inn) is mentioned:

“Yesterday morning the Prince of Hesse mentioned earlier left for Padua, and it is said he wanted to go to Milan thinking that he would enjoy the carnival there [...].

Some *grandees* from Poland have arrived who took lodgings with the nobleman Delfino at S. Apollinare, and some say that it is Prince Lubomirski; but several people think that it is Prince Alexander Sobieski, son of the late King John of Poland, on his way to Rome to visit the queen his mother.

--

Finally the two Princes and brothers Sobieski arrived and took lodgings in the Lion bianco (White Lion) hotel.”²⁰

Ordinary people (and musicians are just ordinary people) are much less represented in the newsheets. The following note about singers at the Venetian opera houses is rather the exception than the rule:

“As reported, the singer Margarita Salicola left for Bologna on Monday; now they say she will not go to Genoa, but will return to Venice, which is already stipulated in her contract with the theater at S. Giovanni Grisostomo. Mr Girolamo, nicknamed ‘Il Napolitano’, will however leave for Vienna in the service of the Emperor; Mr Giuseppe

20 “Hieri mattina lo scritto Principe d’Hassia hà preso le poste per Padova e dicono vaddi à Milano con opinione vogli colà godere il Carnovale, [...]. Sono qui capitati alcuni Grandi di Polonia loggiati in Casa del nobile Delfino à S. Apollinare, et dicono sia il Principe di Lubomirschj; ma diversi sono d’opinione che sia il Principe Alessandro Sobieski figlio del fù Rè Giovanni di Polonia, e che vaddi à Roma à trovare la Regina sua Madre.

--

Finalmente sono arrivati li due Principi fratelli Sobieski; et alloggiati al Lion bianco.“ Mercurio 1700, I-Vnm, It.VI-477 (= 12121), entry of 16 January 1700 (1699 more veneto).

also left for Parma, being a singer of his Highness; and with him went Mrs Maddalena, known as 'La Francesina di Rio Marin'; she is said to be evangelized and planning to enter the monastery, but no one believes it; various [people], the Chevalier Peruzzino, a famous painter of Rome, and other foreigners accompanied her to Padua, where they made the waters of the Brenta river, drained by drought, rise with the tears shed over the separation."²¹

The singers are leaving town following the end of the operatic season; one of them is accompanied by her fans who shed so many tears that they make the dried out Brenta river rise. Despite the quizzical tone there is quite a bit of information in this note. Some of the singers are mentioned by their nicknames, which testifies to a certain reputation. As a record of the performers of Venetian opera at that time, the note is first of all a record of presence in that city but it also helps to narrow down the date of departure. For almost all of the musicians the destination is named which is always in conjunction with professional employment – e.g. the service of the emperor – and the engagement.

Handwritten newsheets that serve a rather limited clientele and the closely related printed newsletters, which have wider readership, both share an important characteristic as they appear on a regular basis and at fixed intervals and more or less on precise dates (a certain day of the week). Printed newsletters, with their wider range of distribution, rather than reporting the presence of the musician, serve the purpose of advertising. It is in this context that more detailed information on a musician's travel is communicated.²²

21 “È partita, come si disse, per Bologna lunedì la Signora Margarita Saligola Cantatrice, non per incaminarsi à Genova, mà per ritornare à Venetia, già pattuita per l'Anno venturo per il Teatro di S. Giovanni Grisostomo. Partirà bensì per Vienna al servitio dell'Imperatore il Signor Girolamo detto il Napolitano, si come è partito per Parma il Signor Gioseppe del Resto Musico di quell'Altezza, e seco è partita ancora la Signora Maddalena, detta la francesina di Rio Marino, dicesi convertita per monacarsi colà, mà non si crede; è stata accompagnata sino à Padova da diversi [? indecipherable] dal Cavaliere Peruzzino celebre Pittore Romano, e da altri Signori forastieri, che nella separatione con le lacrime loro hanno cresciuto l'acque per la siccità scemate della Brenta.” *Mercurio* 1682, I-Vnm, It.VI-459 (= 12103), entry of 21 February 1682.

22 See for example the case of the singer [Giovanni Battista] Palmerini (one

While the newsheets help to narrow down the range of dates for the arrival or departure of a person, there are other documents that provide more exact information thanks to the different scope they have.

One of the most fascinating sources (in my opinion) are the records of the Venetian health department (Magistrato alla Sanità) found and described by Paolo Rigoli. The Venetian health department held a quarantine office, the *lazaretto*, in Verona, an important gateway for trips from Germany to Italy.²³ To some extent, these records may be comparable to the registration slips one has to fill out today upon arriving at a hotel. Travelers from the north were required to stay at the *lazaretto* up to a full month after entering the Venetian territory in order to assure they did not carry any contagious diseases.²⁴ Among the musicians mentioned in the documents are Georg Muffat, Johann Adolf Hasse, Faustina Bordoni, and Johann Georg Pisendel. The latter, described in the document as “chamber musician of His Majesty the King of Poland who came from Dresden” (Musico di Camera di S.M. il Rè di Polonia, venuto da Dresda), entered the territory (at Ossenigo) together with other travelers on March 16 1716.²⁵ He was placed into quarantine in Verona while he was on his way to Venice to join the Saxon Prince Friedrich August who had already arrived on February 9.²⁶ The note about Pisendel’s stop in Verona may seem insignificant – just a glimpse of the traveling conditions in Early Modern Europe – since Pisendel’s trip to Venice is well known through other sources: One of these is his biographical account already published in the 18th century by Hiller,²⁷ who states that Pisendel’s stay in Venice lasted nine months beginning in late April. Diana Blichmann’s

of Handel’s singers), stopping in Frankfurt on a trip from London in July 1730; ISRAEL, 1876, p. 25.

23 RIGOLI, 1996, pp. 139-150.

24 A different treatment was probably reserved for high-ranking travelers, who stayed on the San Lazaro island in the Venetian lagoon; see I-Vnm, It.VI-464 (=12108), f. 106v, *avviso* of January 4, 1687: “Il Prencipe d’Hannover si trova nell’Isoletta di San Lazaro con suo seguito a far una breve contumacia.”

25 RIGOLI, 1996, p. 146.

26 BLICHMANN, 2010, p. 1.

27 HILLER, 1766-1770: Sechs und dreyßigstes Stück. Leipzig den 3ten März. 1767, pp. 277-281, Sieben und dreyßigstes Stück. Leipzig den 10ten März. 1767, pp. 285-292. The information is on p. 281; also HILLER, 1784, p. 188.

assertion (based on Venetian *avvisi*) that Pisendel arrived in Venice on April 20 together with the delegation from Dresden, however, needs correction, since according to the data from Verona, Pisendel did not leave until April 25! He was accompanied by the oboe player Johann Christian Richter from Dresden who is mentioned in Hiller's account as well – and the trumpet player Johann Greber whose destination may also have been Venice. He was in the service of the governor of Tyrol, Count Charles III Philip of Neuburg,²⁸ who was also the patron of Faustina Bordoni who gave her Venetian debut later that year.

Records like the one from the Venetian health office are either not very common, or there are more documents of this particular type but we have not paid enough attention to them. These documents are among the most objective records one could imagine. Unless personal negligence on the side of the official at the gateway station is involved, the information must be correct, as the records are taken by someone with no personal interests in the traveler who is entering the territory.

Still left for consideration is the huge group of personal documents. The importance of personal letters for the reconstruction of trips and tours is well known, if we just think of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart and his family. We are not always in the comfortable position of having so many letters as in the case of Mozart, but there are letters by many musicians even from periods prior to Mozart, some of them in considerable quantity. One may think in particular of the letters exchanged between Johann Adolf Hasse and Giammaria Ortes,²⁹ or the rich holdings of the Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica in Bologna preserving the collection of Padre Martini or letters addressed to Giacomo Antonio Perti among others.³⁰ Letters do not necessarily talk about travels but if they do, they are often particularly instructive about the circumstances of traveling. It depends on the eagerness of the traveling writer as a chronicler of him or herself whether they inform about precise dates or whether

28 He was governor of Tyrol from 1712 to 1716, when he became Elector Palatine, succeeding his brother Johann Wilhelm.

29 The significance of those letters as testimonies of Hasse's travels is emphasized in DEGRADA, 1997, pp. 93-98. The letters are published by Livia Pancino (PANCINO, 1998).

30 According to the catalog of the Martini letters by Anne Schnoebelen (SCHNOEBELEN, 1979), information on traveling seems limited, but the letters addressed to Perti are rich in information.

they serve more as records of presence rather than motion that need to be organized in order to reconstruct the traveling route.

A group of letters that deserves special attention are letters of introduction or recommendation, which travelers requested from friends, colleagues and patrons to ease access to relevant people and circles at their destinations. I already mentioned one of those letters briefly at the beginning, Johann Christian Bach's letter for the Davies family, preserved as a whole set of letters of this kind.³¹ These letters are important as they highlight what kind of social network was needed to plan and carry out a Grand Tour and possibly any, even a shorter trip, to a new place. As these letters had to be requested well ahead of the trip, there is no guarantee that they were actually used, i.e. that the musician really traveled to the place where the addressee of the letter lived.

Along with these letters, early biographies and autobiographical accounts place themselves in close connection to the category of the letters. Here, the case of Marietta Barbieri deserves attention as the records of her personal and artistic life represent one of the most fascinating documents of the late 17th century.³² Marietta Barbieri was not a diva, but one of the mostly nameless secondary ranked singers of the time. Raised as an orphan on the Venetian mainland, she received musical training and made a modest career as an opera singer and composer (even though no composition of hers has ever been identified).

In Claudio Sartori's catalog of Italian opera librettos, the name of Maria (Marietta) Barbieri shows up only once: as a singer and composer in the oratorio *L'alloro trionfato*, an oratorio sponsored by the Accademia degli Unanimi in 1672 in Bologna.³³ A much richer picture becomes visible thanks to a unique source, the *Serie virtuose*, the biography written by her husband, Faustino Barbieri, published in Venice in 1692. A second, enlarged edition appeared in 1694.³⁴ The biography is written in verse, with more passion than skill. One of the copies preserves handwritten additions probably for a third edition most likely by Faustino Barbieri himself.

Like her husband, Marietta was probably from the Brescia area, where she may have had her debut as a singer. At some point in their life

31 See MATTHEWS, 1975, and THOMSEN-FÜRST, 2003, pp. 349-369.

32 See DUBOWY, 2002, pp. 181-208.

33 SARTORI, 1990-1994, vol. 1, no. 928.

34 BARBIERI, 1692.

the Barbieri moved to Venice. This is migration in the stricter sense as they moved the center of their life permanently to another location. In addition, the synopsis of her career as it is described in her biography shows that they made several trips through the peninsula, some to major centers such as Bologna and Naples, but also to many minor places such as Portomaggiore and Forli.

In addition to the documentation of the professional trips of the Barbieris (who seemed to always travel as a couple, by the way), the *Serie virtuose* is also a document of the receptivity of people of their social class and background in the face of the arts and attractions they found at their destination.

On the other hand, they also reveal the problems of this kind of a source: the lack of precision, the possible mix-up of dates and places, as memories may be blurred, and the loss of information.

This brings us to the issue of intentionality and perspective raised earlier. The sources of this last group have their origin with the musician or someone in his or her immediate surroundings. We hold these documents in high esteem for their closeness to the person we are interested in, and they provide, without a doubt, valuable first hand information. On the other hand, together with the factors just mentioned, i.e. the risk of in-accurate information, there is also the risk of intentionally altered information since the writers may have a personal interest in presenting a particular picture of themselves or the situation they are describing. Thus, a simple date in an administrative record may be much more reliable as the writer has no personal interest in changing it. This quality of being un-intentional, having no personal interest in the face of the facts, belongs also to eyewitness accounts, such as diaries³⁵ or chronicles. Needless to say: asking about the precision, reliability, objectivity, intention, function, and perspective of the sources is a fundamental step in the critical assessment of any source (and sources for migration are no exception).

35 See for example John Evelyn remembering in his diary the performance of the Italian singer Siface (by Evelyn called Cifacca) at Samuel Pepys's house in London (Tower Hill) in 1687 (April 19) – a record of presence for the singer Giovanni Francesco Grossi (see <http://data.open.ac.uk/page/led/lexp/1408487781292>, 15.7.2015).

Conclusion

If the goal is to investigate the phenomenon of migration on a large scale, it is legitimate and practical to organize the data in a data base like in the MUSICI project.³⁶ It is the nature of a database that it operates at a certain level of abstraction to make the data comparable, but it is also desirable that it reflects the peculiarities of the individual case. Two final ideas are left for consideration with regard to the collection and presentation of data on traveling musicians. For one, one might suggest that it includes not only a reference to the source (a primary source, of course), but to the type of source, preferably even the presentation and display of the source itself in a digital image or transcript. This would be preferable to limiting the information (or what the compiler of the data file thinks the information is) to a reduced token that has to fit the template of the database. This would help decrease the array of potential subjective interpretations. In substance, this has to be a relational database consisting of two components, the personnel file database and the source storage database where the sources themselves have to be appropriately encoded. The second suggestion relates to the contents of the data base. As traveling and information about travelers is often influenced by human relationships and interests, it should be possible to link the personal data file to the tagged items of the source data base in order to reflect the “human factor”, the network of human relationships. The MUSICI database does this (and the growing MusMig database will do it) – occasionally listing colleagues and patrons –, but it could be done on a more comprehensive scale. An intelligent database should be able to represent – possibly visualized in a topic map or word cloud – the social networks (which are also networks of information) of personal relationships, friendships (among people of the same social rank), obligations (between people of different rank), or relationships between colleagues (based on common experience) that are behind and accompany people’s movements, travels and migration.

36 See <http://www.musici.eu>, 08.07.2016.

Table 1: Musicians in Bonn Hofkalender 1717-1719

1717	1718	1719
		Le Teneur, erster Singmeister
		Brognez, zweiter Singmeister
		Lambert, erster Concertmeister
		Donnini, zweiter Concertmeister
Vokalisten		
		Corbisier
		Montée
		Degrimon
Fagniani	X	X
Kircher	X	X
Delvincour	X	X
Chastelin	X	X
Ambrosini	X	X
Marquier	X	X
du Croux	X	X
Colbeaut	X	X
le Petit	X	X
Rissack	X	X
le Long	X	X
Rault	X	X
	Schwöller	X
		Barez
Instrumentisten		
Haveck	X	X
Deridder	X	X
Canda	X	X
M. Autgarten	X	X
Le Cerf	X	X
Van der Haque	X	X
Cornillor (Cornillio)	X	X

Musical Travels: Sources of Musicians' Tours and Migrations

Thirreuer	X	X
F. Autgarten	X	X
	Graeb	X
Rubini	X	X
Sommereis	X	X
Stumpff (2x)	X	X
Meuris (2x)	X	X
		Piva
		Bar
Trompeter/Pauker		
Poll		
Lüttgenhausen	X	X
Wastizky	X	X
Cron (Krenn)	X	X
von der Horst	X	X
Comans	X	X
	Ball	X
Penzenauer (Pientzenauer)	X	X
Oboisten		
Fabri	X	X
Flement	X	X
Pürfüscht		
Klain	X	X
Biarelle	X	X
Reling (Röhling)	X	X
	Jamet	X
Kalkant		
Wilhelm Eschwiller		X
		Franciscus Philippus Rees

Printed sources

- BARBIERI, FAUSTINO, Serie virtuose delle operationi esercitate in diversi tempi, e luochi dalla Signora Marietta Barbieri, descritte in quaderni da Faustino Barbieri suo consorte, Venice 1692 (second edition Venice 1694).
- Chur-Cölnischer Capellen- und Hof-Calender [...], Bonn 1718; preserved in Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, 8 H Rhen 4205:2. Digital copy <http://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN678797455>.
- Chur-Cöllnischer Hof-Calender [...], Bonn 1717; preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Asc. 3552c. Digital copy <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10315060-5>.
- Chur-Cölnischer Hof-Calender [...], Bonn 1719; preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Germ. Sp. 59-1719. Digital copy <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10018624-7>.
- CRAMER, CARL FRIEDRICH, Magazin der Musik, Hamburg 1783-1787.
- FORKEL, JOHANN NICOLAUS, Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland, Leipzig 1782-1784.
- HILLER, JOHANN ADAM, Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend, Leipzig 1766-1770.
- ID., Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrter und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit, Leipzig 1784.
- MARPURG, FRIEDRICH WILHELM, Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik, Berlin 1754-1762, 1778.
- SCHNÜRER, JOHANN GEORG, Hochfürstlich-Salzburgischer Kirchen- und Hof-Calender [...], [Salzburg 1735]; preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Germ. Sp. 252m-1735. Digital copy <http://www.mdz-nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10019907-8>.

Literature

- BEYER, ANDREAS et al. (eds.), Saur allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker, vol. 10, Munich 1995.
- BLICHMANN, DIANA, Der Venedig-Aufenthalt Pisendels (1716-1717). Erlebnisse im Gefolge des sächsischen Kurprinzen Friedrich August als Auslöser eines Kulturtransfers von Venedig nach Dresden, in: Johann Georg Pisendel. Studien zu Leben und Werk, ed. by ORTRUN LANDMANN/HANS-GÜNTER OTTENBERG, Hildesheim 2010, pp. 1-57.
- BOSL, KARL (ed.), Bosls Bayerische Biographie: 8000 Persönlichkeiten aus 15 Jahrhunderten, Regensburg 1983.
- BRAUBACH, MAX, Die Mitglieder der Hofmusik unter den vier letzten Kurfürsten von Köln, in: Colloquium amicorum. Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. by SIEGFRIED KROSS/HANS SCHMIDT, Bonn 1967.
- DEGRADA, FRANCESCO, Voyages et lettres de Hasse, de Vienne à Vénise, in: Mozart. Les chemins de l'Europe, Actes du Congrès de Strasbourg, 14-16 octobre 1991, ed. by BRIGITTE MASSIN, Strasbourg 1997, pp. 93-98.
- DUBOWY, NORBERT, 'L'amor coniugale nel Seicento'. Das Leben der Sängerin und Komponistin Marietta Barbieri erzählt von Faustino Barbieri aus Brescia, in: Barocco padano 1, Atti del XI Convegno internazionale sulla musica sacra nei secoli XVII-XVIII, Brescia 1999, ed. by ALBERTO COLZANI et al., Como 2002, pp. 181-208.
- ID., Ernst August, Giannettini und die Serenata in Venedig (1685/86), in: Studien zur italienischen Musikgeschichte XV/Analecta musicologica 30 (1998), pp. 167-235.
- FABBRI, PAOLO, Monteverdi, Turin 1985.
- FOCHT, JOSEF, Bayerisches Musiker-Lexikon Online, <http://bml.o.de>, 20.07.2016.
- HINTERMAIER, ERNST, Die Salzburger Hofkapelle von 1700 bis 1806. Organisation und Personal, Phil. Diss. Salzburg 1972.
- ISRAEL, CARL, Frankfurter Concert-Chronik: 1713-1780, Frankfurt a.M. 1876.
- KIRSCH, DIETER, Lexikon Würzburger Hofmusiker vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert, Würzburg 2002.
- KNAUS, HERWIG, Die Musiker im Archivbestand des kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisteramtes (1637-1705), 3 vols., Wien 1967-1969.

- MAHLING, CHRISTOPH-HELLMUT, "Zur anherobringung einiger italienischer Virtuosen". Ein Beispiel aus den Akten des württembergischen Hofes für die Beziehungen Deutschland-Italien im 18. Jahrhundert, in: *Studien zur italienischen Musikgeschichte VIII/Analecta musicologica* 12 (1973), pp. 193-208.
- MATTHEWS, BETTY, The Davies Sisters, J.C. Bach and the Glass Harmonica, in: *Music and Letters* 56 (1975), pp. 150-169.
- PANCINO, LIVIA, Johann Adolf Hasse e Giammaria Ortes: Lettere (1760-1783), Turnhout 1998.
- RIGOLI, PAOLO, Il virtuoso in gabbia. Musicisti in quarantena al lazzeretto di Verona (1655-1740), in: *Musica, scienza e idee nella Serenissima durante il Seicento. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi, Venezia – Palazzo Giustinian Lolin, 13-15 dicembre 1993*, ed. by FRANCESCO PASSADORE/FRANCO ROSSI, Venice 1996, pp. 139-150.
- SARTORI, CLAUDIO, I libretti italiani a stampa dalle origini al 1800. Catalogo analitico con 16 indici, 7 vols., Cuneo 1990-1994.
- SCHNOEBELEN, ANNE, Padre Martini's Collection of Letters in the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna (Annotated Reference Tools in Music 2), New York 1979.
- THOMSEN-FÜRST, RÜDIGER, "This will be delivered to you by Mr. & Mrs. Davies & Charming Daughters." Die Konzertreise der Familie Davies 1767/68-1773, in: *Le musicien et ses voyages. Pratiques, réseaux et représentations (Musical Life in Europe 1600-1900. Circulation, Institutions, Representation)*, ed. by CHRISTIAN MEYER, Berlin 2003, pp. 349-369.
- TIMMS, COLIN, Polymath of the Baroque. Agostino Steffani and His Music, Oxford 2003.
- WOLFF, CHRISTOPH, Johann Sebastian Bach. The Learned Musician, New York 2000.