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The Many Faces of Everyday Musical Life. Approaching Music History from "Below"*

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Abstract

Is it useful to write history on everyday musical life? And how can we do it? This article introduces a historiographical concept initiated by historians such as Carlo Ginzburg, Alf Lüdtke and Richard van Dülmen already in the 1970s, in an attempt to renew the writing of history. Instead of the reconstruction and interpretation of grand narratives and deep structures in society, economy and culture, these historians offer close descriptions of 'average citizens' with their daily musical routines, motivations and preferences, and the result is often a cluster of fascinating and wide-ranging insights into different forms of contact with music. Following this general approach, I hope to offer a panorama of everyday musical culture in Hamburg in the early eighteenth century.

The sources used for this study include different musical genres such as opera, cantata and instrumental 'table music', as well as books, newspaper reports, subscription lists, diaries, behavioural guides and archival documents. This material permits insights into the uses made of musicians such as Johann Mattheson, Georg Philipp Telemann and Reinhard Keiser, as well as into the social lives of the Hamburg citizenship.

Keywords: everyday life, music history, Hamburg, early 18th century, Johann Mattheson, Georg Philipp Telemann, Reinhard Keiser

Everyone has a relationship or at least an attitude towards music. But would it be useful to write music history on anybody? Could it really be important to know how average

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people have dealt and are dealing with music? Or would it be better to continue with traditional approaches to music – illuminating the foremost composers or compositions which have been considered of great importance for very different reasons, for instance aesthetic issues, innovations in musical material, musical form or construction?

Following such traditional paths, music history sometimes looks very simple – particularly from a traditional Austrian-German perspective, which often brought into focus only a few musical heroes. An early attempt to structure music history by the means of epochal men was undertaken, for instance, by Raphael Georg Kiesewetter in his *Geschichte der europäisch-abendländischen oder unserer heutigen Musik* (Kiesewetter 1834). He organized his story in seventeen epochs, or rather chapters, starting with Hucbald in the 10th century and going on from generation to generation via Guido of Arezzo, Franco of Cologne, Guillaume Dufay, Johannes Ockeghem, Josquin des Près, Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and others up to "Haydn and Mozart", finally closing in his own era with "Beethoven and Rossini". Kiesewetter's conception of history, which is dominated by the genius of great men, was underpinned by 19th-century music editions of famous composers' collected works (Bach, Beethoven, Handel, Mozart, Palestrina) and so-called "Denkmäler"-editions, building themselves a kind of literary monument for composers who are honoured as a part of the (national) cultural heritage. On this basis, a large portion of today's musical canon and repertory developed, as well as a kind of branding of repertory. Thus, from a German point of view, the sacred music of the 17th century for a long time was represented principally by the "big three Ss" – the composers Heinrich Schütz, Johann Hermann Schein and Samuel Scheidt. And regarding the 19th century, one could have in mind the "big three Bs," Ludwig van Beethoven, Johannes Brahms and Anton Bruckner, embodying the idea of absolute music (Dahlhaus 1991).

More recent textbooks still seem to be conceptualized on this traditional basis, analysing mostly well-known repertory and understanding musical compositions in the first place as autonomous artworks. Volumes such as the *Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Music* (Keefe 2009), the *Oxford History of Western Music* (Taruskin 2005a) or recent editions of the *History of Western Music* (Burkholder et al. 2006) primarily want to give the reader an orientation on important composers, their musical works and their stylistic features, although the social and cultural context has definitely become more important.

Without doubt, composer biographies in particular very easily structure our perception of the past, connecting compositional styles and aesthetic ideas. And regarding composers' lives, it seems possible also to receive an impression of relevant social and cultural contexts, such as is promised by several composer biographies, for instance the German book series "Große Komponisten und ihre Zeit" (Dahlhaus 2013), emphasizing by their title the relationship of "life and works" or rather of "life and times".

But overall, the social context of music seems still to play only second fiddle. And for these reasons – as Richard Taruskin has lamented in his review of the *Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music* and *the Cambridge History of Twentieth-Century Music* – the "explanatory power" in history writing is often missing (Taruskin 2005b: 189). In many cases there are no actors, but instead the musical work seems to be acting:

> The only modification of this point that I would propose concerns agency, one of the thorniest problems bedeviling contemporary music historiography. […] only the composer's input – not reception, not mediation – is considered relevant historical information (Ibid.: 194).

Starting from such a background, music historians should ask how the range of human actors in music historiography could be strengthened. For this purpose, it would be useful to turn our gaze away from the composers towards the consumers, practitioners and amateurs of music. An appropriate concept to help us accomplish this could be the writing of histories of everyday musical life.

Intentions and problems of Everyday Life History

The historiographical concept of everyday life history ("Alltagsgeschichte") was developed by historians already in the 1970s. The term serves as a gathering point, bringing quite different historical approaches together, all aiming at a renewal of historiography. Instead of the reconstruction and interpretation of grand narratives and deep structures in society, economy and culture, historians such as Carlo Ginzburg (Ginzburg 1976/1980), Alf Lüdtke (Lüdtke 1989/2018) and Richard van Dülmen (Dülmen 1990, 1992, 1994) tried to establish less abstract understandings of history. They undertook this by a very deliberate focus on so-called 'little stories'.

It was particularly Ginzburg, with his detailed "micro studies" on subjects that seem of marginal importance for traditional historians (at least initially), who now served as a role model. He examined the miller Domenico Scandella (1532–1599), unknown and irrelevant to earlier historians, who now became interesting in terms of human experiences, human thinking and environmental conditions (Ginzburg 1976/1980). In a very similar way the method of "thick description", used by the ethnologist Clifford Geertz, proved stimulating (Geertz 1973: 3–30). Within such a framework, importance is applied to individuals as historical actors, including their daily routines, social contexts, experiences and ideas. One important aim is to understand people's motivations and feelings and their decisions to act in a certain manner. At the same time detailed studies of objects and persons, which may seem marginal at first sight, can help us assess just how convincing the master narratives actually are (Behringer 2005: 224–226).

Although such an approach is now very common for historians, in most cases they do not include music and only a few musicologists have tried to apply the concept of everyday life history to musical culture. One rare exception among historians is Bernd Roeck – with a chapter on music and theatre (Roeck 2006: 104–118). Among musicologists Nicole Schwindt has also reflected that neither in the history of composition nor in the social history of music is there much consideration of how music is related to the people's environment and how far the environment becomes apparent in musical culture. In most cases, there is no, or at least only faint, interest on the part

of music historians in dealing with people's motivations and intentions towards music and musical culture (Schwindt 2001: 11).

Therefore, music historians should ask much more in future studies about how and to what extent persons – although differing in class, sex, gender, religion, race, profession and age – are related to musical culture. All in all, histories of musical everyday life deal with the anthropological dimension of music. Through them, the importance and meaning of different kinds of music for a broad and varied range of persons is reflected.

But how might one conceptualize such histories of musical everyday life? Would there be enough source materials, for example, particularly when considering the social stratification of the people examined? And how would one make the choice concerning an adequate and well balanced portrayal of different social groups and classes, including the high and low aristocracy, distinguished burghers and burghers of the middle-class, workers, servants and so on? In the same way it would be necessary to keep in mind the contrast between different regions and their social conditions and religious confessions. Furthermore, there might be a significant difference between urban and rural life affecting diverse cultural opportunities and musical events.

Another question concerns the relation of different musics to everyday routines. On what basis are possible relationships established? Do they depend on the content of the music or are they established only or mostly by the personal interest of the practitioners or listeners, by their formation and habits? Finally, there may result a philosophical problem, which would influence the very concept of telling "little stories": Is the accumulation of many little stories tantamount to a big story?

Despite such difficulties, it would be useful to put the concept of everyday life history to a musicological test by attempting some case studies. Since the historical concept of everyday life history was established by Ginzburg and Dülmen primarily by research on the Early Modern Period, it may be useful to replicate this by taking two examples from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, both centred on the city of Hamburg. The Elbe metropolis was around 1700 – with the exception of Vienna – the largest city of the Holy Roman Empire. (Jaacks 1997: 15–17).

Case Study I: Everyday routine in the Opera "Masaniello furioso" (1706) by Reinhard Keiser

In the opera *Masaniello furioso* by the German composer Reinhard Keiser, premiered at the Hamburg Goosemarket Opera in 1706, French and Italian traditions of the genre are combined and adapted to the local environment and audiences. The use of a comic person, a fool – normally a servant – who mirrors the bad habits of the audience may be considered as one of these special characteristics. In the case of *Masaniello furioso*, the fruit trader Bassian performs this role. He is introduced with a short recitative, followed by a simple strophic aria. If the recitative functions here as a brief report on the outbreak of a revolt in Naples on account of oppressive taxes, Bassian's song has another function (Keiser 1986: 49. See also Figure 1):

1. Sempron, ein braver Cavalier,
(er steht nicht gar zu weit von hier)
Ist bei den Mädgens wohlbekannt
Und lebt manierlich und galant.

2. Hört, wie er seine Zeit zubringt:
Er pfeift, er tanzt, er spielt, er singt,
Er ißt, er trinkt, er geht, er fährt,
Und weil er reich, wird er geehrt.

3. Die Glocke schlägt schier immer zehn,
eh er wird aus dem Bett aufstehn.
Dann ist die Chocolad bereit,
Um elf Uhr ist er angekleidt.

4. Er gibt Visiten bis um ein,
Dann muß der Tisch gedecket sein.
Drauf speist er bis um Glocke zwei,
Liest im Talander bis um drei.

5. Er tanzt hernach von drei bis vier,
Dann kommt die Kutsche vor die Tür
Und bringt ihn in die Opera,
was macht nun unser Herr allda?

6. Er spricht Französch avec bon air,
Ma foi, parfait, tout entier.
Il juge quelque fois sottement,
Daß Liesgen fast nichts hören kann.

7. Vom Singspiel fährt er auf den Schmaus
Und kommt vom Schmaus bezecht nach Haus,
Von da ins Bett und schläft darauf,
Das ist sein ganzer Lebenslauf.

As Bassian's remark – the gallant cavalier "is living not far from here" – makes clear, the aria is obviously targeted at the Hamburg audience. Furthermore, a day-to-day routine is displayed. The activities of drinking, eating, reading, dancing, visiting the opera house and so on are given here in form of a daily time table. Remarkable is the fact that these activities are presented here in the context of a minuet, the most prominent courtly dance of the time. So it is quite probable that the audience's living environment and activities are represented also by the music. Although one might think that the given timetable might be too exaggerated, it indicates the general importance which dancing and the culture of music had at these times for the upper and urban

middle classes. For them, music served as a kind of *divertissement* and also as a badge of distinction. For self-preparation in terms of social behaviour and elegant manners, dance masters were needed both in urban and courtly contexts (Salmen 1997). In the 17th and 18th centuries dance masters were responsible for teaching good manners, as was noted by Gottfried Taubert 1717 in his important treatise *Rechtschaffener Tantzmeister*:

> He is an *homme de qualité*, a man of quality, who not only unites *galanterie* (i.e., behaviour that is especially polite and natural, and lacking any affectation in one's art [...]) and agility in his own person, but also knows how to help other respectable people acquire such politeness [T: *galanterie*] and agility [...] (Russell 2012: 974).

Therefore, professional dance masters were needed, giving their instructions daily and also arranging ballets on special occasions. That fact is also apparent from a contemporary address book from Hamburg, published in 1723, which displays – on its title page, table of contents and chapter structure – not only the hierarchical social class system of the courtly society, but also some indication of the cultural market, giving the names and addresses of "musicians and other virtuosos" (*Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg* 1723: 102-104). As is documented, in 1723 at least nine dance masters were living in Hamburg. But the real number of dance masters living there was probably much higher, because not everybody seems to have registered his business. As Salmen has stated, in bigger cities there lived several "corner dance masters" (T: "*Winkel-Tanzmeister*"), doing their job not always well, and sometimes even lacking a real dance education (Salmen 1997).

Comprehensive research on both Hamburg's dance masters and their clients has never been undertaken, although one could certainly find several historical sources portraying their domestic living and economic situation as well as their social and cultural activities. For instance, an important kind of source could be contemporary subscription lists.

Case Study II: Georg Philipp Telemann's *Musique de Table* (1733)

Georg Philipp Telemann's famous collection of table music, *Musique de Table*, was published in 1733. Telemann, who was working in Hamburg from 1721 as a musical director, was required to compose music for all kind of occasions, ranging from private and public service (sacred songs and cantatas) to festal music and opera. His *Musique de Table* can be characterized as a collection of chamber music, consisting of three parts and containing suites of dances and other mood pieces, all intended for musical entertainment.

Telemann's publication was immediately successful. As we can learn from a list of subscribers, printed in the first edition, it was bought by consumers not only

in Germany, but also in other European countries. It was ordered by 206 people, among them inhabitants of Berlin, Breslau, Dresden, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hanover, Königsberg, Leipzig, Magdeburg, London, Paris, Christiania, Copenhagen and Riga (Hinnenthal 1957: V).

Regarding the subscription list (see figure 2), on the one hand it is an important source for the success and dissemination of Telemann's music, and therefore for his prestige as a skilful composer in Middle and Northern Europe. On the other hand we are forced to query the people on this list and this way of distributing Telemann's music:

Who were the subscribers and for what reasons did they buy Telemann's music? Did they know him personally? Considering Telemann's career, which led him from Magdeburg via Leipzig and Frankfurt to Hamburg, he certainly made a considerable number of acquaintances and he joined several social networks. What professions did all these people have and to which social class did they belong? These are important issues for an adequate understanding of the musical culture of Telemann's time. Another important point concerns the musical experiences of the audience, which Telemann tried to target with his music. What role did music play in the daily routine of these people? Did they have musical backgrounds or musical education? And how may we imagine their technical skills in making music? Were they able to play Telemann's music personally or did they engage professional musicians? Perhaps some people bought Telemann's music only for reasons of social status.

On a brief examination of the subscription list, it is probable that such questions have to be answered differently. Even by focusing on Hamburg, we obviously have a diverse profile of subscribers. For example, Sir Cyril Wich – the British envoy to Hamburg and at the same time employer of the secretary, composer and music theorist Johann Mattheson – bought Telemann's *Musique de Table*. On the one hand, one could suppose some personal musical interest here, because of Wich's close relationship to Mattheson. On the other hand, we have to ask about the daily routines of an envoy, about his professional duties and therefore for his *habitus* as an ambassador. How important was music to him? In which places and for what reasons was it used? What were the occasions for making music? And did he engage professional musicians?

As we can learn from Hans Joachim Marx (Marx 2008: 1008–1010), in his youth Sir Cyril Wich had received serious musical training. Born in 1695, he was a pupil of George Frederic Handel and Johann Mattheson from 1703. Apparently Wich must have been a fine harpsichord player and to a certain degree also an amateur composer. For instance, in 1710 Mattheson included an aria of his pupil in his opera *Boris Goudenow*. Moreover, in diplomatic households, music served the purpose of representation and entertainment. Already Sir John Wich, Cyril's father and predecessor as an envoy, gave in his house "every day a concert to their Lordships" (Ibid.: 1010). And according to contemporary chronicles, it is reported that members of the aristocracy and other prominent visitors to Hamburg were often treated "magnificently" (Paravicini 2016: 91; 103–104). After attending the Goosemarket opera house, diplomatic agents often gave for their guests elaborate feasts, balls and lights for the

purpose of celebrating political anniversaries and jubilees (Schröder 1998: 60-69). From 1722 to 1724 and also in the season 1727/28, Sir Cyrill Wich was a leaseholder of the Goosemarket Opera (Marx 2008: 1009). Considering his close relationship to the opera house, it is most likely that Wich engaged the Opera's musicians for giving his private concerts. Otherwise he could have fallen back on the town musicians.

This latter issue leads to a second example from the subscription list. Looking at letter H on the list, one specimen was ordered by "Mrs. les ordinaires de la Musique d' Hambourg" (see figure 2). Obviously, this copy was ordered by the town musicians, who surely had a completely different personal and musical background from an ambassador such as Wich or anyone else for that matter. On account of a different daily routine, music certainly must have had another significance for them and their families. And surely they could use Telemann's music on several professional occasions. But considering this, why did they buy only one specimen? And what does that tell us about the way they used music in their daily routine? Did they have any kind of library or archive? And was this a typical or an unusual practice?

As a third, very different, example from the subscription list, "Mr. George Jencquel" and "Mr. Pichel" may serve. Both men were burghers and merchants of Hamburg. Georg Jencquel was a member of the successful merchant family Jenckel. In the early 18th century the family changed its name to Jencquel because of its intense commercial relations with Portugal and with the purpose of simplifying the pronunciation (Schramm 1960, Wasmuth 2001). As is reported by the contemporary address book, *Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg* – mentioned above – in 1723 Georg Jencquel was a temporarily chosen member for the advisory board of the local orphanage (*Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg* 1723: 86), a position which was significant for his apparently excellent reputation and for his social prestige.

In the case of Johann Christian Pichel, there is documented a personal relationship with Telemann. In 1732, one year before publishing his *Musique de Table*, Telemann composed a Wedding Serenata for Pichel and his bride Margaretha Elisabeth Droop (TVWV deest) (Neubacher 2009: 91). As the musicologist and librarian Jürgen Neubacher emphasizes, ambitious burghers often used music and poetry as an effective means of distinction and social prestige (Ibid.). This strategy is also documented in contemporary reports on private festivities. For example, in the *Hamburgische Chronik*, a handwritten contemporary chronicle, it says about 3 February 1701:

> On 3 February Dangerfeldt gave a beautiful ball in his house, which was attended by extra invited persons, and therefore he self-displayed as *gallant*, offering rare jam, wine and such things *abundantly*. On 6 February this was punished severely by the ministers, making it clear that the claiming of such a delight, which is only appropriate to aristocrats, by a burgher is inappropriate (*Hamburgische Chronik* 1700–1707: 27).[2]

2 „Den 3. hat Dangerfeldt einen schönen Ball in seinem Hause von verschiedenen Benehmen darzu besonders eingeladenen Persohnen halten und sich sonsten deßwegen galant sehen laßen, indem er Rare Confituren, Wein und dergleichen Sachen in abundant geschenket. Welches die meisten HH. Ministe-

Particularly interesting in this case is not only the punishment as a restrictive social reaction, an attempt to defend traditional social borders, but also the brief mention of the "ball" as a social event and gentrified setting, following codified rules. For instance, in Tauberts *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister,* mentioned above, a differentiation is made between the genre of the ball and that of the assembly. According to Taubert, an assembly is

> a convent and meeting of honourable persons, conversing, eating, drinking, discussing, playing, making music with each other in a honourable way, and at the end of the meeting normally dancing (Russell 2012: 1107).

Dancing functions obviously as an annex to the assembly, but it was the main event in a ball (Compare also ibid.: 1130). All in all, both assembly and ball are closely related to music and are placed within a musical frame. Dancing, performing dance music and also listening to it were important dimensions of the daily routines of the middle and the upper classes as noted earlier. That music functioned as a kind of status symbol, allowing the upper classes clearly to be distinguished from the lower, becomes evident also in a letter by Telemann to the lawyer, architect and scholar Johann Friedrich Armand von Uffenbach in Frankfurt. On 31th July 1723 Telemann wrote:

> While music might be going downhill there [in Frankfurt], here it is on the rise; and I do not believe that any place can be found which is more encouraging to the spirit of one working in this science than Hamburg. A great contribution is made to this by the fact that, besides the many persons of rank present here, the most prominent men of the city – including the entire city council – do not stay away from public concerts; likewise, the reasonable judgements of so many connoisseurs and intelligent people give occasion [for such concerts]; not to mention the opera, which is now flourishing; and finally the nerve of commerce [i.e. money], which is not rooted too deeply in the pockets of music-lovers here (Telemann 1972: 213; English translation: Stewart 1985: 105–106).[3]

rial den 6. dieses [Monats] aufs schärfste pro Concione gestraffet, anzeigend, daß einem Bürger sich eine solche Lust, die nur fürstl. Persohnen gegönnt werde, anzumaßen, im geringsten nicht zugestattet werden müße, sondern es werde […] ein Magistrat ein solches gleich anderen […] auffs nachdrücklichste zu bestraffen sich äußerst angelegen sein laßen."

3 „Was inzwischen die *Music* dort [in Frankfurt] Bergunter gehet, das klettert sie hier hinauf; und glaube ich nicht, dass irgendwo ein solcher Ort, als Hamburg, zu finden, der den Geist eines in dieser Wissenschaft Arbeitenden mehr aufmuntern kann. Hierzu trägt ein grosses bey, dass, ausser den anwesenden vielen Standes-Personen, auch die ersten Männer der Stadt, ja das ganze Rahts-*Collegium*, sich den öffentlichen *Concerts* nicht entziehen; *item* die vernünftigen Urtheile so vieler Kenner und kluger Leute geben Gelegenheit darzu; nicht weniger die *Opera*, welche itzo im höchsten Flor ist; und endlich der *nervus rerum gerendarum*, der hier bey den Liebhabern nicht fest angewachsen ist."

Telemann's letter is an important document highlighting the diverse and elite social structure of musical culture in Hamburg. Furthermore, together with its function as a status symbol, music was apparently also a subject for amusement and education.

That music was probably a subject for upper class education becomes clear from looking at the female subscribers. Among the 206 subscribers of Telemann's *Musique de Table* are only 14 women,[4] ten of them having an aristocratic title. Two of the four civic women are citizens of Hamburg: Madame Peinhorst and Madame Droop. Apparently, the latter was the mother of Margaretha Elisabeth Droop – mentioned earlier – and therefore had a personal relationship with Telemann.

Looking at Telemann's subscription list overall, there is a very diverse profile of subscribers. Finally, this leads to the question, in what way was Telemann's music able to fulfil different, and sometimes conflicting, expectations, such as education and amusement? To what extent might his music have appealed to different social classes and how was it related to their environment?

As the musicologist Laurenz Lütteken has stated, Telemann's oeuvre is heavily affected by his acquaintance with several elite persons of his time. For him this was certainly an important source of inspiration and a strong motivation to rethink and change his aesthetic positions over the years for the purpose of appealing to upper-class expectations (Lütteken 2006: 663-664).

Considering this background, one may attribute to the *Musique de Table* several aesthetic qualities: it represents in many ways "a summation of all that he [Telemann] had accomplished in the realm of instrumental music up to the early 1730s" (Zohn 2008: 431) or "a kind of pattern book concerning all relevant genres." (T.: „eine Art von kompositorischem Musterbuch, alle relevanten Gattungen betreffend" (Lütteken 2006: 602). Lütteken in particular has stressed Telemann's educational intentions aimed at a broadening of style and taste. Therefore, the *Musique de Table* consists of 1) conservative pieces containing also some new-style devices, 2) pieces with traditional melodic and rhythmic characteristics but within a modern form, and finally 3) "pieces which employ the full range of new-style effects" (Stewart 1985: 139).

Particularly with respect to contemporary experts and lovers of music ("Kenner und Liebhaber"), we have to remark on the variety of disposition and instrumentation in each of the three parts of the *Musique de Table*: For example, the structure of part 3 is as following:

4 The following women are mentioned in the subscription list: Mad.lle Auguste. Paris, Mad.me la Marggrave doüairiére de Bayreuth. Erlangen, Mad.lle de Beschefer. Berlin, Mad.me Droop. Hamb., Mad.me la Marquise d'Erouvile. Paris, Mad.lle de Kamecke. Berlin, Mad.me de Nissen, Slesvic, Mad. me la Duchesse de Nivernois. Paris, Mad.me Peinhorst, Hamb., Mad.lle Rhode. Francf. sur l'Oder, Mad. lle de Schmettau, Berlin, Mad.me la Comtesse de Castel. Bredenbourg, Mad.me la Baronne de Wrens. Bremen, Mad.me de Ziegler. Leipzig.

Overture and suite for 7 instruments
Quartet
Concert for 7 instruments
Trio
Solo
Conclusion for 7 instruments

Variety, which means at the same time delectation, is guaranteed by the contrasting use of key disposition, measures, dynamics, tempo and melodic lines (see Figure 3).

But alongside such compositional and aesthetic qualities, Telemann's music also contains easy understandable moods and pictures, which are often related to the environment of its listeners. That fact in particular certainly enhanced the effectiveness and success of Telemann's music.

For instance, the *Bergerie* from the initial suite of part 3 may be interpreted as an allusion to baroque literature with its Arcadian topoi. At the same time, we may think of rural life outside the city walls and of the leisure time elite people spent in their gardens (Stewart 1985: 44-47, Salmen 2006: 140-145, 169–177).

A much stronger reference to everyday life may be seen in the piece *Postillons*. From the last third of the 17th century, Hamburg became more and more not only a major German city, but also a diplomatic centre. On account of these circumstances, daily life was strongly affected by new media such as newspapers and by the postal system, bringing political and economic news several times a week (Böning 2010: 20–23, Behringer 2005: 233). Considering the daily experience of diplomatic cables, postal coaches and signals, a piece like *Postillons* in particular would certainly have appealed also to non elite listeners.

Conclusion

One basic problem of historiography in general is accommodating the personal interest and the cultural background of its authors. Every historian has his/her point of departure. He/she is forced to take decisions, to make a choice of sources and facts, depending on the questions concerning history. Historians are forced to emphasize some issues for reasons of clarity and presumed importance. Considering this fact, historiography is and remains always a simplification of reality.

Overall, historiography presents us with a model of how the past could have been, of how it might have functioned. Since it presents a reductive model of reality – a "grand narrative" – it always needs correction and further explanation. And at least for this purpose, the "little stories" of everyday musical life can be very useful. Music historiography, in my opinion, should be enriched by detailed case studies, placing the focus on society with its several institutions and human actors, probably all having different attitudes and relations to music. Therefore, it is always useful to research and to connect very different source materials such as dancing treatises, style guides concerning manners and leisure time activities, subscription lists, address books and so on.

For this purpose, one may return to the method of writing micro-historical studies as the Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg did or to the method of thick description established by the ethnologist Clifford Geertz. A further point of reference may be the concept of history as a history of everyday life ("Alltagsgeschichte"). Until today, historians particularly have tried to use these historical approaches, but in most cases did not consider music and musical life. Therefore the history of Everyday Musical Life could and should become a more important and profitable field of musicological research. And as the example of Telemann's *Musique de Table* has demonstrated, even in a history of everyday life enough space will be left for art works and their aesthetic qualities.

Figures

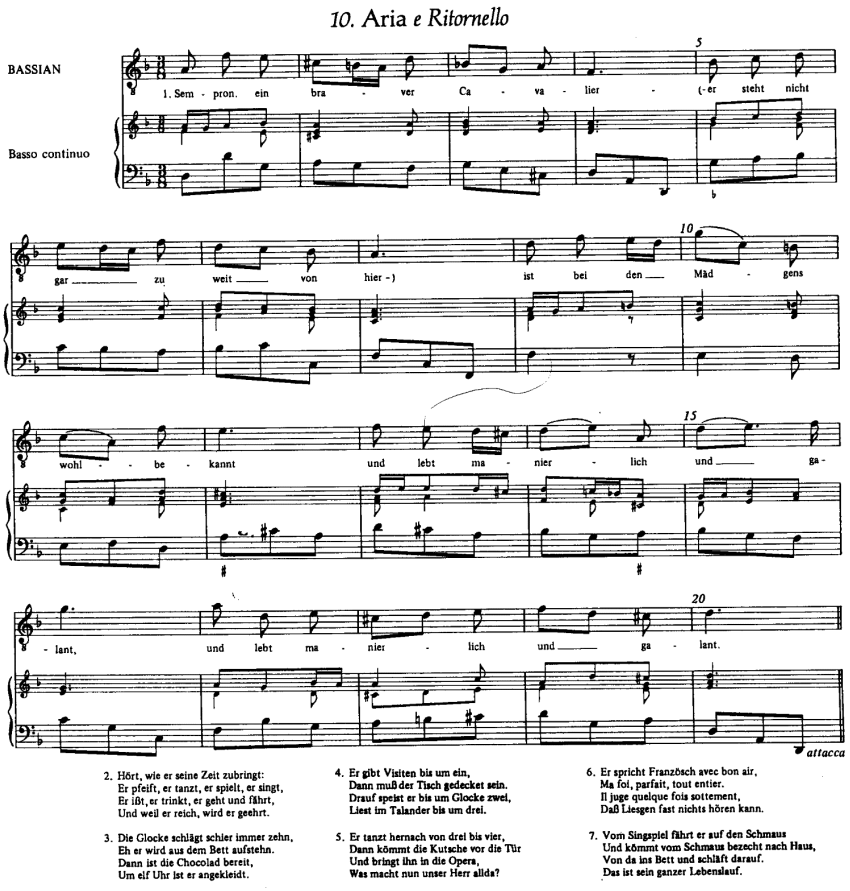

Figure 1: Bassians Aria from *Masaniello furioso* (1706) by Reinhard Keiser (Keiser 1986: 49)

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Figure 2: Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, Hamburg 1733, subscription list (Telemann 1733).

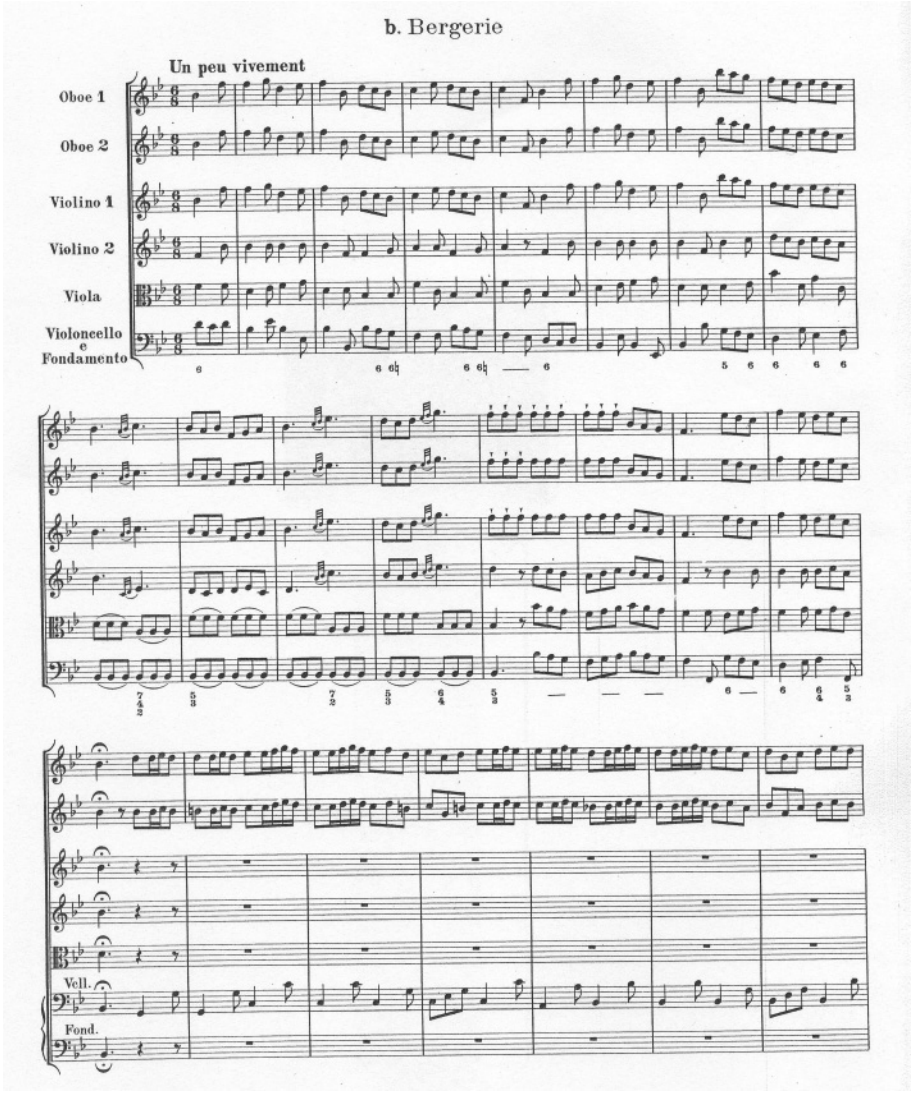

Figure 3:, Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, part 3, overture and suite: Beginning of movement 2

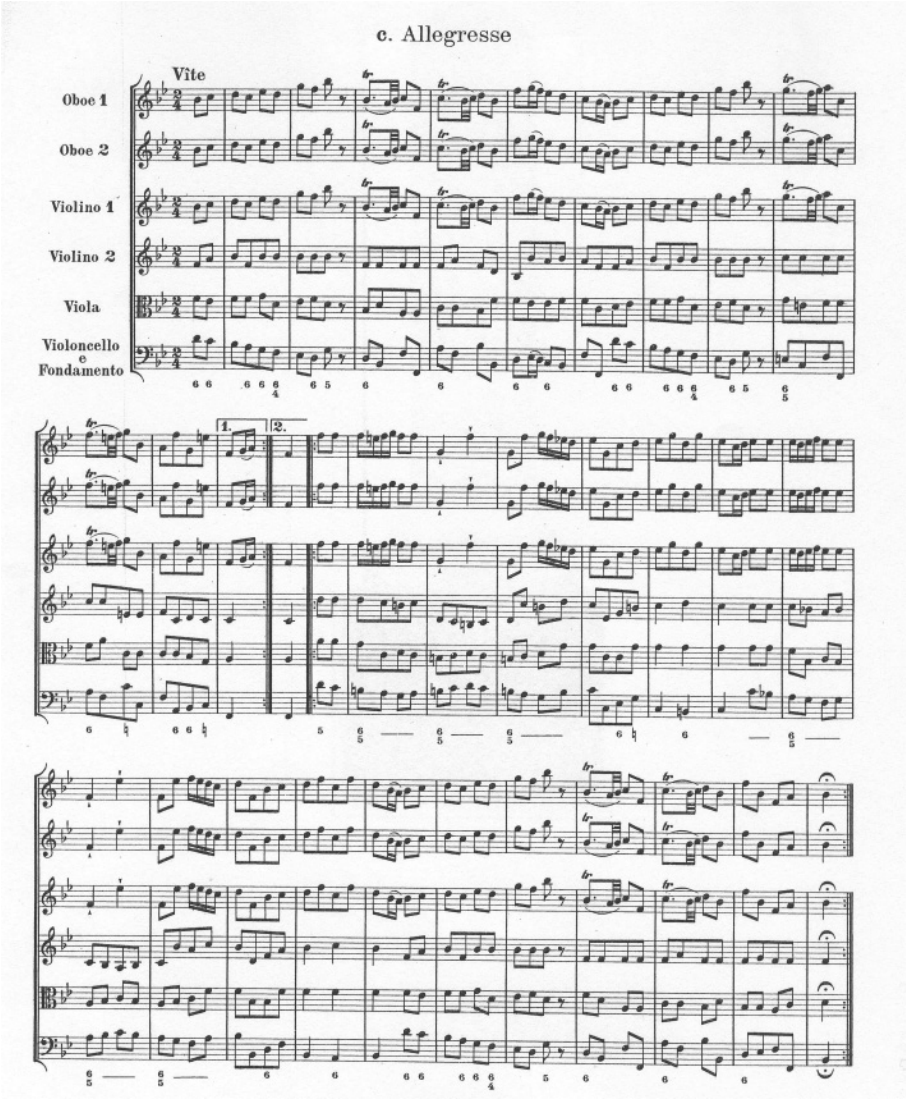

Figure 3:, Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, part 3, overture and suite: Beginning of movement 3

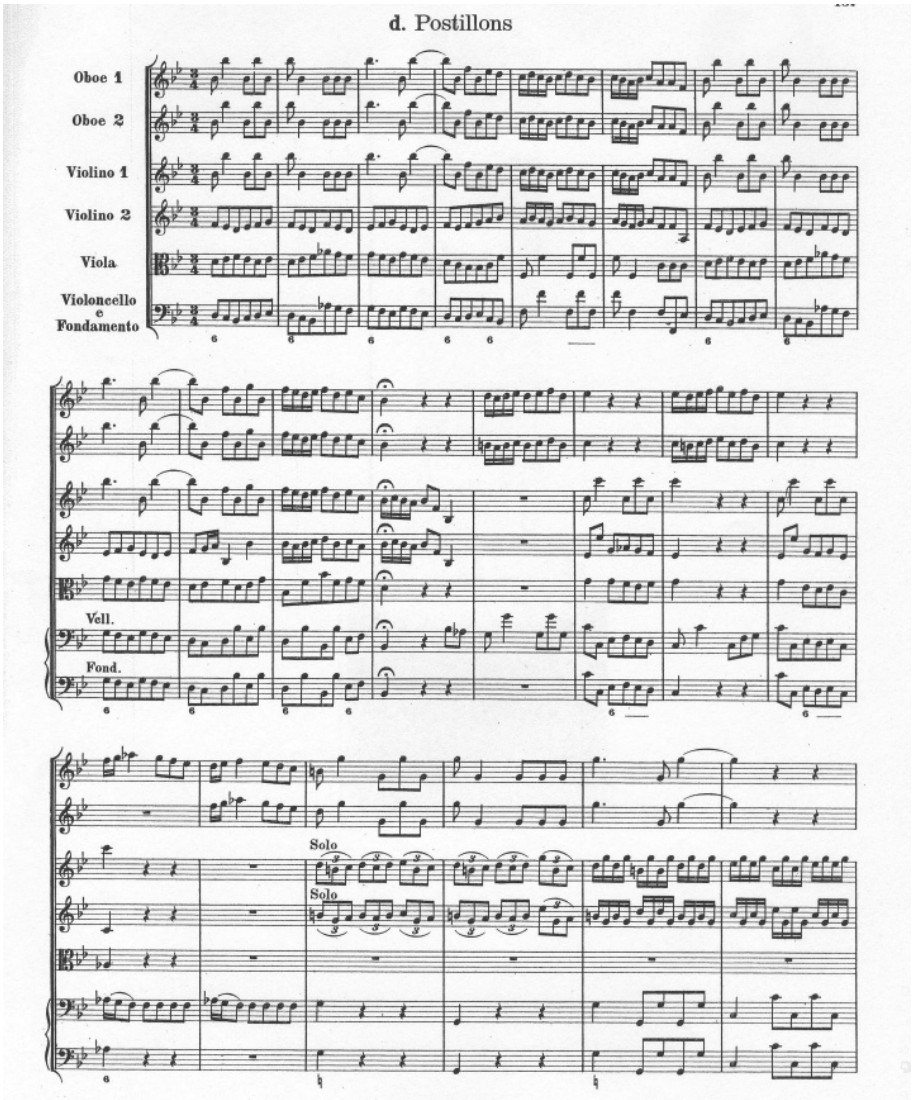

Figure 3:, Georg Philipp Telemann, *Musique de Table*, part 3, overture and suite: Beginning of movement 4 (Telemann 1963).

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Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg, worin von den Namen/ Characteren und Wohnungen aller hieselbst sich aufhaltenden Standes=Personen und accreditierten Ministern, so dann E[ines] Hoch=Edlen und Hochweisen Rahts, ferner des Hoch=Ehrwürdigen Dom=Capituls und Ministerii, wie auch der Herren Graduirten/ und aller in Bürgerlichen Collegiis befindlichen, imgleichen anderer zum Geist= und Weltlichen Stande gehörigen Personen, anbey von der Zeit der Aufrichtung der ansehnlichen Collegiorum, Deputationum, publiquen Gebäuden u.s.w. Nachricht ertheilet wird. Hamburg 1723. [In the text: (*Jetzt=lebendes Hamburg* 1723)]

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Мартин Лесер

Многостраност свакодневног музичког живота. Приступ историји музике „одоздо"

(Резиме)

Колика је корист од писања историје свакодневног музичког живота? И како се то ради? У овом чланку представљам историографски концепт који су иницирали историчари попут Карла Гинзбурга, Алфа Литкеа и Рихарда ван Дилмена још седамдесетих година XX века, у покушају обнове писања историје. Уместо реконструкције и интерпретације великих наратива и дубоких структура у друштву, економији и култури, ови историчари нуде детаљне описе „просечних грађана" и њихових свакодневних музичких пракси, мотивација и преференција, а као резултат оваквих разматрања најстају кластери фасцинантних и далекосежних увида у различите врсте контаката с музиком. Следећи овај генерални приступ, представљам панораму свакодневне музичке културе у Хамбургу почетком XVIII века.

Извори коришћени за ову студију обухватају различите музичке жанрове попут опере, кантате и инструменталне „музике за ручавање", као и књиге, новинске чланке, спискове претплатника, дневнике, правилнике понашања и архивске документе. Овај материјал нам пружа увид у делатност музичара попут Јохана Матесона, Георга Филипа Телемана и Рајнхарда Кајзера, као и у друштвени живот грађанства у Хамбургу у XVIII веку.

Кључне речи: свакодневни живот, историја музике, Хамбург, почетак XVIII века, Јохан Матесон, Георг Филип Телеман, Рајнхард Кајзер