

The Court in the City? Aristocratic and Burgher Culture in Hamburg in the 17th and Early 18th Centuries

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Abstract

In 17th and early 18th century Hamburg – the leading trading, transport and communication centre in Northern Germany and for the whole Baltic region – there were no insurmountable barriers and demarcation lines between court and urban society. The city's "hybrid bourgeois/aristocratic secular high culture" (Ann Catherine Le Bar 1993) is characterized by an intense communication and transfer of cultural knowledge and behaviour among different kinds of nobility: aristocrats, patricians, diplomats and other functional elites. As banquets and concerts demonstrate, music was used as a kind of status symbol, with the aim of gaining esteem and ingratiating oneself with people. Such cultural acting was typical of the upper classes, but to a certain degree also of the wider urban middle classes. Re-evaluating Hamburg's famous *Collegium musicum*, founded in 1660, within this social framework, it does not appear any longer as an "urban-bourgeois model institute in the sense of a counter model to court chapels" (Arnfried Edler 2003), but more as a noble society in the broadest sense, choosing its repertory from artistic centres in Italy as well as from leading German courts for the purpose of pleasure, cultural distinction and education.

Introduction

Even in recent cultural studies the city of Hamburg is still characterized as a Burgher metropolis in a very strict sense (e.g. Rauhe 2017; Steiger, Richter 2012: 2; for a critical survey on such attributions see Schröder 1998: 2–4) – and as a city with a strong "anti-aristocratic tradition" (Stewart 1985: 32). First and foremost, it was the Hamburg historian Percy Ernst Schramm, who emphasized the Burgher habitus of the city's population (Schramm 1969: 81–82; Schramm 1963/1964). His view became increasingly influential for further research on Hamburg, leading amongst other things to a very narrow characterization of the social structure of the metropolis in the 18th century. Thus the historian Horst Möller (1974: 268) could state: "In the liberal trading city of Hamburg there was never any urban aristocracy, and neither were there patricians of any kind." In contrast, the historian Franklin Kopitzsch (1982: 143) emphasized that Hamburg "was not in opposition to the old European class-oriented world, but an integral part of it."

Since Hamburg was the largest city in the Holy Roman Empire after Vienna, it is an extraordinarily interesting place to study the relationship of Aristocratic and Burgher culture in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Elbe metropolis was not only the leading trading, transport and communication centre in Northern Germany and for the whole Baltic region, it was at the same time the seat of

the *Niedersächsischer Reichskreis*, hosting several foreign diplomats inside its walls, including for instance diplomatic residents of France, Great Britain, Sweden, Denmark, Habsburg, Saxony and Brandenburg-Prussia (Kopitzsch 1982: 140; Jacks 1997: 14–15; Krieger 2012: 805). Part of their everyday duties was the suitable representation – not to say incorporation – of the grandeur and importance of their princely houses. On the other hand, Hamburg was a city of extreme wealth. This fact favoured not only an orientation of the social elites towards the behaviour of the courtly nobilities, but also an elimination of clearly defined demarcation lines between the members of the aristocracy and the urban patriciate. With reference to the city of Lübeck, for example, the historian Alexander Francis Cowan could state:

The aristocracy and the urban patriciate overlapped on many levels. Not only did they frequently provide each other with new members, there is a good deal of evidence that the aristocratic lifestyle was a model which greatly influenced patrician behaviour at all times. (Cowan 1986: 11)

In view of this fact, one should not wonder that in historiography a precise definition and differentiation of class designations like *Stadtadel* (urban aristocracy), *Adel* (nobility) and *Patriziat* (patriciate) is rather difficult and still remains a problem (Hecht 2004: 85; Hecht 2010: 1–7).

Bearing this in mind, it is important to ask, as the historian Willem Frijhoff suggests, not only

what nobility *was*, that is how it was defined basically, politically and by social classes, but second, who designated themselves as members of the nobility, who incorporated the claim to a noble lineage and wanted to be seen as noble, and third, who acted in a noble way, demonstrating the behaviour of the nobility, their lifestyle and ideal of life, and as a consequence could match the nobility within a republic. (Frijhoff 2010: 34)

Particularly with respect to the blurred lines between the aristocracy and the urban patriciate, the social and cultural manner of acting plays an eminent role. It should be understood as a means of social construction and performance, as “an enactment of rank and the legitimation of power by social practices”. (Hecht 2004: 89; cf. Hecht 2010: 6–7; Hettling 2000)

These reflections may serve as a point of departure: it should be asked to what extent Aristocratic and Burgher cultures overlapped, and which stimuli on music culture might be considered. To this end we shall first of all provide a short contemporary characterization of the Hamburg elites; secondly we shall describe what would happen when members of the upper nobility visited the city; and thirdly we shall offer some reflections on banquets and concerts in Hamburg between 1660 and 1720, the period in which courtly manners and ideals were increasingly imitated and adapted by the social elites and parvenus. Taken together, these considerations may serve as a basis for, fourthly, a rethinking of the social context and qualities of Hamburg’s famous *Collegium musicum* of the 1660s.

Enactment of rank and power: Hamburg’s elites as aristocrats

The memoirs of the French diplomat Aubery de Maurier provide a good insight into the social and cultural situation in Hamburg in the middle of the 17th century. Maurier stayed there in 1638 as a member of the French diplomatic corps preparing the Peace of Westphalia. In his book he characterizes the city government – consisting of four mayors, twenty senators, three leading lawyers and their three secretaries – as follows:

Regarding the government of Hamburg, one could believe that it is democratic [...]. But if you consider that the city is governed by a council composed of the most reputable people of the Republic, who alone have the power of assembling or releasing the people and although the people have money in their hands, they are obliged to make their incomes transparent to the Senate. Finally, the council can respond to princes from abroad, without being obliged to inform the people, and the council can do everything it wants to do, as long as it will not augment the costs, so one would judge that the council members belong more to the Aristocracy. (Maurier 1736: 86–87)

Maurier’s opinion that the council members were part of the aristocracy was obviously shared by his contemporaries. We learn from a Hamburg chronicle, some decades earlier, in 1719, for example, that the council had been criticized by the Burghers for its aristocratic character (Reinhold, Bärmann 1820: 238).

The aristocratic habitus of the council members and of further social elites also becomes apparent when considering their elegant and representative lifestyle. As Ulrich Nabel has stated with respect to property and buildings in Hamburg in the 17th century, many houses were built and then rebuilt once or several times, or at least reconstructed by their owners in a representative way:

Every family adapted the house they inherited to suit their own wishes and needs, and the costs for the renovation and modernization of the old house were seen as a part of the necessary effort to achieve status. (Nabel 1930: 224)

Such a representative lifestyle was reported in the decades following the Thirty Years War by many contemporaries. One of these was Johann Balthasar Schupp, pastor at the church of St. Jacobi from 1649 to 1661. Schupp remembered his first stay in the Elbe metropolis, emphasizing especially the “magnificence” and “splendour” of the city: pleasure gardens, carriages, works of art and luxury banquets, which he had not found in such a manner even at princely courts (Schupp 1911: 517).

Furthermore, Schupp’s account makes clear the important role that conspicuous consumption

and pleasant pastimes – divertissements – played in embracing and displaying nobility. The noble status was linked in several ways to decorum and ceremonial conventions. Queen Christina of Sweden's first visit to Hamburg may serve as a case study in this respect.

Courtly representation: Christina of Sweden in Hamburg

The higher an aristocrat's rank, the larger the number of visitors (s)he attracted. Such a mechanism could establish a kind of a noble court, even in a republic like Hamburg. This was demonstrated very clearly when Christina of Sweden visited the Elbe metropolis for the first time in July 1654.

Shortly after renouncing the Swedish crown, Christina undertook a great journey through Europe, taking in Antwerp, Brussels, and Rome as well as Hamburg. In Hamburg she stayed in the house of the Portuguese Jewish family Teixeira, which had successfully established a banking company which was also responsible for Christina's money and appanage. (Bjurström 1966: 9–11; Kellenbenz 1966: 188–189) During her journey, Christina wished to remain incognito, wearing men's clothes and bearing the title of a Count. By doing so she abandoned her representative rights, and at the same time enjoyed greater freedom as she required only a small entourage. This situation changed immediately after her arrival, when she reverted to her official rank: In Hamburg her entourage consisted of more than 50 people, with a report in the chronicle *Theatrum Europaeum* even giving the number as high as 100. And when a few days later the Swedish King's brother, the Count Palatine Adolf Johann, also reached the city, he arrived with a very large suite as well. (Kellenbenz 1966: 189)

The mere size of Christina's entourage already indicates Christina's evocation of a kind of inner-city court. Relatively suddenly she became the city's social heart due to her ceremonial rights as a queen: already on the day of her arrival she was hosted lavishly by Teixeira and visited by the Landgrave of Hesse and his wife. On the next day, two delegates from the city council welcomed Christina, bringing with them valuable presents for her. Further visits were made by the resident diplomats representing the Kaiser, and

the governments of France, the Netherlands and Great Britain, as well as other noblemen, and finally an opulent banquet was given to her by the city council. Later during her sojourn in Hamburg further noble visitors arrived, among them Duke Christian Louis of Celle, the three Dukes of Brunswick, Duke Christian of Mecklenburg and two Princes of Saxony-Lauenburg. (Kellenbenz 1966: 189) Without doubt, Christina was very much in the limelight.

Although the case of Christina is an example of an outstanding person from the higher nobility, it is to a certain extent applicable also to other members of the aristocracy and their diplomatic residents. Depending on their place in the hierarchy and their function such people evolved in Hamburg a representative lifestyle and thereby exerted considerable influence on the social and cultural life of the city. Ambassadors and diplomatic residents were obliged to emulate the grandeur and glory of their princely houses and in many cases they did so by using music.

As Dorothea Schröder has shown, diplomats often arranged opera productions at the Goosemarket Opera in combination with banquets, balls and fireworks (Schröder 1998). Similarly, Laure Gauthier, focussing on the decade before the foundation of the opera house (1667–1678), suggests that "some dialogue pieces accompanied by music and singing" were performed in the houses of diplomats (Gauthier 2010: 142). Since the relationship between opera, dance and aristocratic banqueting culture is already very clear, these should be also discussed along with the city's concert life.

Banquets and concerts

An early example in the history of the concert as a social and artistic institution is the series of concerts given in Hamburg by the Imperial diplomatic resident, Count Sigismund Engelbert Christian of Eck, in 1700/1701. These concerts took place on Sundays during the winter season and the musician, composer and diplomatic secretary Johann Mattheson reported on them in his *Ehren-Pforte*, writing about Reinhard Keiser:

The mentioned concerts were given every Sunday during the winter of 1700/1701, with such magnificence and splendour that I cannot recall ever having seen such abundance in

assemblies even at royal courts. Sometimes three or four princes attended these meetings, who – after the music had finished – were hosted sumptuously and entertained with gambling. I was not only a member of the concert [i.e. the music ensemble], but together with *Eberhard Reinwald*, a strong violinist, I was the director, and at the same time the music master of the Count's youngest daughter. The [female opera singers] *Conradi*, *Rischmüller*, *Schober* and all of the most skilful musicians one could see and listen to were there. Along with a rich payment we had a gift table, also Tokay and other rare wines, and everybody was allowed to enjoy whatever he wanted. In this way Keiser played more the role of nobleman than musician. (Mattheson 1740 [1969]: 132)

Erwaehte Concerte wurden alle Sonntage, den Winter über, 1700. 1701. mit solcher Pracht und Herrlichkeit gehalten, daß ich, an Königl. Höfen dergleichen Überfluß bey Asseembleen gesehen zu haben, mich nicht erinnere. Es wohnten den Versammlungen bisweilen 3. oder 4. Fürsten mit bey, welche, nach geendigter Musik, auf das kostbarste bewirthe, und mit Spielen belustiget wurden. Ich war nicht nur ein Mitglied desselben Concerts, sondern mit *Eberhard Reinwald*, dem starcken Violinisten, ein Director, und zugleich Musikmeister des gräflichen jüngsten Fräuleins. Die *Conradinn*, die *Rischmüllerin*, die *Schoberinn*, und alles, was nur am geschicktesten zu finden war, konnte man daselbst sehen und hören. Wir hatten nebst reichlicher Bezahlung, einen Schencktisch, desgleichen an Tockaier und anderen sehr raren Weinen, wenig zu finden sind, und ein jeder genoß, was ihn beliebte. *Keiser* führte sich dabey mehr, als ein Cavallier, denn als ein Musikus, auf. (Mattheson 1740 [1969]: 132)

Mattheson's report makes very clear first of all how closely music and social representation were related to each other. This is overwhelmingly demonstrated by Count Eck and is true also for the musicians. In particular, Keiser showed himself as a *galant homme* i.e. as a perfect gentleman. Furthermore, in order to ensure the splendour of these concerts, only the best musicians were

selected. Secondly, the regularity of these noble meetings indicates their proximity to the later institution of the public concert, but at this point they are still combined with courtly procedures and divertissements such as gambling and conspicuous consumption to display status.

Very similar to Eck's social and musical events are some concerts hosted by the British resident John Wich in 1710. Having a great interest in music in general, and particularly in opera, Wich was at the same time the employer of Johann Mattheson, who had started his career as a singer at the Goosemarket opera house. Knowing the representative and entertaining effect of music, Wich used it very consciously as a gallant divertissement when he was aware that one of his guests was a lover of music. A letter from November 1710, written by the tutor (*Hofmeister*) Louis Bérard, who accompanied two sons of the Duke of Leeds on their Grand Tour throughout Europe, illustrates the point:

Since their arrival their Lordships [Danby and Peregrine] have been continually entertained by the Duke of Hannover's Envoy to this place & by several friends of this town: But especially by Mr. [John] Wych, the Queen's Minister, who says that Sir Peter Wych his father had received so many favours from y^r Grace, & that he himself is so much indebted to My Lord Marquess [of Carmarthen, the Duke's son and Lord Danby's father], that he can never testify enough his Greatfulness for the Obligations which lay upon him from y^r Illustrious family. He has entertained the Lords three days together at dinner, & we have had much ado to get a release for the rest of this week. He has besides given every day a concert to their Lordships, knowing they are Lovers of Musick. In short he omits no occasion of diverting them. (Crawford 1986: 28)

Bérard assessed Wich's qualities as a host and resident very clearly and favourably. Music apparently functions here as a part of noble leisure time and as a carefully chosen gift to give pleasure to the guest, and probably offering in the same way the point of departure for successful conversation. As we can learn from Mattheson's *Das beschützte Orchestre*, published in 1717, discussions on questions of aesthetics and composition were not unusual at that time:

and finally, at special concerts the close critique gives a significant marking to all things, which is possible neither in church nor at the theatre. For instance, when a piece was played, everybody in this music gathering [*Collegio Musico*] takes the liberty of either studying the score (if available) or the single voices one after the other, and is, if not giving a comment, thinking about it, thereby stimulating the composers' caution and prudence. (Mattheson 1717 [2007]: 141)

und endlich gibt bey besondern Concerten die nahe Critique allen Sachen ein merckliches Abzeichen / welches weder Kirche noch Theatrum haben kann. Z. E. wenn ein Stück gemusicirt worden / nimmt ein jeder im Collegio Musico die Freyheit / entweder die Partitur (wenn eine da ist) oder die Stimmen nacheinander durchzusehen / und sein Theil darüber / wo nicht zu sagen / doch zu denken / wodurch denn die Behutsamkeit der Componisten starck zu thun bekommt. (Mattheson 1717 [2007]: 141)

While Count Eck and John Wich's cultural actions may be understood largely in the context of their residential function, the lawyer and poet Barthold Hinrich Brockes also used music as a means of pleasure and self representation. Having passed his law exam in 1704, Brockes lived in an aristocratic manner without any need to work. As reported in his autobiography, he gave weekly concerts over a long period with the intention of gaining esteem and ingratiating himself with people ("in Estime setzen und beliebt machen"). (Selbstbiographie 1847: 199; Loeser 2008) Such a view of music must be taken as the background to the first performance of Brockes' passion *Der für die Sünde der Welt gemarterte und sterbende Jesus*, composed and directed by Reinhard Keiser in 1712. The concert took place in Brockes' house in a "very solemn" manner:

[among the guests had been] not only the complete foreign nobility, all ministers and diplomatic representatives with their ladies, but also the most part of Hamburg's high society, so that more than 500 persons were present. (Selbstbiographie 1847: 205)

[unter den Gästen war] nicht allein die ganze fremde Noblesse, alle Ministros und Residenten

nebst ihren Damen, sondern auch de[r] größte[...] Theil der vornehmsten Hamburger [...], dergestalt daß über 500 Menschen zugegen gewesen. (Selbstbiographie 1847: 205)

Particularly interesting in this report is the impressive number of both people of noble birth and figures of high society from Hamburg and beyond. This fact not only underlines the overlapping of the aristocratic and courtly life style with that of the urban elites, but hints clearly at an extraordinary banquet-like meeting. Even though the type of conspicuous consumption denoting status is not mentioned by Brockes, as a *galant homme* and generous host such a splendid setting would have been very likely. A further hint may be seen in Brockes' later career: in 1720 he was nominated Senator, with the related diplomatic responsibilities that entailed from that time on (Snyder, Kimber 2001).

Burgher culture – court culture? Reflections on "Weckmann's" *Collegium musicum*

A comparison between the gallant lifestyle of rich patricians like Brockes and the cultural behaviour of aristocrats and their diplomatic representatives demonstrates clearly that courtly culture, ceremonies and divertissements played an important role even in a Free Imperial City like Hamburg. At all times music was an important supplement and a means of expressing political and cultural power in a pleasant and enjoyable manner. To suit the predilections and tastes of important guests, it was important to have the necessary (musical) knowledge concerning styles and repertoire. And since it was courtly life that defined the artistic standards of the time, the chosen genres in many cases were closely bound to courtly contexts. As a consequence, in the second half of the 17th century courtly manners became an increasingly crucial matter also for the social habitus of urban elites. (Le Bar 1993: 203–204; Loeser 2008; Rentsch 2012: 162–176)

With such a social framework in mind, it might be useful to rethink the social quality and conditions of Hamburg's famous *Collegium musicum*, founded in 1660. In most publications the learned and erudite character of this institution is emphasized, and it is presented as

an extraordinary Burgher institution. For instance, Arnfried Edler characterized the *Collegium* as an “urban-bourgeois model institute in the sense of a counter model to court chapels”, aiming not only at “entertainment, amusement or information”, but also at true musical education (“Mitvollzug der musikalischen Sache um ihrer selbst willen”) (Edler 2003: 57). Nevertheless, Edler realized the active and decisive role played by noble music lovers, who only turned to Matthias Weckmann, organist at St. James’ Church, in his capacity as music expert (Edler 1982: 53).

In contrast, Steffen Voss, when writing about “Weckmann and his *Collegium musicum* founded in 1660” and their public weekly concerts for music lovers (“Die vom Jacobi-Organisten M. Weckmann und seinem 1660 gegründeten *Collegium musicum* [...] dargebotenen wöchentlichen Liebhaber Konzerte”) attributes the leading role to the musician Weckmann (Voss et al. 2016). At the same time Voss emphasises the urban elites’ interest in court culture, resulting in the adoption of “the best contemporary music from Dresden, Munich, Vienna, Rome and Venice”, but linking this cultural transfer particularly to the merchants (“Handelsherren”) (Voss et al. 2016). What are the reasons for such different perceptions?

One main reason may be seen in the discursive character of sources dealing with the *Collegium musicum*. A historically adequate assessment is made difficult by their shortness and by their origin from different times. The two earliest sources currently known date from 1663 and 1668 and are closely related documents. The first of these – reprinted in its entirety below – is a short paragraph from the *Monatsgespräche* by the pastor and poet Johann Rist, an ambitious epic work discussing the best way of living – as a soldier, at a court, in a city or in the countryside. Rist’s text, aimed particularly at educating the (younger) members of the social elites, has a pedagogical intention and can be set in the historical context of the Early Enlightenment. (Rist 1972: 247–272)

The second source is also related to Rist, being linked to him in two ways. First through its author, the master of court and poet Conrad von Hövelen, who was Rist’s friend and a member of Rist’s *Elbschwänenorden*, a literary society founded in 1658 (Otto 1972: 52–54; Engels 1983: 161–163), and secondly owing to its content.

Both the arrangement of Rist’s work and the information contained therein are clearly taken over by Hövelen into his own literary description of the city of Hamburg. It may be compared to a certain extent with modern travel guides, offering as it does a brief description of both the important facts and the main sightseeing attractions of the city, also including the time and place of the meetings of the *Collegium musicum*.

The third source, Johann Mattheson’s *Ehren-Pforte* dating from 1740, is considerably later in origin and again short, but includes the most extensive information of the three with regard to the *Collegium musicum* of the 1660s. Mattheson’s report is included among a number of biographical articles on Matthias Weckmann, Christoph Bernhard, Kaspar Förster and Franz de Minde.

One remark in particular by Johann Mattheson attributes an anti-courtly air to the *Collegium musicum*: regarding a visit to the *Collegium* by Caspar Förster, he states: “he [Förster] knew very well that famous people were there who appreciate such things much more than a fickle and inconstant court.” (Mattheson 1740 [1969]: 74–75)

With this negative comment in mind, it was temptingly easy to understand the *Collegium musicum* as a kind of anti-courtly institution. However, we also have to take into account Mattheson’s information with regard to the institution’s foundation:

After his [Weckmann’s] return to Hamburg, two noble lovers of music founded with him a large *Collegium musicum* [...] in the refectory of the Dom church. (vulgo Reventer.) They brought together 50 persons, all contributing [to the institution]. They performed the best pieces from Venice, Rome, Vienna, Munich, Dresden and so on; indeed, this *Collegium* gained such fame that the greatest composers tried to link their names to it. (Mattheson 1740 [1969]: 397–398)

Nach seiner [Weckmanns] Zurückkunfft in Hamburg, errichteten zween vornehme Liebhaber der Musik mit ihm ein großes *Collegium musicum* [...] im Refectorio des Doms. (vulgo Reventer.) Man brachte 50. Personen zusammen, die alle dazu beitrugen. Es wurden die besten Sachen

aus Venedig, Rom, Wien, München, Dresden etc. verschrieben, ja, es erhielt dieses Collegium solchen Ruhm, daß die grössesten Componisten ihre Nahmen demselben einzuverleiben suchten. (Mattheson 1740 [1969]: 397–398)

Following Mattheson – and Edler’s view above – it seems quite obvious that noble persons must have been the relevant actors in the *Collegium’s* foundation. In the same way, the repertoire performed came not only from artistic centres in Italy, but was clearly linked to the leading German courts as well.

Moreover, when Johann Rist – who, unlike Mattheson, was an eye- and ear-witness of the *Collegium musicum* – characterized the music’s aesthetic effect on the listener as a pleasure, this fact may also hint at its important function as a means of *divertissement*. Rist was also the first to describe the *Collegium’s* social structure:

Oh, if someone would listen only for a few hours to the Collegio Musico, which is held weekly in Hamburg by several students, merchants, musicians and other praiseworthy lovers of this noble art in a special way [absonderlich], he would have to confess in a really charmed way [halb entzückket] that it is impossible to find its equal in Germany (Rist 1972: 234).

O solte mancher in dem Collegio Musico, welches wochentlich in Hamburg von etlichen Studiosis, Kaufgesellen / Musikanten und anderen rühmlichen Libhaberen dieser edlen Kunst / absonderlich wird gehalten / nur ein paar Stunden zu hören / er würde halb entzückket müssen bekennen / das dessen gleichen in Deutschland schwehrlich zu finden (Rist 1972: 234).

On the one hand it should be noticed that Rist does not give any information concerning the concrete performing situation. His expression, “which is held”, simply defines the regular meeting itself; it does not mean that the music – as suggested by Emil Platen – in all or most cases was “performed by various students, merchants, musicians and other praiseworthy lovers of this noble art” (Platen, Fenlon 2001). As we can learn from Hövelen, the *Collegium musicum* was announced in his guide as a regular and public

institution, welcoming also foreign visitors to the city. Therefore, it is very likely that the question of performing depended on the choice of genres, the instruments and voices required, and last but not least on the wishes and musical abilities of all those attending with regard to the music brought.

On the other hand it is important to realize that the students mentioned were part of the future functional elites, and could expect to hold important appointments in the administration of both cities and courts later on. This social group certainly had – if not a personal, at least a professional – interest in music owing to its cultural significance as a kind of status symbol and courtly *divertissement*. Music became increasingly a question and a means of social distinction. Bearing this in mind – and with special reference to the third-mentioned group of “other praiseworthy lovers of this noble art” or, in Mattheson’s words, the “noble lovers of music” – it is interesting to recognize that their social status and identity is left ambiguous, possibly intentionally. Since Hamburg was a diplomatic centre, many members of the diplomatic corps and the aristocracy lived permanently there. As it was at the same time a republic, the vagueness of Rist and Mattheson’s description might have been a sign of noble reserve and discretion, indicating the cultural merits of the foreign residents and aristocrats living there while at the same time keeping their identity secret.

Conclusion

As early as 1851, the historian Johann Martin Lappenberg had expressed the enormous social and cultural importance of the diplomats living in Hamburg, while at the same time emphasizing the reciprocal relationship between these and the city’s political elites. In his opinion, this interrelation made it possible

to get in closer touch with the European courts, their members having undeniable influence on higher society, and often also on the sciences and arts, in all cases on newspapers and theatre. (Lappenberg 1851: 415)

mit den europäischen Höfen in nähere Berührung zu treten, während dessen Mitglieder einen unverkennbaren Einfluß auf die höhere Geselligkeit übten, häufig auch

auf Wissenschaft und Künste, stets auf die Journalistik und auf das Theater. (Lappenberg 1851: 415)

Reflecting on the existing interaction between court and urban society and the importance of music within this social framework, it is very clear that in Hamburg there were no insurmountable barriers and demarcation lines between the two, but rather an intense communication and transfer of cultural knowledge and behaviour between them. For these reasons Anne Catherine Le Bar has characterized the Hamburg music scene of the early 18th century as a “hybrid bourgeois/aristocratic secular high culture” (Le Bar 1993: abstract). As early concerts and, in particular, the case of the patrician Barthold Hinrich Brockes demonstrate, music was used as a kind of status symbol, with the aim of gaining esteem and ingratiating oneself with people. Such cultural acting was typical of the upper classes, but to a certain degree also of the wider urban middle classes. For the latter, music increasingly served as a kind of *divertissement* and also as a badge of distinction, requiring a degree of self-preparation in terms of social behaviour and elegant manners. Against such a background it seems logical to assume that over time the music market was also stimulated by such social requirements. For instance, in 1727 a volume of arias by Georg Philipp Telemann was published in Hamburg by the editor Johann Christoph Kissner. Originally

intended for use at the ducal court of Eisenach and forming part of the cantata volume *Harmonisches Lob Gottes* for strings, oboes ad libitum and basso continuo, Telemann now arranged his arias only for voice and basso continuo for the purpose of fitting “both public and private use” (“so wohl zum öffentlichen als [auch zum] Privat-Gebrauch”). (Reipsch 2014: 138)

Last but not least, with regard to the future functional elites at a court or in a city, there was also a personal overlap at many levels. It was especially the social group designated by Johann Rist in the context of the 1660s *Collegium musicum* as “students” that had an increasing need to embrace courtly manners and skills, also including music. Johann Mattheson’s book *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* provides one quite late piece of evidence of this social development, clearly indicating the increasingly widespread quality of music as a potential means of achieving social rise. (Loeser 2008) Published in 1713, Mattheson now explicitly addresses the *galant homme*, offering him an introduction into the general theory of music, into the main genres and – most essentially – into how to make judgements about music (Mattheson 1713 [2007]). The latter was important in the context of upper-class conversations, having as its key criterion that of “good taste” (*bon gout*), a criterion modelled primarily on the common aesthetic sense of the courtly and urban elites. (Rentsch 2012: 159–188)

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Õukond linnas? Aristokraatlik ja kodanlik kultuur Hamburgis 17. ja varajasel 18. sajandil

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Martin Loeser

17. ja varajase 18. sajandi Hamburgis – Põhja-Saksamaa ja kogu Läänemere regiooni juhtivas kaubandus-, transpordi- ja kommunikatsioonikeskuses – polnud õukondliku ja linnaühiskonna vahel ületamatuid barjääre ega piire. Linna „hübriidset kodanlik-aristokraatset ilmalikku kõrgkultuuri“ (Ann Catherine Le Bar 1993) iseloomustab intensiivne suhtlus ja kultuuriteadmuse ja -käitumise ülekanne eri laadi kõrgkihtide vahel: aristokraadid, linna ülemkiht, diplomaadid ja teised eliidi esindajad. Hamburg oli Viini järel Püha Rooma Keisririigi suurim linn ja samal ajal selle Alam-Saksi ringkonna (*Niedersächsischer Reichskreis*) residents, mille müüride vahel asusid mitmed diplomaatilised esindused, sealhulgas Prantsuse, Suurbritannia, Rootsi, Taani, Habsburgide, Saksimaa ja Brandenburg-Preisimaa residentsid (Kopitzsch 1982: 140; Jaacks 1997: 14–15; Krieger 2012: 805). Nende igapäevaste kohustuste osaks oli esindada – et mitte öelda kehastada – sobilikul viisil oma kuningakodade hiilgust ja tähtsust. Teisest küljest oli Hamburg äärmiselt rikas linn. See tõsiasi mitte ainult ei soodustanud sotsiaalsete eliitide orienteeritust õukondliku kõrgkihi käitumisele, vaid ka kustutas selgelt määratletud eristusjooned aristokraatia ja linna ülemkihi esindajate vahel. Seda asjaolu arvestades ei peaks üllatama, et historiograafias on pigem olnud ja on endiselt keerukas täpselt defineerida ja eristada klassimääratlusi nagu linna-aadel (*Stadtadel*), aadel (*Adel*) ja linna ülemkiht (*Patriziat*) (Hecht 2004: 85, 2010: 1–7). Eriti silmas pidades aristokraatia ja linna ülemkihi vahelisi hägustunud eraldusjooni mängivad sotsiaalsed ja kultuurilised tegutsemisviisid tohutut rolli. Neid tuleks mõista kui sotsiaalse konstruktsiooni ja esitluse vahendeid, kui „sotsiaalsete praktikate kaudu positsiooni jõustamist ja võimu legitimeerimist“ (Hecht 2004: 89, vrd. Hecht 2010: 6–7; Hettling 2000).

Mida kõrgem oli aristokraadi positsioon, seda suurem oli külaliste hulk, keda ta ligi tõmbas. Selline mehhanism võis luua teatud laadi noobli õukonna, isegi Hamburgi-sarnases vabariigis. Seda näitab väga selgelt Rootsi kuninganna Kristiina esimene Hamburgi-visit juulis 1654. Reisides inkognito ja loobudes sel moel oma representatiivsetest õigustest, muutus situatsioon tema Hamburgi saabudes kohe, kui ta pöördus tagasi oma ametliku positsiooni juurde: Hamburgis koosnes tema kaaskond 50 kuni 100 inimesest ja vastavalt oma tseremoniaalsetele õigustele kuningannana võttis ta vastu rae, keisri, Prantsusmaa, Madalmaade ja Suurbritannia esinduste delegaate, samuti teiste kõrgema seisuse esindajate omi, ja lõpuks korraldas linna raad tema auks küllusliku banketi.

Kuigi Kristiina juhtum on kõrgema seisuse väljapaistva isiku näide, saab selle teataval määral üle kanda ka teistele aristokraatia liikmetele ja nende diplomaatiliste residentsidele. Nagu Dorothea Schröder on näidanud, korraldasid diplomaadid sageli ooperietendusi Haneturu ooperis (Gänsemarktooper), saadetuna bankettidest, ballidest ja tulevärkidest (Schröder 1998). Samuti kinnitab Laure Gauthier, keskendudes ooperimaja asutamise eelsele kümnendile (1667–1678), et diplomaatide juures esitati „mõningaid muusika ja lauluga näidendeid“ (Gauthier 2010: 142).

Nagu näitavad banketid ja kontserdid, kasutati muusikat teatud staatusesümbolina, eesmärgiga saavutada lugupidamist ja integreeruda. Selline kultuuriline tegevus oli tüüpiline kõrgematele seisustele, kuid teataval määral ka laiemale linna keskklassile. Silmatorkavaks näiteks on keiserliku diplomaatilise residendi, krahv Sigismund Engelbert Christian von Ecki korraldatud kontserdisari Hamburgis 1700/1701, mis toimus talvehooaja vältel pühapäeviti. Eriti muusikadirektor Reinhard Keiser näitas end sealjuures *galant homme*'ina, s.t. täiusliku džentelmenina, ja kindlustamaks nende kontsertide sära, valiti välja vaid parimad muusikud. Peale selle tõendab nende nooblite koosviibimiste regulaarsus nende lähedust hilisemale avaliku kontserdi institutsioonile, aga sel hetkel olid nad endiselt seotud õukondlike käitumisviiside ja meelelahutustega, nagu õnnemäng ja staatust rõhutav silmatorkav tarbimine.

Ecki sotsiaalsete ja muusikaliste üritustega sarnanevad väga mõned Briti residendi John Wichi võõrustamisel korraldatud kontserdid 1710. aastal ja samuti juristi ja luuletaja Barthold Hinrich Brockese korraldatud kontserdid. Sooritanud 1704. aastal oma juristieksami, elas Brockes aristokraatsel moel igasuguse vajaduseta teha tööd. Nagu on kirjeldatud tema autobiograafias, korraldas ta pika perioodi jooksul iganädalasi kontserte kavatsusega saavutada austust ja võita inimeste poolehoidu („in Estime

setzen und beliebt machen“). (Selbstbiographie 1847: 199; Loeser 2008). Selline hoiak muusika suhtes on taustaks Brockese passiooni esmaesitusele 1712. aastal; Brockese teksti komponeeris ja teost juhatas Reinhard Keiser.

Brockese-suguste rikaste linna ülemkihi esindajate galantse elustiili ja aristokraatide ning nende diplomaatiliste esindajate kultuurikäitumise võrdlus näitab selgelt, et õukondlik kultuur, tseremooniad ja meelelahutused mängisid tähtsat rolli isegi sellises vabas riigilinnas nagu Hamburg. Alati oli muusika tähtsaks täienduseks ja vahendiks, väljendamaks poliitilist ja kultuurilist võimu meeldival ja nauditaval moel. Et sobituda tähtsate külaliste eelistuste ja maitsega, olid vastavad (muusikalised) teadmised stiilidest ja repertuaarist tähtsad. Ja kuna just õukondlik elu määras ajastu kunstilised standardid, seostusid valitud žanrid paljudel juhtudel tihedalt õukondliku kontekstiga. Selle tulemusel muutusid õukondlikud maneerid 17. sajandi teisel poolel üha enam ka linnaeliidi sotsiaalse käitumistaadi oluliseks osaks. (Le Bar 1993: 203–204; Loeser 2008; Rentsch 2012: 162–176).

Hinnates ümber Hamburgi kuulsat 1660. aastal asutatud Collegium musicumi selle sotsiaalses raamistikus, ei näi see enam „linlik-kodanliku mudelinstitutsioonina, mis vastandub õukonnakapellidele“ (Arnfried Edler 2003), vaid pigem kõige laiemas mõttes noobli ühinguna, mis valis oma repertuaari Itaalia kunstikeskustest niisamuti nagu juhtivatest Saksa õukondadest, eesmärgiks nauding, kultuuriline eristumine ja haridus.

Tõlkinud Anu Schaper