

Gesa zur Nieden

Mobile Musicians: Paths of Migration in Early Modern Europe

Abstract: *In recent years, the cultural history of music has been challenging cultural notions of style and political representation by studying migrating musicians as actors in early modern court, urban and musical life. Following the aesthetic concept of authenticity, this article examines the construction and use of cultural characterisations of mobility and migration in Glückstadt, a “city of exiles” founded by Christian IV in 1616, and in the biography of Johann Jakob Froberger, who throughout his life travelled in the service of the Viennese court. While first manifestations of a concept of authenticity can be studied very effectively by looking at the example of mobile musicians and their music, their cases also reveal immobilities, the aspiration to rise in social status and the desire to settle securely. Since these elements affected the concept of musical works at the time, they may be fruitfully connected to hybrid music editions.*

Due to the action and network-oriented approach that has been shaping musicological research for several years, the wide definition of mobility within the recently proclaimed “mobility turn”¹ does not seem to add much to a music history that has constantly reflected on the distribution of musical compositions and treatises, the availability of instruments and – last but not least – the gathering of musicians and listeners within early modern court or city life.² Indeed, the relatedness of music to sound has always fostered the study of musical performances as encounters of people and objects, and the mobility of people was even more central for the existence of music during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries when musical notation and practice were constantly developed³ and when patrons moved their courts frequently for dynastic, diplomatic or educa-

¹ Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller and John Urry: Editorial. Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings, in: *Mobilities* 1 (2006), 1–22; Mimi Sheller and John Urry: The New Mobilities Paradigm, in: *Environment and Planning* 38 (2006), 207–226.

² For an emblematic overview of the cultural history of music at early modern courts, see Samantha Owens, Barbara M. Reul and Janice Stockigt (eds.): *Music at German Courts, 1715–1760*. Woodbridge 2011, 11–12.

³ Sylvie Bouissou: Entre sources et œuvre, à la quête d’une authenticité, in: Monique Desroches and Ghyslaine Guertin (eds.): *Construire le savoir musical. Enjeux épistémologiques, esthétiques et sociaux*. Paris 2003, 79–97.

tional reasons (e.g. the Grand Tour).⁴ While the reconstruction of individual mobile or migratory musicians' biographies is often difficult due to the dispersion of sources, the way music exists seems nevertheless constantly to provoke biographically relevant research questions on collegiality, rivalry and cooperation between musicians, even in studies of musical institutions.⁵

Besides a local or even intra-institutional mobility, music historians have also studied migratory music and musicians who moved individually or systematically on supra-regional levels throughout Europe and beyond.⁶ Related to early modern history, beyond court movements or individual journeys of scholars or exiles, two consecutive systematic movements have been central to musicological research: First the broad presence of French-Flemish, mostly cleric musicians in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe that went along with the distribution of composed vocal polyphony in the context of a new ideal of piety,⁷ and second the so-called "diaspora" of Italian musicians during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that responded to the resounding secular success of the new genres of opera and solo concertos that had started out on the Italian peninsula since 1600 and spread to the whole of Europe by the 1650s.⁸ From then on, courtly and also public demand corresponded to the economic needs of Italian musicians who mostly fled their saturated home markets.⁹

4 For the current state of research on the Grand Tour, see Margret Scharrer: *Kavalierstouren und Musiktransfer am Beispiel ausgesuchter Prinzenreisen*, in: Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort and Silke Leopold (eds.): *Migration und Identität. Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte*. Kassel 2013, 151–170. Music migrations within dynastic court movements are currently examined by Berthold Over, research fellow of the HERA MusMig-project. URL: <http://heranet.info/musmig/index> (26 Aug. 2015).

5 Christian Ahrens: *"Zu Gotha ist eine gute Kapelle ...". Aus dem Innenleben einer thüringischen Hofkapelle des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Stuttgart 2009.

6 See, for example, Arne Spohr: *"How chances it they travel?"*. *Englische Musiker in Dänemark und Norddeutschland 1579–1630*. Wiesbaden 2009.

7 Klaus Hortschansky: *Frankoflämische Musik*, in: *MGG²*, Sachteil 3. Kassel 1995, 673–688.

8 Giorgio Pestelli: *Il melodramma italiano all'estero fino alla metà del Settecento*, in: Alberto Basso (ed.), *Musica in scena. Storia dello spettacolo musicale*. Turin 1996, 3–93; Anna Laura Bellina (ed.): *Il teatro dei due mondi. L'opera italiana nei paesi di lingua iberica*. Treviso 2000; Reinhard Strohm (ed.): *The Eighteenth-Century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*. Turnhout 2001; Norbert Dubowy, Corinna Herr and Alina Zórawska-Witkowska (eds.): *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614–1780. Vol. 3: Opera Subjects and European Relationships*. Berlin 2007; Melania Bucciarelli, Norbert Dubowy and Reinhard Strohm (eds.): *Italian Opera in Central Europe. Vol. 1: Institutions and Ceremonies*. Berlin 2008; Corinna Herr et al. (eds.): *Italian Opera in Central Europe 1614–1780. Vol. 2: Italianità. Image and Practice*. Berlin 2008; Damien Colas and Alessandro Di Profio (eds.): *D'une scène à l'autre. L'opéra italien en Europe, 2 vols*. Wavre 2009.

9 Strohm, *Eighteenth-Century Diaspora*. More recently, a research group studied the reverse movement of European musicians, who travelled or migrated to Venice, Rome and Naples

The study of this last systematic movement shows a historiographical change that has encouraged the examination of mobile musicians for the last 15 years: Probably due to the accentuation of cultural mediators within the concepts of cultural transfer and *histoire croisée*, there has been a shift in perspective from migratory music and musicians as parts of symbolic representation centred around a prince and his territory in terms of conspicuous consumption and a cultural history of politics¹⁰ to the examination of the reasons, intentions and consequences of the musicians' mobility.¹¹ These can be reconstructed mainly on the basis of biographical elements like economic or artistic conditions, supra-regional career paths or the gain of social status. In this context, they have been examined via collective biographies in relation to groups of musicians who shared an institutional affiliation, a linguistic origin or a musical education,¹² as well as in relation to biographies in order to explain developments of individual style and performance practice.¹³

Since collective and individual biographies on music mediators have deepened knowledge of the cultural hybridity of European musical practices and networks of musical life, traditional stylistic classifications on the basis of geographical or national cultural and stylistic entities have been challenged in at least two ways: On the one side, socio-cultural contexts of musical composition and performance have been examined on the basis of networks and actions in everyday life and at special feasts, ranging from performances in single palaces or theatres

between 1650 and 1750: Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Gesa zur Nieden (eds.): *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel (1650–1750)*. Kassel 2015.

10 For an emblematic overview, see *Händel-Jahrbuch* 58 (2012) that contains a collection of papers held at the conference “Händel und Dresden. Musik als europäisches Kulturphänomen” in Halle 2011.

11 Goulet and zur Nieden, *Europäische Musiker*.

12 See the collective biography in Britta Kägler: Von “Geschücklichkeiten”, Pfauenfedern und einem “Phonascus”. Kollektivbiographische Studien zu deutschsprachigen Musikern in den italienischen Musikzentren Venedig und Rom (1650–1750), in: Goulet and zur Nieden, *Europäische Musiker*, 236–268; Denise Launay: Les musiciens français itinérants au XVII^e siècle, in: *Colloques internationaux du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique. La découverte de la France au XVII^e siècle, neuvième colloque de Marseille organisé par le Centre Méridional des Rencontres sur le XVII^e siècle*. Paris 1980, 621–633; Christian Meyer (ed.): *Le musicien et ses voyages. Pratiques, réseaux et représentations*. Berlin 2003.

13 For an overview on Handel, see Juliane Riepe: *Händel vor dem Fernrohr. Die Italienreise*. Beeskow 2013; Panja Mücke: Transferwege und Blockaden. Zu Händels Borrowings im frühneuzeitlichen Kommunikationssystem, in: *Händel-Jahrbuch* 58 (2012), 185–203; Silke Leopold: Was hat Händel in Italien gelernt?, in: Alberto Colzani et al. (eds.): *Relazioni musicali tra Italia e Germania nell'età barocca. Atti del VI Convegno internazionale sulla musica italiana nei secoli XVII–XVIII, Loveno di Menaggio (Como), 11–13 luglio 1995*. Como 1997, 387–408.

up to the musical reputation of entire cities and courts via agents or so-called brokers.¹⁴ From this perspective, categorical descriptions like “Italian” or “French music” can be seen as instruments to facilitate the integration or exclusion of musicians on a local level, a process linked to not always entirely aesthetic concerns, but also to social or economic contexts as well as to the knowledge of languages.¹⁵ During the late eighteenth century, first-hand experience of “Italian” performances and performers was often claimed as a qualification by musicians from the German-speaking lands in search for employment as chapel masters.¹⁶ Concerning musical genres, their categorical notions often served as a point of orientation for musical interaction between musicians unknown to each other instead of representing a “national” culture and its social and aesthetic characteristics.¹⁷ In this regard, the socio-cultural study of the musicians’ practices in everyday life also puts into perspective the many cultural definitions deployed by music consumers that served to deal with foreign languages and to interpret music within a specific political context.

On the other side, biographies have been linked to politico-symbolical representation with the effect of articulating individual approaches to the artistic symbolisation of political power.¹⁸ This historiographical evolution includes an attention to personal relations between musicians and their patrons, which are studied in an interdisciplinary manner on the basis of a wide range of musical, pictorial, cameralistic and diplomatic sources,¹⁹ but also a re-evaluation of musical documents like scores or treatises as proof of the rising importance of a person-centred

14 This term is used by Arnaldo Morelli: Marenzio, the Courtier. Some Thoughts on Patronage in the Court of Rome, in: Mauro Calcagno (ed.): “*Compositor moderno et vago*”. *Perspectives on Luca Marenzio’s Secular and Devotional Music*. Turnhout 2012, 229–236. See also Melanie Traversier: *Costruire la fama musicale. La diplomazia napoletana al servizio della musica durante il regno di Carlo di Borbone*, in: Goulet and zur Nieden, *Europäische Musiker*, 171–189.

15 Jérôme de la Gorce: *La résistance à l’opéra italien en France au XVII^e siècle*, in: Herr et al., *Italian Opera in Central Europe*, 209–218.

16 Juliane Riepe: *Rom als Station deutscher Musiker des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts auf Italienreise. Aspekte eines biographischen Modells im Wandel*, in: Goulet and zur Nieden, *Europäische Musiker*, 227–228.

17 See Thierry Favier’s part in Jean Boutier: *Tavola rotonda. Incroci tra storia cultural e storia della musica a livello europeo. Metodi e problematiche per il XVII e il XVIII secolo*, in: Goulet and zur Nieden, *Europäische Musiker*, 626–632.

18 Klaus Pietschmann: *Repräsentationsformen in der frankoflämischen Musikkultur des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts. Transfer, Austausch, Akkulturation*, in: *Musiktheorie* 25 (2010), 99–115.

19 For diplomatic studies on music and music migrations, see the collected volume Rebekah Ahrendt, Mark Ferraguto and Damien Mahiet (eds.): *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*. New York 2014.

authorship and authority.²⁰ As mentioned before, early modern musicians from German-speaking lands strove to document diverse musical and linguistic skills that were often improved by their travels. Such a concentration on individuals and their various skills objects but also enriches the fluid concept of early modern musical works that has been accounted for in recently developed hybrid digital editions.²¹ This historiographical and methodological constellation poses the question whether the impossible task of defining a document of reference for the authentic transmission of a historical work and its musical execution can be substituted by an idea of a biographically reconstructed authority and sociality within the starting development of modern authenticity.²² More precisely this is a matter of balancing a too-strong notion of geographic-cultural entities against a total cultural hybridisation of musical practices and styles or a complete atomisation of performance practices and reception models on the basis of single performances. Such a view does not only allow for a description of an early modern “fragmentary individualisation” but also for an understanding of the diversity and complexity of early modern types of mobility.²³

Recent philosophical and aesthetic definitions of authenticity have opened the possibility of applying the concept to historical periods before the late eighteenth century. On the basis of these new reflections, it is now possible to connect authenticity to personal behaviour as well as to objects and situations in the biographies of early modern mobile musicians that constantly oscillated between different social and aesthetic norms: First of all authenticity is a concept of testimony that is linked to the authority of the message or document and the sociality of the mediator.²⁴ Even personal authenticity is now seen as less influential in

20 Kordula Knaus: Italian Courts and their Musicians in the Early Modern Period. Authority, Authorship and Gender, in: ead. and Susanne Kogler (eds.): *Autorschaft – Genie – Geschlecht. Musikalische Schaffensprozesse von der Frühen Neuzeit bis zur Gegenwart*. Köln 2013, 67–84.

21 Janine Droese et al.: Musik – Theater – Text. Grundfragen der Musiktheaterphilologie im Spiegel der OPERA-Hybrid Ausgaben, in: *Editio. Internationales Jahrbuch für Editionswissenschaft* 27 (2013), 72–95.

22 For the development of a modern authenticity in relation to the composers’ authorship and authority, see Michele Calella: *Musikalische Autorschaft. Der Komponist zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Kassel 2014.

23 Wolfgang Bonß and Sven Kesselring: Mobilität am Übergang von der Ersten zur Zweiten Moderne, in: Ulrich Beck and Wolfgang Bonß (eds.): *Die Modernisierung der Moderne*. Frankfurt 2001, 187 and 189.

24 Sybille Krämer: Zum Paradoxon von Zeugenschaft im Spannungsfeld von Personalität und Depersonalisierung, in: Michael Rössner and Heidemarie Uhl (eds.): *Renaissance der Authentizität? Über die neue Sehnsucht nach dem Ursprünglichen*. Bielefeld 2012, 15–26.

the creation of social fragmentation out of individuality and subjectivity²⁵ and has been linked to social rules and norms as well as to barely definable “forces”. These norms and “forces” relativise and counterbalance the importance of liberty as a central condition for authenticity and constitute the framework in which authentic persons or objects can emerge.²⁶ As for early modern music history, the artistic and social norms were strongly influenced by established musical genres and their conventions, by the last traces of climate theory and its cultural characterisations, and by the incipient connection of language and political statehood.²⁷ Early modern musical authenticity is thus about managing one’s musicianship within this framework.

As far as musicology is concerned, the concept of authenticity is strongly linked to historically informed practices of performance and music editing that seek to follow the intentions of the composer and the sound and practice of his time. Within this realm, Peter Kivy argues that the intentions even of early modern composers can be reconstructed by work on historical and cultural contexts as well as by the analysis of the music itself.²⁸ In summary, Kivy’s “historical authenticity” is linked to the beginning of an authenticity defined as authority and authorship that are thought to persist unaffected by cultural and temporal differences and can therefore be studied particularly well in the instance of mobile musicians and their experiences.

On the basis of this state of research, in the following I will trace some of the forces driving mobile musicians’ paths by comparing cultural characterisations of the musical life of particular cities with those that result from individual professional careers: First, I will concentrate on the construction of a cultural characterisation of Glückstadt, a so-called “city of exiles”²⁹ in the duchy of Holstein founded by Christian IV of Denmark in 1616. During the seventeenth and

25 Charles Taylor: *The Malaise of Modernity*. Ontario 1991.

26 Christoph Menke: Was ist eine “Ethik der Authentizität”? in: Michael Kühnlein and Matthias Lutz-Bachmann (eds.): *Unerfüllte Moderne? Neue Perspektiven auf das Werk von Charles Taylor*. Berlin 2011, 217–238.

27 For climate theories in music, see John T. Scott: Climate, Causation, and the Power of Music in Montesquieu and Rousseau, in: Claude Dauphin (ed.): *Musique et langage chez Rousseau*. Oxford 2004, 51–61.

28 Peter Kivy: *Authenticities. Philosophical Reflections on Musical Performances*. Ithaca, NY 1995, 26–28.

29 “City of exiles” (*Exulantenstadt*) is a term used in urban history to describe cities that were built up by – mostly religious – exiles. Heinz Stob: Über frühneuzeitliche Städtetypen, in: id. (ed.): *Räume, Formen und Schichten der mitteleuropäischen Städte. Eine Aufsatzfolge*. Köln 1970, 246–284; Raingard Esser: Art. “Exulantenstadt”, in: Friedrich Jaeger (ed.): *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit. Vol. 3: Dynastie-Freundschaftslinien*. Stuttgart 2006, 732–733.

eighteenth centuries, the active musicians in that town constantly referred to the words *Glück* (luck) or *Fortuna* (fortune) in different artistic and/or personal ways, as aiding or impeding mobility. Second, I will turn to Johann Jakob Froberger's (1616–1667) biography and musical career. Froberger was a harpsichord player, organist and composer in the service of Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III and left many clues to his individual solutions to the problem of symbolic representation but also to his own biography in his music. My contention is that the conditions of musical life were often reflected in musical compositions and that this habit served to establish cultural categories that were manageable by musicians who had to cope with the frequent re-formation of court chapels and the constant need to gain permission for new musical performances to be able to earn one's living. Such conditions facilitated efforts to improve financial income as well as social status in different ways. At the same time, they form a substantial basis for the study of historical authenticity in its development towards a "personal authenticity" between everyday mobility, systematic movements, cultural notions and biography.

The City of Fortune

The city of Glückstadt is particularly interesting for the study of mobile musicians since it was established by Christian IV, king of Denmark and Norway, as a so-called "city of exiles". During the whole seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the king tried to promote settlement in the newly founded town situated on the river Elbe, a few kilometres downstream from Hamburg, by inviting different religious groups like Sephardic Jews originally from Spain and Portugal, who arrived in Glückstadt from the Netherlands, or French Huguenots.³⁰ Moreover, Dutch merchants and sailors were attracted by the king's plan to surpass the city of Hamburg in trade by benefiting from its more favourite geographical position for shipping.³¹ Beyond a maximum of religious freedom, new citizens could also benefit from the fact that in 1649, Frederick III of Denmark made Glückstadt the administrative capital of Holstein. Already in 1630, his father Christian IV had concluded an agreement with Spain that confirmed Glückstadt as the place to issue passes for shipping to Spain and Portugal. This led to the settlement of at least a few Spanish

30 See the announcement of privileges in Walter Wilkes: *Der Glückstadt Lust-, Leid- und Freuden-spiegel*. München 1964, 9–10.

31 Gerhard Köhn: *Die Bevölkerung der Residenz, Festung und Exulantenstadt Glückstadt von der Gründung 1616 bis zum Endausbau 1652*. Neumünster 1974, 22–26.

Catholics and increased the number of Dutch sailors, since the passes protected their ships from attacks by privateers.³²

Throughout the seventeenth century, Glückstadt struggled to become a major city of trade.³³ The geographical position turned out to be extremely unfavourable for this plan, because the city was surrounded by unhealthy marshland and a sandbank soon blocked the port entrance. While in 1643 the marshland protected Glückstadt almost more than its fortress from invasion by Swedish forces,³⁴ city life was strongly influenced by the presence of local troops and their musicians. Besides a town musician, musical life developed in parallel to the settlement of several religious communities. Until 1708 Glückstadt had two main Christian churches, the town church and the castle church. Cantors also had the duty to instruct the pupils at the local school.³⁵ At the latest by 1668 the Portuguese state contributed to the salary of the town musician.³⁶ The position of the town musician seems to have been sold by the owner or passed over to family members since family ties can be traced between most of the town musicians of Glückstadt from the 1630s to 1841.³⁷ Nevertheless it seems as if various families of musicians were present in Glückstadt, since in 1673 a musician named Bertram is noted in juridical documents for having participated in a brawl.³⁸ In 1696, one Georg Baltzer Bertram replaced his father-in-law Mathias Höpner, who had served as a town musician from 1684 till his death in 1694.³⁹ During his activity as a town musician, Bertram constantly tried to increase his privileges by asking for an assistant but first of all by complaining about musicians who restricted his rights and duties. This concerned all types of local musicians from the organist up to

32 Ibid., 52–54.

33 Karl Asmussen: Das Wirtschaftsleben und die Bevölkerung Glückstadts von der Gründung bis 1869, in: *Glückstadt im Wandel der Zeiten. Vol. 2.* Glückstadt 1966, 161–236.

34 Paul Douglas Lockhart: *Denmark in the Thirty Year's War, 1618–1648. King Christian IV and the Decline of the Oldenburg-State.* London 1996, 261.

35 Royal Decree, 23 Feb. 1646 (State Archives Schleswig-Holstein, Dep. 133, N^o 88.5); Arnfried Edler: *Der nordelbische Organist. Studien zu Sozialstatus, Funktion und kompositorischer Produktion eines Musikerberufes von der Reformation bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Kassel 1982, 83.

36 Letter by the Secretary Jacobus Jacobi, 23 Nov. 1668 (State Archives Schleswig-Holstein, Dep. 133, N^o 141). See also Decree by the City Assembly of Glückstadt, 14 Apr. 1730 (Municipal Archives Glückstadt, 1015, N^o 9).

37 Mirko Soll: *Verrechtlichte Musik. Die Stadtmusikanten der Herzogtümer Schleswig und Holstein. Eine Untersuchung aufgrund archivalischer Quellen.* Münster 2006, 462.

38 Glückstädtische Pfandbrüche 1673–1674 (Municipal Archives Glückstadt, Mf1 LVI).

39 Letter by the Town Government, 1 June 1696 (State Archives Schleswig-Holstein, Dep. 133, N^o 141).

military musicians and a second town musician.⁴⁰ The main source of all these conflicts seems to be Bertram's attempt to rule the musical life of Glückstadt on his own, a concern that he hid behind the effort to guarantee a functioning and qualitatively satisfactory musical ensemble. This argument was often linked with the fear of losing skilled or merely trained musicians who seemed to flee the town of Glückstadt as soon as possible. Thus Bertram accused the second town musician, Hans König, of playing music with non-professionals at weddings or feasts and his son and assistant to have secretly left the city.⁴¹

That Bertram was simultaneously open to performing with military or church musicians can be seen by the example of a Christmas cantata that he composed in 1712. The libretto of this cantata specifies that it was to be performed at the town and garrison church and that it had to be played by one soloist (singer or instrumentalist), two bassoons and three oboes.⁴² Because of this large number of woodwinds it is most likely that Bertram asked the military oboists to join the ensemble.⁴³ The text of this cantata is likely to reflect the atmosphere that characterised the cultural life of Glückstadt during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and which might have been the reason why many musicians left the town. The cantata describes the stormy sea and ends with the evocation of celestial salvation supported by a choir of angels, which "hebt unser ewigs Glück hervor". After the sermon, an ode restarts with the verse: "Schmeißt ihr hohen Unglücks-Wogen! Schmeißt mein Schifflein hin und her. Rase, weites Trübsals-Meer! Mich bestrahlt ein Himmels-Bogen."⁴⁴

Since the foundation of the city, metaphors of the rough sea contrasted with the fortunate name of Glückstadt were very common. They are present throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in poetry by local writers like Johann Rist and Christoph Woltereck and thus seem to reflect the changeful story of the town that never managed to come even close to attaining the goal of surpassing Hamburg in trade and settlement. While in 1643 Rist connected the name of

40 State Archives Schleswig-Holstein, Dep. 133, N^o 141 and Dep. 65.2, N^o 3411–IV.

41 Letter by the Royal Chancellery von Hagen, 24 Oct. 1722 (Municipal Archives Glückstadt, 1015); Soll, *Verrechtlichte Musik*, 316.

42 *Weihnachts-Freude in der Stadt- und Garnisons-Gemeinde zu Glückstadt. Vormittags musicalisch vorgestellt durch Georg Baltzer Bertram, gedruckt im Jahre Christi 1712*, in: *Digitale Sammlungen der Staatsbibliothek Berlin*. URL: http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN663930138&PHYSID=PHYS_0001&USE=800 (20 June 2015).

43 The State and Municipal Archives contain documentation on several differences between town musicians and military musicians, especially oboists, for the years 1732 (Bertram) and 1742 (Palschau): State Archives Schleswig-Holstein, Dep. 65.2: Deutsche Kanzlei zu Kopenhagen, N^o 3411–IV.

44 *Weihnachts-Freude*.

Glückstadt to a positive future of the city that was going to enrich the royal family tree,⁴⁵ in 1712 Woltereck used it in poems and madrigals about drunkards and bankruptcy, too.⁴⁶ In one poem the writer abandons hope that the tree of fortune will ever bear fruit and places it under an ideal of beauty characterised by a Nordic wind.⁴⁷

That a northern orientation at the Danish court was intended by both Bertram and Woltereck can be shown by the fact that Bertram applied for a position in Copenhagen and that Woltereck dedicated his *Holsteinische Musen* to the Danish king. In compliance with the absolutism that had been established by Frederick III, both compared the King to a celestial light, in contrast to the changing river of fortune.⁴⁸ While in 1643 Johann Rist still related the metaphor of the sky to the foundation of Glückstadt, in 1712, Bertram's "Himmels-Bogen" seemed to allude to a violin bow and might thus have explicitly backed Bertram's candidature for Copenhagen.⁴⁹

Beyond this merging of music and the image of Glückstadt the musical activity of local musicians like Bertram but also of the local nobility seems to have fostered quite a diverse musical life. During their stays in Glückstadt the Danish Kings mostly refrained from organising impressive musical performances, but they seemed to encourage local musical activities:⁵⁰ In 1632 Christian IV sent the printer Andreas Koch from Copenhagen to become the royal printer of Glückstadt.

45 In 1643 Rist wrote the following verses about the new castle of Glückstadt on the occasion of the wedding of Frederic III with Sophia Amalia of Brunswick-Lüneburg: "Unmöglich wird es sein ein solches Schloß zu zeigen,/ Daß solche Helden itzt in Fröhlichkeit besteigen/ als Dir, Du Burg des Glücks, weit über allen Werth/ Und Gut zu schätzen, itzt so gnädig wiederfährt./ Schau den Regenten-Baum mit seinen edlen Zweigen,/ Den Baum, vor welchem sich in tieffer Demuth neigen/ Die Königreiche, so gehorchen Deiner Macht/ [...] Du Burg des Glücks, der Cimbren höchste Zier,/ [...] Dich soll gar nicht verletzen/ Feur, Wasser, Wetter Krieg und was sonst pflegt zu setzen/ Die Schlösser in Verderb. Du Glücks-Burg sollst allein/ Ein unvergleichlichs Haus und Schmuck der Elbe sein." Johanni Risten G.P. Lobrede Hamburg 1643, quoted after *Neues Staatsbürgerliches Magazin* 1, no. 1 (1932), 303.

46 Christoph Wolterecks *Holsteinische Musen, worinnen enthalten Ehren-Gedichte/ Briefe/ Cantaten/ Oden/ Sonette/ Madrigalen/ Sinngedichte und Grabschriften, Glückstadt. Bey Gotthilff Lehmann Königlich privilegierter Buchhändler (1712)*, 289 and 291.

47 *Ibid.*, 246.

48 "Denn ob ihr Wohlfahrts-Strom gleich nach und nach versieget; Ihr Morgenstern des Glücks noch immer schläfrig steigt: So lebt ihr König hoch/ ihr Trost und Sonnen-Licht." Wolterecks *Holsteinische Musen*, "Zuschrift".

49 Soll, *Verrechtlichte Musik*, 462.

50 Aubéry du Maurier reports the following on Christian's IV journey to Glückstadt in 1637: "Il venoit de Copenhague en un Calèche à deux chevaux, accompagné seulement de quatre ou cinq Cavaliers, ce qui nous fit admirer à tous le mépris que se sage Prince faisoit du faste et du pompe

In 1664 his son Melchior Koch printed a wedding song for two singers and three instrumentalists (basso continuo, violin, flute) that contains a musical riddle consisting of a rectangle of four staves that can be sung from the inside or from the outside of the rectangle. The centre is occupied by a picture showing the couple sleeping in their bed and the last stave finishes with the announcement of another son or singer.⁵¹ Most notably, in these publications, the instruments and performance indications are given in various languages from Italian (“lento piano”, “forte”), French (“violon”) and Low German (“Fleute”). This has various reasons: First, the printer most probably brought material from the musically Italianised court of Copenhagen and used it to print local music in Glückstadt.⁵² Second, since the 1640s a strong interest in French culture can be documented. In 1648 the tax collector Søren Terkelsen, who was born in Glückstadt, translated Honoré d’Urfé’s *Astrée* into German using melodies by Johann Rist and the Danish court trumpeter Gabriel Voigtländer.⁵³ In 1705 Lehmann printed a treatise on French dances with *courantes*, *minuets* and *bourrées*.⁵⁴ Third, the local town musicians were keen to attract a big audience and to play at as many private feasts as possible, including those of the Dutch community.

Indeed, the amount and size of musical performances were also an interest of the city council, which wished to regain a functioning musical ensemble around the town musician after the departure of Hans König.⁵⁵ Finally, probably following the Portuguese, who underscored their citizens’ rights by contributing to the town musician’s salary, in 1718 the king published a new royal privilege “für die/ der

des Rois.” Aubéry du Maurier: *Memoires de Hambourg de Lubeck et de Holstein, de Dannemark, de Suède et de Pologne, 1735*, 9–10.

51 *Gespräch des himlischen Bräutigams mit seiner Braut aus dem hohen Liede Salomonis/ Auff den hochzeitlichen Ehren- und Freuden-Tag/ Des Wol Edlen/ Besten und Hochgelahrten Herrn Friderici Helms [...] In Glückstadt celebriret am 24. Novembris dieses 1664 Jahres. In die Sing- und Spiel-Kunst verfasst à Philomuso*. Glückstadt/ Drucks Melchior Koch.

52 Christoph Reske: *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet*. Wiesbaden 2007, 297.

53 Steffen Arndal: Übersetzung, Parodie, Kontrafaktur. Zur Rezeption des deutschen Barockliedes in Dänemark, in: Gudrun Busch (ed.): *Studien zum deutschen weltlichen Kunstlied des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts*. Amsterdam 1992, 88.

54 I.H.P. (ed.): *Maitre de Danse, oder Tanz-Meister/ Welcher lehret/ wie ein Tänzer so die Fundamenta gefasset/ ohne Hüllfe/ sich selbsten die gebräuchlichsten Französischen Tänze beybringen könne, Glückstadt und Leipzig/ bey Gotthilff Lehmann/ Königlichen Privilegirten Buchhändler*. Glückstadt/ Gedruckt bey Johann Friederich Schwendimann Königl. Buchdrucker. Anno M.DCCV. See also Stephanie Schroedter, Marie-Thérèse Mourey and Giles Bennett (eds.): *Barocktanz im Zeichen französisch-deutschen Kulturtransfers. Quellen zur Tanzkultur um 1700*. Hildesheim 2008.

55 Royal Order to the Municipal Authorities, 28 Sept. 1723 (State Archives Schleswig, Dep. 133 N^o 141).

Reformirten Religion zu-gethane/ so wol Deutsch- und Französischer/ als auch Engell- und Holländischer Nationen, welche sich etwa alhie in Glückstadt zu setzen und häuslich nieder zulassen resolviren möchten". The initial of the text is decorated by an emblem showing a lute and a score that entwine around a tree, replacing the winds and gales that kept Wolterecks "tree of fortune" from bearing fruit.⁵⁶ In summary, by 1718 the culturally diverse music of Glückstadt had become an important element symbolising urban development. Probably because of this in the 1760s some French Huguenots from Hamburg and Berlin tried to establish a French colony in Glückstadt, bringing their own cantors and organists with them, who were also to instruct their children in French.⁵⁷ In this case, the image of Glückstadt as a home to the arts served more to attract new citizens from outside the city than enabling local musicians to build up a reputation as a basis for obtaining a post as a court musician in Copenhagen.

Nevertheless, most of the musicians working in Glückstadt were disappointed by Fortuna. Throughout the eighteenth century, they continued to use the term "fortune" in relation to their decision to continue their careers and biographies abroad. In 1792 Heinrich Conrad Wille announced his departure after three years of service as a town musician with the following words: "Lange schon war der Wunsch in mir rege/: da ich nie glücklich in Glückstadt war, und auch nie sein kann/: mich auf Reisen zu begeben, um zu sehen, ob Mad[ame] Fortuna nicht in ihrem Glückstöpfchen noch ein gutes Loos für mich aufgehoben."⁵⁸

A musician who obviously enjoyed living in Glückstadt was the organist Johann Conrad Rosenbusch, who is noted for his unconventional behaviour towards the municipal authorities. Rosenbusch had been educated and worked in Erfurt, Stuttgart, Gotha, Itzehoe and Hamburg before settling in Glückstadt in 1713 at the age of forty. The Hamburg music writer Johann Mattheson said of him in his biographical compendium *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* that "er lebt bisher vergnügt an solchem Orte".⁵⁹ According to Mattheson, one of the first music biographers, the organist of Glückstadt also appreciated the idea of his biographical enterprise.

56 *Königlich allergnädigstes PRIVILEGIUM für die/ der Reformierten Religion zu-gethane/ so wol Deutsch- und Französischer/ als auch Engell- und Holländischer Nationen, welche sich etwa allhie in Glückstadt zu setzen und häuslich nieder zulassen resolviren möchten.* Glückstadt, gedruckt in der Königl. privil. Buchdr. 1718 (Municipal Archives Glückstadt, № 1248–1249).

57 State Archives Schleswig-Holstein, Dep. 65.2: Deutsche Kanzlei zu Kopenhagen, № 3390: Französisch-reformierte Gemeinde in Glückstadt.

58 Municipal Archives Glückstadt Nr. 1015; Letter by the town musician Heinrich Conrad Wille, 8 Aug. 1792, cited in: Soll, *Verrechtlichte Musik*, 208.

59 Johann Mattheson: *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte.* Hamburg 1740, 295.

At the end of his entry on Rosenbusch, Mattheson copies a letter by him dated 9 December 1739:

Es ist mir eine Freude, daß Ew. Hochedl. die in vielen Jahren mühsam errichtete Ehrenpforte endlich wollen ans Licht treten lassen: der Herr seegne solches Werck zu seiner Ehre, und lasse die es lesen dadurch zur Erkenntniß seiner Wege auf Erden (**welche gemeinlich bey den Musicis wunderbar sind**) gelangen⁶⁰

By comparing musicians' biographies to a celestial marvelousness, a theme that other musicians of Glückstadt used for the Danish court and their own ambitions to become court musicians, it seems as if Rosenbusch saw his path of terrestrial life in the town of Glückstadt, where he served for more than 20 years in the town church, as already perfect or felicitous. It is interesting to notice that Rosenbusch did not try to enlarge his privileges or to become noticed by printed musical compositions. In contrast he stuck to an unconventional assertion of his privileges by putting forward his own social and musical authority.⁶¹ Mattheson sees Rosenbusch's authority in the fact that he instructed a blind musician, who later became the organist in Itzehoe and he describes this success as Rosenbusch's most important, quasi divine "work".⁶² In this way the metaphor of fortune and celestial light was used not only for professional advancement at court through mobility or to gain local authority among the audiences. It also served as a biographical milestone of self-determined settlement and stability that found its way into Mattheson's biographies in the atmosphere of the early enlightenment, where the divine forces were translated into earthly musical or educational "works". In relation to their initiators, those works made their own biographical paths marvellous.⁶³

A Life Journey in Music

How authority emerges out of supra-regional mobility and how it can lead to a stable position or settlement can be shown by the example of Johann Jakob Froberger. He is one among the group of early modern musicians whose music

⁶⁰ Ibid., 296. Emphasis in the original.

⁶¹ Edler, *Der nordelbische Organist*, 110, 113–114 and 190–191.

⁶² Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, 295.

⁶³ For the combination of religion and enlightenment in the work of Johann Rist, see Anne-Charlott Trepp: *Von der Glückseligkeit alles zu wissen. Die Erforschung der Natur als religiöse Praxis in der Frühen Neuzeit*. Frankfurt 2009, 78–277.

incorporates the most diverse elements of political representation and individual biography. Moreover, Froberger's life can be characterised as a path of professional stabilisation and social advancement. In 1637, still at the beginning of his career, Froberger converted to Catholicism to earn a scholarship from Ferdinand III to study in Rome.⁶⁴ This journey was organised by the Holy Roman Emperor's confessor, the Jesuit Joseph Gans, who found Froberger a temporary home at the Palazzo de Cupis, where the Habsburg ambassador resided. Probably through Gans, Froberger came into contact with the celebrated polymath Athanasius Kircher, with whom he started to work on the *arca musarithmica*, a machine for musical composing. At the end of his stay in Rome, Kircher asked Froberger to convey the machine to the emperor. Since Kircher did not ask the King's confessor Gans, who tried to transmit the machine to Ferdinand himself, Froberger got an audience of several hours with the Holy Roman Emperor.⁶⁵ Froberger afterwards intensified his contact with Ferdinand by the composition of music that contained imperial symbols and riddles: In 1649 after a second journey to Italy, Froberger dedicated a manuscript of new toccatas, fantasias and *canzone* to the Emperor. This manuscript contained also his *Fantasia sopra Ut Re Mi Fa Sol La*, which Kircher published a year later in his *Musurgia Universalis*, dedicated to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm of Austria.⁶⁶ Beyond the decoration of the manuscript with the symbols of the sun, the sceptre, the orb and the sword, Froberger introduced a musical symbolic value into his compositions by means of solmisation. Indeed, the Kircher-inspired *Fantasia sopra Sollare* ("shining") consists of the recurrent line "lascia fare mi" ("let me do"). This line can be interpreted in at least three ways: First it strengthens Froberger's capacity to contribute to the power and radiation ("let me do the shining"). Second, Froberger seems to allude to the power of music as an instrument for political representing but also for aristocratic pleasure ("let the Fa Re Mi do the shining"). Third, the line "lascia fare mi" can be read as a tribute to the Emperor ("let Ferdinando Re de' Romani do the shining").⁶⁷ In

⁶⁴ Herwig Knaus: *Die Musiker im Archivbestand des Kaiserlichen Obersthofmeisteramtes (1637–1705)*. Wien 1967, 90–91; Rudolf Rasch: Johann Jacob Froberger's Travels 1649–1653, in: Christopher Hogwood (ed.): *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*. Cambridge 2003, 20–21.

⁶⁵ Claudio Annibaldi: Froberger in Rome. From Frescobaldi's Craftsmanship to Kircher's Compositional Secrets, in: *Current Musicology* 58 (1998), 14–18; Ulf Scharlau: Neue Quellenfunde zur Biographie Johann Jakob Frobergers, in: *Die Musikforschung* 22 (1969), 47–52.

⁶⁶ Libro Secondo. Di Toccate, Fantasie, Canzone, Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Gigue et altre partite. Alla Sac.a Caes.a M.ta. Devotissim.te dedicato in Vienna li 29 Settembre 1649 da Gio. Giacomo Froberger, see the facsimile in: Siegbert Rampe (ed.): *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Clavier- und Orgelwerke. Vol. 1: Libro Secondo (1649)*. Kassel 1993.

⁶⁷ In 1647 the Emperor had already received a treatise on the solmisation of his latin name "Ferdinandus Tertius" *FER-DI-NAN-DUS TER-TI-US sive Sanctae-Crucis musicae errorem totius*



Johann Jakob Froberger: Fantasia sopra Sollare, in: *Libro Secondo*. Wien 1649.

summary, with his compositions dedicated to Ferdinand III Froberger established a politico-symbolical but also a personal relationship with the Emperor for which his individual capacities could not be neglected.⁶⁸

Probably because of such a combination, in 1649, Ferdinand III sent his court organist Froberger on a journey to Brussels and France. On this journey Froberger stopped in Dresden where he handed over a letter from Ferdinand to the elector of Saxony.⁶⁹ According to Mattheson, Johann Georg I asked Froberger to compete against the organist Matthias Weckmann. After Weckmann's improvisation on one of Froberger's themes, the Viennese court organist honoured his colleague by exclaiming "[d]ieser ist wahrhaftig ein rechter Virtuos".⁷⁰ Even beyond this expression it is obvious that Mattheson's biographical narrative stresses the personal

orbis terrarum corrigentis novi canone. Wien 1647. See Steven Saunders: New Discoveries Concerning Ferdinand III's Musical Compositions, in: *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 45 (1996), 8.

68 For the favourable climate at the Viennese court for such a combination, see Ferdinand Zehentreiter: Der Fürst als Künstlerkollege und Volkspädagoge. Die Musik-Patronage im Habsburgerreich und ihre Bedeutung für die Autonomisierung des Komponierens, in: Ulrich Oevermann, Johannes Süßmann and Christine Tauber (eds.): *Die Kunst der Mächtigen und die Macht der Kunst. Untersuchungen zu Mäzenatentum und Kulturpatronage*. Berlin 2007, 201–221.

69 Siegbert Rampe: Das "Hinze-Manuskript" – Ein Dokument zu Biographie und Werk von Matthias Weckmann und Johann Jacob Froberger, in: *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 19 (1997), 88–103.

70 Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, 396.

relationship between the elector of Saxony and his musician as well as between the two musicians, who served different courts. Furthermore, the cooperative interaction between the two musicians may have been motivated by the general court protocol like the Viennese one that demanded that musicians “mantenghino buona, sincera e cordiale amicizia con tutti li musici, onorando e rispettando ognuno”.⁷¹ That music was an important instrument to foster peace and friendship between politically or dynastically related courts reflects itself, for example, in the intention of Leopold Wilhelm to organise an opera performance at the next Reichstag where the archduke planned to bring his musicians.⁷²

When Froberger travelled to Paris in the service of Archduke Leopold Wilhelm, who awarded him 240 guilders in Brussels between 1649 and 1652, the atmosphere for his music was less receptive. In his volume *La muze historique* Jean Loret qualifies Froberger as a “piffre [glutton] d’allemand” and a “très médiocre personnage” after a concert with a great ensemble and a large audience in Paris on 29 September 1652.⁷³ While Loret’s rejection of the Viennese governor of Brussels who had received Mazarin as a refugee during the *fronde* seems quite natural, this rejection stands in contrast to Froberger’s individual networks which he tied during his stay in Paris. First of all his compositions are evidence of friendships that Froberger built up with French musicians like the organist Louis Couperin and the lutenist Charles de Fleury, sieur de Blanrocher.⁷⁴ For the latter he even wrote a *memento mori* that reflects on Blanrocher’s death after he had rushed down the stairs.⁷⁵ Beyond the strong ties to his colleagues, Froberger was in contact with French nobles who supported Mazarin’s suspension, as Jean Loret probably did. In 1652 Froberger composed a Suite with a Gigue “nommée la ruse Mazarinique. [...] NB Lament et à discrétion, comme le retour de Mons. Le Cardinal Mazarin

71 Jakob Wührer and Martin Scheutz: *Zu Diensten Ihrer Majestät. Hofordnungen und Instruktionsbücher am frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hof*. Wien 2011, 709.

72 Renate Schreiber: *Ein Galleria nach meinem Humor. Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm*. Wien 2004, 31.

73 Jean Loret: *La muze historique, ou Recueil des lettres en vers contenant les nouvelles tu temps. Vol. 1: 1650–1654*, ed. Ravenel and La Pelouze. Paris 1857, 291–292. For Froberger’s sojourns in Paris in 1650 and 1652, see also Catherine Massip: Froberger et la France, in: *J.J. Froberger Musicien Européen. Colloque organisé par la ville et l’École Nationale de Musique de Montbéliard*. Paris 1998, 67–75.

74 *Ibid.*

75 Philippe Vendrix: Froberger et la mort, in: *J.J. Froberger, 77–85*; Matthias Schneider: Con discrezione. Stationen und Widerhall des “Europäers” Johann Jacob Froberger, in: Harald Schwaetzer and Henrieke Stahl-Schwaetzer (eds.): *Der Traum Europas. Kultur und Sozialität als Aufgabe. Ein interdisziplinäres Symposium*. Regensburg 2000, 226–231.

à Paris” – a striking contrast to Froberger’s own Paris debut with a big concert.⁷⁶ In summary, during his travels in the service of Ferdinand III and his brother Leopold Wilhelm, Froberger assumed a personally more important role that he also reflected upon ironically in his compositions.

On the basis of the current state of research it is probable that Froberger returned to the German lands in the company of the count of Thurn, another supporter of the *frondeurs*, but also of Leopold Wilhelm, who on his way to the imperial diet in Regensburg, where the emperor had already taken his whole court orchestra, passed through many of the archducal and archiepiscopal residences.⁷⁷ The archbishop of Mainz in particular assumed an important role between the princes and “commoners” among the representatives of the estates of the empire. In this atmosphere and on the basis of his individual role as a musician with representative tasks, Froberger might have felt encouraged to make use of an own emblem as a seal of a letter.⁷⁸

Shortly after the imperial diet, Froberger retired from service at the Viennese court for which he had served three stints as an organist: from 1 to 30 October 1637, from April 1641 to October 1645 and from April 1653 to 30 June 1657, providing for himself by travelling to Rome, Paris, Brussels, London and the Spanish Netherlands in the service of the Holy Roman Empire and of Leopold Wilhelm in between these periods.⁷⁹ Froberger spent his last years (ca. 1664–1667) at the residence of Duchess Sibylla von Württemberg in Héricourt where he kept his title of a Viennese court organist and where he lived in a close artistic and friendly contact with the duchess. He held on to his Catholic faith and made his own works available only to a harpsichord-player whom he had personally instructed.⁸⁰ His effective but also very personal musical and social practice probably had made him incompatible with the representative demands of the new court of Leopold III, who had been elected as the new Emperor after the extinction of Ferdinand’s III direct line with the death of his son Ferdinand IV.⁸¹ Froberger’s personal loyalty to Ferdinand III is reflected in a *Lamentation faite sur la très douloureuse mort de*

76 David Schulenberg: Crossing the Rhine with Froberger. Suites, Symbols and Seventeenth-Century Musical Autobiography, in: Claire Fontijn (ed.): *Fiori musicali. Liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger*. Sterling Heights 2010, 296.

77 Rampe, “Hinze-Manuskript”, 98.

78 Annibaldi, Froberger in Rome, 25–27.

79 Rasch, Johann Jacob Froberger’s Travels, 19–35.

80 Yves Ruggeri: Froberger à Montbéliard, in: J.J. Froberger musicien européen, 23–37.

81 See Bob van Asperen: Frobergiana. Neue Erkenntnisse über die “Allemande, faite en passant le Rhin”, in: *Concerto* 21, no. 192 (2004), 27.

Sa Majesté Impériale Ferdinand le Troisième, et se joue lentement avec discretion, which ends with a triple f” and which he already wrote in 1657.⁸²

Music Mobilities

The retraced paths and mobilities of early modern musicians, which have been shown here from an urban and a biographical perspective, converge in two main points: First, the study of supra-regional mobilities also reveals local mobilities or even immobilities. Most of these mobilities can be connected to professional paths and incomes that were assured by the nobility or by the urban authorities, but they may be even more effectively grouped under the concept of personal or documental authenticity and thus anticipate the modern concept of motility.⁸³ Within the framework of the beginnings of a biographical music historiography by Johann Mattheson and a certain autonomy that was allowed town and court musicians for the symbolic representation of their cities and courts, many musicians created their own concept of musical works. These concepts could be religiously or biographically motivated, as in the case of Rosenbusch at Glückstadt, or they could reflect the authentic proportions of a musical career, as in Froberger’s compositions. A common predilection for musical riddles may have provided a fertile ground for the development of musical works with personal biographical reflections and serving personal intentions. Second, many biographical paths seem to end with a stable settlement on an equal, satisfactory social footing. This settlement seems justified by and to profit from supra-regional experiences, but its target and orientation was probably the recognition of a newly-gained social status. This advancement often resulted from a close relationship with nobles and princes, but it could be fostered as well by a personally independent interpretation of judicial norms and the appropriate concept of musical works, which at the time still oscillated between a divine and a personal characterisation.⁸⁴ The sed-

⁸² Minoriten-Kodex 743, Wien, um 1708/1709 (Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv Wien, Ms. XIV 743).

⁸³ Weert Canzler, Vincent Kaufmann and Sven Kesselring: Tracing Mobilities – An Introduction, in: iid. (eds.), *Tracing Mobilities. Towards a Cosmopolitan Perspective*. Aldershot 2008, 3–4. See also Sarah Panter, Johannes Paulmann and Margit Szöllösi-Janze: Mobility and Biography. Methodological Challenges and Perspectives, in: *European History Yearbook* 16 (2015), 1–14.

⁸⁴ As to the early modern period, Canzler’s, Kaufmann’s and Kesselring’s claim that “motility can be used towards objectives other than social mobility” can be differentiated according to social hierarchy between patrons and the musicians. Canzler, Kaufmann and Kesselring, *Tracing Mobilities*, 5. In the context of the demonstrated communicational permeability of the boundary

iments of such a personal authenticity in musical compositions and/or practices may be good orientation points not only for the relationship between early modern mobilities and the existence of music but also for the preparation of hybrid music editions.

between patrons and musicians through musical works, court musicians may constitute an interesting object for the study of early “rooted” transregional or even global lives in the sense of an understanding of the early modern period as a “laboratory of modernity”.

