

## Introduction

In 1664 the aged Heinrich Schütz presented copies of almost all his printed music to Duke August of Brunswick-Lüneburg. He included items from every stage of his career, ranging from his Italian madrigals published in Venice in 1611, to the simple settings of metrical psalms in his revised Becker Psalter of 1661. Schütz accompanied the gift with a handwritten catalogue of his published works, listing them as his opus 1 to 14. Writing to Duke August, he stated that the gifts were 'in consideration of the many and great princely kindnesses I have received from Your Princely Highness',2 for whom he had acted as musical advisor and non-resident capellmeister since the 1640s. Schütz's presentation copies were placed in the ducal library in Wolfenbüttel, where they survive today, sometimes with the composer's manuscript corrections.<sup>3</sup> He annotated copiously the copy of the first part of the Kleine geistliche Concerte (1636), correcting misprints, and supplementing the texts of several settings of chorales with Latin versions. 4 Figure I.1 shows the title page of the Prima Vox partbook of this collection, where he wrote in red ink: 'Sum Henrici Sagittarii Autoris' (I am [the hand] of Heinrich Schütz, the author).

Schütz's inscription gave authority to the corrections, showing that this copy had been through his hands. Schütz likewise described himself as the 'author' in most of his printed editions, signing dedications and prefaces thus rather than with his proper name. Occasionally he clarified his intentions as author: for the echo chorus in the *Musicalische Exequien* (1636),

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> D-W, Cod. Guelf 54 Extrav., fols. 225r–226v. SDok 1, 412–15 (no. 188); HSR, 238–9.

Letter from Schütz to Duke August dated 10 January 1664. D-W, Cod. Guelf. 376 Nov., fol. 322r. SDok 1, 417 (no. 189); HSR, 240–1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> D-W, shelfmarks 9.2–9.9 Musica 2°; 11.1–11.7 Musica 2°; 12.1–12.7 Musica 2°; 12.8–12.12 Musica 2°; 13.1–5 Musica 2°; 14.1–6 Musica 2°; 1.2.3 Musica 2°; 2.7.15–19 Musica; 170.1–13 Musica div. 2°; 14.8–12 Musica 2°.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The additional Latin texts are 'Christe Deus adjuva' (for *O hilf, Christe, Gottes Sohn*, SWV295); 'Veni redemptor gentium' (for *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*, SW301); and 'Meas dicavi res Deo' (for *Ich hab mein Sach Gott*, SWV305). Some of Schütz's corrections are listed in Heinrich Schütz, *Sämmtliche Werke*, ed. Philipp Spitta, vol. 6, *Kleine geistliche Concerte* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1887), xiii–xxii.

Schütz signed himself as 'author' in the Historia ... der Aufferstehung (Dresden, 1623), preface; Musicalische Exequien (Dresden, 1636), dedication; and Geistliche Chor-Music (Dresden, 1648), preface. RISM A/I S2277, 2289, 2294.



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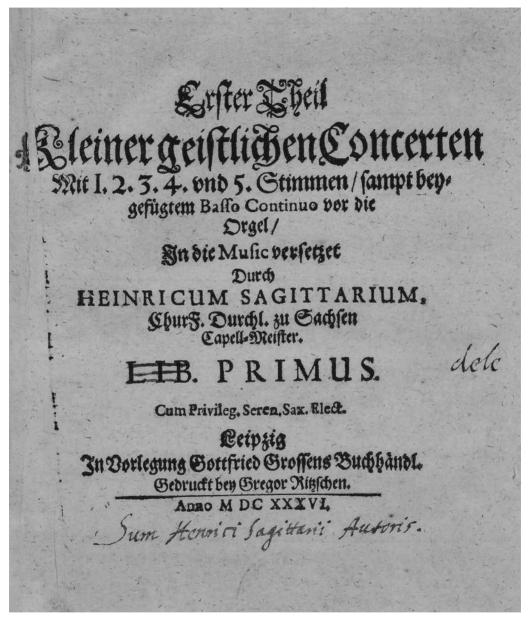


Figure I.1 Heinrich Schütz, Erster Theil kleiner geistlichen Concerten (Leipzig, 1636), Primus partbook, title page with composer's annotations. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, 13.1 Musica 2° (1).



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he explained: 'With this invention the author wishes ... to introduce and signify the joy of the disembodied blessed soul in heaven'. Other composers of the early seventeenth century similarly called themselves 'author' in their printed music, including Johann Hermann Schein and Andreas Hammerschmidt. Even in the early eighteenth century, Johann Sebastian Bach used this term in some of his collections of music; for instance, to sign the title page of his Orgel-Büchlein manuscript, or to signal his role as self-publisher of his first engraved book of keyboard music, Clavier-Übung I.

What did musicians between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries understand by the term 'author'? A starting-point can be found in a Latin/German dictionary of 1536, which defined autor as: 'An originator of something, who makes a start or gives advice. Authors are said to be those who have made books'. The reference to making books accords with how Schütz and Bach used the term, in connection with assembling a manuscript or printed book and submitting it to public judgement. The notion of 'an originator', however, is more problematic, for the author's role in creating texts and their meanings has varied greatly across different cultures, and was thoroughly deconstructed in the midtwentieth century. In 1954 W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and Monroe C. Beardsley argued that a literary work 'is detached from the author at birth', and should be interpreted independently of claims about the author's intentions. In 1968 Roland Barthes went further, declaring that the Author is dead and that meaning in a text is created by readers, not by a God-like originator: 'Writing is the destruction of every voice, of every point of origin'. 10

Such extreme statements were nuanced by Michel Foucault in a 1969 lecture, 'Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?', where he argued that the author's name is a function of discourse, and a means for texts to be classified and given cultural significance. According to Foucault, the term 'author' cannot be given to any writer, but 'is a variable that accompanies only certain texts to the exclusion of others: a private letter may have a signatory, but it does not have an author'. <sup>11</sup> He showed how the discursive function attached to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> 'Mit welcher *invention* ... der *Autor* die Freude der abgeleibten Sehligen Seelen im Himmel ... einführen vnd andeuten wollen'. Schütz, Musicalische Exequien, Bassus Continuus partbook, preface. D-B, Mus.ms. Bach P283; BDok 1, 214 (no. 148); BDok 1, 232 (no. 165).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Ein vrheber eins dings/ der den Anfang thuet/ oder radt gibt. Vnde *Autores dictunt*·up, die da bücher habe(n) gemacht'. Petrus Dasypodius, Dictionarium Latinogermanicum (Strasbourg, 1536),

sig. D3v.

9 W. K. Wimsatt Jr. and Monroe C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy", in W. K. Wimsatt Jr. (ed.), The Verbal Icon: Studies in the Meaning of Poetry (Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1954), 3-18 (p. 5).

Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in *Image – Music – Text*, trans. and ed. Stephen Heath

<sup>(</sup>London: Fontana, 1977), 142–48 (p. 142); originally published as 'La mort de l'auteur' (1968).

Michel Foucault, 'What Is an Author?' in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, ed. Donald F. Bouchard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 113–38 (pp. 123–24).



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an author's name varies with time and place, for instance with shifting definitions of legal responsibility for texts or with notions of literary property. As for Schütz and Bach, their statements of authorial identity need to be understood within the discourses of authorship and authority current at the time.

Following Foucault's foundational study, many scholars of literature and book history have argued that authorship is best understood relationally, shaped by the interconnections between writers, texts, concepts and communities. Research has focused on the legal, economic, material and social negotiations surrounding authors between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Joseph Loewenstein, Mark Rose and Martha Woodmansee examine the legal wranglings through which authors or booksellers asserted proprietary feelings over their products. <sup>12</sup> Rather than tracing a teleological progression towards modern copyright law, they show how concepts of authorial property arose from the specific circumstances of the book trade. Book historians show how material aspects of surviving copies (such as layout and typography), as well as the rhetorical strategies in prefaces and dedications, can project the figure of the author. 13 Acknowledging the collaborative nature of book production and use, such scholarship highlights how the author's presence was controlled by scribes, typesetters, publishers and the other trades involved in making a book. Other studies interrogate the notions of creativity, originality and individuality associated with the term 'author': Jeffrey Masten has investigated collective authorship in English drama around 1600, while historians of the visual arts have exposed workshop practices whereby a master sketched a painting but its execution was carried out by assistants. <sup>14</sup> Current research thus emphasises how the meanings of authorship arose through collaboration, in contrast to Romantic stereotypes of the creative artist as an isolated, singular genius.

An investigation of musical authorship is complicated by music's dual existence in writing and in performance. The identification of a musical author usually presupposes the preservation of compositions in notation. Reinhard Strohm shows how humanist traditions from the fifteenth

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Joseph Loewenstein, Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Mark Rose, Authors and Owners: The Invention of Copyright (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Martha Woodmansee, "The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the "Author", Eighteenth-Century Studies 17 (1984), 425–48.

On the role of layout in projecting authorial presence or an authorial notion of the text, see Loewenstein, Ben Jonson and Possessive Authorship, 134–60; D. F. McKenzie, 'Typography and Meaning: The Case of William Congreve', in Giles Barber and Bernhard Fabian (eds.), Buch und Buchhandel im Europa in achtzehnten Jahrhundert: The Book and the Book Trade in Eighteenth-Century Europe (Hamburg: Hauswedell, 1981), 81–126.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Jeffrey Masten, Textual Intercourse: Collaboration, Authorship and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Andrew Ladis and Carolyn Wood (eds.), The Craft of Art: Originality and Industry in the Italian Renaissance and Baroque Workshop (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1995).



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century onwards encouraged the idea of the musical opus – a composition or set of compositions fixed in writing, attributed to an author and remembered for posterity. That Schütz subscribed to such an idea is evident in his use of opus numbers, and his eagerness for his set of printed works to be placed in the Wolfenbüttel court library. The opus is one component in the network of ideas comprising the musical work concept, which in later centuries gave aesthetic significance to compositions that became canonised and gained their own existence in the minds of musicians and audiences. For studies of the musical opus in the seventeenth century, methods of book history can show how material characteristics of notated sources shaped perceptions of the durability of compositions and the presence of the composer. But because these notated sources represent only one facet of musical life, it is also necessary to ask how they were used in performance.

Previous studies of musical authorship have focused on historical periods when the figure of the composer apparently strengthened. Rob Wegman argues that until the late fifteenth century musicians rarely distinguished between composition and performance; the practice of improvised counterpoint meant that the activities of making and sounding music happened simultaneously and collaboratively. Around 1500, however, musicians increasingly perceived compositions as notated objects independent of performance, and some select musicians were employed specifically as composers.<sup>17</sup> In 1497 Heinrich Isaac was appointed as 'componist' at the Innsbruck court of Emperor Maximilian I, and in 1504 Jacob Obrecht was hired as 'compositore de canto' in Ferrara. Epitomising this new emphasis on the composer was Josquin, who was celebrated in anecdotes showing his concern for artistic freedom and the textual integrity of his compositions. 18 Complementing Wegman's approach, Michele Calella has explored the humanist discourse that praised composers such as Josquin and their compositions. 19 Yet this narrative perpetuates the emphasis on Flemish-trained polyphonists who already dominate histories of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century music; it does not address the continuing importance of oral practices such as improvised counterpoint.

Reinhard Strohm, 'Opus: An Aspect of the Early History of the Musical Work-Concept', in Rainer Kleinertz, Christoph Flamm and Wolf Frobenius (eds.), Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance. Festschrift Klaus-Jürgen Sachs zum 80. Geburtstag (Hildesheim: Olms, 2010), 205–17.

<sup>16</sup> The standard introduction to debates about the musical work concept is Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Rob C. Wegman, 'From Maker to Composer: Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–500', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49 (1996), 409–79.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., 466-69

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Michele Calella, Musikalische Autorschaft. Der Komponist zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2014), 182–242.



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> > Another narrative highlights how music printing promoted 'composercentred' genres in the sixteenth century. Initially the initiative in the printing of polyphony was taken by publishers assembling anthologies with music by a range of composers; but the names of composers rapidly became valuable marketing tools, and from the 1550s onwards more single-composer collections appeared than anthologies.<sup>20</sup> According to Strohm: 'Petrucci's idea of printing single-author musical editions had a sweeping success in the sixteenth century and brought composercentredness into the homes of patrons, connoisseurs and amateurs alike'. 21 Such processes of composer-centring and canonisation are exemplified by Orlande de Lassus's posthumous Magnum opus musicum (1604), containing his collected motets with a title page that frames his name in a ceremonial arch. Kate van Orden takes a less triumphalist view, highlighting the performerly aspects of musical culture in the sixteenth century, and also the collaborative nature of book production: 'One could say that it was not composers who authored printed books, but printers, printerbooksellers, and editors'. 22 She nonetheless identifies folio choirbooks as a prestigious printed format which increasingly contained music by a single composer, including published collections by Carpentras (1532-c.1536), Cristóbal de Morales (1544–51) and Palestrina (1554 onwards).<sup>23</sup> Such sumptuous books reinforced the composer's name and status within a system of musical patronage.<sup>24</sup>

> > In contrast with these grand narratives about printing and the rise of musical authorship, other scholars have scrutinised extant manuscripts to uncover the working practices of composers in the period. Such research seeks historically informed concepts to replace the emphasis on originality and inspiration typical in studies of compositional process in Beethoven or later composers. Jessie Ann Owens investigates how the working methods of sixteenth-century polyphonists were shaped by writing technologies (such as erasable tablets) and their use of formulaic material.<sup>25</sup> In her study of late-seventeenth-century England, Rebecca Herissone shows the collaborative or serial nature of much compositional activity, whereby one musician reworked another's ode, or several composers contributed incidental music to a play. Acknowledging the blurred boundaries between

For a statistical demonstration of the rise of single-composer collections, see Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data History of Music', Early Music 43 (2015), 649-60 (pp. 651-52).

<sup>21</sup> Reinhard Strohm, 'Looking Back at Ourselves: The Problem with the Musical Work-Concept', in Michael Talbot (ed.), The Musical Work: Reality or Invention? (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 128-52 (p. 150).

Kate van Orden, Music, Authorship, and the Book in the First Century of Print (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 30. Ibid., 55–68. <sup>24</sup> Calella, *Musikalische Autorschaft*, 103–16.

Jessie Ann Owens, Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition, 1450-600 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).



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literate and oral transmission, she argues that musicians drew on memorised formulae and their own ingenuity to realise incompletely notated compositions (such as dance tunes lacking bass lines). These studies show the relational nature of the musical author, shaped by collaborations with the composing, performing and copying activities of other musicians; they also destabilise the status of the musical work, itself closely linked with notions of authorship.

The present study complements previous work by probing the discourses and economic practices surrounding musical authorship in the seventeenth century. How did society conceptualise the ability of musicians to make compositions? What importance was given to individuality of style and technique in the making and reception of music? What reasons were given by composers when they attempted to control the circulation of their works? How were the activities of individual composers regulated by the authority of church and princely rulers? Such questions are addressed in relation to music in German-speaking Lutheran lands from the end of the sixteenth century to the start of the eighteenth century, a period conveniently demarcated by the lifespans of the two composers named in the title: Schütz (1585–672) and Bach (1685–750).

The history of Lutheran music in the long seventeenth century resists any attempt to impose a narrative of strengthening musical authorship. Indeed there are few continuities between the compositional concerns of Schütz and Bach, apart from a common Lutheran outlook that regarded God as the ultimate creator of music. Schütz and his contemporaries, for all their experimentation with Italianate concertos for solo voices and obbligato instruments, valued the contrapuntal craft exemplified in sixteenth-century polyphony. As Schütz advised in his Geistliche Chor-Music (1648): 'nobody can rightly embark on other types of composition and properly deal with or manage them, unless he is already sufficiently practised in the style without basso continuo'. 27 Composers aspired to publish their music in collections that could be used regularly in the liturgy or in recreation. The first half of the seventeenth century therefore witnessed a continuation of compositional and publishing practices established in the previous century, whereby composers presented themselves as authors of their printed works.

After the disruption of the Thirty Years War (1618–48), however, there were abrupt changes in musical life, so much so that Werner Braun and Peter Wollny have suggested that the 1650s should be interpreted as a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Rebecca Herissone, Musical Creativity in Restoration England (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>27 &#</sup>x27;niemand andere Arten der Composition in guter Ordnung angehen/ und dieselbigen gebührlich handeln oder tractiren könne/ er habe sich dann vorhero in dem Stylo ohne den Bassum Continuum genugsam geübet'. Schütz, Geistliche Chor-Music, Bassus Continuus partbook, preface. Translation adapted from HSR, 164.



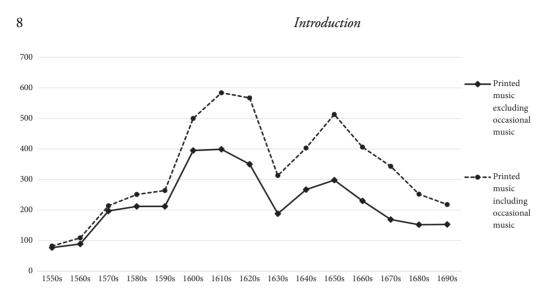


Figure I.2 Output of printed music from German-speaking lands by decade, 1550–699, using data from RISM A/I and B/I.

break between epochs of music history.<sup>28</sup> Musical life increasingly focused on courts, which often favoured styles that prioritised theatricality and the performer rather than contrapuntal craft. At the Dresden court, the music of Schütz was wholly replaced with the vocal concertos of the Italian capellmeisters Vincenzo Albrici and Marco Giuseppe Peranda.<sup>29</sup> Although there was a proliferation of musical genres in the period, a tendency towards the ephemeral is evident in the rise of the church cantata around 1700. Applying the theatrical style to sacred venues, musicians wrote their cantatas for specific Sundays, often with little prospect of repeat performance. For all Bach's interest and ability in counterpoint, his output is dominated by church cantatas, an ephemeral form of musical production that would have been alien to Schütz. Thus the decades around 1700 constitute a period that challenged notions of musical authorship, moving to a new emphasis on the event and the performer.

The weakening sense of musical authorship was associated with a decline of music printing in German-speaking lands across the seventeenth century. Figure I.2 shows the output of printed music per decade in German-speaking lands from 1550 to 1699, using bibliographical data from the A/I and B/I catalogues of Répertoire International des Sources

Werner Braun, 'Die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts als musikgeschichtliche Zäsur', Schütz-Jahrbuch 21 (1999), 39–48; Peter Wollny, Studien zum Stilwandel in der protestantischen Figuralmusik des mittleren 17. Jahrhunderts (Beeskow: Ortus, 2016), 7–41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Mary Frandsen, Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 172.



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Musicales (RISM).<sup>30</sup> (RISM A/I lists the printed works of single composers; RISM B/I lists printed anthologies with music by more than one composer.) The dashed line shows the total printed output including occasional music (single pieces for events such as weddings and funerals); the solid line excludes occasional pamphlets and therefore is a better guide to the health of the music trade. Figure I.2 indicates that the amount of music printing increased greatly in the last decades of the sixteenth century, reaching a peak in the 1610s. Many of these publications contained the works of a single composer, demonstrating their skill and preserving their works for posterity. Such was the dominance of print that relatively few compositions from the generation of Schütz and Schein survive solely in manuscript; extant handwritten sources tend to be copied from printed originals, and composers' autographs are extremely rare (see Chapter 1, p. 21).

The output of printed music halved in the 1630s, the decade when the Thirty Years War had its most devastating effect. In the 1640s and 1650s, there was a modest recovery, as publishers and musicians sought to return to pre-war forms of dissemination. Thereafter the amount of music printing declined steadily, so that by the 1690s fewer items of music were being printed than in the crisis-hit 1630s. By the end of the century, keyboard and instrumental ensemble music formed a greater proportion of the printed output, and publications generally contained fewer compositions than earlier in the century. My analysis stops at 1700, because after this date most printed editions are undated, and only rarely does RISM supply conjectural dates. However, a preference for manuscript dissemination remained the norm for most German composers of the early eighteenth century, with the exception of Georg Philipp Telemann, who had his own publishing business. 31 Autograph scores survive relatively often from this period and generally are working documents; a few show the composer trying to preserve and perfect a composition (as with Bach's autograph score of the St Matthew Passion). <sup>32</sup> The usual format, however, comprised sets of performing parts, prepared for a specific occasion and then possibly shared with other musicians for subsequent performances.

The reasons for the decline of music printing were complex and can only be summarised here.<sup>33</sup> The printing formats and technologies suitable for sixteenth-century repertories were increasingly inadequate for the

RISM's data include about 80% of surviving copies. This analysis was done as part of A Big Data History of Music, a collaboration between the British Library and Royal Holloway, University of London, funded by the Arts & Humanities Research Council. See Rose, Tuppen and Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data History of Music'.

<sup>31</sup> Steven Zohn, 'Telemann in the Marketplace: The Composer as Self-Publisher', Journal of the American Musicological Society 58 (2005), 275–356.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> D-B, Mus.ms. Bach P25.

<sup>33</sup> On the decline of printing in Lutheran church music of the late seventeenth century, see Friedhelm Krummacher, Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate.



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> > newer genres of the seventeenth century. Schütz's generation used partbook format, with a separate book for each voice-part. This was ideal for polyphonic genres such as the motet, where each performing part had an equal quantity of notated music; it was less suitable for genres with heterogeneous scorings such as vocal concertos and theatrical music, where each performing part could have widely differing quantities of music. Furthermore, movable type (with a separate symbol for each note) could not readily represent the ornamentation or virtuosic fast passages in many newer repertories. In 1682 the heirs of the Nuremberg publisher Christoph Endter claimed: 'The deficiencies of previously printed music have become so serious for the advancing art that music-lovers would prefer to copy pieces with their own hands than submit to such annoyance. <sup>34</sup> The preface noted that engraved music did not suffer from these difficulties, but it was extremely expensive and therefore 'very awkward' (sehr mißlich) for the publisher.

> > In addition to the technological difficulties faced by music printers, the market for sheet music fragmented in German-speaking lands, with niche repertories developing for specific locations or ensembles. By the start of the eighteenth century, it had become uneconomically unviable to print repertories such as church music, dramatic music and many genres of keyboard music. Where music publishing survived, it mainly served local markets; there were neither the major cities nor strong international trade links that fostered the music trade in London and Amsterdam. The decline of music printing is a backdrop to the developments discussed in this book, shaping the material forms through which purchasers and performers met the work of musical authors. It accompanied larger shifts in intellectual, cultural and economic life that also provide interpretive frameworks for this book.

> > This monograph explores authorship as an interplay between notions of authority and individuality. Etymologically the word *auctor* is derived from auctoritas (authority), which in classical and medieval times denoted the texts and symbolic devices carrying power or allowing it to be exercised. Larry Scanlon defines authority in medieval literature as involving 'not just deference to the past but a claim of identification with it and a representation of that identity made by one part of the present to another ... Authority, then, is an enabling past reproduced in the present'. 35 In the

Untersuchungen zum Handschriftenrepertoire evangelischer Figuralmusik im späten 17. und

beginnenden 18. Jahrhundert (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965), 45–87.

34 'Die Mängel der bishero gedruckten Musicalien/ sind bey gestiegener Kunst/ endlich so groß worden/ daß die Liebhabere/ ihre Sachen lieber mit eigener Hand haben abschreiben/ als dero Verdruß unterworffen seyn wollen'. Johann Rosenmüller, Sonate a 2. 3. 4. e 5. stromenti (Nuremberg, 1682), Violin 1 part, preface (in D-LEm exemplar, shelfmark II.2.48). RISM A/I R2567

Larry Scanlon, Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 38.