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Renewed Orientations for the History of Transnational Music Mobility in the Age of Enlightenment*

Orientaciones renovadas en la historia transnacional de la movilidad musical en la época de la Ilustración

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Resumen

Desde la aparición en 1996 del nº 12 de Artigrama, se ha producido una considerable expansión de estudios históricos sobre la movilidad de los músicos durante el siglo XVIII. Estos estudios han establecido estrechas vinculaciones entre la historia de la música y la microhistoria de los fenómenos migratorios y las diásporas, la historia de las redes sociales y la historia de la mediación cultural. Todas estas actualizaciones analíticas y documentales han sido alimentadas por un creciente diálogo entre la historia social de la interpretación y otras áreas de investigación, especialmente las relacionadas con la historia conectada y global, la historia de las mujeres y de género, así como la historia de la ciencia y la tecnología. En este marco historiográfico, los conceptos operativos de 'migrantes privilegiados', 'agencia' e 'innovación' enriquecen nuestro entendimiento de las distintas escalas temporales y de los horizontes geográficos propios de las diferentes carreras de los intérpretes, de las normas de género y de las transgresiones que activan los planes de movilidad a larga distancia y a largo plazo. De forma semejante, estos mismos conceptos enriquecen las transferencias culturales y técnicas que impulsan el mercado musical y la circulación de instrumentos musicales que integran progresivamente los espacios coloniales y extraeuropeos.

Palabras clave

Agencia, Celebridad, Estudios de género, Historia global, Innovación, Redes.

Abstract

Since the appearance in 1996 of Artigrama's issue nº 12, there has been a considerable expansion of historical studies of musicians' mobility during the 18th century. They have established close links between music history and the micro-history of migratory and diasporic phenomena, the history of networks and the history of cultural mediation. These analytical and documentary updates have been fuelled by a growing dialogue between the social history of performance and other areas of research, especially concerning connected and global history, women's and gender history and the history of science and technology. In this historiographic framework, the operating concepts of 'privileged migrants', 'agency' and 'innovation' enrich our understanding of the timescales and geographical horizons appropriate to the different performers' careers, the

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gender norms and transgressions at work in long-distance and long-term mobility plans, and also the cultural and technical transfers driving the music market and the circulation of musical instruments, that increasingly integrate colonial and non-European spaces.

Keywords

Agency, Celebrity, Gender studies, Global History, Innovation, Networks.

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The most Illustrious Signor Senesino's Landing in England amidst the Acclamations & Submissions of all lovers of Musick & Harmony (…): these are the opening words of the caption to a print commemorating, in slightly barbed tones, the famous Italian castrato's arrival in London. In the midst of these passionate English admirers, he was greeted by the enthusiastic outpourings of Francesca Cuzzoni and Faustina Bordoni, two singers, themselves also originally from Italy and rivals for the public's favour.[1] This document shows the dynamics promoting the international professional nomadism of the best-known performers in the 18th century. They had access to an expanded music market that was galvanised by growing demand, organised around networks that fostered ever-more transnational circulation, and facilitated by the proliferation and diversification both of the venues where music was consumed and of the genres associated with them. This context, which in itself favoured the flow of performers, enhanced the itinerancy that did so much to shape musicians' careers throughout their working lives, and did so on varying geographical scales. Where there was no family transmission, training took place in relative proximity to their place of birth; followed by improving competence and securing first jobs or commissions in a regional or national centre; and, lastly, by gaining a solid reputation or even international recognition from one capital city to another.

Since the appearance in 1996 of *Artigrama*'s issue nº 12, devoted to the circulation of music and musicians in Mediterranean Europe, there has been a considerable expansion of historical studies of musicians' mobility, as observed since the emergence in the 17th century of an international music market that had stepped out of the bounds of princely and ecclesiastical settings.[2] Scholars have analysed artists' circulations on

[1] British Museum, *Senesino's Landing in England*, gravure satirique, v. 1737-1738, n° 1868,0808.3505.

[2] In this abundant bibliography, see some diachronic works Meyer, C. (ed.), *Le Musicien et ses voyages. Pratiques, réseaux et représentations*, Berlin, Berliner Wissenschafts-Verlag, 2003; Ehrmann-Herfort, S. y Leopold, S. (eds.), *Migration und Identität. Wanderbewegungen und Kulturkontakte in der Musikgeschichte* (Analecta Musicologica 49), Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2013; Traversier, M. (ed.), *Musiques nomades: objets, réseaux, itinéraires (Europe, XVIIe-XIXe siècle)*, Special issue, *Diasporas*, 26, 2015, and Strohm, R. (ed.), *Studies on a Global History of Music. A Balzan Musicology Project*, Londres, Routledge, 2018.

different levels, have drawn up their typology and queried the ambivalent connections between mobility and celebrity.[3] They have also enlarged the corpus of documents shedding light upon them, particularly by unearthing unknown or forgotten ego-documents. More generally, they have helped establish close links between music history and the micro-history of migratory phenomena, the history of networks and the history of cultural mediation over the long term.

Research into the musical life of the 18th century —marked by the diversification of performance genres, the proliferation of music production and consumption venues, and the resultant profusion of documents— has benefited in particular from recent approaches focused on the journeys of professional performers. The latter expose structural changes in the Ancien Régime economy, but also changes specific to the world of performance and the lived experiences of performers on the move, as well as to the cultural transfers that they attest to and consolidate.[4] These analytical and documentary updates have been fuelled by a growing dialogue between the social history of performance and other areas of research, themselves enriched by new questions, especially concerning connected and global history, women's and gender history and the history of science and technology.

Three vantage points in particular enable examination of this historiographical movement which enriches our understanding of the serious music market in the 18th century, and expands its geographical horizons. First, there is the professional nomadic lifestyle of music performers, understood on different levels and analysed in terms of the timescales appropriate to performers' careers. Second, there are the gender norms and transgressions at work in this professional world, which encouraged —but could also impede— long-distance and long-term mobility plans.

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[3] Roche, D., *Humeurs vagabondes. De la circulation des hommes et de l'utilité des voyages*, Paris, Fayard, 2003, pp. 834-844; Inglis, F., *A Short History of Celebrity*, Princeton-Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2010; *Celebrity*, special issue, *Lapham's Quarterly*, 4/1, 2011, and Lilti, A., *Figures publiques. Célébrité et modernité (1750-1850)*, Paris, Fayard, 2014.

[4] For the early modern history, note the major contributions made since the 2010s by two international programmes: ANR-DFG MUSICI led by Anne-Madeleine Goulet and Geza sur Nieden, and HERA-MUSMIG led by Vjera Katalinić, which have contributed to a finer understanding of the mechanisms and actors supporting musical circulations and have geographically broadened the framework of investigations by integrating Central and Eastern Europe: Goulet, A.-M. and Zur Nieden, G., (eds), *Europäische Musiker in Venedig, Rom und Neapel: 1650-1750*, Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2015; Katalinić, V. (ed.), *Music Migrations in the Early Modern Age: People, Markets, Patterns and Styles*, Zagreb, Hrvatsko musikolosko drustvo, 2016; Guzy-Pasiak J. and Markuszewska, A. (eds.), *Music Migration in the Early Modern Age: Centres and Peripheries - People, Works, Styles, Paths of Dissemination and Influence*, Varsovie, Liber Pro Arte, 2016, and Zur Nieden, G. and Over, B. (eds.), *Musicians' Mobilities and Music Migrations in Early Modern Europe. Biographical Patterns and Cultural Exchanges*, Bielefeld, transcript Verlag, 2016.

And lastly, there is the view offered by studying the transfers in organological innovation, with its geographical spread and means of promotion and distribution slotting into the overall dynamics of the history of inventions and their mechanisation during the Age of Enlightenment.

Networks and brokers: musicians as "privileged migrants"?

One of the goals of current research is to identify which features were unique to the international mobility of male and female performers, as compared to the overall dynamics governing professional circulation in the 18th century. Should the minority of music professionals with international careers be regarded as "privileged migrants" or "migrant elites"?,[5] who, thanks to their professions and recognised qualifications, enjoyed more far-flung and lucrative opportunities, more material resources and more varied and stable solidarity and networks than other workers and travellers with fewer resources, connections or education? What differentiations as regards circulation can be made within the music world —itself heterogeneous, contentious and hierarchically organised— in terms of the career involved, the degree of fame, the type of music practised, as well as geographical and social origins, religious persuasion or active and passive networks that could be enlisted in a mobility project, and not forgetting the performer's gender? There is no single criterion that applies systematically or uniformly, and the uniqueness of profiles and contexts is an incentive to abandon a one-size-fits-all-musicians analysis grid, or one that would be valid over the course of an individual's entire lifetime.[6]

Music Professions, Networks, Space and Time Scales

Alternating mobile and sedentary phases and their respective lengths, as well as evolving ambitions and changing and volatile opportunities did not trace a straight and consistently nomadic path, and guaranteed neither social success nor an honourable death. The cases of Handel, Gluck and Mysliveček, all with relatively similar profiles, are symbolic of the range of possibilities. Trained in Halle, Handel made his debut in Hamburg

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[5] To use the concepts proposed by the sociologist Sheila Croucher (Croucher, S., "Privileged Mobility in an Age of Globality", *Societies*, 2, 2012, pp. 1-13), and the historians Marianne Amar and Nancy Green [Amar, M., and Green, N. L. (eds.), *Migrations d'élite. État des lieux et approches comparatives*, Tours, Presses universitaires François-Rabelais, (in press)].

[6] Traversier, M., "Un tout petit monde. L'archipel des renommées et des circulations musicales dans l'Europe des Lumières", in Amar, M. and Green, N. L., (eds.), *Migrations d'élite…*, *op. cit.* See also Leopold, S., "Musikwissenschaft und Migrationsforschung. Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen", in Ehrmann-Herfort, S. y Leopold, S. (eds.), *Migration und Identität…*, *op. cit.,* pp. 30-39.

before improving his skills as a composer in Italy. As a director of music in Hannover, he visited England on a number of occasions, sometimes for several months on end. Finally, as of 1720, he settled in London, and was buried there forty years later. As for Bavarian-born Gluck, he had a longer itinerant career, alternating sometimes lengthy stays abroad (Prague, Milan, Venice, Turin, London, Dresden, Copenhagen, Naples) with stable periods of residence in Vienna. Never as famous, the Bohemian Josef Mysliveček enjoyed great success during a constantly moving career in Vienna, Naples and Munich, but he was to die alone in Rome, wracked by the ravages of syphilis.[7] These three cases of near-contemporaneous composers clearly demonstrate the uncertainty that persisted even in the most ambitious and talented careers. No migration, whatever its duration, guaranteed upward social mobility. The question therefore arises as to whether the term mobility should be reserved for types of migration which combined the rationale of professional travel with the positive economic and symbolic repercussions of the trip.

Opportunities must also be re-examined in terms of the material realities and technologies appropriate to each type of musical occupation. In addition, composers benefited from the development of music publishing, which relieved them of the travel that had up until then been obligatory if they wanted to become known outside their region and country of origin. They could opt for long-term or even permanent settlement once they had stable employment in an instrumental ensemble, or were engaged in multiple paid activities in a single town. On the other hand, virtuoso instrumentalists and singers, seeking wider recognition and decent remuneration, were induced to travel more frequently and sometimes from one foreign country to another. For these professional performers too, however, there was no uniform pattern for promoting their talent. Their careers did not systematically exclude a lengthy period of settlement if they were attached to a powerful prince's chapel, in the direct and personal service of the monarch (Farinelli comes to mind) or regularly and lucratively taken on by a single opera house in one capital city.[8]

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[7] Freeman, D. E., *Josef Mysliveček, Il Boemo: the Man and His Music*, Sterling Heights, Michigan, Harmonie Park Press, 2009.

[8] See for example the case of Italian singers and singer-actresses of Portuguese origin, more rarely Italian, who perform at the Buen Retiro theatre in Madrid: Boyd, M. and Carreras, J. J. (eds.), *Music in Spain During the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1998, and Bec, C., *Les comédiennes-chanteuses à Madrid au XVIII^e siècle (1700-1767)*, Paris, Champion, 2016, notably pp. 407-409 on the case of the Italian singer Elisabetta (Isabel) Uttini. The regular recruitment of Italian *virtuosi* between 1737 and 1759 also contributed to redefining the female roles. On the recruitment and long-term settlement of Italian singers in Portugal to accompany the development of Italian opera, De Brito, M. C., *Opera in Portugal in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1989.

Beyond the great variety of situations and the vagaries inherent in each musician's "life", recent research has shown the diversity and interconnection of the networks that facilitated mobility, and the diversity of actors, both men and women, involved in this international music market. There were show-business entrepreneurs, the musicians themselves, cultural figures in general, editors, music lovers and patrons, but also diplomats, religious dignitaries and scholars. At each stage of an itinerant career, these networks were reconfigured, sometimes expanding, enabling a departure for a fresh opportunity or indeed encouraging an extended stay and increasing the high profile acquired there. In this sense, the research under way into the cosmopolitan networks of the Free Mason demonstrates how a foreign musician's membership of a lodge serves as evidence of his successful integration into the local urban elites. The career of Franck Beck, a musician and composer born in Mannheim where he trained under Johann Stamitz, is illuminating in this respect, and also reveals that provincial towns offered fruitful opportunities for performers on the move. Arriving in Paris in 1761, he secured the support of the Duc de Richelieu, governor of Guyenne, which opened the doors to a fine career in Bordeaux, where he settled in 1765. Promoted to lead conductor of the Grand Theatre orchestra, and an influential member of the city's Academy of Music, in 1780 he received his "letters of bourgeoisie", conferring on him certain privileges of crown protection for the bourgeois class. Membership of the Loge Française in 1790 confirmed his ascent.[9]

More broadly, the timescales required to activate this web of resources for a musician's benefit are also better understood: the short term —in the gaps of "down" time, during the uncertainty generated by the vacuum between two jobs or commissions, or as a contract drew to a close— and the medium term —at the pivotal moments of a career that had to be launched, relaunched or brought to a close—.

Better understanding of the mechanics of these tangled networks is often achieved by unearthing or reinterpreting documents that shed light on these careers in a new way or for the first time. At the point where the administrative history of border control meets the history of career mobility, examining the archives produced by the authorities in charge of supervising migrations enables a better grasp of the material

[9] Ruiz, A. (ed.), *Franz Beck*, dossier thématique, *Lumières*, 2, 2003, and Cros, L., *Franc-maçonnerie, réseaux maçonniques et dynamiques bordelaises au XVIII^e siècle*, PhD, under the supervision of François Cadilhon, Université Bordeaux Montaigne, 29 May 2018, pp. 658-660. On cultural transfers driven by Masonic networks: Beaurepaire, P.-Y., *L'espace des francs-maçons. Une sociabilité européenne au XVIII^e siècle*, Rennes, Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003.

and administrative conditions of musicians' international movements, and of the surveillance to which they might have been subjected in their host country. The French authorities' register of passports in 1712 identifies in particular *Pierre des Echalliers and Louis Galloin, actors of the Utrecht opera* who were returning temporarily to Paris but also Prin, an *actor of the Hague opera*, who was leaving for Holland together with tightrope walkers, or again, composer Jean-Baptiste Loeillet, a *musician going to Ghent on business before subsequently returning to Paris.*[10]

This last example is a reminder that travel and temporary stays abroad were not always undertaken for professional reasons. This was as true for musicians as for any other type of traveller. The information contained in the passport registers drawn up later on were less detailed and accurate, although even then there was, for example, in 1720, *Sr Ligier*, a music master travelling to London together with a couple of actors;[11] then in 1721, several musicians including one *Bourgeois, musician, going to Brussels with his wife, Marguerite de Rouergue.*[12] Other document collections, neglected to date and more difficult to access or haphazardly preserved, also reveal original tokens of fame or international recognition. Recent studies of subscription lists[13] and of objects generated by performances such as prints, fans, and hand-held screens bearing the portrait of a performer or a representative scene from a show that was all the rage provide evidence of professional performers' presence abroad and of the reputations acquired there.[14]

National Institutions and Diasporic Communities

By constantly rendering a more complete and more accurate map of the music venues that gave the travel of performers its focus, recent research has shed light on the little-known role of institutions that were not specifically artistic or were less explicitly linked to the elite instances of cosmopolitan sociability such as theatres, concert rooms, salons and the

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[10] Archives Diplomatiques (La Courneuve), *Mémoire et Documents France*, 309, "Passeports expédiés en 1712", f. 168 r for Prin and ten travel companions, (21-III-1712); f. 186 r, for Echalliers and Galloin, (11-V-1712); f. 250 r, for Loeillet, (11-XII-1712).

[11] *Ibidem*, *Mémoires et Documents France, 1243*, 1720, f. 289 r, (26-XI-1720).

[12] *Ibidem*, *Mémoires et Documents France, 1246*, 1721, f. 2 r, (2-IV-1721) et f. 42 r, (4-X-1721).

[13] Fleming, S. D. I, "Foreign Composers, the Subscription Market, and the Popularity of Continental Music in Eighteenth-Century Britain", in *Music by Subscription. Composers and their Networks in the British Music-Publishing Trade, 1676-1820*, London, Routledge, 2021, pp. 221-241.

[14] Rizzoni, N., "From archive boxes to cardboard screens: the diffusion of French theatre in Russia at the end of the eighteenth century", in Beaurepaire, P.-Y., Bourdin Ph. and Wolff, C. (eds.), *Moving scenes, the circulation of music and theatre in Europe, 1750-1815*, Oxford, Voltaire Foundation/ University of Oxford, 2018, pp. 217-239.

first professional music schools. National churches —in Rome, of course, but also in all capital cities— were henceforth also major cultural transfer hubs through the welcome they offered musicians from far away[15] and the ties they maintained with other local cultural focal points. For example, the Portuguese musicians who came to train in Rome benefited from the pivotal protective role of the church of Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi, and from networks that were simultaneously religious, diasporic and artistic, in order to hone their skill and to find their place on the city's competitive music market.[16] In regions where the Protestant faith predominated, in German areas or the Dutch Republic, French musicians were similarly helped to settle by the presence of exiles who had fled France for religious reasons, and by the institutions of worship that brought them together.[17] Financed by secular or religious donors, national foundations that hosted young people completing their training abroad in a variety of fields have also been reassessed as magnets for young performers and as centres of cultural exchange. Several aspiring musicians from Liège (Gérard-Nicolas Fraikin, Jean-Noël Hamal, André-Modeste Grétry), for example, enjoyed the support and accommodation offered by the Darchis Foundation in Rome, in addition to the help provided by the "Flemish" church community of San Giuliano dei Fiaminghi.[18] It was above all composers, instrumentalists and, more sporadically, singers —although never female musicians— who could rely on these expatriate "national" institutions, which were linked to the religious world and helped to structure the diasporic communities.

Where these communities strengthened family and professional solidarity, they could be an additional advantage in securing an initial

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[15] Berti, M. and Corswarem, E. (eds.), *Music and the Identity Process: The National Churches of Rome and their Networks in the Early Modern Period*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2019, y Colin, M.-A., Corswarem, E., Ellisèche, Y. and Morales, J. (eds.), *Marquer la ville, affirmer l'identité. Musique, dévotion et espaces nationaux (Italie et anciens Pays-Bas espagnols)*, Brussels, Peter Lang, 2022.

[16] Fernandes, C., "Música, cerimonial e representação política: Sant'Antonio dei Portoghesi no contexto das igrejas nacionais em Roma durante a época barroca (1683-1728)", in Ferreira, M. P. and Cascudo, T. (eds.), *Música e História: Estudos em homenagem a Manuel Carlos de Brito*, Lisboa, Colibri/Cesem, 2017, pp. 153-173, and Diez Del Corral Corre Doira, P. y Fernandes, C., "Del Tajo al Tíber: la formación de músicos y artistas portugueses en Roma durante el reinado de Juan V (1707-1750)", *Revista de Historia Moderna. Anales de la Universidad de Alicante*, 38, 2020, pp. 326-359.

[17] See for example the recruitment of French cantors in the early 1760s for the French Reformed 'colony' in Glückstadt examined by Gesa zur Nieden [Zur Nieden, G., "Roads 'which are commonly wonderful for the musicians' — Early Modern Times Musicians' Mobility and Migration", in Zur Nieden, G. and Over, B. (eds.), *Musicians' Mobilities …*, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-31].

[18] Traversier, M., "Grétry en Italie", in Demoulin, B. y Tilkin, F. (eds.), *Grétry, un musicien international dans l'Europe des Lumières*, *Art and Facts*, 32/2013, pp. 129-137; Berti, M., "M. Faure chapelain se contente d'enseigner le plein chant a ses confreres. La presenza dei musici stranieri nelle Chiese Nazionali di Roma", in Goulet, A.-M. and Zur Nieden, G. (eds.), *Musicisti europei…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-426, and Oriol, E., "Quantifier et caractériser la présence des musiciens d'origine étrangère à Rome", *Vivre de la musique à Rome au XVIII[e] siècle*, Roma, École française de Rome, 2021, pp. 229-249.

foothold and then in facilitating long-term settlement as a professional musician abroad. By comparing notarised Parisian sources and German princely and administrative archives, Louis Delpech has updated current knowledge of the networks of both family members and performers that promoted the employment and settlement of French musicians in the courts of northern Germany in the last third of the 17th century and the first third of the 18th century. Their travel plans and their long-term settlement in Lower Saxony were not compelled by religious or political exile. They were part of career strategies, relying on effective resources in terms of social and cultural capital, and enabling settlement and socio-economic success abroad. The existence of Franco-German routes such as this one taken by Parisian musicians, who for the most part were Catholics, also calls for a nuancing of the hypothesis that migration towards German lands systematically corresponded to the Huguenot exodus. That these migrants belonged to princes' chapels and pursued careers within stable and comfortable institutional frameworks means they may be regarded as privileged in relation to cohorts of musicians whose work merely permitted economic survival.[19] Similar diasporic and family dynamics can be found facilitating the settlement and regular arrival of Italian musicians at the Catholic courts of southern Germany.[20]

Diplomats and Religious Dignitaries as Brokers

At the crossroads between studies into diasporic dynamics and cultural diplomacy, the role played abroad by a state's diplomatic agents in stimulating an international music market is also being reassessed, in the wake of the *cultural turn* in the history of diplomacy. While the literature has long covered public ceremonies set to music, organised and funded by ambas-

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[19] Delpech, L., *Ouvertures à la française: migrations musicales dans l'espace germanique 1660-1730*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2020. See also Waczkat, A., "Les Violons du Duc. Franzcsische Musiker an mecklenburgischen Höfen", in Wollny, P. (ed.), *Jahrbuch 2002 der ständigen Konferenz Mitteldeutsche Barockmusik*, Schneverdingen, Ortus Musikverlag Beeskow, 2004, pp. 252-263. On methodological issues, see Delpech, L., "Les musiciens français en Allemagne du nord (1660-1730): questions de méthode", in *Musiques nomades…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-73.

[20] Kägler, B., "Competition at the Catholic Court of Munich. Italian Musicians and Family Networks", in Zur Nieden, G. and Over, B. (eds.), *Musicians' Mobilities…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-90. More generally on Italian musicians and their networks outside the Peninsula: Strohm, R., *The Eighteenth-century Diaspora of Italian Music and Musicians*, Turnhout, Brepols, 2001; Heartz, D., *Music in European capitals: The galant style (1720-1780)*, New York-London, W. W. Norton & Company, 2003, pp. 295-439; De frutos, L., "Virtuosos of the Neapolitan opera in Madrid: Alessandro Scarlatti, Matteo Sassano, Petruccio and Filippo Schor", *Early Music*, 37/2, 2009, pp. 187-200; Oleskiewicz, M., "The court of Brandenburg-Prussia", in Owens, S., Reul, B. M. and Stockigt, J. B. (eds.), *Music at German Courts (1715-1760): Changing Artistic Priorities*, Woodbridge, Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 79-130. About the case of Roman musicians, see Oriol, E., "L'exportation des musiciens romains: les échanges avec le Portugal et les États d'Europe centrale", *Vivre de la musique à Rome…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 349-358.

sadors in the course of their mission of representation, recent research based on diplomatic correspondence, sometimes backed up by a corpus of personal letters, sheds light on another aspect of their involvement in the musical life of the 18th century. Amid commercial, strategic and military intelligence, they briefed on the available talent, recommended "national" or foreign musicians, and solicited or collected information about the music market via intermediaries to whom they appealed by letter.[21]

In this way, in studying the development of the music scene in Sweden in the 18th century, marked by the import and translation of French shows and the presence of French performers, Charlotta Wolff has shown how a former ambassador to France, Carl Gustaf Tessin, who had gone on to be put in charge of entertainment and ceremonies at the court in Stockholm, enlisted the talents of French and Italian singers and actors settled in Copenhagen at the time. Some twenty or so years later, his successor in Paris Gustav Philip Creutz, was even more effective during his long term as ambassador (1766-83) in promoting French music, and particularly comic operas, in Sweden. He persuaded Prince Gustav to have a troop of French singers brought to Scandinavia, recommended works and passed on librettos, assisted in doing so by his attaché, Erik Magnus Staël von Holstein, who was just as great a Francophile and music lover.[22]

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[21] Ahrendt, R., Ferraguto, M. and Mahiet, D. (eds.), *Music and Diplomacy from the Early Modern Era to the Present*, New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2014; Traversier, M., *Music in the diplomatic pouch, a new approach for the music circulations in the 18th century*, Lecture, Department of Music, Harvard University, 28 February 2014; Ferraguto, M., "Eighteenth-Century Diplomats as Musical Agents", in Ramel, F. y Prévost-Thomas C. (eds.), *International Relations, Music and Diplomacy: Sounds and Voices on the International Stage*, New York, Palgrave Macmilan, 2018, pp. 43-64; Ferraguto, M., "Musical Patronage and Diplomacy: The Case of Prince Paolo Savelli (†1632)", *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music,* 24, 2019, https://sscm-jscm.org/jscm-issues/volume-24-no-1/morucci-musical-patronage/, (accessed: 11-II-2022), and Aboudrar, B. N., Mairesse, F. y Martin, L., *Géopolitiques de la culture: L'artiste, le diplomate et l'entrepreneur*, Paris, Armand Colin, 2021.

[22] Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, *Coll. Mss. Regi Gustavi III*, vol. XXXXIV, F 518, Staël's letters to Gustav III and Count Creutz, *La Suède et les Lumières. Lettres de France d'un Ambassadeur à son Roi (1771-1783)*, (edited by M. Molander Beyer), Paris, Michel de Maule, 2006. These correspondences are analysed in terms of cultural transfers by Wolff (Wolff, C., "La musique des spectacles en Suède, 1770-1810: opéra-comique français et politique de l'appropriation", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 379, 2015, pp. 13-33). See also the similar practices of Southern European diplomats: Traversier, M., "Costruire la fama: la diplomazia al servizio della musica durante il Regno di Carlo di Borbone", in Goulet, A.-M. and Zur Nieden, G. (eds.), *Europäische Musiker…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-189; Montes Beatriz, C., "La musica nei documenti del Consejo y Secretaría del Despacho de Estado dell'Archivo General de Simancas: i rapporti con l'Italia", *Fonti Musicali Italiane*, 19, 2014, pp. 7-21, and De Azambuja Ribeiro Machel, M., "Politics, spectacle and propaganda: the political use of patronage and press by John V's representatives in Rome during the first half of 18th century", in Diez del Corral Corredoira, P. (ed.), *Politics and the arts in Lisbon and Rome: The Roman dream of John V of Portugal*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 43-73. See the current project developed by C. Fernandes, "Music, power and diplomacy in the 18th century: Portugal in the international stage", supported by the Instituto de Etnomusicologia, Centro de Estudos em Música e Dança (Lisboa).

Likewise, the pivotal role of senior church dignitaries who were also key figures in diasporic circles, and who were sometimes also tasked with diplomatic missions, has recently been highlighted. The liturgical cycle of their prestigious chapels did not account for all aspects of their involvement in the music scene. Through their networks, both religious and noble, they too identified and promoted musicians and repertoires whose success reflected well not only on them personally, but also on their countries of origin. It was in Rome that their savoir-faire on the music scene could be especially observed.[23]

Analysis of the networks managed by these high-ranking figures also draws increasing attention to when their manoeuvres misfired, to the failures of music diplomacy. Indeed, the social clout of these brokers could come unstuck over what the sought-after performers actually wanted. They might turn down offers abroad because they had sufficient financial resources and connections, substantial enough fame, alternative means of gaining recognition than becoming professional nomads, or rare skills that could easily be monetised.[24] Composers could rely on the development of music publishing to turn down an offer from far away. Singers, both male and female, could play on the rivalry of venue managers by turning down a proposal they deemed insufficiently lucrative or not adequately in line with their own image of their talents and professional potential. The youngest performers were not always the most easily won over. The Marquis de Puyzieulx, Louis Philogène Brûlart de Sillery, French ambassador to Naples in 1737, learned this through bitter experience. He failed to recruit castrati who had completed their training in the city's conservatories: the money and presumed influence of the court at Versailles were not enough to persuade them.[25]

Decentering the Study of Musician's Mobility

The work of shifting the focus of historical analysis to be more inclusive must also be done on a geographical level, and calls for the history of the music market to be resituated within the dynamics of colonial his-

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[23] Concerning the musical patronage of the cardinals in Rome over the long term and their role in the history of cultural transfers: Olszewski, E., "The enlightened patronage of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740)", *Artibus et Historiae*, 23-45, 2002, pp. 139-165; Morales, J., "Entre Ferrare, Modène et Rome. Musique, sociabilité et politique dans le patronage du cardinal Alessandro d'Este", *Dix-septième siècle*, 294, 2022, p. 7-26; Morales, J. and Santarelli, C. (eds.), *Maurizio di Savoia, mecenate, diplomatico e politico (1593-1657)*, Roma, Carocci editore, 2022, and Morales, J. (ed.), *Les cardinaux et l'innovation musicale à l'époque moderne*, Paris, Classiques Garnier, forthcoming.

[24] Traversier, M., "Costruire la fama…", *op. cit.*, pp. 183-187.

[25] Archives Diplomatiques (La Courneuve), *Correspondance politique*, Naples, 34, 9 avril 1737 (f. 144, pour l'extrait), 23 et 30 avril 1737.

tory. As a part of this multi-scalar inquiry to some degree, recent studies also sometimes manage to detach their research from its Euro-centric moorings and move into an examination of European colonial expansion, where other migratory and cultural-transfer dynamics are to be found. The same set of questions may be applied, but made more complex and nuanced by the new issues elicited when the processes of colonial and racial domination are included.[26] By increasingly integrating intercontinental circulation into their analyses, music historians decentre the history of cultural transfers and make the classification of their facilitators more complex. The role of Jesuit missionaries, already well studied when it comes to astronomy, mathematics and languages, is highlighted instead in terms of transoceanic music circulations in David Irving's research. He has investigated the repertoires, performances and instruments used by and for Catholic religious services in the Asian areas of the Portuguese Empire.[27]

Analysis of mobility by historians is enriched and enlarged by European appropriation of far-away spectacle cultures. Narrative and iconographic sources, the testimonies of European travellers and, very rarely, the journeys to Europe of non-European performers to work under the protection of powerful patrons all document these contacts and the symbolic transformations and distortions that have also resulted from them.[28]

Regional mobility between rival empires in a single geographical zone can be added to these transoceanic travels, which often linked the home country to its colonies. Competitions between regional colonies, but also wars or insurgencies to challenge the dominant power, could entail displacement or travel over varying distances, including for musicians. For instance, performers migrated between colonies in the Caribbean, disputed as it was between the Spanish, French and British powers. Migrations were sometimes the result of political upheavals which lead to exile, as evidenced by the case of Elisabeth Ferrand, known as Minette,

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[26] Leichman, J. and Bénac-Giroux, K. (eds.), *Colonialism and Slavery in Performance: Theatre and the Eighteenth-Century French Caribbean*, Oxford-Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2021. See also the database of the performances given in the former French colony of Saint-Domingue developed by Julia Prest, https://www.theatreinsaintdomingue.org/, (accessed: 11-II-2022).

[27] Irving, D. R. M., "Music in Global Jesuit Missions, 1540-1773", in Zupanov, I. G. (ed.). *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 598-634, and Irving, D. R. M., "Music and Cosmopolitanism in the Early Modern Lusophone World", in Bethencourt, F. (ed.), *Cosmopolitanism in the Portuguese-speaking World*, Brill, 2018, pp. 111-131. See also Storch, C. and Wistreich, R., "Wege portugiesischer Musikkultur nach Südostasien im Kontext der europäischen Expansionspolitik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", in Ehrmann-Herfort, S. and Leopold, S. (eds.), *Migration und Identität…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-83.

[28] Cavaillé, F., "Des émotions venues de loin? Sentir et penser le pathétique du théâtre chinois depuis la France (1730-1830)", in Chaouche, S. and Marie, L. (eds.), *Les émotions en scène (XVII[e]-XXI[e] siècle), European Drama and Performance Studies*, 17, 2021, pp. 291-314.

and her half-sister, Jeanne Beauvernet, known as Lise, both opera singers and free women of colour. Having distinguished themselves for a decade on the stage in the French sector of Saint Domingue, they left the island at the very beginning of the 1790s to settle temporarily on the eastern seaboard of the United States, before returning to Saint Domingue during the Haitian Revolution led by Toussaint Louverture.[29]

Letters, agency and mobility

At the key moments in their careers that were favourable to professional geographical moves, musicians enlisted the help of their social and professional networks. Letters of recommendation of which they were the "passive" beneficiaries and their own epistolary undertakings document the action they took. When preserved —and whether already considered important, or discovered to be a fruitful source thanks to the serendipity of research— these archives offer new keys for understanding how collective dynamics and individual initiatives were intertwined in migration or touring plans. The combined contributions of recent updates in the history of migrations, the history of the performing professions and the social history of personal writings are to be found here.

Letters of Reference for Travelling Musicians

Musicians worked in a competitive setting, where insecurity of employment and the unpaid downtime between two contracts encouraged a search for more stable but less lucrative work, attached to a chapel or a permanent orchestra. In the gaps, performers developed active strategies to promote their plans for distant travel, even if the itinerary was never established in advance and its elaboration remained unpredictable.

The route was often constructed from one letter of recommendation to the next. Only looking back did it acquire the contours of a "tour" as we understand it today. The collection of letters of recommendation available to the Davies sisters, two English musicians, during their first long trip to continental Europe under their parents' supervision between 1767 and 1773, is an outstanding example. The elder sister, Mary Ann, the first virtuoso to gain fame on the glass harmonica designed in London

[29] Camier, B., "Minette (Elisabeth, Alexandrine, Louise Ferrand dite) artiste libre de couleur à Port-au-Prince à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle. Une étude biographique", *Revue haïtienne, d'histoire de géographie et de géologie*, 259-262, 2018, pp. 214-237, and Camier, B., "Jeanne, Anne, Louise, Beauvernet dite Lise (Pointe-à-Pitre 1773-Paris circa 1840) demi-sœur de Minette et chanteuse de couleur à Saint-Domingue à la fin du XVIII[e] siècle", *Généalogie et Histoire de la Caraïbe*, 2018, article 49.

by Benjamin Franklin, was already well-known in England and wanted to boost her reputation. For the younger sister, Cecilia, an opera singer still learning her art, the journey would allow her to complete her training and, if possible, to make her debut on a prestigious stage.[30] The 132 letters of reference of which they were the beneficiaries during this professional "Grand Tour" are evidence of the diverse nature of the networks activated by this passive correspondence. They included musicians, figures from the worlds of literature and the theatre, members of the urban and ecclesiastical elite, diplomats, English persons of note living abroad, and scholars as well. These could in turn become referees, thereby expanding the social and geographical extent of these networks of mutual acquaintance, and enabling the journey to continue.

New light is being shed on the involvement of the women whose influence derived from their belonging to the high or even very high aristocracy, to the social elite in general, or to specific circles in which they had imposed their authority. Women of the high nobility created and maintained vertical lines of patronage. For example, alongside the wives of diplomats, the organisers of elite social spaces such as salons and art circles, the sisters and wives of artists and men of letters, the personal involvement of Empress Maria Theresa was decisive in orchestrating the Davies' departure for northern Italy. Far more originally, the physicist Laura Bassi acted as a nexus for the networks of scientists promoting the glass harmonica and the two "Franklinian" sisters on the Italian peninsula.[31] In this way, thanks to the unearthing of hitherto unknown sources or to the gendered reinterpretation of more classical documentation, research is developing into the role of women in driving the music market, acting as intermediaries in the circulation of works, repertoires, performers and, more broadly, tastes in the modern era. This research finds itself therefore at the meeting place between the history of women and gender, of the princely marriage market in Europe in the early modern era, and of cultural transfers.[32]

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[30] Dorset History Center [D.H.C.], *Rackett Family*, D-RAC, 79, Letters of recommandation for the Miss Davies's. See Traversier, M., *L'harmonica de verre et miss Davies. Essai sur la mécanique du succès au siècle des Lumières*, Paris, Seuil, 2021, pp. 128-146.

[31] D.H.C., Rackett Family, D-RAC, 79, *Ibidem*, pp. 48-49, Letter from Laura Bassi (Bologna) to Giambattista Beccaria (Turin), 31 August 1771.

[32] See also the role of Catherine II as promoter of French entertainment in Russia and protector of artists from France, Evstratov, A., *Les Spectacles francophones à la cour de Russie (1743-1796): l'invention d'une société*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2016, notably the chapter "La compagnie française de 'S.M.I. de toutes les Russies'". On women mediators at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries, Goulet, A.-M., "Le cercle de la princesse des Ursins à Rome (1675-1701): un foyer de culture française", *Seventeenth Century French Studies*, 33, 2011, pp. 60-71, and Viloria Hernandez, C., *Traveling with Theatrical Baggage: Queens, Mobility, Opera and Early Modern Courts*, PhD in progress, New York University and Harvard University, under the supervision of Sylvaine Guyot and Kate Van Orden.

Personal Correspondence and Agency

The personal writings of musicians —which are sparse, to be sure, and particularly rare for female musicians— also attest to the diverse nature of the solidarities and relationships they could bring into play directly, and which also overlapped with their web of referees: their peers, mutual assistance within the family, circuits of information and support based on shared geographical origins, or the elites regarded as influential in the cultural world. Thanks to this, correspondence with an artist's social peers —the horizontal exchanges— supplemented that entertained with contacts above and below them in the social hierarchy —or the vertical exchanges—. Leopold and Wolgang Mozart's copious correspondence demonstrates this in very striking fashion over a long period of time. Smaller bodies of correspondence penned by musicians who made a fainter lasting impression on posterity show that this was not a singular case and, more specifically, illustrate the professional undertakings these artists made by letter. A means of action, personal letters were not simply props for self-promotion: they also reveal the role of professional performers as mediators, facilitating the movement of musicians —including across borders— thanks to their ability to settle in their respective diasporas[33] and to their expert knowledge of artistic milieus.

Take for example Giuseppe Tartini, settled in Padua, where he trained generations of players and composers. He maintained a wide correspondence with his former pupils, as well as with his experienced colleagues, during which he evaluated the talent on offer, exposed the salary pretentions of some, discussed plans for peripatetic work that he was privy to —sometimes with himself at the helm—.[34] In one letter, to Johann Gottlieb Naumann, a former student of his who had gone on to become second composer of religious music at the chapel in Dresden and who was staying in Venice at the time, Tartini writes of his ambitions for his current protegee. He tells Neuman how he hopes violinist Maddalena Lombardini, then a student at the Ospedale dei Mendicanti, might marry the tenor Giuseppe Scotti —a marriage that would allow her to leave the charitable institution— and with her future husband join the court at Dresden, where she could shine as a professional musician. The plan came to nothing, but in marrying another musician, Ludovico Sirmen,

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[33] See for example the decisive role of René Magnon de Montaigu, director between 1686 and 1721 of the first permanent French company in Copenhagen, who recruited actors and dancers and arranged the music [Jeanneret, C., "Le Théâtre Français au Septentrion (1669-1728): Diplomatie, Échanges Culturels et Migration entre Paris et Copenhague", *Early Modern French Studies*, 2021, https://doi.org/10.1080/20563035.2021.1911499, (accessed: 11-II-2022)].

[34] Tartini, G., *Lettere e documenti*, (edited by Giorgia Malagò), Trieste, EUT, 2020.

the violinist did nevertheless open up the prospects of an international career, one which would later take her to Paris and London.[35]

Though they have more rarely been preserved, musicians' letters bear witness to the role of women artists as disseminators of information once they had attained a certain degree of fame and therefore gained access to existing social networks. In her correspondence from London with Giambattista Ortes, an influential figure in the Venetian musical world to whom her master Johann Adolf Hasse had recommended her, the singer Cecilia Davies enquired not only about the professional opportunities which Venice's theatres might offer her, but also told her interlocutor about musical life in London, and sent news of Italian singers who had passed through London or Paris.[36] Her missives also tell us about plans for work travel which had to be abandoned, either for lack of a concrete work offer, or because of family duties, so as to remain close to her ailing sister, Mary Ann.[37]

As we can see in this example, it is also the very place of female artists in the history of music and musicians' mobility which is being re-evaluated, as their role in the history of the musical professions and in giving impetus to the music market are themselves becoming recognised.[38] Like their male counterparts, the female musicians who aspired to an international career were often forced to make long and far-flung professional trips to make their talents as singers and virtuoso players known, to consolidate their popularity, and to make a living off their art. If contemporary scholarship has managed to slowly but surely rid singers' biographies of

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[35] Tartini, G., *Lettere e documenti*, *op. cit.,* vol. 1, pp. 309-310, Letter from Tartini to Naumann, 22 September 1766; *Ibidem*, vol. 1, pp. 309-311, Letter from the same to the same, 3 October 1766.

[36] Illustrating these exchanges of information on London and Venetian musical life between Cecilia Davies and Giambattista Ortes, see for example the Letter from Ortes (Venice) to 'Sig.ra Cecilia Davies' (London), 18 August 1777, and the one from Cecilia Davies to Ortes of 22 August 1777, published in Hasse, J. A. and Ortes, G., *Lettere 1760-1783*, (edited by Livia Pancino), Turnhout, Brepols, 1998, pp. 409-410. For a systematic analysis of the agency deployed in the Davies sisters' correspondence, see Traversier, M., "'Writing me a Line or two': Recommendations, Networks and Agency of the Davies Sisters, Musicians in Enlightenment Europe", in Mazuela-Anguita, A. (ed.), *Women and Music Networks in Early Modern Europe: Dialogues between Past and Present*, Proceedings of the Conference given at the Palacio del Almirante, Universidad de Granada, 16-17 September 2021, Oxford, Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

[37] See Cecilia Davies' letter to Ortes of 22 August 1777, published in Hasse, J. A. and Ortes, G., *Lettere…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 409-410. With her sister unable to travel and return to the stage, she announced the decision to stay in London and give up the opportunity of a contract in St Petersburg. Her "dreams" turned back to Italy.

[38] Hoffmann, F., *Instrument und Körper*, Frankfurt am Main und Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1991; Pendle, K., *Women and Music: A History*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1991; Adelson, R. and Letzter, J., *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 2001; Gerards, M. and Hoffmann, F. (eds.), *Musik — Frauen — Gender. Bücherverzeichnis 1780-2004*, Oldernburg, BIS Verlag, 2006; Carreras, J. J. (ed.), *Historia de la música en España e Hispanoamérica, 5. La música en la España del siglo XIX*, Madrid-México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018, pp. 103-125, and Traversier, M. and Ramaut, A. (eds.), *La musique a-t-elle un genre?*, Paris, Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2019.

gender stereotyping and the scandals which had encumbered them for so long —thanks to the artists' better-known and better documented careers— those of female instrument players have particularly benefited from research integrating the contributions of both the history of women and of gender. In this way, the experiences of French women musicians abroad (for example harpists Marie-Élisabeth Cléry and Adélaïde Larrivée, who won fame in England), as with the paths trodden by the female foreign professional instrument players who came to France —such as horn players Beate and Marie-Josèphe Pokorny, harpist Anne-Marie Steckler-Krumpholtz, violinist Marianna Crux, flautist Johanna Mudrich— are now having more and more light shed on them thanks to research that cross-references sources from the music press, parish and legal archives, along with writings from the private sphere.[39]

Contributing to the writing of a mixed history of music, these studies show that female music professionals with an international career were far more numerous than had long been written of, and that their trajectories were far more fitful than those of male artists, especially for those who remained single or who found themselves widowed. For women musicians —generally excluded from the guilds, and for whom professional opportunities were less bountiful than for their male counterparts because of religious and moral taboos— pregnancy, illness, or a loss of support in the game of recommendations and networks all threw career plans off course, as well as constraining work travel plans or forcing them to be changed for less favourable alternatives.

When artists took charge of concert halls, their epistolary savoir-faire became an essential asset in the recruiting of international headline acts. In this way, in the 1780s the dancer and director of London's King's Theatre, Giovanni [John] Gallini, a native of Florence who had been living in England for three decades, regularly solicited the intervention of George Nassau Clavering Cowper, 3rd Earl Cowper, a member of the English diaspora in the Tuscan capital, to find Italian artists Gallini could recruit. Their correspondence mentions most notably the prima donna Anna Morichelli, the composer Luigi Cherubini and the castrati Giovanni Rubinelli and Luigi Marchesi who, indeed, eventually all came to England.[40]

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[39] See the biographical dictionary of women musicians hosted by the Sophie Drinker Institute directed by Freia Hoffmann: https://www.sophie-drinker-institut.de/lexikon, (accessed: 11-II-2022), and Santana, I., Les *Femmes instrumentistes dans la France du XVIII^e siècle: professionnalisation et carrières*, PhD in musicology, under the supervision of Raphaëlle Legrand, Sorbonne Université, 19 October 2020, pp. 477-496.

[40] Hertfordshire Record Office, D/EP F310-12, 5 octobre 1779-septembre 1789 (Gibson, E., "Earl Cowper in Florence and His Correspondence with the Italian Opera in London", *Music & Letters*, 68/3 1987, pp. 235-252).

Health problems and ageing tested the artist's capacity for action in trying to maintain their living standards or in relaunching their career by embarking on a new phase as a professional nomad. This challenge was even more arduous for female musicians who, in moments of crisis where their status was being questioned, had to bear the burden of gender norms. After a long break from any public stage work, the impetus to travel to find fresh employment elsewhere could also be more permanently hindered for women compared to their male counterparts. However, the female musicians did not passively submit to the blows dealt them by fate. In adversity too, they fought back, here again they used their agency.[41]

A letter Mary Ann Davies sent to Benjamin Franklin in 1783[42] provides a striking example. Recovered from a nervous disorder which had permanently stopped her from appearing in public, Davies, who lived with her sister Cecilia in Florence, was seeking to relaunch her career as a musician. She reveals herself to have been very realistic about the material difficulties that had to be overcome, and about how her tarnished reputation needed re-gilding. Yet she was also conscious of her assets as well: her unique qualifications, her level of experience, and a list of contacts across Europe built over decades. She was convinced that a season of concerts in Paris, with the backing of Queen Marie-Antoinette —daughter of her former benefactress Empress Maria Theresa of Austria— would reopen all doors. To this end, she wrote directly to Franklin, who had chosen her in 1762 to be the first person to play his glass harmonica. She begs the physicist-cum-diplomat, then US ambassador to France, to help her devise what she called a veritable "Plan of Establishment". Conscious of her own interests, and in order to preserve what to her seemed an exclusive right to play the harmonica, she asked Franklin to not give any advice to any other musician, and to not reveal any secret concerning its manufacture. This letter, which is often read solely as witness to Davies's travails, is exceptional: even if her "plan" never came to fruition, this missive shows how a woman, a musician by trade, caught in a delicate situation, sought out professional support based on economic, material and artistic criteria. She revived her network of contacts —even those which had been allowed to lapse for years but which might prove to be crucial— whilst highlighting her assets and the uniqueness of her artistic career so as to achieve her objective.[43]

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[41] Mcnay, L., *Gender and Agency: Reconfiguring the Subject in Feminist and Social Theory*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2000, and Montenach, A. (ed.), *Agency. Un concept opératoire dans les études de genre?*, special issue, *Rives méditerranéennes*, 41, 2012.

[42] *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2014, vol. 41, "September 16, 1783, through February 29, 1784"; see Traversier, M., *L'harmonica de verre et Miss Davies…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-225 and pp. 361-362 (for the letter's transcription).

[43] But the "Plan" didn't work, it seems that Franklin never replied to Mary Ann Davies' letter.

Loss of Professional Status, Declining Mobility

If peripatetic performing often went hand-in-hand with strategies designed to consolidate the artist's reputation at the beginning and in the middle of his or her professional career, recent studies have also focused more and more on the professional failures resulting from these planned migrations, as well as on the loss of professional standing during or at the end of a career. This is not to give a bleak overview, but rather to pinpoint how, in the face of disappointments, of dashed hopes of success abroad, of life's accidents, artists still maintained the capacity to take action, to move elsewhere or to return to their country of origin.

Mozart's disillusionment after his second trip to Paris in 1778 is well-known and bitterly documented in his letters.[44] In the French capital, he was reunited with one of his first teachers of Italian opera, Johann Christian Bach, whom Mozart had met in London in 1764 at a time when he was considered a *Wunderkind*. For Bach too, the sojourn in France had been full of disappointments, and he returned to London, where he had settled in the early 1760s, disillusioned and doubtless sooner than planned.[45]

As changes linked to the ageing of a singer's and instrumentalist's vocal and physical attributes (or to a composer's ability to write) brought a career to its close, these did not immediately put an end to work travel plans. A final trip might be organised for example, but this time devoid of professional ambitions, and aimed simply at settling back in their home country or some other place of personal significance so that they might end their days there in decent conditions. This was the case of court musician Pietro Galli, who had worked as a contralto at the Imperial Chapel since 1730 and who, once too old to sing, asked Empress Maria Theresa for permission to leave Vienna to return to his native Italy. He explained his bad fortune in his letter of petition, written in Italian: in his seventies, he was nonetheless the sole provider for his brother and sister-in-law, following the departure of his niece, who had gone with her husband to settle in Italy. She had been the only one in the family to have mastered German and who was able to "run the household finances". In these circumstances, Galli asked for both financial aid and the permission "to retire" to Italy near his niece, who would be able to support him in his dotage.[46]

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[44] Hennebelle, D., "Le rendez-vous manqué entre Mozart et l'aristocratie parisienne (1778)", *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, 379, 2015, pp. 35-45.

[45] Traversier, M., "L'*Amadis de Gaule* de Johann Christian Bach, un pari perdu?", in Duron, J. (ed.), *Amadis de Gaule*, Wavre, Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles, Mardaga, 2011, pp. 87-107.

[46] Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Wien), *HHStA HA* (Haus-Hof-und Staatsarchiv, Hofarchive), *Hofmusikkappelle,* Akten 1 (1757-1799), March 1774.

Declining mobility was also a reality, even for those artists who managed to live off their art and have a "successful" career until their advanced age plunged them into an outright lack of job security. The situation was even worse for elderly female musicians with no family support, since they rarely if ever benefited from any corporate assistance nor were able to accumulate any property —unlike for example the castrato Farinelli (born Carlo Broschi) who, after a career spent in large part outside of Italy, returned there to end his days in great opulence. The artist's gender and their chosen musical occupation have a distinct impact on their twilight years. Changes in professional status and those linked to leaving the world of professional performance are no doubt a field of study that requires development, sitting as it does at the crossroads of the current renewal in the social history of the arts, in gender studies, in the history of working time and of old age.[47]

The tracks laid by objects: circulation and cultural appropriations of musical instruments and sound-making objects

At the point where the history of mobility, of nomadic objects and of technical innovation converge, another field of research is opening up: the circulation of musical instruments. It is both on the European and on the transoceanic scale that their journeys may be traced and that the value of using them —economic, functional, social and symbolic— is questioned according to their geographic spread and the resulting appropriations. It's a question of denaturalising the concept of a "musical instrument" in two ways: by going over what makes it first and most an instrument, a technical tool; and by de-Europeanising this syntactic unit by including the contributions of global history and global history of technics in our approach to "musical instruments". The latter has already enriched the history of decorative objects, and of eating and dressing habits in the modern era, but has touched little on the musical instrument.[48]

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[47] Bourdelais, P., *L'âge de la vieillesse. Histoire du vieillissement de la population*, Paris, Editions Odile Jacob, 1993; Arber, S. and Ginn, J., *Connecting gender and ageing. A sociological approach*, Buckingham, Philadelphia, Open University Press, 1995; Hinde Stewart, J., *The Enlightenment of age,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, Voltaire Foundation for Enlightenment Studies, 2010, and Dubert, I. and Kesztenbaum, L. (eds.), *La fin de vie: regards historiques*, *Annales de démographie historique*, 133, 2017.

[48] Brook, T., *Vermeer's Hat: The Seventeenth Century and the Dawn of the Global World*, Bloomsbury Publishing, 2009; Riello, G., *Cotton: The Fabric that Made the Modern World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013; Schäfer, D. and Popplow, M. (eds.), *Technik und Globalgeschichte*, Special issue, *TG Technikgeschichte*, 80/1, 2013; Schäfer, D., "Technology and Innovation in Global History and in the History of the Global", in Berg, M. (ed.), *Writing the History of the Global. Challenges for the 21st Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, pp. 147-163; Gerritsen, A. and Riello G. (eds.), *The*

Competition and Circulation of Instrumental Innovations in Europe

Research into the methods of producing musical instrument innovations, and into their circulation and evolution are an extension of the material turn of cultural history,[49] and enrich the history of science and technology, which had relatively neglected the contribution of organological research. A fruitful dialogue between these two areas of study has also been facilitated by the recent development of sound studies.[50] These make it possible for musical instruments, with their material and cultural particularities, to be situated anew with respect to other innovative mechanical objects, and with respect to other portable recreational objects.[51] Their "ordinariness" must also be recalled —the common fate they share with other objects— and their conception, geographical circulation and their wider use in society must be considered.[52]

The spread of instrumental improvements, especially plentiful in the 18th century, offer a good vantage point for identifying the social dynamics at work in promoting abroad "new" instruments or ones which had been augmented, made more effective acoustically or easier to handle. Here we find at work once again mediators already noted for their support for the professional nomadism of the artists themselves, along with the same written landscape in which their interventions are revealed: the musicians, music editors, music-loving elites, diplomats, men of the Church, the sponsors of works who could also become supporters of instrumental innovation.[53] Within this classification of musical brokers we find the inventors themselves, amateurs or specialists in technical curiosities of every kind, who were interested in the innovative instrument because it was a mechanical object of high technical value, and because it was

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Global Lives of Things. The Material Culture of Connections in the Early Modern World, Routledge, 2015, and Carnino, G., Hilaire-Pérez, L. and Kobiljski, A. (eds.), *Histoire des techniques. Mondes sociétés, cultures (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*, Paris, PUF, 2016.

[49] Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things. Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1986; Daston, L. (ed.), *Biographies of Scientific Objects*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 2000, and Bensaude Vincent, B., *Vie d'objets. Critique*, Paris, Centre National des Lettres, 2012.

[50] Bull, M. and Back, L., *The Auditory Culture Reader*, New York, Berg Publishers, 2003; Pinch, T. and Bijsterveld, K., *The Oxford Handbook of Sound Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012; Sterne, J., *The Sound Studies Reader*, Routledge, 2012; Cobussen, M., Meelberg, V. and Truax, B., *The Routledge Companion to Sounding Art*, Routledge, 2017, and Le Marec, J. and Ribac, F., "Music knowledge and science studies. Sounds, Sense, Silence", *Revue d'anthropologie des connaissances*, 13, 2019, pp. 671-688.

[51] Bernasconi, G., *Objets portatifs au Siècle des lumières*, Paris, CTHS, 2015.

[52] Baudry, J., Blanc, J., Hilaire-Pérez, L., Ratcliff, M. and Wenger, S., *Produire du nouveau? Arts — techniques — sciences en Europe (1400-1900)*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2022.

[53] Morucci, V., "Il mecenatismo musicale del cardinal Annibale Albani nella prima metà del Settecento", in Morales, J. (ed.), *Les cardinaux et l'innovation musicale…*, *op. cit.*, forthcoming.

part of cumulative and collective processes of artisanal development and improvement.[54]

This research also reveals the participation of women in promoting (and sometimes even making) and disseminating these new instruments internationally. Their involvement and the mediation they ensured took on difference forms, depending on their status in Ancien Régime society. Some were employed in a workshop alongside a husband or brother. Other, privileged women, fired by a strong curiosity about science and technology, got directly involved in the making of prototypes —like Jeanne d'Aumont, Duchess of Villeroy, who encouraged the construction of the pianoforte, and who contributed to the popularity of the glass harmonica from England— provided financial support for inventors, or mobilised their cosmopolitan networks to spread knowledge of the newly-improved musical instruments.[55]

The circulation of harps and prototypes of augmented pianofortes between France and England illustrates remarkably the competing dynamics that typify the international marketing of technical innovations. Of course, their international trajectories can be retraced by following in the music press the peripatetic performances of the virtuosos playing them, or by analysing the catalogues and adverts for instruments in the music or generalist press of the instrument makers-cum-sellers. The latter were often very much embedded in diasporic milieus, like Johannes Kilianus Mercken, a piano maker of German extraction, who settled in Paris around 1767. With his links to numerous Germanic professional and artistic networks, he played a notable role in the making of the square piano in France.[56] However, other promotional avenues are also taken, ones focused on highlighting the value of innovative objects in general, beyond musical instruments alone, and these too are now a subject of greater interest for historians of music.

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[54] Schaffer, S. and Shapin, S., *Leviathan and the Air Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1985, and Hilaire-Perez, L., *L'invention technique au siècle des Lumières*, Paris, L'évolution de l'Humanité, Albin Michel, 2000.

[55] Nex, J., "Women in the Musical Instrument Trade in London, 1750-1810", in Illiano, R. and Sala, L. (eds.), *Instrumental Music and the Industrial Revolution*, International Conference Proceedings, Cremona, 1-3 July 2006, Bologna, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2009, pp. 329-359, and Traversier, M., *L'harmonica de verre et Miss Davies…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-152. See also the women role supporting music innovation during the International Exhibitions in the 19th century: Cáceres-Piñuel, M., "Women and Networks of musical Patronage within the Framework of International Exhibitions at the Turn of 20th Century: Disruptions and 'longue durée' Processes", in Mazuela-Anguita, A. (ed.), *Women and Music Networks…*, *op. cit.*, forthcoming.

[56] Weber, J.-F., "J. K. Mercken et le forte-piano carré à Paris", *Musique-Images-Instruments*, 3, 1997, pp. 90-107, and Weber, J.-F and Weber M.-C., *J.K. Mercken, premier facteur parisien de forte-pianos*, Sampzon, Delatour, 2008. See also the analogue examples of Antoine Vater, Jean-Henri Hemsch, Johannes Goermans called Germain, Wilhelmus Zimmerman, Jacob Schnell, all active in Paris in the same time.

This research exploits a wealth of documents which have until now been rather neglected by the history of music: the technical press and the ephemera that are publicity prints —especially the calling cards of the makers and sellers of instruments, for example such as the compilation created in London at the end of the 18th century by Sarah Sophia Banks, a music lover who was also very keen on technical and scientific curiosities.[57] In her collection of more than 2,000 trade cards, 118 business calling cards directly relate to instrument makers, and some of them are precious documentary evidence about the making, marketing and commercial circulation (at least through advertising) of certain instrumental inventions, such as Cousineau's harp, "Spanish" guitars and "German" flutes.[58]

The hand-written and printed documents using both text and images issued by the accreditation bodies that the "inventors" mobilised also contributed to renewing the approach used to circulate new musical instruments. In the hopes of garnering some symbolic recognition for their efforts or of having their financial rights over their prototypes protected, like others of their kind, inventors of musical instruments filed descriptions and sometimes even drawings providing information on their manufacturing processes, the materials used, the engineering being applied —but also on the occasionally nomadic journeys made by their creations—. In this way, applications for patents in England, the plans tabled at the Royal Society of Arts and the submissions put to the scrutiny of the Royal Academy of Sciences in France[59] all allow a closer look at the diversity of the actors involved in the circulation of innovative instruments, at the variety of these objects, as well as at the paths those actors took. Sometimes indeed, it was the inventor who was from abroad, and who sought to have his technical competencies recognised. In June of 1759, the Dutch maker Andries Veltman presented to the French Royal Academy of Sciences his "new type of harpsichord, [which] adds a carillon to ordinary harpsichords, and two little hammers which one substitutes for the jacks whenever one wishes", which made the playing of the instrument easier and more varied.[60]

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[57] Leis, A., "Cutting, Arranging, and Pasting: Sarah Sophia Banks as Collector", *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, 9/1, 2014, pp. 127-140.

[58] British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, *Collection Sarah Sophia Banks*, Trade Cards, 88. 1-108, "Music Instrument Makers" (Traversier, M., *L'harmonica de verre et Miss Davies…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-83).

[59] Cohen, A., *Music in the French Royal Academy of Sciences. A study in the evolution of musical thought*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981.

[60] Archives de l'Académie royale des Sciences, *Registres des Procès-Verbaux*, T. 78, ff. 474 v-475 v, 16 June 1759 (expertise given by Mairan and Fouchy); *Ibidem*, T. 78bis, ff. 669-672, 14 August 1759. The invention is also presented in the technical press, under the heading "mécanique": *La Feuille nécessaire: Les Sciences, les Lettres, les Arts*, 10 December 1759, n° 43, pp. 694-695.

The quality instruments circulating from one country to the next also leave documentary traces in the form of these certification procedures. If the role of Sébastien Erard in the development of the pedal harp in France and the international dissemination of the piano are now well-known, his strategic move to establish his manufacturing facilities in England with his brother-in-law Jean-Baptiste from 1794 onwards is now increasingly understood, by analysing his correspondence, and by studying the patents he was granted in London to manufacture and improve there instruments which had been designed in France.[61] In this way, research that brings together the technical certification documentation regarding inventions and the personal correspondence of the instrument makers and inventors in general allows a more complex picture to emerge of the dynamics at play in the circulation of musical instruments throughout their history.[62] The innovation circuits thus revealed put paid to the diffusionist reading of organology, which sees a "national" model imposing itself abroad. What is observed instead are reciprocal competition and influence at work, affecting both improvements and simplifications —particularly for the piano.[63] With this, a new facet of the technical and commercial rivalries between France and England is brought to light.

For a Global Organology

A second historiographical orientation is also at work, attempting to understand the migrations of musical instruments. As with the career paths of musicians, it is important to change the lens through which organology is viewed and to decentre it, by observing the circulation of musical instruments between the areas connected by the first globalisation.[64]

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[61] British Library, *Patent*, nº 1748, 17 October 1794. After the first patent obtained in 1794, he took several others: *Patents*, nº 2502, 16 May 1801; nº 2395, 24 March 1802; nº 3170, 24 September 1808; nº 3332, 2 May 1810. See Guillaume-Castel, F., *The harp-making in 18th and 19th century Europe*, PhD in progress, under the supervision of Gabriele Rossi-Rognoni, Royal College of Music; Malvano, A. S., "Erard & Co. The family history, a historical family", in Defetel, N. (ed.), *Listz e il suono di Érard*, Briosco, Villa Medici Giulini, 2011, pp. 106-125, and Adelson, R., Roudier, A., Nex, J., Barthel, L. and Foussard, M. (eds.), *The History of the Erard Piano and Harp in Letters and Documents, 1785-1959*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2019.

[62] Nex, J., "18th and 19th century musical instrument makers in the archives: A personal view", *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 11, 2015, pp. 238-253.

[63] Rowland, D. E., *A History of pianoforte pedalling*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004; Rowland, D. E., "Piano businesses in England and France", in Coin, C., De Visscher, E. and Gétreau, F. (eds.), *Musique-Images-Instruments*, vol. 11, *Le pianoforte en France 1780-1820*, 2009, pp. 127-135. See also Clarke, C., "Erard and Broadwood in the Classical era: two schools of piano making", in Coin, C., De Visscher, E. and Gétreau, F. (eds.), *Musique…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-125. See also on Clementi's correspondence in Rowland, D., *Clementi, Muzio. The Correspondence of Muzio Clementi*, Muzio Clement Opera Omnia. Critical Edition, Bologne, Ut Orpheus Edizioni, 2010.

[64] Lemire, B. and Riello, G. (eds.), *Dressing Global Bodies. The Political Power of Dress in World History*, London, Routledge, 2019.

When seen through this new lens, it becomes clear that the circuits are longer and the variety of intermediaries broader than had hitherto been suspected. In addition, it is their very vocation as "musical" objects that is called into question, and by extension the very notion of a "musical instrument" as it is conceived of in western societies.

As has been mentioned, the actors and spaces of musical life in colonial urban centres, the musical repertoires imported by the colonists and missionaries and, to a lesser extent, the arrival of European-made instruments (harpsichord and piano in particular), are all better and better understood today.[65] In contrast, research on European identification, collection, seizures and appropriations of foreign musical artifacts in the 18th century is only now laying its first foundations.[66] It is possible to analyse the wide range of interest they elicited and the broad gamut of ways in which they were received in Europe, as attested to by a large variety of documentary practices and the traces they have left behind. Traces running from remarks noted in the travel journals of navigators and of the observers, scientists and artists on board; from observing the early museification of these non-European instruments; and from attempts at transcribing the notes played on these sound-making artefacts. It is by questioning all these disparate elements together that transoceanic cultural transfers reveal some surprise findings, some erroneous appropriations, but also a relationship of dominance.

For example, Bougainville was surprised to see pearl oyster shells become *a kind of* [set of] *castanets, which are one of the instruments they dance to.*[67] The draughtsman Sydney Parkinson, sailing with James Cook on the *Endeavour* during its first circumnavigation of the globe, painted not only the diversity of the species of oceanic fauna and flora he encountered, but also drew what for a European were unusual musical scenes: for exam-

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[65] Irving, D. R. M., "Music in Global Jesuit Missions…", *op. cit.*, and Irving, D. R. M., "Music and Cosmopolitanism…", *op. cit.* For the Spanish empire, see Lemmon, A. E., "Catheral Music in Spanish America", in Boyd, M. and Carreras, J. J. (eds.), *Music in Spain…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-251; González-Quiñones, J., "Eighteenth-century Spanish music in Mexico", in Boyd, M. and Carreras, J. J. (eds.), *Music in Spain…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-255, and Koegel, J., "Spanish and French Mission Music in Colonial North America", *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 126/1, 2001, pp. 1-53. In the French colonial space, see Lemmon, A. E. (ed.), *French baroque Music of New Orleans*, Charlottesville, University of Virginia Press, 2014. The ongoing researches by Eva Guillorel: Guillorel, E., "Ce que chanter veut dire dans l'espace atlantique colonial français: position de recherche", *Rabaska. Revue d'ethnologie de l'Amérique française*, 17, 2019, pp. 59-68; Raffaele, M., *Musique et identité dans les territoires nord-américains: les hautboïstes militaires dans les colonies françaises et britanniques en Amérique du Nord (1670-1815)*, PhD in musicology in preparation, under the supervision of Thierry Favier, Université de Poitiers.

[66] See Joubert, E., "Analytical Encounters: Global Music Criticism and Enlightenment Ethnomusicology," in *Studies on a Global History of Music…*, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-60, and the project led by Mélanie Traversier, *Global Sonorous Objects in XVIII*th *and XIX*th *Centuries*, in progress.

[67] De Bougainville, L.-A., *Voyage autour du monde, par la frégate du roi la Boudeuse, et la flûte l'Etoile, en 1766, 1767, 1768 et 1769*, Paris, Saillant et Nyont, 1771, p. 212.

ple, a Tahitian playing the flute through his nose. Though the artist died of illness during the voyage, this striking drawing was widely circulated thanks to the engravings included in the various posthumous editions of his *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas*;[68] to etchings sold individually; and to other printed ephemera which offered lower-quality versions of the image, such as educational cards which stressed the "strangeness" of this nasal musical practice.[69]

The shapes of the musical instruments, the methods of playing them and also the melodies produced all sparked interest, with musicians attempting do transpose the tunes into western musical notation. Hans Sloane —an Irish physician whose collection of curiosities and objects formed the core of the British Museum's collection when it opened in 1753— also owned a plantation in Jamaica, and published transcriptions of the music played by slaves.[70] Two decades later, Joshua Steel, owner of a plantation in Barbados and a member of the Royal Society of Arts, published a description of the "Musical instruments from the South Seas" in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions*, which included a transcription in western notation of the melodies played by Polynesians on a Tongan flute.[71] He based his transcription on the Polynesian instruments brought back from the Pacific by the British naval officer and explorer Tobias Furneaux and the celebrated botanist Joseph Banks.

Non-European musical instruments were also gathered and transported to Europe, where they were put on display in the first museums to be open to the public. These collections and exhibitions were sometimes marked by errors regarding the indigenous social uses of the instrument and their true geographic origin, since the places where the Europeans had found them were not necessarily where they had been manufactured. The case of a wooden drum displayed by the British Museum at its inauguration is revealing. The instrument had been acquired by Hans Sloane in Virginia around 1730, and was from then on long labelled as Native

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[68] See, for example, Parkinson, S., *A journal of a voyage to the South Seas, in His Majesty's ship, the Endeavour / Faithfully transcribed from the papers of the late Sydney Parkinson. Draughtsman to Joseph Banks, Esq. on his late expedition, with Dr. Solander, round the world*, London, Printed for Stanfield Parkinson, the editor, and sold by Richardson and Urquhart, etc., 1773, (1st edition), plate IX, "The Lad Taiyote, Native of Otaheite, in the Dress of his Country", (between p. 66 and p. 67).

[69] Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand, A-442-044 / Records 23256268, *Otaheitean, a strange musician this, he pipes with his nose!*, vers 1790.

[70] Sloane, H., *A Voyage to the Islands Madera, Barbados, Nieves, S. Christophers and Jamaica*, London, 1707, 1, pp. L-LI.

[71] Steele, J., "Account of a musical instrument, which was brought by Captain Fourneaux from the Isle of Amsterdam in the South Seas to London in the year 1774, and given to the Royal Society. By Joshua Steele, Esquire, in a letter to Sir John Pringle, Bart", *Philosophical Transactions*, 65, 1775, pp. 67- 71, and Steele, J, "Remarks on a larger system of reed pipes from the Isle of Amsterdam, with some observations on the nose flute of Otaheite", *Philosophical Transactions*, 65, 1775, pp. 72-78.

American —until 1906—. In fact, it is a drum of the Akan people of West Africa, which made its way to the New World most certainly on a slave ship. The instrument is therefore also linked to the history of the trans-atlantic slave trade and of western slave-owning societies, and has been through both a complex journey and complex appropriations —from the Gulf of Guinea to the North American colonies, and then to London—. Very early on, the British Museum also boasted rich collections of musical instruments brought back from the Pacific thanks to the voyages of Cook and his successors: from 1780 onwards, instruments from Oceania were presented to the public in a room dedicated to the "South Seas".

As can been seen, the regimes of curiosity, the cultural appropriations resulting from them, and the complex, violent histories of which these non-European sound-making instruments are the silent repositories, are numerous indeed. On the other hand, these objects from far-flung regions put paid to the structure of western instrument classification —by their uses and their materials— and most definitely imposed themselves as *entangled objects*, as defined by Nicholas Thomas. Their trajectory brings together organology and the history of the colonial societies who collected and appropriated for their own profit the riches of the world, and therefore also the skills and the artisanal objects these had produced, sometimes without understanding their original social value. The circulation towards and inside Europe of non-European objects, completely "incredible" and unheard of, upset the procedures and modalities already identified. These objects, described by Europeans as musical instruments, did not always have that function originally: they may have had an essentially religious significance for the indigenous peoples producing them. Conversely, some objects used as accompaniments in festive practices, often in dance, are judged by western observers to be too rudimentary to qualify as musical instruments. Others did not fit into any European scientific category at all, because of the materials used, their structural organisation or their acoustic devices.

Therefore, the practices used for the naming and social codification of these "sound producing" objects need to be reconsidered, and the discourse and view of them imposed by European travellers and admirers of curiosities must be discarded**.**

In the end, what is slowly being erected is a global history of musical sensibilities.[72]

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[72] See the Atlantic Sensitive project over the long term in the Portuguese ocean space developed by Jorge Castro Ribeiro and Susana Sardo, "Atlântico Sensível (AtlaS) - Memória e mediação das práticas e dos instrumentos musicais na circulação entre comunidades interligadas", http// atlanticosensivel.web.ua.pt/, (accessed: 11-II-2022).