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Works in Progress:
Early Modern Lutheranism, Labour, and the Act of Musical Composition

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ABSTRACT

Even now, some twenty-five years after the publication of Lydia Goehr's *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (1992), musicologists still have issues talking about composers' activities in terms of 'works'. Central to Goehr's thesis was her assertion that J.S. Bach 'did not compose works.' However, a significant number of texts by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Lutheran German musicians and theorists explicitly depict composition as an act of working. For example, in Bach's defence against the criticisms of Johann Adolph Scheibe, the Leipzig rhetorician Johann Abraham Birnbaum described how 'the more industriously and painstakingly [the composer] works at the improvement of Nature — the more brilliantly shines the beauty thus brought into being.' And the reception of Bach's music in our own time is still inextricably bound up with the notion of work. This has never been more evident than in this year, 2017, which marks the 500th anniversary of the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation. There is a clear sense — both in eighteenth-century texts and in contemporary discourse — that the more difficulty involved in the process of a piece's composition, the greater value it acquires.

However, considerations of the act of composition as a labour process and the ethical implications of this have largely been absent in the discourse surrounding the musical work-concept. Taking into account the underlying cultural and theological tenets of Lutheranism, this dissertation seeks to explore *why* an emphasis on working was so pervasive in early modern German music, and how this was manifested in aesthetic terms. By assessing composers' correspondences, theoretical writings, writings by both proponents of the contrapuntal aesthetic and its opponents, it seeks to better understand how thinking of the act of composition in terms of process aligns with our understanding of the work as a product — and ultimately examines what thinking about music in this way might tell us about some of our core contemporary musical and cultural values.

„Gestern wird sein, was morgen gewesen ist. Unsere
Geschichten von heute müssen sich nicht jetzt zugetragen
haben. Meine beginnen viel früher. Diese fing vor mehr als
dreihundert Jahren an. Andere Geschichten auch. So lang
rührt jede Geschichte her, die in Deutschland handelt."

*The things that will be yesterday were tomorrow. Our histories of today
need not necessarily take place in the present. Mine start much earlier.
This one began more than three hundred years ago. So did many other
stories; every story set in Germany goes back that far.*

Günter Grass, *Das Treffen in Telgte* (1981)

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

BD   *Bach-Dokumente*, W. Neumann and H.J. Schulze (eds), vols. 1–3
(Leipzig and Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963, 1969, 1972).
[numbers refer to item number]

BuxWV   Georg Karstädt (editor), *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen
Werke von Dietrich Buxtehude: Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis*
(Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1974; 2nd edition 1985)

NBA   *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, edited by the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut, Göttingen,
and Bach-Archiv, Leipzig (Kassel and Basel: Bärenreiter, 1954-).

HSR   Gregory Johnston, *A Heinrich Schütz Reader: Letters and Documents in Translation*
(New York: Oxford University Press, 2013). [numbers refer to page number]

LW   *Luther's Works*, 79 Vols (St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-).

NBR   Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (eds), revised edition Christoph Wolff
(ed.),
The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents,
(New York: Norton, 1998). [numbers refer to page numbers]

NGO   *The New Grove Dictionary of Music Online*, Laura Macy (ed.)
<http://www.grovemusic.com>.

NSA   *Heinrich Schütz: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955-).

SM   Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Vols 1-3
(Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel, 1614-1619).

SD I   Michael Heinemann (editor), *Schütz-Dokumente I: Schriftstücke von Heinrich Schütz*
Heinrich Schütz-Archiv der Hochschule für Musik Carl Maria von Weber
Dresden. (Köln: Verlag Dohr, 2010). [numbers refer to item number]

SWV   Werner Bittinger (editor), *Schütz-Werke-Verzeichnis: Kleine Ausgabe*
(Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1960).

WA   *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 65 Vols (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-1993).

FIGURES & MUSIC EXAMPLES

EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

All original note values have been retained from the source texts. However, accidentals have been modernised without comment (i.e. flat-cancellations are represented by natural signs as opposed to sharps), as have clefs and any texts where this has been deemed helpful. Barlines have been added to the Schütz examples in accordance with the prevailing metrical implications of the respective mensuration signs (with the original signs indicated).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

MOST GRACIOUS KING!

In deepest humility I dedicate herewith to Your Majesty a musical offering, the noblest part of which derives from Your Majesty's Own August Hand. With awesome pleasure I still remember the very special Royal Grace, when, some time ago, during my visit in Potsdam, Your Majesty's Self deigned to play to me a theme for a fugue upon the clavier, and at the same time charged me most graciously to carry it out in Your Majesty's Most August Presence. To obey Your Majesty's command was my most humble duty. I noticed very soon, however, that, for lack of necessary preparation, the execution of the task did not fare well as such an excellent theme demanded. I resolved therefore and promptly pledged myself to work out this right Royal theme more fully (*dieses recht Königliche* Thema *vollkommener auszuarbeiten*) and then make it known to the world. This resolve has now been carried out as well as possible, and it has none other than this irreproachable intent, to glorify, if only in a small point, the name of a Monarch whose greatness and power, as in all the sciences of war and peace, so especially in music, everyone must admire and revere. I make bold to add this most humble request: may Your Majesty deign to dignify the present modest labour (*gegenwärtige wenige Arbeit*) with a gracious acceptance, and continue to grant Your Majesty's Most August Royal Grace to Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

Leipzig, July 7, 1747   THE AUTHOR[1]

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[1] *NBR*, 227-228. Transcribed in *BD* I, 173.

The story of Johann Sebastian's Bach's performance at the court of Friedrich II of Prussia in Potsdam on 7 May 1747 is now so well known that it barely needs to be retold here.[2] Nevertheless, it would be helpful to recount it briefly at this point, in order to examine some of the key evidence relating to Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer* — the 'work' in which it ultimately resulted — and to introduce some of the fundamental issues this dissertation seeks to explore.

The 1747 trip to Potsdam, where Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach was employed as a member of Friedrich's court orchestra, was Sebastian's second visit to the Prussian king's residence. In 1741, just one year after Friedrich had ascended the throne, Bach had visited the city, staying with his friend Georg Ernst Stahl, a well-known physician and member of Friedrich's privy council.[3] There is no record that Bach enjoyed an audience with the king during this first excursion, but it seems almost certain that he made the acquaintance of his chamberlain Michael Gabriel Fredersdorf, based on the evidence of an early manuscript copy of the E-major flute sonata BWV 1035, which bears the inscription: 'written anno 17[??], when he was at Potsdam for privy chamberlain Fredersdorff [sic].'[4]

When Bach returned to Prussia six years later, much had changed. Friedrich had overseen the transformation of Berlin into one of Europe's most thriving economic and cultural centres. Well-educated and a highly competent musician in his own right, Friedrich was apparently keen to meet Bach in person. Although it seems unlikely, Bach's first biographer Johan Nikolaus Forkel related that 'the reputation of the all-surpassing skill of Johann Sebastian was at this time so extended that the King often heard it mentioned and praised', and had been compelled to invite Bach to Potsdam.[5] In any case, German newspapers in cities including Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Magdeburg and Leipzig all received an official release from the Prussian court dated 7th May, reporting how 'the famous Capellmeister from Leipzig, Mr Bach, arrived with the intention of having the pleasure of hearing the excellent Royal music there', and was invited to perform for the

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[2] The occasion has been extensively discussed, both in the scholarly literature and in texts intended for a more popular readership, such as in James Gaines, *Evening in the Palace of Reason: Bach meets Frederick the Great in the Age of Enlightenment* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006).

[3] *BD* II, 489, 540, 548.

[4] See Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach — The Learned Musician* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 2000), 425; and *BD* III, Anh. I/3, 623. The date is unclear, but Wolff suggests that based on 'stylistic reasons' and Bach's 'busy schedule' in 1747 that it must date from the earlier visit.

[5] Wolff suggests that the visit was probably 'carefully prepared through diplomatic channels', through the efforts of Hermann Carl von Keyserlingk, a supporter of Bach's and the Russian Ambassador in Berlin. Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach — The Learned Musician*, 426.

king.[6] It tells how Friedrich went to the *forte et piano* and played, 'without any preparation, a theme for the Capellmeister Bach, which he should execute into a fugue', going on to report how Bach did this 'happily', that 'Friedrich 'was pleased to show his satisfaction thereat', and how 'all those present were seized with astonishment.' The story goes that Bach readily used the theme to produce a three-voice fugue and, while unable to spontaneously execute a six-voice fugue on the king's theme, instead improvised a fugue of six voices on a theme of his own invention.

Toward the end of the Prussian court's report, it was reported that Bach 'found the theme propounded to him so exceedingly beautiful that he intends to set it down on paper as a regular fugue and have it engraved on copper.' The resultant publication, the so-called *Musikalisches Opfer* (normally rendered as the 'Musical Offering' in English translations), comprised two *ricercare* (i.e. fugues) of three and six voices respectively; ten canons; and a sonata for flute, violin and continuo. Following the 1747 print, it was circulated unusually widely for Bach's music, in the form of several eighteenth-century manuscript copies, and being employed as an exemplar in treatises by German authors including Friedrich Marpurg and Bach's pupil Johann Philipp Kirnberger, as well as in English by A.F.C. Kollmann, and reprinted in full in two nineteenth-century editions predating the *Bach Gesellschaft* edition.[7]

Christoph Wolff, editor of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* volume, describes the tendency to see Bach's late contrapuntal works through 'a mysterious veil', wherein 'his [Bach's] labors appear to be closer to heaven than earth' and 'the composer's esoteric last works become(s) a kind of sacral act.'[8] Attempting to dispel this view as being the product of 'a certain ideology, idolisation and speculation', Wolff goes on to characterize the problems of the work's internal organisation and status as representing 'one of the most difficult and delicate issues in Bach research concerning a single work.'[9] With problems relating to the uncertainty of any intended sequence of its movements and the lack of a complete autograph source, the *Musical Offering* has been the subject of a significant amount of debate

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[6] *NBR*, 224; *BD* II, 554.

[7] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge II* (Berlin: 1754); Johann Kirnberger, *Grundsätze des Generalbasses* (Berlin, 1781); A.F.C. Kollmann, *Essay on Practical Musical Composition* (London, 1799). For a useful overview of the sources for the *Musikalisches Opfer*, see the critcal commentary of *NBA* VIII/I.

[8] Christoph Wolff, 'New Research on Bach's *Musical Offering*', *The Musical Quarterly*, 57/3 (1971), 379.

[9] *Ibid.*, 381.

among Bach scholars, regarding its organisation as a 'work'.[10] For the most part, however, this debate this has comprised research and speculation pertaining to the printing history and ordering of its movements, rather than any interrogation of its ontological status as a work.

Lydia Goehr and the Imaginary Museum of Musical Works

Following the publication of Lydia Goehr's book *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* in 1992, a significant discourse developed surrounding the use of the term 'work' in its application to musical compositions.[11] Goehr's text was seminal insofar as it identified and explored the implicit values associated with the so-called work-concept, tracing how they have collectively exerted a powerful influence upon Western classical 'opus' music since '1800 (or thereabouts)'.[12] Over the course of the book, Goehr shows how, since the early nineteenth century, these values have shaped the attitudes of composers, performers, listeners and philosophers alike, significantly defining their engagement with the various practices that constitute classical music culture. Goehr drew attention to the fact that musicologists have traditionally understood and unquestioningly accepted 'works' as forming the aesthetic basis of their scholarship. Invoking the charge of 'conceptual imperialism', Goehr charged the work-concept as being a distortion of historical reality, pointing out that 'thinking is never as pure or innocent as some would like it to be.'[13]

In the opening chapter of his highly charged book *Foundations of Music History*, which posed the rhetorical question 'Is History on the Decline?' as its title, Dahlhaus suggested that the substrate of music history should not — in Aristotelian terms — be regarded as being *praxis* (as in social action), but rather *poiesis*, the making of forms. Dahlhaus is clear: 'The subject matter of music is made up, primarily, of significant works of music that have outlived the culture of their age', and that scholars should appreciate that 'the concept "work" and not "event" is the cornerstone of music history.'[14] The primacy of this work-

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[10] See, for example, Ursula Kirkendale, 'The Source for Bach's Musical Offering: The Musical Offering of Quintilian', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33/1 (1980), 88-141; and Michael Marissen, 'More Source-Critical Research on Bach's "Musical Offering"', *Bach*, 25/1 (1994), 11-27.

[11] Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992; reprinted 2007). The discussion regarding *Werktreue* had been incepted by German scholars — particularly including Carl Dahlhaus — before Goehr, but her text represented the first proper attempt from within the Anglo-American scholarly tradition to explore the term's application as a regulative concept.

[12] *Ibid.*, 115.

[13] *Ibid.*, 9.

[14] Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History* (*Grundlagen der Musikgeschichte*, 1977), trans. J.B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 4.

concept had been underlined in the foundational texts of German-speaking musicological methodology. In his comprehensive manifesto for a 'scientific' study of musical history, published in 1885, Guido Adler underlined this positioning, advocating that 'one must always, above all, keep the works of art themselves at the centre of investigation.'[15] Adler characterized works as static objects ossified by history, which, as unchanging forms, could form the basis for a rigorously scientific approach to musical history. In Adler's approach, these works required to be 'defined paeleologically' through a series of technical and comparative approaches, following which the 'footsteps' of history would reveal themselves, traceable by 'artistic creations…in their mutual concatenation and their reflexive influence, without any special attention given to the life and effect of the individual artists who have participated in this process of steady development.'[16]

Prior to Goehr's work, the work-concept had remained the preserve of philosophers in the English-language tradition, who had sought to find stable ontological definitions for music.[17] For the first time, Goehr attempted to connect this philosophical discourse to musical history, giving scrutiny to the cultural values she observed as being bound up with the concept. In her introduction, she draws particular attention to the German musicologists Carl Dahlhaus, Walter Wiora and Wolfgang Seidel, as being among the most prominent in qualifying the implications of the term's employment in relation to music.[18] Such a discussion was of particular relevance in relation to German music, where the industrious efforts of nineteenth-century scholars had drawn together diverse historical repertories in order to 'represent the whole nation.'[19] This ambitious zeal was the stimulus

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[15] 'Immer aber muß man sich vor Allem an die Kunstwerke selbst halten.' Guido Adler, 'Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft', *Selbständige Abhandlungen — Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1885), 10. For an English translation of this seminal essay, see Erica Mugglestone, 'Guido Adler's "The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology" (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary', *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 13 (1981), 1-21.

[16] 'In höchster und letzter Instanz aber wird die Geschichte der Musik die künstlerischen Schöpfungen als solche betrachten, in ihrer gegenseitigen Verkettung, dem wechelseitgen Einfluß, ohne besondere Rücksicht auf das Leben und Wirken einzelner Künstler, die an dieser stetigen Entiwicklung Theil genommmen haben.' *Ibid.*, 8.

[17] Goehr's text was a response to the work of philosophers such as Nelson Goodman and Jerrold Levinson, evaluating their respective nominalist and modified-Platonist views regarding music. See Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); and Jerrold Levinson, 'What a Musical Work is', *Journal of Philosophy*, 77 (1980), 5-28.

[18] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 3. Goehr cites Carl Dahlhaus, *Schoenberg and the New Music*, trans. Derrick Puffett and Alfred Clayton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Walter Wiora, *Das Musikalische Kunstwerk* (Tutzing: H. Schneider, 1983); Wilhelm Seidel, *Werk und Werkbegriff in der Musikgeschichte* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt, 1987). Dahlhaus's 'Musikwissenschaft und systematische Musikwissenschaft' and Wiora's earlier 'Musica poetica und musikalisches Kunstwerk' (1972), also offer a focused survey of the term's conception.

[19] 'Kurze Geschichte der DTÖ', *Denkmäler der Tonkunst Österreich Online* <http://www.dtoe.at/Geschichte.php> Last accessed 7 September 2017.

for large-scale state-sponsored projects including the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich* (of which Adler was a protagonist), and complete *Kritische Ausgaben* for composers including Bach, Händel, and Palestrina. As Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter point out, the German noun *Denkmal*, normally rendered as 'monument' in English, can also be used to refer to 'an occasion for thought, a spur to thinking, a reminder, even a warning.' The related meanings of this term would not have been lost on the nineteenth-century German public, they posit, collectively reminding Germans of 'their musical greatness and implicitly warn(ing) against musical superficiality.'[20] The music collected by these projects was, for the most part, 'eminently serious and intellectually demanding', serving as a clear attempt to establish a lineage for the kind of values deemed worthy in nineteenth-century German culture and society.[21]

This legacy was largely what prompted musicologists in the late twentieth century to begin to probe the received definitions of the work-concept. Responding to the phenomenologist-influenced ideas by figures such as Dahlhaus and Wiora, the central criteria of workhood musicologists have most notably considered include: authorship, in terms of a work being something original that can be traced to an individual composer; durability, insofar as a musical text might exist in a stable form that gives it a sense of integrity in its transmission; and longevity, whereby the creative value of a piece is able to extend beyond the period of its composition and be perceptible to a subsequent generation of recipients.[22] Responding directly to Goehr, Michael Talbot concurs with the identification of c.1800 as a seminal moment, but, rather than seeing it as being characterized by the emergence of the modern work-concept suggested it in fact marked the beginning of the period of 'composer-centredness'.[23] Acknowledging that he perhaps uses some of the same evidence as Goehr to make his different conclusions, Talbot claims that 'the public profile of the pre-1800 composer was low, often astonishingly so.'[24] Although Talbot's identification of the composer as the central protagonist represented in the work — as the one who has done the work — seizes on an essential feature in the

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[20] *Ibid.*

[21] For a comprehensive overview of the 19th-century *Denkmäler* projects, commemorating figures across the arts, see Reinhard Alings, *Monument und Nation: Das Bild vom Nationalstaat im Medium Denkmal* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 1996); and Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artefacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

[22] John Butt offers a valuable overview of the various perspectives in John Butt, 'The seventeenth-century musical work', in John Butt and Tim Carter (eds), *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 27-54 (particularly from 27-33).

[23] Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness', in Michael Talbot (ed), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 168-186.

[24] Ibid., 176.

emergence of the musical work, I believe his identification of this as a nineteenth-century idea is incorrect. In what I examine, I show that the personality of the composer was already significant in seventeenth-century German musical culture. John Butt takes into account an article by Gretel Schwörer-Kohl, in proposing a dichotomy between two senses of work in Western art music — the narrower opus-work, and a broader but weaker sense that only contains 'some form of self-contained formal structure, and [only] some historical durability.'[25] In this formulation, the closer the work can be traced to the composer and the more stable its sources (i.e. in terms of notational precision and fidelity in transmission), the stronger its identity as a work. Although Schwörer-Kohl's articles adopts a meta-historical perspective, I find this understanding to be corroborated by much of the evidence in relation to early modern Lutheran music, which I explore in the body of this dissertation.

As a philosopher coming from a background in aesthetics and critical theory, Goehr actually had a different set of priorities, even though she sought to analyse and define the work-concept via what she described as a 'historical approach.'[26] This, she claimed, would be more helpful than the approaches made previously by other philosophers, who in their writing about music asked 'too much of a practice that is indeterminate and complex', and fail to account for its aesthetic idiosyncrasies as a medium.[27] Having summarily tested the viability of these conceptions of the musical work and examined their faults, Goehr went on to offer what she called 'outlines of an ontology of cultural practice', articulated in five specific propositions in a chapter polemically entitled 'The Central Claim'. The novelty of her approach was its attempted shift from asking what kind of *object* a musical work is, to asking what kind of *concept* the work-concept is.[28] From a musicological perspective, this might seem an extremely subtle difference. However, in attempting to answer this question, she proposed that 'a special connection' exists between musical concepts and objects, which she aimed to specify through her exploration of the work-concept's functions.[29]

Goehr identified five main characteristics for the work-concept and its functions. These terms are perhaps unfamiliar to those not fully conversant in the argot of

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[25] Butt, 29. Gretel Schwörer-Kohl, 'Zum Werkbegriff in der Ethnomusikologie und in der historischen Musikwissenschaft', in Christoph-Hellmut Mahling (ed.), *Ethnomusikologie und historische Musikwissenschaft: Erich Stockmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1997), 313-24.
[26] Goehr adds that it might equally have been called 'genealogy, cultural metaphysics or anthropology, or historically based ontology'. Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 7.
[27] *Ibid.*, 74.
[28] *Ibid.*, 90.
[29] *Ibid.*, Chapter 4, 'The Central Claim', 89-98.

philosophical concepts. Therefore, I have summarized them and outlined their salient points in order to clarify Goehr's position, within the context of this dissertation:

1. That the work-concept is an *open* concept with *original* and *derivative* employment.

The work-concept does not correspond to any 'fixed' or 'static' essence, or admit any 'absolutely precise' definitions that depend on the fulfilment of necessary and sufficient criteria. In this sense, Goehr claims it can be perceived as an 'open' concept. Her sense of original and derivative usage is less clear. Original exemplars are not necessarily those that are employed first, but rather those that are produced 'directly and explicitly' in line with the given concept. Conversely, derivative employment denotes examples that are categorized by a concept, when they were, in fact, not created with any reference to that concept. While she does not use the term explicitly, this latter usage is presumably what she has in mind when she refutes the attachment of the work-concept to Bach's music, which I will discuss shortly.

2. It (the work-concept) is *correlated* to the *ideals* of musical practice.

For a given work, there is a 'single score' which correlates with a single performative instance. We expect the performance to render an accurate representation of the semantic information conveyed by the score. The relation specified by the correlation between score and performance is therefore one of 'compliance'.

3. It is a *regulative* concept.

This particular feature of Goehr's theory is the most relevant to my own thesis. Goehr traces this quality — building on its Kantian origins, and in response to the work of René Wallek and Austin Warren — in distinction to *constitutive* concepts. While constitutive concepts 'provide the rules of the game', regulative concepts 'determine, stabilize, and order the structure of practices'; Goehr describes how regulative concepts 'guide the practice externally by indicating the *point* of following the constitutive rules.'[30] Goehr points out that in composing, performing, listening and evaluating, we vicariously employ specific forms of normative comprehension, in line with values that are not necessarily our own.[31] This, she argues, is 'delimiting' and 'suggest[s] to the participants of a practice that only certain

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30 *Ibid.*, 102 (italics added).
31 *Ibid.*, 104.

beliefs and values are to be held and only certain kinds of actions are to be undertaken.' Thus, regulative concepts fulfil an ordering function, giving assent to particular thoughts, actions, and rules as being appropriate.

4. It is a *projective* concept.

Following on from assessing the regulative status of the work-concept, Goehr poses the question 'do musical works exist?' In her answer, she suggests that when we discuss an individual musical work 'as if it were an object, as if it were a construction that existed over and above its performances and score', the *as if* clause indicates the projective power of the concept. That is to say, we are compelled to do this because works have no actual existence beyond their projected status. In this regard, she claims the work-concept induces hypostatization, in a similar sense to what Whitehead described as 'misplaced concreteness.'[32]

5. It is an *emergent* concept.
Goehr borrows this term from Joseph Margolis, who suggests that artworks are 'culturally emergent' entities, insofar as they are embodied in particular objects within a 'defined cultural space.'[33] She leaves the definition of this concept in relation to music somewhat vague, but we might extrapolate that she locates its application predominantly in relation to acts of performance.

'Bach did not intend to compose musical works.' Or did he?

Goehr's formulation of the work-concept is highly perceptive, eloquently articulating many of the ontological complexities and idiosyncrasies associated with our sense of the musical work. Even today, some twenty-five years later, Goehr's book forms an invaluable resource for anyone contemplating the ontology of the musical work, despite the significant extent to which the philosophical discourse — if not the musicological discourse — surrounding the subject has subsequently grown. However, Goehr's formulation of the work-concept is ultimately used to substantiate her own critical stance, which, supported by her 'historical approach', posits that musicians before the nineteenth century did not recognize a work-

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[32] Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), 64, 72.
[33] Joseph Margolis, 'Works of Art as Physically Embodied and Culturally Emergent Entities' *British Journal of Aesthetics*, 14 (1974), 187–96. See also the same author's more comprehensive monograph Joseph Margolis, *What, After All, is a Work of Art?* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 1999).

concept. Goehr asserts that for musicians and composers working before c.1800, 'what was produced before this time was seen to fall under concepts other than that of a work. If musicians used the term 'work' (or a synonym) at all, their uses did not reflect a regulative interest in the production of works.'[34] She contends that using this term in contemporary parlance to describe pre-nineteenth-century music is therefore inappropriate. Early on in the book, Goehr singles out J.S. Bach, in a deliberately provocative statement:

> Central to the historical thesis is the claim that Bach did not intend to compose musical works. Only by adopting a modern perspective — a perspective foreign to Bach — would we say that he had. This implication proves to be correct as we examine with hindsight how the concepts governing musical practice before 1800 precluded the regulative function of the work-concept.[35]

It is provocative insofar as it seems to be at odds with how Bach's music is regarded in contemporary terms. Bach's works — if we can call them that — are widely seen as constituting a central strand of the European classical tradition, and are regarded as being among the pre-eminent artefacts of Western culture. This has never been more visible or audible than in the year 2017, when the quincentenary of the Lutheran reformation is being 'celebrated' across northern Europe and the new world.[36] The programme for this year's BBC Proms, the world's largest classical music festival, reflected this in its theme *Reformations and Revolutions*, by juxtaposing music of the Lutheran tradition (and other traditions, that might be seen to have been 'inspired' by the reformer) with the Russian Revolution, as two moments central in defining the modern world.[37] At its centre, it

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[34] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 114.

[35] *Ibid.,* 8 (italics added).

[36] The emotive language of 'celebration' is evident in much of the literature and publicity material that has been circulated to mark the 2017 Lutherjahr, but it is particularly strong in a pamphlet entitled Still Reforming/Reformation on London's Doorsteps: An Invitation from British & Continental Churches in London, published under the aegis of the Lutheran Council of Great Britain (known as the Council of Lutheran Churches (CLC)). Available online at <http://www.reformation500.uk/userfiles/files/Booklet%20500%20Reformation%20v7%20printready.compressed%20%281%29%282%29.pdf> Last accessed 25 April 2017.

[37] In addition to Bach's John Passion, the programme also featured Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 5 in D Major, 'Reformation', and a so-called 'Patchwork Passion', amalgamating five centuries of Passion settings by Schütz, Handel, Mendelssohn, Arvo Pärt and James MacMillan; and Bach's organ music. See 'Proms Media

presented Bach's John Passion, described in the festival brochure as 'a work of almost operatic vividness that brings both a humanity and a painful immediacy to the Passion narrative.'[38] Throughout this dissertation, in addition to referring to the scholarly literature, I also cite various examples from the mainstream media, from newspapers and classical music magazines. While these might insignificant examples to cite and it could be argued that they are 'soft targets' or straw men, I propose that such publications are in fact particularly important. They are one of the central means by which classical concert-going audiences receive information about music, and are presumably one of the chief means that attract them to attend certain concerts and purchase particular recordings. Furthermore, in the case of a concert series brochure, we might gain a revealing insight into artistic programmers' priorities and cultural values. While it would be misleading to claim that they represent the complexity of the cultural questions regarding the work-concept, these publications are, in no small part, one of the most important means by which the work-concept continues to be developed and propagated in contemporary culture.

The Proms brochure goes on to qualify how the Dunedin performance would reflect 'how *the work* might originally have been heard in a church setting', based on the ensemble's pioneering recording. In this release, director John Butt attempted to engage with Bach's Passion in a way that went deeper than standard modern concert performances, which he describes as only revealing 'the tip of a much larger iceberg…[of a] culture of singing and participation that can only be fleetingly evoked in a modern reconstruction.' One of the main purposes of such a project was thus to move beyond the traditional concert hall experience, as the BBC Proms maintains a commitment to opening up the classical tradition to the widest possible audience. With this combination of such egalitarian ambitions, it would be difficult to level allegations of the BBC promulgating any form of cultural or 'conceptual imperialism'.

Against the relief of such inherently innocuous usages of the term 'work', Goehr's claims thus begin to pose their own questions. As I showed in the opening of this introduction, quoting from the dedicatory preface of Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer*, the term 'work' was also quite clearly used by Bach himself. In fact, as I will show, it enjoyed broad currency in relation to music with Bach's Lutheran contemporaries and predecessors, long

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Pack' <http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/mediacentre/proms-2017-media-pack.pdf> Last accessed, 27 September 2017.
[38] *Ibid.*

before 1800. What is the difference between Bach's sense of work from Goehr's — and what is different about these senses and that alluded to in the Proms brochure? What precisely does Goehr's qualification of 'modern' mean, and why is this important? Is 'work' a term that had particular resonance for Lutheran musicians? I believe that answering these questions and understanding what we mean when we think of 'works' and 'work' is of crucial importance, and that searching for explanations will force us to engage with some of the critical issues that function at an even deeper historical level, as foundational tenets of our modern Western cultural consciousness.

Autonomy versus function

In prior discussions of the work-concept, both philosophers and scholars of German music have frequently stressed the 'functional' element of both religious and instrumental music, as a way of suggesting that this was not art music-proper, and that it was merely intended to fulfil a more important social function. The term used by German scholars has been *Gebrauchsmusik* — merely 'useful music'.[39] The sense is that music produced for liturgical or entertainment purposes is fundamentally different from 'modern' classical music, and of inferior artistic status. This is a line that Goehr invokes, extending the Kantian premise that artistic autonomy — the sense of art for art's sake — is an essential criterion for a proper work of art.[40] This is one of the most definite points Goehr makes, in attempting to shore up the regulative force of her post-1800 'modern' work-concept, and its absence from any compositions that might otherwise seem work-like.

In the twentieth century, this sense of functionality was most frequently taken at face value. Take, for instance, this summation of Bach's music by Sir Jack Westrup, erstwhile Professor of Music at the University of Oxford, in a BBC Music Guide on the composer:

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[39] Bettina Varwig quotes the German critic Hermann Keller, who describes how 'When a few years ago Oskar Söhngen [a prominent German theologian, who wrote much in relation to music] had the courage to admit that he found Buxtehude's solo cantatas boring, a sigh of relief went through the ranks of Protestant church musicians…The public endures the most tedious utility music (*Gebrauchsmusik*) of the seventeenth century, the flattest cantatas of Telemann, the stereotypical da capo arias of Bach and much else without complaint, simply because the old masters are sacrosanct.' See Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 195.

[40] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 169. Although Kant's *Critique of Judgment* was published in 1790, the notion of 'art for art's sake' was not widely adopted until the middle of the nineteenth century, when it taken up by artists as a kind of slogan signifying their Bohemian defiance. See Gene H. Bell-Villada, *Art for Art's Sake and Literary Life: How Politics and Markets Helped Shape the Ideology and Culture of Aestheticism 1790-1990* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), particularly Chapter 2 and the section at 35-39.

It is a paradox of art that what was undertaken from necessity can stir our emotions as strongly as anything prompted merely by the artist's inclination to create. In fulfilling a routine which must often have been tedious, and sometimes intolerable, Bach not only satisfied the demands of his own age: he enriched our own.[41]

From Westrup's perspective, it seems almost an accident that Bach's cantatas achieved the status of being great art-objects in the twentieth century, when they were apparently intended merely as no more than ephemera. Bach is often cast in this guise, as the unwitting genius who was compelled to follow his vocation as a musician, producing music mainly for the requirements of his employers and patrons. Westrup, writing in the 1960s, did not entertain the idea that Bach might have deliberately set out to consciously compose music that would be heard as impressive, or indeed begin to consider *why* he might have done so.

In what follows, I will show that throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the act of composition was consistently described and admired as a process of labour, which resulted in the creation of something commensurate with the skill and effort applied in its conception. Relatively little attention was paid to the function of the music — instead, musicians and theorists discuss music and the valuable experience properly constructed music provides in its own terms. As I will also show, many prominent musicians of this period sought to use their works as a means of providing themselves with agency. In doing so, they relate to their works as the token of their work — as the *actualization* of compositional process and professional ethics. I employ the term 'actualization' in a specific context in the fourth chapter, to describe how music can be seen as setting up a chain of communication and exchange, that relays something with a sense of perceived value between its composer and its listener, via a series of intermediaries. In short, music meant much more than simply its function. As John Butt suggests: 'Surely, pieces of music are like any other form of human construction: whatever the pattern of intention lying behind them, they instantly acquire an element of autonomy whether we wish them to or not.'[42] In response to Goehr, I contend that in order to understand the origins of the work-concept, we need to tap into the pre-Kantian understanding of work and how it was responsible for the creation of value. As Keith Chapin has shown in a highly insightful reading of

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41 J.A. Westrup, *Bach Cantatas* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1966), 60.
42 John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 21.

Christoph Bernhard's *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus,* there is no reason why functionality and autonomy need be exclusive.[43]

In all of this, it is my aim to try and integrate an understanding of the process of musical composition — from its conceptual understanding to its technical instruction, and how these are audible — into the discussion of the work-concept. Virtually all of the ontological studies of music consider musical pieces as if they had simply always been there. Such studies fail to take into account the processes that led to their appearance in the world. In Goehr's approach and most other attempts to reevaluate the work-concept, the primary dissonances in the inappropriate and anachronistic applications of the work-concept to music are generally identified at the point of reception.[44] She does not entertain the idea that the work-concept might have been contributed to (not insignificantly) by the composers themselves, and that the association of work with music was an essential part of the creation of the modern *Componist.* As Johann Abraham Birnbaum, erstwhile Professor of Rhetoric at Leipzig University and friend of Bach's described in his defence of the composer against the criticisms of Johann Scheibe:

> The term *Musicanten* is generally used for those whose principal achievement is a form of mere musical practice…If one of those musical *practici* is an extraordinary artist on an instrument, he is called not a *Musicant* but a virtuoso. And least of all does this disdainful name apply to great composers…Now, let the reasonable reader himself decide whether the praise that is due the Hon. Court Composer can be fully expressed by calling him the most eminent of the *Musicanten.* This is in my opinion equivalent to wishing to pay a special tribute to a thoroughly learned man by calling him the best member of the last class of schoolboys. The Hon. Court Composer is a great composer, a master of music…in no sense a *Musicant.*[45]

Birnbaum is unequivocal: Bach is not merely a musician — he is a composer. What differentiates a composer from a mere musician? Surely, it is the sense that his works can be recognized, be performed by others (with or without his input), and is attributed to his artistic labour. Birnbaum would have been mostly familiar with Bach's church music for the

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[43] Keith Chapin, '"A Harmony or Concord of Several and Diverse Voices": Autonomy in 17th-Century German Music Theory and Practice', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music,* 42/2 (2011), 219-255.

[44] See, for example, Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality of Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000). Each of the contributors' essays is focused — one way or another — on reception, as opposed to how the concept historically affected composers.

[45] *NBR*, 340-1.

Thomasschule and the Collegium Musicum — music that could easily be (and frequently is) considered *Gebrauchsmusik*. But through listening, discussing, comparing and performing his music, Bach's immediate social circle regarded him as a composer. Understanding how this series of interlinked processes come together in the nexus of the work-concept is surely of critical importance in understanding how the composer — the most distinctive protagonist of European art music — came to be regarded as such.

I suggest that Goehr's dichotomy between functionality and autonomy is unhelpful in understanding the true nature of the work of art, and ignores the social and ethical values that are inextricably bound up with it. Even with the ambiguities raised by the mixed meanings of art, to suggest that a piece of music cannot be considered a work simply because it was composed for a particular function seems to be to adopt a somewhat otiose response. As Hannah Arendt proposes:

> The proper intercourse with a work of art is certainly not 'using it'…Whether this uselessness of art objects has always pertained or whether art formerly served the so-called religious needs of men as ordinary use objects serve more ordinary needs does not enter the argument. Even if the historical origin of art were of an exclusively religious or mythological character, the fact is that art has survived gloriously in its severance from religion, magic and myth.[46]

The anti-monumental sense that 'functional' music is not related to the work-concept is both naïve and historically inaccurate. If we consider the development of German music from the Reformation into the early eighteenth century, its rapid progress from a simple style to one of extreme contrapuntal complexity belies a sense of composers' attempts to demonstrate inventiveness and cleverness, and to create works that carried their talents as individuals. While a piece might have an ostensible function — whether liturgical, ceremonial or background entertainment — its sense of being attributable to an individual is essential to consider. Rather than simply 'generic' music, the piece is a representation of an individual's talents, musical skill and what Pierre Bourdieu describes as *habitus*.[47]

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[46] Hanna Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1958; reprinted 1998), 167.
[47] Bourdieu describes *habitus* as part of a set of social attitudes — as the physical embodiment of capital, through the way our ingrained habits, abilities and dispositions (which we possess due to our life experience) function without our noticing. Bourdieu describes the effect of habitus as the 'feel for the game', insofar as it allows us to do things and to comfortably negotiate the various social networks that constitute our experience. See Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*, trans. Randal Johnson (New York: Columbia University

What's in a concept?

When I first discussed some of the underlying ideas for this dissertation with a respected and well-known musicologist, whose reputation has primarily been garnered by meticulous attention to forensic editing and bibliographic studies of early modern music, he remarked cynically that the debate surrounding the work-concept 'says a very great deal about very little indeed.' I believe this is a fair remark to some extent, in terms of the casuistic approaches of philosophers, which (pace Goehr) too frequently generalize and essentialize historical fact in support of reductive theory. As a result, there has been a general unwillingness to engage with many of the wider issues relating to work from musicologists. In what is otherwise a highly perceptive article, published just over a decade ago, Karol Berger resigns himself to the fact that 'the term "works" is potentially misleading, but so entrenched as to be inevitable.'[48]

In contemporary usage, such as in the examples I have quoted above, 'work' is invariably deployed as a noun, as a synonym for 'piece', 'composition' or 'musical text'. But its usage implies more than these terms, signifying a composition or a piece with some sense of particular value, greater than that of by these more prosaic options. I propose this value is rooted in what work represents as a process — the overcoming of some difficulty, by the application of human effort. As the literary critic John Hollander eloquently expresses:

> We are reminded that in the very phrase 'the work of art' there lurks a fruitful grammatical ambiguity. The verbal noun *work* is identical with the concrete term designating the product of working, so that the concrete product is designated by 'the work of art', whereas the deed alone is meant in 'work of charity' or 'good works' generally. (Or, of Creation, 'the work of six days', where 'work' would be interchangeable with 'labor', and the term implies the gerund rather than the product.)[49]

In observing the frequent use of work as a gerund, Hollander suggests that the term 'work of art' deliberately associates the act of making with the thing being made. He signals what John Locke called 'the work of man's hands' (and, in the same line of reasoning, minds) and the 'labour of his body.'[50] As Hollander observes, from Locke's position, work is the primary activity that is responsible for the production of things of value. On some level, the history of Western music might be seen as being constituted by both works and the requirement of work — in the sense of composing them, performing them, and listening to them. For music in particular, as a temporal art, each time we hear a piece in performance, we envisage the act of composition, through our own process of the work's recomposition. It is the *act* itself that is of real value; the object is only a proxy, which serves to affirm the *act*. While new avenues of research are encouraging a process-based approach to examining how we engage with music, this division has not been fully unpacked in relation to the act of musical composition.[51] In studies such as Goehr's, with its purportedly 'historical' approach, it is possible to sense the limitations of her defining concepts and ontology more generally. In Goehr's perception of the connection between concepts and objects, she elides this Lockean dualism, which is readily evident across cultural history, ignoring the extant evidence relating to how composers considered their praxis. Work is as much what composers *did* as what they created — and this is very difficult to conceptualize in metaphysical terms. This is why, as I will discuss in greater in Chapter 4, considering musical works (and musical work) in ontological terms is not the most helpful approach, if we wish to learn more about the concept's origin and its importance.

While philosophers differ as to ontology's ultimate goal, most agree that it seeks to understand what *is*.[52] It deals with understanding *things*, employing the distinction of universals and particulars, rather than what is being done. Many of the classic philosophical questions are essentially ontic problems, establishing whether — or not — a particular thing exists, and providing a definition. And *defining* the musical work is, to be sure, a wicked problem. Concepts are terms used to denote the elemental constituents of our thought

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[50] John Locke, *Second Treatise of Government* (London: 1690), § 27. Edited in Peter Laslett, *John Locke: Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960; revised edition 1967), 328.
[51] Musical performance is now attracting attention from scholars as 'embodied work'. For a recent example of this, see Lynn Pettinger, 'Embodied labour in music work', *British Journal of Sociology*, 66/2 (2015), 282-300. Pettinger's approach attempts to define the contingent production of musical performance, offering an interdisciplinary account that takes into account the sociology of work, artistic cultures and the human body.
[52] Little work on meta-ontology has been done since Willard Van Orman Quine, whose theses are now generally accepted by academic philosophers. For a succinct exposition of the ideas that shaped Quine's work, see Willard Van Orman Quine, 'On what there is', *Review of Metaphysics*, 2 (1948), 21–38. Reissued in W.V. Quine, *From a Logical Point of View*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

processes, forming the basis for our faculties of communication, memory, categorisation, learning and (consciously or not) decision-making. In modern philosophy, there have been some significant debates regarding what sorts of *thing* concepts themselves are: whether they are merely psychological entities, abilities, senses (i.e. in a Fregean context, where they are associated with abstract objects, as opposed to mental objects).[53] Additionally, different understandings of how we come to possess concepts can broadly be differentiated into empiricist and nativist camps. Empiricists believe that concepts are based on sensory learning, whereas nativists hold that the human brain might possess a system of innate concepts.[54]

Clearly, concepts do have an important role to play in our understanding of the world at large, and in relation to music. But by interrogating the different senses and meanings of the term work in (and its relatives *Arbeit* and *Werk*) in German, and investigating the synergy between act and product, I propose that we might bring a further level of meaning to the concept, insofar as it has anything to say about early modern Lutheran music.

Bach and Luther; Works and Working

As Goehr points out, the nineteenth century saw the transformation of Bach's music (and particularly his sacred music) into art objects — a process that was further consolidated in the twentieth century. The observation that Bach's functional products of necessity transcended their original liturgical or occasional roles has most often been expressed in two ways: either as some sort of coincidence, as in the passage I quoted by Jack Westrup; or by depicting Bach as a highly industrious and devout Lutheran, who proactively made it his vocation to spread God's word in music.

The genre that is most frequently used to support this perspective of Bach is the cantata. Bach produced cantatas in Weimar, Mühlhausen, and Arnstadt, before having the opportunity to fully explore and experiment with the form in Leipzig, where he set out to

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[53] See Eric Margolis and Stephen Laurence, 'Concepts', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/concepts/> Last accessed 14 March 2017.
[54] An example of this would can be seen in the Chomskian theory of language acquisition, which observes that children rapidly develop nuanced linguistic abilities, in spite of having no apparent knowledge of the structure of their language.

complete at least five complete cycles. As the musical centrepiece of the liturgy, and designed to provide a discrete meditation on the week's sermon and scriptural readings, the cantata became one of the keystones for the modern image of Bach 'refusing to take the easy path' and producing music that merely 'set' a given text. Rather, Bach is generally seen as having actively worked on the cantatas to produce something far more meaningful, exposing the deeper theological meanings latent in the text. Doing this week after week, and producing 'miniature masterpieces', Bach was apparently fuelled by a deep, internalized work ethic — something that is frequently described as demanding an equal sense of work on the part of performers and listeners of his music.[55]

The perceived challenges of completism apparently placed by Bach on himself were met in the nineteenth century by the production of a complete edition, and by musicians in the twentieth century who set out to perform and record complete cantata cycles.[56] As Alex Ross suggested in the *New Yorker*, in relation to John Eliot Gardiner's recently completed cycle: 'Most of all, this mammoth project — an act of devotion worthy of Bach himself — lays bare what is most human in the composer's enterprise.'[57] Through the use of such highly emotive language, Ross implies that the scale of the task of performing and recording such a vast quantity of music, with both the artistic and logistic challenges entailed, is only appropriate for the music of a composer like Bach, who worked as hard himself. Indeed, complete cantata cycles became a *sine qua non* for those wishing to be taken seriously as Bach specialists in the late twentieth century. Following the completion of two complete cycles of Bach's cantatas by Helmuth Rilling (completed 1985) and Nikolaus Harnoncourt/Gustav Leonhardt (1990), the twenty-five years since the publication of *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* have seen the completion of no fewer than five further complete cycles of Bach's cantatas — by Ton Koopman /Amsterdam Baroque Orchestra

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[55] This idea of Bach's music as 'miniature masterpieces', in the sense that though they are masterpieces they are modest in scale and intent, is widespread in the popular reception of Bach's music. In this instance, I quote from Stephen Pritchard's review of John Eliot Gardiner and the Monteverdi Choir's recordings of Bach's Motets: 'Tackling Bach's notoriously difficult motets can be an equally precarious experience that makes for some queasy listening in less surefooted performances… Gardiner's wonderfully measured and subtle approach to these miniature masterpieces emphasises their dance-like joy…' Stephen Pritchard, 'JS Bach: Motets — Review, *The Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/may/13/bach-motets-john-eliot-gardiner-review> Last accessed 12 October 2018.

[56] 'Completism' is a term coined by sci-fi writer J.B. Speer in his *Fancyclopedia*, used to describe the phenomenon of science fiction fans 'desire to possess the complete set of something, such as every book written by an author or every issue of a specific magazine or comic.' It would seem to serve as a succinct descriptor for this particularly modernist phenomenon. See Jeff Prucher (ed.), *Brave New Words: The Oxford Dictionary of Science Fiction* (New York: OUP, 2007), 25.

[57] Alex Ross, 'The Book of Bach', *The New Yorker* <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2011/04/11/the-book-of-bach> Last accessed 15 March 2017.

(2007), Peter Jan Lausink/Netherlands Baroque Orchestra (2000), Gardiner/English Baroque Soloists & Monteverdi Choir (2012), Masaaki Suzuki/Bach Collegium Japan (2013), and Sigiswald Kuijken/La Petite Bande (2014). Despite almost bankrupting more than one of the ensembles that took on such a commitment, these projects have been received by critics as valuable and heroic endeavours, negating the extravagant cost — in every sense of the term — of their undertaking. Adjectives such as 'monumental', 'ambitious', 'heroic' and 'marathon' have been routinely employed in the classical music press.[58] The use of such terms demonstrate the twenty-first-century regard for Bach's music as being hard work for all involved.

Thus, despite Goehr's efforts to dissociate Bach from the work-concept, in the popular sphere, Bach's stature is still very much founded upon the sense of his music as works. However, I wish to propose that this usage is not necessarily the same work-concept that Goehr discourages with regard to Bach reception. It is no accident that the verbiage used to describe Bach's music by his contemporary writers frequently alludes to the interplay of the act and the enduring value of the product, suggesting in some sense that the process of creating the monument is itself perhaps the most meaningful part of the process. But rather than being a 'modern' phenomenon as Goehr would have it, I argue this ethic has strong roots in the early modern Lutheran German conception of musical work, and became a central characteristic of the nascent modern composer. As I will show in this dissertation, the dualistic nature of work and works formed one of the central themes of early modern Lutheran culture at large, and this theme was realized in the musical aesthetics of the period. The sense and value of good works was of course one of Luther's primary points of variance with Rome. In his *Sermon on Good Works,* Luther describes how:

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[58] Examples include: 'Few would argue that a complete cycle of Bach's church cantatas is just about the most ambitious recording project anyone could undertake. Masaaki Suzuki, director of the Bach Collegium Japan and the latest man to pull off the monumental task, seems remarkably relaxed about it when I talk to him the morning after the very last notes have sounded.' Lindsay Kemp, 'Recording Bach's Cantatas, with Masaaki Suzki and Bach Collegium Japan', *Gramophone*, April 2017. Available online at < https://www.gramophone.co.uk/feature/recording-bachs-cantatas-with-masaaki-suzuki-and-bach-collegium-japan> Last accessed 12 October 2018. '…captured on 27 two-disc volumes, a heroic feat honoured by Gardiner's Gramophone award.' 'Sir John Eliot Gardiner chats Bach, *Classic FM* < https://www.classicfm.com/artists/sir-john-eliot-gardiner/news/sir-john-eliot-gardiner-chats-bach/> Last accessed 12 October 2018. The term 'marathon' is often employed as both an adjective and a noun in relation to Bach's music. Erica Jeal described the Suzuki and Bach Collegium Japan's Barbican residency as 'intense, marathon immersion' Bach Collegium Japan Review, *The Guardian*, < https://www.theguardian.com/music/2016/apr/10/bach-collegium-japan-review-barbican-marathon-masaaki-suzuki> Last accessed 12 October 2018. So-called 'Bach marathons' are held frequently across the world. A prominent example was the nine-hour Bach Marathon directed by John Eliot Gardiner at London's Royal Albert Hall on 1 April 2013, which included cantatas, motets, the Mass in B Minor, alongside performances of the instrumental music.

[I have] always extolled faith. But in the world it is otherwise. There, the essential thing is to have many works — works high and great, of every dimension, without care whether they are quickened by faith. Thus, men build their peace, not on God's good pleasure, but on their own merits, that is to say, on sand.[59]

Luther's identification of the relationship between work and works, and his suspicion of works as commodities whereby objects acquire a function and life of their own, represents a prescient understanding of the modern economy. Luther urged his followers that working through faith was the only way to attain salvation and lead a worthwhile life. As he described in the Larger Catechism, first published in 1529: 'God has chosen and equipped you to perform a task so precious and pleasing to him…[it is] the miserable blindness of the world that no one will believe this, so thoroughly has the devil bewitched us with the false holiness and glamour of our own works.'[60] Against these tenets, there is a clear sense of dissonance with the modern work-concept.

I hope to show that, in attempting to rescue Bach from those who wished to appropriate him for their own reasons, Goehr in fact misses an opportunity to focus on the slippage of the term work. In exploring the relationship between the term's application as a noun and a verb, as both product and process, I aim to show that for Lutheran composers of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, these came together synergistically in the act of composition. As the passage from Luther's sermon above makes clear, the relationship between the act of working and our appreciation of its products was seen as constituting a tangible representation citizens' worldly self-presentation. For Luther, working through faith in God provided men with liberty. Of course, with the dawn of the seventeenth century, Lutheran theology become more developed and, along with other philosophical currents of individualism and secularism, its concepts of liberty and freedom evolved. Luther's view that truly good works must be borne out of faith persisted, and and could be venerated as well made and accomplished. These qualities are all themes that are evident in the rich body of musical literature and correspondences between early modern Lutheran musicians.

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[59] For the original text, see *WA* 9, 226-301.
[60] *WA* 30, 125–238. Section discussing the Fourth Commandment.

The Human Condition: Labour, Work and Action

As I will show in the main body of this dissertation, the ubiquity of the term 'work' (both as *Arbeit* and *Werk*) as it was employed by early modern Lutheran writers in relation to music was not incidental. It was used — and still is — because we lionize work in music. Most European legal systems were founded on the basis of the labour theory of property, which was discussed by a number of seventeenth-century thinkers, but was most prominently expounded by John Locke. In his *Second Treatise of Government* (1698), Locke described how objects, which might be seen as the basis of individual property, are essentially constituted by the act of labour:

> Though men as a whole own the earth and all inferior creatures, every individual man has a property in his own person [i.e. 'owns himself']; this is something that nobody else has any right to. The labour of his body and the work of his hands, we may say, are strictly his. So when he takes something from the state that nature has provided and left it in, he mixes his labour with it, thus joining to it something that is his own; and in that way he makes it his property. He has removed the item from the common state that nature has placed it in, and through this labour the item has had annexed to it something that excludes the common right of other men: for this labour is unquestionably the property of the labourer, so no other man can have a right to anything the labour is joined to — at least where there is enough, and as good, left in common for others.[61]

While Locke's ideas circulated widely in German translations, German copyright law developed slightly differently from that in England, through the privilege system.[62] Nonetheless, Locke's recognition of the central importance of labour as a means of self-definition, as the essential basis for the creation of personal possessions, echoed many of the parallel intellectual and artistic developments that were occurring in the seventeenth century in German-speaking centres. As I will show in the second chapter, early modern

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[61] Locke, S*econd Treatise of Government*; Laslett, *John Locke: Two Treatises of Government*, 328.
[62] See Konstantin Pollok, *Locke In Germany Early German Translations of John Locke, 1709-61* (Bristol: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004). The *Second Treatise of Government* is contained within in Vol. 6.
For more information on Lockean labour theory and its impact on the development of continental legislation, see Martin Senftleben, *Copyright, Limitations, and the Three-step Test: An Analysis of the Three-Step Test in International and EC Law* (Den Haag: Kluwer Law International, 2004), 8-9.

German music theorists also regarded the act of working as a means of transforming natural materials into unique musical constructions, prefiguring some of the characteristics associated with the modern work-concept. One of the features nineteenth-century writers regularly appreciated in earlier music was its sense of rigorous craft, admiring the perceived effort involved in composition. Philipp Spitta described Bach's developments in chorale-writing: 'The closing chorale was the modest vessel in which the whole essence of the cantata was to be collected; and it was a *labour of honour*, and worthy of the artist, to preserve it with loving care, and to cover it with emblematic decorations.'[63] For Spitta, even the humblest forms of Bach's work were to be traced to his work ethic — a quality that was highly prized by nineteenth-century bourgeois German society.[64]

The twentieth century saw the expansion of philosophical and sociological enquiries attempting to understand the history and cultural meanings of work, as an activity in which virtually everyone in a modern, interdependent society participates. As Herbert Applebaum observes, 'work is like the spine which structures the way people live, how they make contact with material and social reality, and how they achieve status and self-esteem.'[65] Our understandings and assumptions regarding the role work has occupied in European society have been indelibly influenced by some of the centrally definitive movements of modernity. The Industrial Revolution changed the face of the world, through the division of labour and by providing the means for over-production that Marx and others identified in modern capitalism.[66] It is perhaps ironic that during the period I examine here, the global slave trade began to take off, fuelling the development of the modern transatlantic economy, which resulted in rapidly altered social structures on both shores.[67] In these contexts, work must surely be seen as something that has irrevocably transformed our concept of peoples, places and objects.

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[63] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach — His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany 1685-1750*, trans. Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller-Maitland (London: Novello, 1889; reprinted New York: Dover Publications, 1992), Vol.1 of 3, 500 (italics added).

[64] For a discussion of the work ethic in nineteenth-century German, and its importance in broader cultural terms, see Joan Campbell, *Joy in Work, German Work: The National Debate, 1800-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), particularly 222-3.

[65] Herbert Applebaum, *The Concept of Work — Ancient, Medieval, and Modern* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1992), ix.

[66] For an overview of sociological discourse regarding the concept of work and nineteenth-century economic and social shifts, see Lenard R. Berlanstein (ed.), *The Industrial Revolution and Work in Nineteenth-century Europe* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[67] See Calvin Schermerhorn, *The Business of Slavery and the Rise of American Capitalism*, 1815-1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015). As Schermerhorn describes on pp. 4-5, the transfer of slaves as tokens of financial borrowing was one of the significant factors that resulted in over a million slaves of African descent being transported across the Atlantic to America by the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Despite the high regard that we afford work, and the way by which we have mythologized the musical work, relatively few — if any — scholars have attempted to understand composition as an act of working. It is a paradox of classical music that we *play* musical *works* — something that holds true in German (*spielen*), as well as in other European languages. As I described above, most approaches to the work-concept have primarily focused on the reception of the work, rather than the process of production. In developing my ideas on this subject, however, I have been influenced by Nicholas Wolterstorff's idea of 'world projection'. Wolterstorff discusses art in terms of being an *action*, something performed or created by the artist in his role as an agent, rather than from the audience.[68] Just because a work might have been intended for a particular function or occasion does not necessarily mean it cannot fulfil any other role. The potential sense of agency that works could afford their creator is something of which early modern composers were mindful, and which is discernible through their own music and writings. Between correspondences, dedications and musical signification, it is clearly observable that early modern Lutheran culture was replete with references to the value of work and its essential requirements for personal validation.

Another strong influence in the development of my thinking has been the German-born political theorist/social philosopher Hannah Arendt. In her 1958 book *The Human Condition*, Arendt identified work as being one of the three central activities of human life, and a universal feature common to all civilizations. One of the crucial features of her theory is in defining a distinction between the two related — but different — acts of work and labour. As she qualifies:

> *Labour* is the activity which corresponds to the biological process of the human body, whose spontaneous growth, metabolism, and eventual decay are bound to the vital necessities produced and fed into the life process by labour. The human condition of labour is life itself.
>
> *Work* is the activity which corresponds to the unnaturalness of human existence, which is not imbedded in, and whose mortality is not compensated by, the species' ever-recurring life cycle. Work provides an 'artificial' world of things, distinctly different from all natural surroundings. Within its borders each individual life is

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[68] Nicholas Wolterstorff, *Works and Worlds of Art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980).

housed, while this world itself is meant to outlast and transcend them all. The human condition of work is worldliness.[69]

For Arendt, labour is merely the endeavour that is required merely to sustain human life, while work, in its application and production of the 'human artefact' bestows a more significant meaning upon both the agent and its object. She describes how work provides a 'measure of permanence and durability upon the futility of mortal life and the fleeting character of human time', proposing that this compulsion to work forms the chief characteristic differences between *homo faber* (i.e. 'man as maker') and *animal laborans* ('the labouring animal'):

> The man-made world of things, the human artifice erected by *homo faber*, becomes a home for mortal men, whose stability will endure and last the ever-changing movement of their lives and actions, only insomuch as it transcends both the sheer functionalism of things produced for consumption and the sheer utility of objects produced for use.[70]

Arendt proposed that the Enlightenment marked a watershed, in the way that it encouraged the prioritization of the act of contemplation over the act of making. Because of this, the status of art was altered, whereby 'artists were sort of sacrificial for the benefit of others', and the majority of human beings were forced to live as *animal laborans*.[71] Arendt viewed this shift as one of the definitive moments in the emergence of modernity, which brought with it three processes: the rise of the social, world alienation and earth alienation. Her identification of the process of world alienation refers to the sense of loss of an inter-subjective world constituted by experience and action, through which personal identities were historically formed. By earth alienation, she described the process by which modern science and philosophy attempted to escape the earth's boundaries, ultimately resulting in the space race. In a similar vein, in the introduction of Julian Johnson's recent monograph *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity*, Johnson refers to astronaut William Anders's 1968 photograph 'Earthrise' as a 'defining historical moment' for human self-identity and the fulfilment of Copernicanism.[72] In these instances, work can be seen as delivering the endpoint of modernity — not merely transforming the world, but actually transcending it.

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[69] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 7.
[70] *Ibid.*, 173.
[71] *Ibid.*, *The Human Condition*, 304.
[72] Julian Johnson, *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1-2.

This might all seem somewhat far removed from Bach and early modern Lutheran music. However, in describing the period I am referring to as 'early modern', I consider it as the beginning of this process — as a point at which the recognition of work's potential was being realized, and when opportunities for its employment began to increase. As I have already pointed out, musicologists are unused to the idea of considering composition as a creative activity in such prosaic terms as work, and in seeing it as an act of making or fabrication. As the American philosopher John Dewey described in the 1930s:

> Art is a quality of doing and what is done. Only outwardly, then, can it be designated by a noun substantive. Since it adheres to the manner and content of doing, it is adjectival in nature…The *product* of art — temple, painting, statue, poem — is not the *work* of art. The work takes place when a human being cooperates with the product so that the outcome is an experience that is enjoyed because of its liberating and ordered properties.[73]

On the one hand, we might see the cooperation Dewey describes as performance; however, this minimizes the process essential in the act of composition. When we consider Bach's preface to the *Musikalisches Opfer*, his invocation of the idea of work and the implications regarding the systematic application of his efforts to a difficult task clearly correlate with the perceived value of the work as an activity, as observed by Arendt and among others. Having invested further work on the subject he was given, he in turn produced a product that was of greater significance than his apparently already very impressive improvisation, which would surely have done enough to create a good impression at the Prussian court. Why did Bach feel compelled to do this? In answering this question, I believe we need to find a way of understanding composition as an act in itself, distinct from improvisation. The principal argument of this dissertation is that a work-concept did in fact function within the German musical world long before 1800, but that in order to understand how and why it functioned, we need to shift our attention beyond the apparent products of work and pay greater attention to how the *process* of composition was regarded. My historical investigation seeks to recover how composition was understood by early modern Lutherans as an act of work, and — ultimately — to highlight the continued significance and the ethical implications of this, in relation to twenty-first-century classical musical culture.

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[73] John Dewey, 'The Varied Substance of the Arts', in Jo Ann Boydston (ed.), *John Dewey — The Later Works, 1925-1953: Vol.10, Art as Experience* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1987; reprinted 2008), 218

Chapter Overview

This dissertation is divided into four chapters, each of which explores the historical conception of work and its relation to music from a different perspective. The opening chapter considers the explicit references to work in some musical examples by Heinrich Schütz, Christoph Bernhard and Dieterich Buxtehude, as important precursors to J.S. Bach. It also draws upon Luther's own writings regarding work and music, to demonstrate the centrality of work as a theological doctrine before it become a social imperative. It also introduces some pertinent philosophical discussions of the individual by Leibniz and Wolff, as a means of showing how the idea of work was attached to the development of the individual in early modern German thought, and how composition as musical work might be regarded as a means of self representation in the wider world.

Chapter II explores the developments of music theory in the German tradition, particularly in the emergence of *musica poetica*. This suggestive but vague description at the head of Nikolaus Listenius's treatise has often been cited in discussions regarding the work-concept, but has been introduced without any real sense of evaluating its cultural background. In this chapter, I examine how the very concept of the musical composition was changing in sixteenth-century music theory, and how Zarlino's ideas influenced a number of German theorists in their theoretical conceptions of music as an art that man could master through work.

Chapter III focuses on the ubiquity and cultural resonances of counterpoint in the Lutheran tradition. Drawing on evidence both from its advocates and, in the later eighteenth century, its detractors, it assesses how counterpoint was regarded not simply as a texture, but as a means for representing the work as process. It shows how rigorous counterpoint and its teaching were frequently described using metaphors explicitly relating to work, asking why this was, and why the practice of producing highly elaborate yet dense — and at times diffuse — counterpoint persisted in German musical circles, long after Italian and French contemporaries began to favour a more verticalized harmonic approach.

Chapter IV unites all of these themes, in attempting to identify what the musical work had become and what it was deemed capable of doing and *being*. It attempts to show

how musical works came to be regarded as such, locating them as being the nexus of the processes I describe as 'actualization'. Beginning with the consolidation phase (taking into account a composer's education, exposure to other composers' music and artistic stimulus), I trace the subsequent stages of generation and interaction where works can be seen become realized, reproduced, transmitted and performed. Taking into particular account the correspondence and publications of Heinrich Schütz as a case study, it considers how musical works began to be understood as representing personal intellectual property, and seeks to provide a process-oriented theoretical means of comprehending how composers' work came to be regarded as objects, rather than traditional ontic approaches made by philosophers, or the approaches based on specific composers or works traditionally offered by musicologists. I propose that Schütz makes for a particularly rewarding case study, in light of the different ways in which he has been regarded in history, appropriated variously as cosmopolitan European, devout Lutheran by the German *Singbewegung* in the 1920s, and as a cultural icon by the Nazi movement in 1930s Germany.[74] As well as ascertaining his importance as a seminal figure in the development of music being considered as work, by seeking to observe the evidence surrounding his compositional activity, it is my hope that we might be able to move beyond these ideologically motivated readings, and find a way of reconciling his music and his biography and a new manner.

Some twenty-five years after Goehr's study, it could be suggested that there is little more to be gained from any further discussion regarding the work-concept. However, I wish to propose that, on the contrary and in light of the evidence I present here, it is clear that there remains a great deal indeed that is worthy of discussion — particularly in relation to this repertory. Goehr's identification of Bach in her study as a composer of 'non-works' was significant. As I hope to demonstrate, the work-concept's presence is rooted deeper in the consciousness of German musical history than Goehr initially recognized. By exploring it here from a fresh perspective, and developing a clearer understanding of how the idea of work actually functioned in the creative culture of the musicians I consider, I hope to contribute to a more nuanced work-concept, one that admits and reflects historical fact.

In all of this, I seek to show that the contemporary sense of 'the musical work' is, in fact, substantiated on some conscious level by the integration of the ideal of composer's work (as

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[74] For discussions of the respective depictions, see Elisabeth Rothmund, *Heinrich Schütz: Kulturpatriotismus und deutsche weltliche Vokalmusik* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2004); Joshua Rifkin, 'Towards a New Image of Heinrich Schütz — 2', *The Musical Times*, 126/1714 (1985), 716-720; and Walter Werbeck,, 'Das Schütz-Bild in der DDR', in *Schütz-Rezeption im Wandel der Zeit* (ed. Friederike Böcher (Bad Köstritz: Heinrich-Schütz-Haus, 2005), 89–109.

process) with that which we perceive to be the composer's work (as product). Thus, I hope that this dissertation might be a useful addition not only to the more specific discourse on early modern German music, but might also offer some inspiration towards a helpful approach in integrating the wider discipline of historical musicology with the theory of musical composition. The idea that the work was a token of value, that it enabled musicians to begin to garner the social prestige and artistic reputation subsequently afforded to them, is surely an important phenomenon to explore in tracing the development of the modern composer. While Goehr argued that Bach did not intend to compose musical works, I aim to show that such a claim is not only incorrect, but misses an important opportunity to explore the implications associated with work as a process and an ethic. The imaginary museum was probably not all that imaginary for composers such as Brahms and Mendelssohn, who saw Bach as a means of improving their own music. For Schütz, Praetorius and Bach, however, their work represented who they were, and served as a means of effecting their own identity in a world that obliged them to balance a series of external values between of church and state, and between their patrons and their peers.

CHAPTER I

The Work of Men's Hands

The aria 'Flößt, mein Heiland, flößt dein Namen', which features in the fourth cantata of the *Weinachtsoratorium* (BWV 248) and is frequently referred to as '*the* echo aria' is undoubtedly one of the best-loved pieces of Bach's vocal music. To the three rhetorical questions posed by the soprano — 'My Saviour, does Your Name instil even the tiniest seed of that sharp fear?'; 'Should I be afraid of dying?'; and 'Should I rejoice?' — an echo reassuringly responds 'No!', 'No!', and 'Yes!' But, like much of the music Bach drew together as the Christmas Oratorio, this aria had a previous existence.[1] In the *dramma per musica* 'Laßt uns sorgen, laßt uns wachen' (BWV 213), composed for the eleventh birthday of Prince Friedrich Christian on 5 September 1733, Bach set a dramatized version by Christoph Friedrich Henrici (Picander) of the legend of Hercules' choice, as related in Xenophon's *Memoriabilia*. In the equivalent movement, the alto soloist singing the role of the protagonist Hercules poses only two questions:

Treues Echo dieser Orten,	*True echo of these parts*
Sollt ich bei den Schmeichelworten	*shall I be led astray by*
Süßer Leitung irrig sein?	*the sweet directives of honey-words?*
Gib mir deine Antwort: Nein!	*Give me your answer: No!*
— Nein!	*— No!*
Oder sollte das Ermahnen,	*Or should the warning*
Das so mancher Arbeit nah,	*that so much work is to be done*
Mir die Wege besser bahnen?	*Better lead the way?*
Ach! so sage lieber: Ja!	*Then better say: Yes!*
— Ja!	*— Yes!*

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[1] This itself was adapted from the lost aria BWV Anh. I 11, no. 7, of 1732). For more information regarding this, see Richard D. P. Jones, *The Creative Development of Johann Sebastian Bach, Volume II: 1717-1750: Music to Delight the Spirit* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 275.
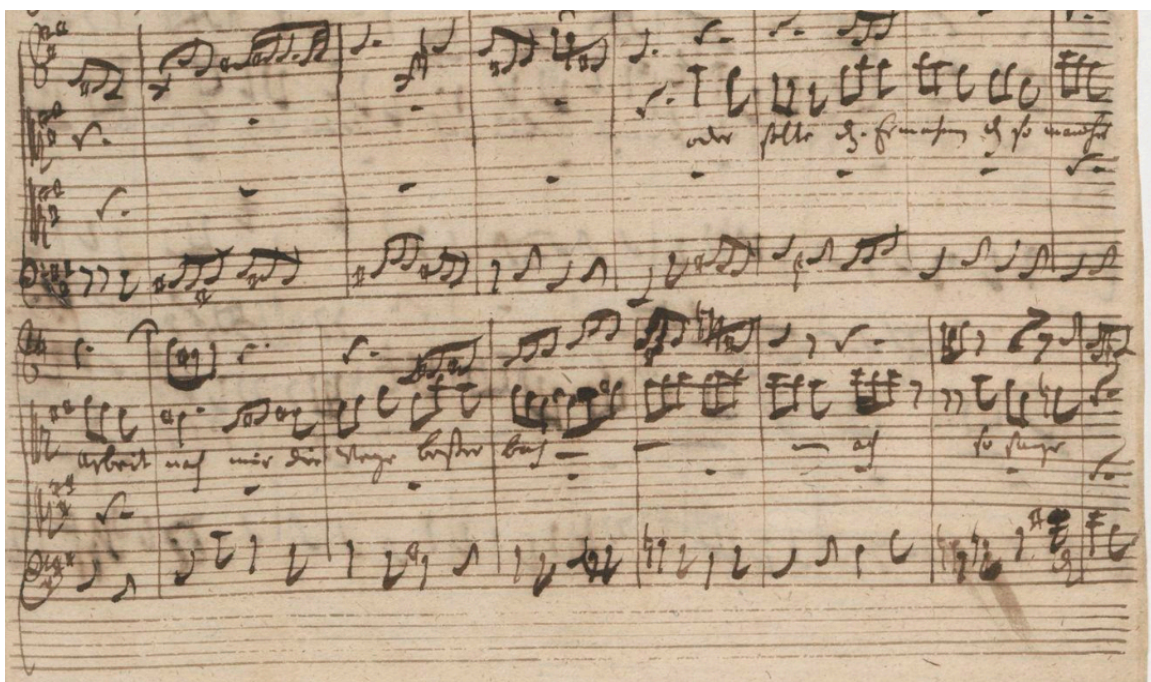
Figure 1.1 Detail from D-B Mus. Ms. Bach P 125 (Bach's hand)

The allegorical connection is implicit between Hercules, son of Zeus — who went on to complete his twelve labours — and Prince Friedrich Christian, who went on to inscribe in his diary that 'Princes exist for their subjects, not subjects for their princes.' Sadly, the musically gifted Friedrich, having suffered ill health from birth, would only rule as Elector of Saxony for three months before his early death in 1763.[2] But the imperative of Picander's text is clear: work is a virtue.

This opening 'historical' chapter comprises two main efforts. Observing that the virtuous nature of work as an act was frequently depicted by seventeenth and eighteenth-century Lutheran composers (including Bach), I would first like to examine Martin Luther's own writings on the subjects of music and work, also taking into account how they have subsequently been discussed and appropriated in Lutheran theology. Indeed, Luther's doctrine about the relationship between working and works might be seen as one of the fundamental points of dispute that resulted in the Reformation. I offer this examination in order to establish a firm sense of the background for the Lutheran work ethic, and to disentangle it from Max Weber's influential but problematic 'Protestant work ethic', which

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[2] Indeed, his portrait in the Schloss Nymphenburg shows him in a wheelchair (!). See Horst Schlechte, *Das geheime politische Tagebuch des Kurprinzen Friedrich Christian: 1751 bis 1757* (Weimar: Böhlau-Verlag, 1992).

is actually predicated more on the tenets of Calvinism. As part of this, I would like to present an analytical perspective on some key musical examples from compositions by Heinrich Schütz, Christoph Bernhard and Bach, which specifically set scriptural texts extolling value of work. In these, I would like to suggest that by embodying the central message of their texts — the ethic of work — these musical compositions actually aspired to be works in themselves. I mean this in the sense that their message acquired a set of latent or potential actions, in contradistinction to the more fully fledged Beethoven quartet-type of work. Through a series of functions (which I will relate in my fourth chapter, as part of what I refer to as the actualization of the musical work), this work-ethic became precipitated in the work *qua* work-object, one of the the central means in establishing the composer's identity and agency. As a means of contextualizing this, in what follows I will also examine how these theological and musical themes correspond with some seminal contemporaneous philosophical attempts to understand the self as an agent in the world.

This is a significant part of what I mean when I suggest in the introduction that, pace Goehr, Bach did, in fact, intend to compose pieces of music that can in a very real sense be defined as 'musical works'. His work-concept, I contend, was precipitated by a set of specifically Lutheran values, which can be seen to have pervaded the social structure that supported early modern German artistic culture. In examining the connection between music and ethic in this way, I hope to show that the immanent nature of the *process* of working and the product as latent event it generates is a crucial feature of the work-concept's history, which has been under-explored to date. In what follows, I will suggest that it exerted a definitive influence on the development of German music from the seventeenth century into the first half of eighteenth century.

Beruf: Work as Vocation

In comparing any notion of musical works or the work-concept with Luther's theology, a number of dissonances quickly become apparent. Fundamental to Lutheran Reformation was a rejection of the Catholic Church's veneration of good works. As Luther clearly expressed in his *De Servo Arbitrio* ('The Bondage of the Will'), written by way of response to Erasmus's critique *De Liberto Arbitrio* (On Free Will), Luther claimed 'If the man himself is not righteous, neither are his works or endeavours righteous; and if they are not righteous,

they are damnable and deserving of wrath.'[3] Much of Luther's subsequent theology was founded on this notion that one who gained worldly pride by amassing works could not attain salvation; only the man who worked with a pure heart would find justification by faith. The Swedish theologian Gustaf Wingren's text *Luther on Vocation* remains the most comprehensive examination of Luther's doctrine regarding *Beruf*.[4] Wingren explores the subject within the context of the holistic structures of Luther's theology, proposing that Luther regarded vocation as man's chief occupation between his baptism and the resurrection. Wingren suggests that Luther saw work — crucially, when combined with faith — as the chief means by which the central struggles of life were mediated; between the 'old self' and the perpetual development of a 'new self', and between God and the devil.[5] As Wingren describes at the outset of his text:

> Good works and vocation exist for the earth and for one's neighbor, not for eternity and God. God does not need our good works, but our neighbor does. It is faith that God wants. Faith ascends to heaven. Faith enters a different kingdom, the eternal divine kingdom, which Luther considers just as evident as the earthly realm, with its offices and occupations through which God carries on his creative work.[6]

As Wingren perceived, in Luther's formulation the definitive feature of vocation was the combination of work with faith. Vocation is contingent on both. A similar understanding of this ethic is conveyed in numerous examples of Lutheran music into the eighteenth century — and even into the nineteenth, as evidenced by composers including Brahms, a well-known agnostic. The first movement of Bach's chorale cantata 'Es ist das Heil uns kommen her' (BWV 9), the text of which Brahms would also later use in his Op. 29 motets, succinctly encapsulates this ethic:

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[3] *LW* 33, 270. Erasmus's text was itself a response to Luther's 1520 polemic, *Von der Babylonischen Gefangenschaft der Kirche.*
[4] Gustaf Wingren (trans. Carl C. Rasmussen), *Luther on Vocation* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg, 1957; Original Swedish version published in 1942).
[5] Ibid., 67.
[6] Ibid., 10.

The cantata's libretto was adapted by an anonymous writer from Paul Speratus's 1523 fourteen-verse chorale, and the same message of the opening verse forms the subject matter of the fifth movement, an elaborate duet for soprano and alto. The movement begins with a canon at the fifth between the obbligato flute and oboe d'amore. The second half of the ritornello sees the introduction of a second canon at b.12, this time at the fourth and with the instrumental order reversed. The initial subject is then simplified for the vocal entries (in canon) in b.25. When the obbligato instruments return in b.32, the second half of the ritornello forms a double canon over the top. As I will discuss in the third chapter, contrapuntal textures and forms had specific work-like resonances for early modern composers.

With its superficially charming and understated nature, it is easy to miss this contrapuntal complexity on the first hearing of the A section. However, its effect becomes clear when it is reprised in the form of a modified *da capo*. The strikingly different timbres of the flute and oboe
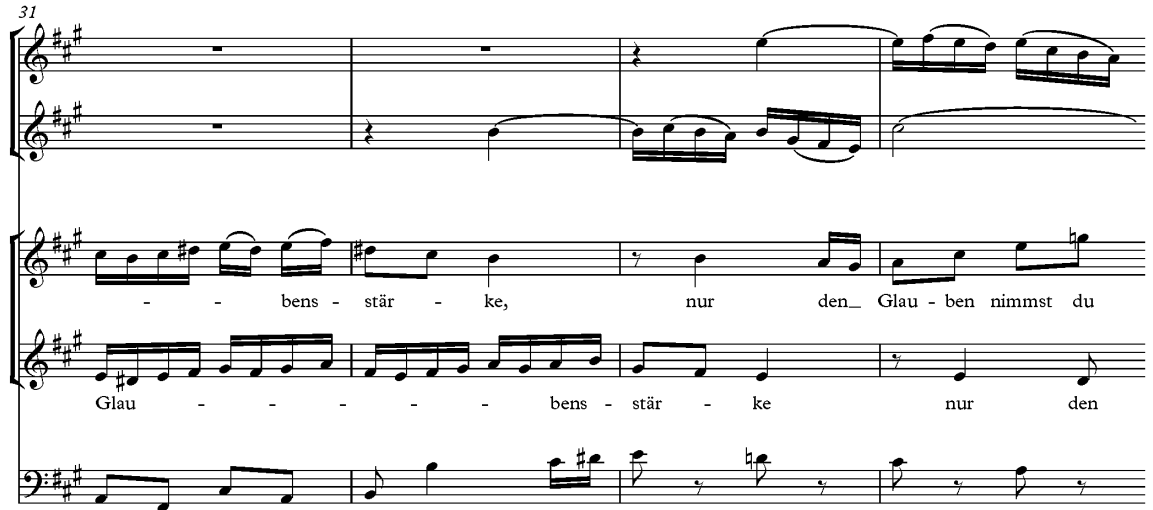
Music Example 1.1 Duetto — Fifth movement (BWV 9)

d'amore in the opening canon convey the impression of unity from their audible duality. Hearing the more elaborate version of the ritornello simplified, without its decorous semiquavers, brings out the sense of honest integrity that Luther preached as being realized through faith, and enhanced by faithful working. With the four independent voices heard in this strict texture, supported by a simple continuo part providing only basic harmonic support, the movement might be heard as an allegorical representation of the interdependency of different individuals in society, and equality under God. In due course, with the rise of the modern state, this would be reframed as equality under the law. Work was thus one of the most important forms of individual definition. In their treatment of it as a theme and in the way that it shaped the development of their aesthetic, Lutheran composers seem to have been acutely aware of this.

Before delving any deeper into an exploration of Luther's theology of work and *Beruf*, I must offer two disclaimers. Firstly, that the connections between Luther's theology and musicians active in the eighteenth century are by no means always so explicit. Luther's writings are frequently open to multiple interpretations. One of the most problematic features evident in surveying the historical literature on Lutheran work and music is that, prior to the twentieth century, it was invariably written by practising Lutherans in possession of a particularly evangelical zeal in tracing a direct line between Bach and Luther. As Rebecca Lloyd points out, the discourses in Luther studies have been heavily influenced by a number of internally competing political and theological ideologies, which have often

tended to attribute parts of Luther's doctrines to Bach without any real substantive historical evidence.[7] Secondly, while Max Weber is responsible for the pervasive influence of the idea of the 'Protestant work ethic' in contemporary culture, his *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905) is a highly problematic text, in the way by which it conflates selective elements of both Lutheranism and Calvinism to prop up his own overarching theory in support of capitalism.[8] While many of Weber's observations are highly perceptive, it is essential to keep in mind his own historical context. As H.J. Hahn points out, the nature of what actually constituted work was one of the crucial points of departure between Lutheranism and Calvinism. As he qualifies, in Lutheranism, *Arbeit* is not qualified by its material success or achievement, and 'there is thus a certain analogy between God's divine creation and our everyday creative work. Work has to be creative, be it the artisan at his workbench of the philosopher in his study.'[9] Hahn traces this idea as an important precursor to the concept of *Weltfrömmigkeit*, which later became central to the mindset of Enlightenment thinkers including Kant. Disentangling the twentieth-century combination of Calvinist and Lutheran doctrine is essential in understanding what was of such historical significance in the musical world into which Bach was born.

Work was unquestionably one of the crucial themes in Luther's early writings, and became an important feature for the developing Lutheran and Reformed confessions alike, as they developed out of the sixteenth century. Luther, Calvin and Zwingli all wrote about work's role as an expression of faith, but work was conceived and articulated most specifically by Luther, as the main act through which man mediated between his society and God, during his time on earth. Historically, work had been a penance, seen as a necessary force for the maintenance of institutions, and it was often carried out by poorly paid subjects or slaves. The sociologist John Budd observes that in medieval European societies, work fell into three categories of descending value: *oratores* — the clergy who pray; *bellatores* — soldiers who fight; and *laboratores* — those whose worked in support of the clergy and warriors in their activities, who were above them in the social stratum.[10] In Luther's concept of calling he eliminated the Catholic Church's dual standards of 'higher' and 'lower' working orders, establishing the idea of *Beruf*. This concept has clear similarities with the

[7] Rebecca Lloyd, 'Bach: Luther's Musical Prophet?', *Current Musicology*, 83 (2007), 5-32.
[8] Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (*Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, 1905), trans. Talcott Parson (London and New York: Routledge Classics, 2001).
[9] H.J. Hahn, German Thought and Culture: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 30.
[10] John W. Budd, *The Thought of Work*, (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 2011), 11.

Catholic idea *vocatio*, which has its roots in the verb *vocare*, which means literally 'to call'. In the medieval world, this was associated with a sense of religious calling — i.e. in a monastic capacity. But for Luther, who challenged the medieval belief that monasticism was the singular vocation of ethical value, God was not to be obtained through an appreciation of 'false' works, but rather through honest working, inspired by faith. Thus, even the humblest occupation, when infused with faith, became capable of becoming a vocation.

In his sermon for the Fifth Sunday after Trinity 1532, Luther meditates on Luke 5:1-11, in which Jesus calls his first disciples. Standing by the Lake of Gennesaret, Simon Peter complains to Jesus of having laboured in fishing all night but catching nothing. Jesus instructs the men to continue to cast their nets into the deeper waters, after which their nets were filled with fish. Luther outlines this an instruction:

> There stands God's work and command; they apply to us as well as to St. Peter. With them God orders us to work and to do whatever our calling requires. Therefore he who looks to his calling (*Beruf*) and continues to work diligently (*fleißig*), even if good fortune is against him and success fails to come for a while, is bound to fare well in the end. For God cannot do otherwise…therefore no one should become disgruntled or unwilling, even if, like Peter, he does not fish in vain for a night.[11]

Luther clarifies here his concept of *Beruf* here, which obliges every man to devote his own capacity for work within the occupation that God has placed him. This willingness to engage in difficult work with 'diligence' (*Fleiß*) was considered a virtue, and *Fleiß* is term which, as I will show throughout the course of this dissertation, appears frequently in musical texts and writings by composers, resonating with Luther's use of it here. Luther emphasizes how every Christian in his profession must see work as a duty. In his commentary on Psalm 128 (cf. Schütz's setting of this psalm, which I discuss below), Luther proclaimed that:

> Your work is a very sacred matter. God delights in it, and through it wants to bestow His blessing on you. The praise of work should be inscribed on all tools, on

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[11] Trans. in Ewald Plass, *What Luther Says* (St Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1959). For a transcription in the original German and Latin, see *WA* 36, 201-206.

the forehead and face that sweat from toiling…the pious, who fear the Lord, labour with a ready and cheerful heart; for they know God's command and will. For the world does not consider labour a blessing. Therefore it flees and hates it. But the pious, who fear the Lord, labour with a ready and cheerful heart; for they know God's command and will. Thus a pious farmer sees this verse written on his wagon and plow, a cobbler sees it on wood and iron: 'Happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.'[12]

And Luther is clear that it is not only work producing physical, functional objects that should be deemed important: mental work is also included within this definition, as he establishes in his commentary on the same psalm. The moralistic character of this is well-captured in a translation initiated by John Foxe and published by Thomas Vautrollier in London in 1577: 'But here we must note that this is not called labour only when the body is exercised and wearied, but the care and trouble of the mind is also a labour. For the prophet useth here such a word as signifieth not only that labour which is done with the hand, but also the discommodities, the sorrows, and vexations, which in our labour and with our labour do we sustain.'[13] For Luther, all work that was undertaken in faith was valuable and spiritually virtuous.

However, with the incremental development of an urban middle class in Lutheran Germany, occupying an emergent space between the lower orders and the aristocracy, 'mental' work gradually became to be seen as more respectable than dirty, manual labour.[14] Cleaners, shepherds and barbers were all seen as having 'dishonourable' occupations, while the professional and bureaucratic positions were afforded large amounts of social prestige.[15] As I will discuss throughout this dissertation, professional music occupied a somewhat ambiguous status, and composers including Schütz, Telemann and Händel were all expected to prepare for legal careers in order to obtain a 'respectable station'. Although this system of honour was increasingly linked to the emergence of the middle class, the nature

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[12] Trans. in Plass, 1494. For the original Latin, See *WA* 4, 417.

[13] Martin Luther, *A commentarie upon the fiftene Psalmes, called Psalmi graduum, that is, Psalmes of degrees faithfully copied out of the lectures of D. Martin Luther; very frutefull and comfortable for all Christian afflicted consciences to reade; translated out of Latine into Englishe by Henry Bull* (London: Thomas Vautrollier, 1577), 172. For more information on Luther's influence on John Foxe and the production of these translations, see Elizabeth Evenden and Thomas S. Freeman, *Religion and the Book in Early Modern England: The Making of John Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 251–55.

[14] See Carol Baron, (ed.), *Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community*, Eastman Studies in Music, v. 37 (Rochester, NY, 2006), 8–11.

[15] For a fascinating discussion of the 'dishonourable' professions, see Kathy Stuart, *Defiled Trades and Social Outcasts: Honor and Ritual Pollution in Early Modern Germany*, Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

of the division between the mental and physical aspects of music were articulated in the emergence of the German *musica poetica* tradition, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

In Bach's own records of his family, he takes special care to list his ancestors' occupations.[16] The earliest of these, Vitus Bach, is listed as a white-bread baker (*ein Weißbecker*) and amateur cittern player, who was forced to flee Hungary due to his Lutheran faith. His son, Johannes Bach is also listed as a baker, before a description of his apprenticeship as a *Stadtpfeiffer* Gotha. Various other seventeenth-century Bachs are recorded, with their professions. However, beneath the names of the brothers Johann Christoph Bach and Johann Michael Bach, Bach includes the descriptions 'ein profonder Componist' and 'ein habiler Componist' respectively. Indeed, beneath Johann Christoph's entry, C.P.E. Bach has inserted the annotation, 'this is the great and expressive composer.'[17] In a discussion of the biographical history of Johann Christoph Bach, however, Daniel Melamed comments that the idea of the *Componist* did not yet exist as a profession in the seventeenth century:

> 'Componist' was not an occupation or profession in the late seventeenth century. J. S. Bach's use of the term reflects pride in an accomplishment of his ancestors: the production of musical works. But there was more than family pride involved, because the writing (and later the publication) of musical works helped define a change in roles for musicians. Composition was not necessarily important to seventeenth-century church or civic servants like town musicians or organists, but became a central activity of eighteenth-century Kapellmeisters, city music directors and independent artists.[18]

As Melamed suggests, Bach's identification of his father's cousins as composers was due to the fact that he possessed copies of their works in the *Altbachisches Archiv*. In drawing special attention to their compositional talent, Bach might be seen as attempting to consolidate his own musical pedigree and social status. As I hope to show, Melamed's qualification here is not necessarily accurate. As I will propose, composers from the seventeenth century onwards in Lutheran music sought to assert their professional pedigree through composition. The act of composition allowed them a means of validating and replicating

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[16] *NBR*, 283-294; *BD* I, 184
[17] *NBR*, 288.
[18] Daniel Melamed, 'Constructing Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703), *Music & Letters* 80/3 (1999), 346.

their respective selves, while fulfilling valuable professional duties, in line with Luther's theology. As I will explain, music's malleability shifted from being perceived as mimetic by nature towards an emphasis on the man-made and artificial. 'Working' in music became a means of composers demonstrating their skills and actualizing these virtues.

Composition, as an intellectual activity, began to be seen as a separate, more prestigious role in the musical sphere — and composers sought to publicize their capabilities. As Stephen Rose discusses, in the composer and author Johann Kuhnau's satyrical novel *Der musicalische Quacksalber* ('The Musical Charlatan'), the protagonist Caraffa is ridiculed for his inability to properly work out his composition:

> Composition is usually a work of the intellect (*Arbeit der Geister*) in which, apart from the writing-hand, only the imagination, memory and judgement are occupied. But in the way Caraffa wanted to compose his song, all parts of his body had to participate. Now he was whistling, now drumming with his hands, now playing on the table as if it were a keyboard, now humming something with his tongue. In order that the tempo not be forgotten, he kept time now with his head, now with his foot. No man who performs the most difficult craft by working most diligently (*fleißigsten arbeitet*) can exert himself as greatly as Caraffa did here.[19]

In fact, Kuhnau includes a printed example of Caraffa's attempt at a setting of Psalm 110 (*Confitebor tibi Domine*) to illustrate the ineptitude of his compositional abilities. However, the comical irony in Kuhnau's description of the rogue Caraffa carries an important moral assertion, using the rhetorical device of *antithesis*. By characterising Caraffa as a charlatan, Kuhnau — Bach's predecessor as *Thomaskantor* — implies himself as the opposite. In a series of directives to would-be musicians at the end of the novel, Kuhnau attributes the moral superiority of composers, claiming them to be 'kings of the profession, leading with the sceptre among other musicians' and the best candidates to be Capellmeisters.[20] Writing in

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[19] 'Die *Composition* ist sonsten eine Arbeit der Geister/ dabey ausser der Hand/ die da schreibet/ die Fantasie/ das Gedächtnüß und *Judicium* alleine geschäfftig sind: Wie aber *Caraffa* sein Lied dichten wolte/ hatten alle Gliedmassen des Leibes mit zu thun: Bald pfiffe er mit dem Maul/ bald drommelte er mit den Händen; Bald fingerte er auff dem Tische; Bald liedelte er sein Kopff/ bald auch sein Fuß den *Tact* halten. Es kan kein Mann/ der das schwerste Handwerck treibet/ in dem er am fleißigsten arbeitet/ sich so sehr bemühen/ als hier *Caraffa* that.' Johann Kuhnau, *Der musicalische Quacksalber* (Dresden, 1700), 143. Translated in Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, 2011), 141.
[20] 'Was die Profession anbetrifft/ so sind etliche gleichsam unter denen Musicis wie die Könige zu achten/ die/ so zu reden/ den Scepter führen/ und andern Gesetze vorschreiben: das ist/ welche der Composition häuptlich obliegen/ und die Stelle derer Capellmeister vertreten.' Kuhnau, *Der musicalische Quacksalber*, 503-4.

1700, Kuhnau is clearly attempting to present himself as a *professional* composer as well as a novelist.

Luther and Music

My specific attempt in this chapter is to understand how a number of key seventeenth and eighteenth-century composers responded to the theme of work in their music, and how this might be related to their theological and social environments. But before I continue, it seems necessary to stress at this point that the history of music's functions within Lutheranism and its different institutions is diverse and complex. At several historical moments, a number of discrete movements sought to shift the style and function of music and its place within the liturgy away from aesthetic complexity — and it would be fatuous to claim (as many popular depictions of Lutheran music in the commemorative year 2017 have attempted) that Lutheran music represents a unified tradition. As such, this dissertation does not by any means purport to offer a comprehensive historical or theoretical overview of Lutheran liturgical music, instead focusing on how music and work were related. In recent years, Robin Leaver, Joseph Herl and Joyce L. Irwin have each provided invaluable overviews of some of the key debates, and evaluated how far these have been accurately reflected in the writings of German historians who have documented Lutheran music.[21]

As Leaver has shown, music features as a 'persistent area of misunderstanding and misrepresentation' in both theological and musicological scholarship. Many writers have been keen to identify Luther's writings as the evidence of a seminal moment in German culture, and responsible for what has often been characterized as the beginning of a musical modernity. Oskar Söhngen, one of the most prolific Lutheran theologians of the twentieth century provides an example of this. Söhngen claims that in the sixteenth century

> Something new had dawned in the understanding of music: music possessed the
> capacity to participate in the spreading of the Gospel. Now, besides the Word of
> God in sermons, and visibly present in the Sacrament, there was the sung Word, in
> which the active power of music was linked with that of the Gospel. The original

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[21] In particular, see Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications*, Lutheran Quarterly Books (Grand Rapids, Mich, 2007); Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Joyce L. Irwin (trans. and ed.), *Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition — Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity*, Contextual Bach Studies, 5 (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

task of music, to sing God's praises, was not to be abandoned — far from it — but music-making now acquired a second sphere of activity in the task of proclamation.[22]

Söhngen presumes that musical attitudes changed drastically with Luther and the Reformation, locating German music as a touchstone for its modernity. He expands on this, by claiming, 'It was not the numerical order underlying music but the "modern" experience of multiform sound that was the foundation of the musical thinking of the mature Luther.'[23] What Söhngen means by 'multiform' sound is presumably the chorale and communal singing. While this was indeed a new development, there is no place in Söhngen's theories for individualized musicians or composers.

Of course, music is featured prominently at a number of important points in Luther's own writings, as at various stages he progressively consolidated his own theology. It is stimulating to imagine what Luther might have made of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century musical traditions that emerged in the Lutheran church — particularly concerted music, which it borrowed from new, humanist-inspired Italian styles — and what he might have thought of the idea of his church's music being considered 'works' in the contemporary guise. Luther seems to dismiss both individualistic singing and organs in one swoop, claiming in a commentary on 1 Corinthians 14 that:

> If now (as Paul says) some unbeliever were to enter into the midst of these men and heard them braying, mumbling and bellowing, and saw that they were neither preaching nor praying, but rather, as their custom is, were sounding forth like those pipe organs (with which they have so brilliantly associated themselves, each one set in a row just like his neighbour), would this unbeliever not be perfectly justified in asking, 'Have you gone mad?' [1 Cor. 14:23]. What else are these monks but the tubes and pipes Paul referred to as giving no distinct note but rather blasting out into the air [1 Cor. 14:7]?[24]

On the face of it, this would seem to at odds with the later prominence of organs and elaborate music-making that was to be such an integral part of Lutheran liturgical musical

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[22] Oskar Söhngen, 'The Word of God in Song' in Thomas Nipperdey (ed.), *Martin Luther and the Formation of the Germans* (Bonn: Inter Nationes, 1983).
[23] *Ibid*.
[24] Cited in Robin Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music*, 7.

practice before the advent of Pietism. However, elsewhere Luther stresses the importance in striving to understand the value and complexity of music, and emphasizes its cultural role in propagating ethical values. This is evident in his remarks on how he believed children should be educated. In a call made to civic rulers in 1524, to convince them to assist in the provision of what he saw as an adequate education for *both* boys and girls, against what he perceived as widespread decline in standards at cathedral and monastic schools, he recommends that music be a key part of the curriculum:

> For my part, if I had children and could manage it, I would have them study not only languages and history, but also singing and music, together with the whole of mathematics…The ancient Greeks trained their children in these disciplines; yet they grew up to be people of wondrous ability, subsequently fit for everything.

In this instance, Luther alludes to the moral quality of music, suggesting that it has the capacity to inform and enrich the other essential abilities for a modern society. The high level of musical education within Lutheran society, through the *Lateineschulen* system encouraged a critical response to musical texts, and the ability for the individual to form his own aesthetic response. This doctrine was manifested in the development of the Lutheran pedagogical tradition of *musica poetica*, which I will discuss in detail in the second chapter. The dissonance of these apparently contradictory views have frequently been ignored in the discussions of music in the *Lutherjahr* 2017. Much of the difficulty is of course related to the fact that Luther did not define an explicit set of guidelines for proclamation — perhaps because he did not feel that it possessed the requisite rhetorical power.

Working in Music

Having established this understanding of work and music's moral status within Lutheranism, I would now like to observe and analyse some musical examples which explicitly express work as a subject matter. I would like to take into account vocal music by Heinrich Schütz, Christoph Bernhard, Dieterich Buxtehude, and, of course, J.S. Bach. I make use of these composers' music in order to show that this theme of work was relevant to Lutheran composers over a period of 100 years or so, and to compare how the subject was treated in their different compositional and stylistic approaches. It is important to stress that these analyses are by their very nature highly subjective and it should not be suggested

that they present conclusive evidence. However, as I will show, each of these composers treats the subject of working in their music with an apparently similar series of ethical and aesthetic priorities.

Heinrich Schütz has frequently been cited as the most important German composer before J.S. Bach. Unlike Bach, however, he was held in a similarly high level esteem by his contemporaries, as evidenced by descriptions such as that by Elias Nathusius, who described him as 'the father of our modern music'.[25] Schütz features as a key figure in this dissertation, as a composer who represents the earliest sense of the professional aspirations and the work-concept to which I wish to draw attention. Most biographies of Schütz — from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century — begin with a customary acknowledgement of his studies with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice between 1609 and 1612. Through his study with the Venetian composer, Schütz clearly gained a firm ability in contrapuntal technique, and an awareness of the rhetorical possibilities that could be achieved with the polychoral textures for which Venice was famed at the end of the sixteenth century. Schütz evidently returned from Italy with a sense of personal confidence in his abilities as a composer and proved an attractive prospect to his eventual employers in Dresden.

In 1651, at the age of sixty-six years old, Schütz wrote to the Saxon Elector Johann Georg I, requesting a pension. This letter outlines much of Schütz's early biography, while offering the insight and wisdom of old age, reflecting on the crucial events that had defined his professional trajectory. It reveals a great deal in terms of his own understanding of his professional status and how he regarded his own works. Having initially been supported in his studies in Venice with Giovanni Gabrieli for the first three years by the Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel (before having to rely on his parents for a further year). Schütz initially returned to Germany take up an appointment at the Kassel court, before being effectively headhunted by the Elector for his own Hofkapelle in Dresden in 1614. Part of

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[25] The depiction of Schütz as a fatherlike figure to German music has roots dating back to the seventeenth century. Applying for the position of Thomaskantor in Leipzig, Elias Nathusius (1628-1676) claimed to be unafraid of being judged by any musician other than Schütz, who he described as '*Parentem Musicae nostrae modernae*'. Nathusius's application (Stadtarchiv Leipzig, Tit. VIII B 116, f.140r is transcribed in full in Michael Maul, 'Elias Nathusius: ein Leipziger Komponist des 17. Jahrhundert', *Jahrbuch mitteldeutscher Barockmusick* (2001) (Eisenach: Karl Dieter Wagner, 2003), 70-98. The transcription begins at 86.
 For information regarding the consolidation of this image in the eighteenth century, see Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, 95–6, and Michael Heinemann, *Heinrich Schütz und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber, 1993), 211–12.

the reason the Elector required Schütz's services was as a replacement for musicians, who, as the Elector explained writing in 1615, had been 'sent away to Italy and other places to learn this art.'[26] Though he took several sabbaticals for the purpose of his own musical development, including trips to Venice and Copenhagen, Schütz was to remain in the Elector's employ at Dresden for the remainder of his career. As I will discuss in more detail in my fourth chapter, Schütz published prolifically throughout his career, at a time when music printing in Germany was in significant decline, suggesting both strong personal motivation to realize his own works, but also to leave a lasting monument of his abilities. Schütz was clearly well aware of the professional esteem that, as Stephen Rose describes 'made him such a desirable commodity among princes.'[27]

In the 1651 letter, Schütz also describes the circumstances preceding the composition and publication of his *Psalmen Davids*. I will return to this letter in the fourth chapter, but it is worth noting a couple of key statements that the composer makes here. Schütz describes how he was encouraged by his parents and family to return to his legal studies, when Christoph von Loss recruited him to assist with the delivery of the music for the Saxon Duke August's baptism. His plan was, he describes, to keep his good understanding of the fundamentals in music to himself, and keep himself hidden until he could distinguish himself with 'a worthy work' (*ein würdigen arbeit*). Although Schütz modestly disparages the status of the *Psalmen Davids*, in keeping with the customary modesty of early modern German correspondences, in the 1651 letter, it reveals an ambitious side to Schütz. Much of the music was probably composed for the 1617 celebrations of the Reformation centenary, as Bettina Varwig has discussed.[28] However, published two years later — the same year as Praetorius's *Polyhymnia Caduceatrix et Panegyrica* was published — Schütz's collection makes no attempt to incorporate the music of the older Lutheran tradition in the way the Wolfenbüttel composer did in his elaborations on chorales, and the scale of Schütz's psalms go a long way beyond anything ever published by his friend Schein. Indeed, the collection contains only one of the church hymns; otherwise it sets a diverse selection of psalms and biblical motets, probably selected by Schütz himself. In the basso continuo partbook, Schütz also provides a clear description of how the works should ideally be performed, in terms of the spatial disposition of the different choirs and *capellae* (optional

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[26] *HSR*, 4.
[27] Stephen Rose, 'Music, Print and Presentation in Saxony During the Seventeenth Century', *German History* 23/1 (2005), 8.
[28] See Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, Chapter 1, 'Trumpets and drums (Psalmen Davids, 1617) — A Double Celebration', 8-43.

parts that may be employed for 'splendour'), and an invocation not to rush the text in the falsobordone sections, which he warns could easily obscure the text and become a *Battaglia di Mosche* ('battle of the flies') contrary to the 'intentions of the author.'[29] The purpose of including these instructions is somewhat ambiguous: it seems perhaps unimaginable that any Kapellmeister who had the resources to mount performances of music on this scale would not have a sense of how it ought to be performed. However, it provides a clear early example of a composer's eagerness to demonstrate the potential fidelity of a musical text — by following Schütz's instructions, in theory, anyone should be capable of replicating the individual pieces as they existed in Schütz's original conception.

The *Psalmen Davids* consists of twenty-six individual pieces, comprising for the most part settings of psalms from Luther's own translation. Three of its settings — Psalms 111, 115 and 128 respectively — explicitly extol the importance and value of work. With Schütz's own ambition to distinguish himself as a professional musician and the Lutheran doctrine of *Beruf* in mind, these raise some suggestions as to why Schütz opted to set these texts and include them in his own 'worthy work'. By assessing how Schütz's musical rhetoric renders the texts theatrically, I would like to show how they package ethical resonances relating to the act of working.

Set for four choirs — two *cori favoriti*, and two *cori capellen* — 'Ich danke dem Herrn von ganzem Herzen' (Psalm 111) is the thirteenth piece of the *Psalmen Davids*. In the preface to the basso continuo book, Schütz explains that the favoriti parts are the most important, and to assist the audibility of the text should be separated from *capellae* parts, which are included to add to the 'strong, magnificent sound' (*zum starcken Gethön/ vnnd zur Pracht eingeführet werden*). These are flexible, in terms of instrumentation and voices; however, the way that Schütz uses the large forces helps to render a strong sense of his reading of the text and reinforce its central values. In their formal arrangement, the psalm settings tend to be highly structured around the versification of the psalms, being constructed episodically around the textual imagery and content of each verse. Schütz's psalm settings find an almost unparalleled means of not only pairing the texts with highly rhetorical music, but also show their composer's ability to read deeply into the text beyond its literal meaning — an ability likely aided by his affinity with Greek, Latin and Hebrew, which would have

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[29] 'Im widrigen fall wird eine sehr vngangeneme Harmoney vnd anders nich als eine *Battaglia di Mosche*, oder Fliegenkrieg darauß entstehen/ der intention deß *Authoris* zu wider.' Heinrich Schütz, *Psalmen Davids* (Dresden: 1619), preface to the basso continuo partbook.

allowed him direct access to readings in different translations.[30] Psalm 111 expresses the psalmist's wonder of God's work (as opposed to man's work, in the other two psalms). A perceptible feature of Schütz's setting of this text is in how he creates a sense of dialogue between the different 'personalities' of each of the choirs. This can be heard from the opening of the first verse, where Schütz provides the first *coro favorito* with the first line of the psalm 'Ich danke dem Herrn von ganzem Herzen' ('I will praise the Lord with my whole heart') in a sixteenth-century contrapuntal style, with the four individuated voices giving the sense of a collective act of thanksgiving.

For the second half of the verse ('in the assembly of the upright, and in the congregation'), Schütz employs all four choirs together, creating a sense of the magnitude of the congregation honouring God. Although most simply described as opening in *cantus mollis* — like many of the psalms in the collection — this setting shows signs of Schütz's nascent sense of tonality, with the modality inflected in respect of particular features of the text.[31] For example, having opened with the D tonic, the end of the first verse sees a spectacular cadence onto F, introducing a quasi-major tonality to convey the sheer pleasure afforded by God's great works and benevolence ('The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.'). With the impressive forces of all the voices and instruments combining, Schütz depicts God's works as not to be feared, but as warm and munificent.[32] These techniques may seem somewhat prosaic and unsophisticated from the page alone, but in practice the sonic effects Schütz achieves are compelling and effective in evoking a palpable sense of reverence for God's work on man's behalf — and that man should feel fortunate to be on the right side of it, with the tenth and final verse affirming that 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom'.

[30] As Robin Leaver notes, Martin Geier, who preached Schütz's funeral sermon, produced a significant commentary on the Hebrew text for the Psalms, which Schütz might have known. See Robin Leaver, 'Schütz as Biblical Interpreter', *Bach*, 4/3 (1973), 3-12 (5). See also Robin Leaver, 'Schütz and the Psalms', *Bach*, 16/4 (1985) 34-48.

[31] As Joel Lester has described, German music theory of the 17th and early 18th centuries is 'rife with paradox', as modal theory and an increasingly modern conception of tonality began to coexist from the mid-seventeenth century into the early eighteenth. See Joel Lester, 'The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory', *Journal of Music Theory* 22/1 (1978), 65-103. With particular regard to Schütz's understanding and usage of modality and tonality, see Eva Linfield, 'Modal and Tonal Aspects in Two Compositions by Heinrich Schütz, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 117/1 (1992), 86-122.

[32] Mattheson would later describe F major as appropriate for the expression of 'the most beautiful sentiments…generosity, steadfastness, love, and whatever else is virtuous' (*die schönsten Sentiments von der Welt zu exprimeren, es sey nun Großmuth/ Standthafftigkeit/ Liebe/ oder was sonst in dem Tugend…*). Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, Sciller, 1713), 241. For a helpful discussion of this section of Mattheson's texts and its historical context, see G. J. Buelow, 'Mattheson and the invention of the *Affektenlehre*', in G. J. Buelow and H. J. Marx (eds), *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 401.

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Music Example 1.2 Heinrich Schütz — 'Ich danke dem Herrn von ganzem Herzen' opening (SWV 34)

Schütz's setting of Psalm 115, *Nicht uns, Herr, nicht uns*, opens with a chant incipit based on the first half of the ninth tone or *Tonus Peregrinus* — a tone Schütz made use of elsewhere in his polyphonic music, including the *Musicalische Exequien* and his setting of Psalm 119 in the *Schwanengesang*.[33] Midweek Vespers services in Dresden would have been sung to chant in German, and this intonation, to which the Magnificat was sung, would have been familiar to the singers and congregants alike. This psalm is set for three choirs, with no *favoriti/capellen* division; however, in the first choir and third choir, only the top and bottom parts are allocated to voices (bass and alto, accompanied by cornets and trombones respectively). This means that the resultant effect is of a sort of dialogue, with the second choir figuring as a chorus. In this motet, Schütz sets all eighteen verses of Luther's translation, appending an extended doxology and alleluia. The verses of particular interest in relation to the *topos* of work are verses four to eight, in which the psalmist warns of the danger of the heathens' work — that is, work not carried out in conjunction with faith.

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[33] For more information on the use of the *Tonus Peregrinus* in the Lutheran tradition, see Mattias Lundberg, *Tonus Peregrinus: The History of a Psalm-Tone and Its Use in Polyphonic Music* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), 150–54.

Once again using *cantus durus* but this time opening on F, the second verse cadences onto D, asserting the sinister nature of the heathen and their selfish works. After the third verse, describing God in heaven and at which point the texture soars stratospherically, the fourth verse ('Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands') starkly outlines the melodic interval of a tritone between C♯ and G. This is particularly audible in the solo alto voice on the words *Gold* and *Händen*, characterizing the apparently pernicious nature of the heathens' actions.

Music Example 1.3 Heinrich Schütz — Extract from 'Nicht uns, Herr, nicht uns' (SWV 43)

Alternating between major and minor inflexions, Schütz makes use of the triadic flexibility of the mode's dominant where the third might be used as a leading tone to the tonic, thus enhancing the framing effect of the I-V-I progressions of these self-contained episodes. *Gold* falls on an A major chord, being quickly naturalized, before the point is picked up in turn by the bass and the chorus. The ensuing dialogue forcefully depicts the kind of subhuman nature such people are limited to ('They have mouths, but they speak not: eyes have they, but they see not' etc.), as the result of idolizing faithless works. This psalm is a dramatic

warning of the dangers that might lie in store for a society which does not work in faith and receive God's blessing in their work.

Unusually, Schütz actually included two versions of Psalm 128 within the *Psalmen Davids* — one for eighteen voices (SWV 44), and a smaller version for only eight and plus continuo (SWV 30) — suggesting he was particularly keen to facilitate this particular psalm's performance.[34] While they are essentially made up of the same material, the *capellae* parts are absent from the reduced setting. It is not clear which is the original version, whether SWV 44 is an expansion of SWV 30 or vice versa, but for the purposes of clarity and to appreciate Schütz's 'maximalist' version, I will restrict myself to discussing SWV 44 here. In Bull's translation of Luther's commentary, he describes how in this psalm 'thou hearest that he [God] hath a pleasure in thy labour; yea, and accounteth it for a most acceptable sacrifice. For it is not labour alone, but a work of obedience and of thy vocation.'[35] Psalm 128 emphasizes that all work has a higher purpose than simply for worldly gain, and how to be productive is to be a good citizen. Clearly, it would be naïve to equate the psalmist's concept of a 'good citizen' with that of early modern Lutheran society. However, Luther's reading of its message is made clear, in his stressing that 'these things God requireth of all men, but sloth and idleness is accursed.'[36]

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[34] Robert Letellier claims that he does this for Psalm 100 'Jauchzet dem Herren, alle Wellt' in SWV 36 and 47. This is incorrect: SWV 47 is, in fact, a setting of Psalm 98. Robert Ignatius Letellier, *The Bible in Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2017), 124–5.

[35] Luther (trans. Bull), 172.

[36] *Ibid.*, 140.

Music Example 1.4 Heinrich Schütz — 'Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet' (SWV 44)

Schütz's setting of the psalm might be heard to express a similar reading to Luther's, in using a series of rhetorical compositional devices to draw out this ethical imperative. Employing four choirs (two *favoriti* and two *capellen*), the opening *capella* confer a solemn blessing on 'those who fear the Lord and walketh in his ways' with a simple alternation between the tonic and dominant. After the first choir's introduction of this blessing, the four

choirs come together and reaffirm the opening in a lavishly up-scored version. The second verse introduces the idea discussed by Luther ('For thou shalt eat the labour of thine hands: happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee') in the solo baritone of the first *coro favorito*, enhanced in profundity with the four trombones. In response, the second *capella* offers a reprise of the opening blessing ('Happy shalt thou be, and all shall be well with thee'). This functions as a sort of affirmation, occurring throughout the psalm at similar points, where the collective forces come together to attest the moral significance of each imperative. The third verse ('Thy wife shall be as a fruitful vine by the sides of thine house') is taken by the solo alto of the second *coro favorito*, creating the impression of a dialogue between the masculine tenor and the perhaps more feminine-sounding alto, as man and wife. With the *capellen* always affirming the moral statements offered by these apparently individuated characters, there is some sense of a kind of rote learning through recitation. The rhetorical effect of this has echoes of *erotemata*, was one of the chief means through which elements such as the catechisms and parts of the musical curriculum were taught in the *Lateinschulen*.[37] In Schütz's setting, there is thus a kind of portrayal of this kind, exploring the relationship between the soloist and ensemble almost as microcosm of the relationship between the individual and his community, with the soloists working to express the most important values of the text, with the collective forces around them resembling a harmonious and supportive society. The foregrounding of key textual ideas in these sections for solo voices, emerging from a collective ensemble, renders a musical representation of this symbiosis between the individual and society — a central theme traceable to the foundations of Lutheranism.

Christoph Bernhard was closely connected with Schütz, having been appointed as an alto at the Dresden Hofkapelle in 1648. While he is perhaps best known now for his theoretical works, the composition treatise *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus and Von der Singe-Kunst, oder Maniera* (both of which remained unpublished but were extensively copied in manuscript), he was also a highly respected composer.[38] Bernhard followed his friend and fellow Schütz pupil Matthias Weckmann to Hamburg in 1663, where he became acquainted with Johann Theile, Johann Adam Reincken and Buxtehude. Kerala Snyder suggests Bernhard's departure may have been a result of escalating tensions between the

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[37] John Butt, *Music and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 54.
[38] Bernhard actually only published one collection, the *Geistliche Harmonien*, which he dedicated to the City Fathers of Hamburg (1665).

German and Italian musicians at the Dresden court, following the Italophile Johann Georg II's (who had become the Saxon Elector in 1656) appointing of Giuseppe Peranda as Kapellmeister.[39] Bernhard clearly maintained connections with Dresden, however, returning in 1674 as Vice-Kapellmeister and tutor to the Elector's children. Indeed, Mattheson reported that Schütz requested that Bernhard compose a motet (*Cantabiles mihi erant justi cationes tuae in loco peregrinationis meae*; now lost) for his funeral, which the elder composer received in 1670, two years before his death.[40] Like Schütz, Bernhard also made a setting of Psalm 128, in what Bernhard himself would have described as the *stylus luxurians communis* — the modern, chamber style as opposed to the old (*gravis*) style or theatrical (*theatralis*) — for four voices and strings. This piece survives in a single manuscript source now in the Berlin Staatsbibliotek, which carries the inscription that an alto and tenor part were added to the piece by 'Hn. Kortkamps', an organist known to have been active in Hamburg and with whom Bernhard would have coincided.[41]
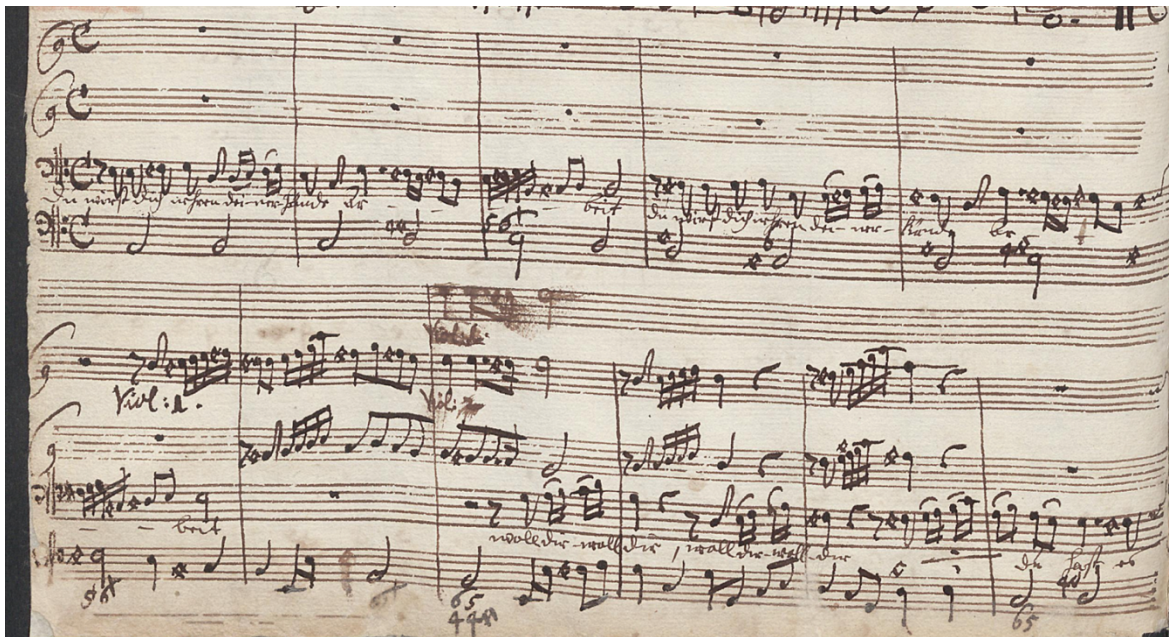
Figure 1.2 Detail from Berlin Mus.ms. 30096

[39] Kerala Snyder, 'Bernhard, Christoph', *NGO*. For more on the tensions and Bernhard, see Mary E. Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 56–7.

[40] Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, worander Tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler u. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste u. erscheinen sollen* (Hamburg, 1740), 322-3.

[41] Mus.ms. 30096. 'der Vocal Alt und Tenor ist von Hn Kortkamp nicht ohne Fauten, und nicht von Hn Bernhardo componirt. Denn dieser hat es nur | à 6 mit 4 Violen, Canto und Basso gesetzet.' For information on Kortkamp, see Lisolette Krüger, 'Johann Kortkamps Organistenchronik, eine Quelle zur hamburgischen Musikgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hamburgische Geschichte*, 33 (1933), 188–213.

Music Example 1.5 Christoph Bernhard — 'Wohl dem, der den Herren fürchtet'

After an opening chorus, the second verse of the psalm is allocated — as in Schütz's setting — as a solo for the bass voice.[42] This is much more elaborate in style than Schütz's writing, and shows the influence of Bernhard's keen understanding of the expressive capacities of virtuosic singing. 'Arbeit' is characterized by a 4-3 suspension (which Bernhard describes to as a *syncopatio*) between the voice and the bass, being resolved into a highly active semiquaver figure.[43] The descending leap from the G to the B in b.55 is an example of the *saltus duriusculus*, as outlined by Bernhard in the *Tractatus*.[44] Bernhard describes how despite having already stated that unnatural leaps (i.e. not thirds, fourths, fifths, ascending minor sixths and octaves) are to be avoided, descending minor sixths were permitted in the music of his day, in order to express particular affects. In this example, by leaping beneath the continuo and then rising to the cadence, this, in combination with the suspension, gives a sense of the singer actively working towards the resolution. The repetition of the entire idea up a tone, beginning on the F♯, is an example of *auxesis* or *incrementum*, described by

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[42] Although the C4 clef in Schütz's *Bassus I Chori* might imply a tenor voice, the voice is audibly the lowest part in the first choir, with this particular passage being similar in tessitura to Bernhard's setting of the same words.
[43] Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, in Joseph Müller-Blattau, *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 67-70.
[44] 'Droben Cap.2 No.6 ist gesaget worden, daß man sich für unnatürlichen Gängen und Sprüngen hüten solle. In *stylo luxuriante communi* aber werden etliche derselben zugelaßen. Der Salts hexachordi minoris ist bey denen Alten nicht braäuchlich gewesen, als nur zwischen re, fa und mi, fa; Heute aber sing folgende auch zugelaßen.' Ibid., 78.

Quintilian as 'a most powerful form of amplification'.[45] Through the combination of these devices, Bernhard ensures that the central message of this verse is clearly articulated.

Another, near-contemporary example of the musical representation of work and faith can be found in the Lübeck composer Dieterich Buxtehude's vocal concerto 'Alles was ihr tut' (BuxWV 4). Supported by funds from a variety of wealthy Lübeck burghers, Buxtehude developed a series of Sunday *Abendmusiken* concerts, from their original format inaugurated by Franz Tunder in the 1640s, into a series of free concerts that anyone could attend.[46] Most likely composed for the *Abendmusiken* performance on the fifth Sunday of Epiphany 1668, Kerala Snyder describes this work as Buxtehude's 'cantata for the ordinary citizen' and claims it was actually the composer's best-known work during his own lifetime.[47] Buxtehude used the *Abendmusiken* as an opportunity to compose a significant number of original vocal and instrumental works, often employing simple musical language in order to clearly convey texts with a distinct moral and theological essence. In 'Alles was ihr tut', Buxtehude's anonymous librettist drew together biblical fragments, devotional poetry and a chorale text to elucidate and celebrate the connections between work and vocation.

Alles, was ihr tut	*Whatsoever ye do*
mit Worten oder mit Werken,	*with words or works,*
das tut alles im Namen Jesu,	*do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus,*
und danket Gott und dem Vater durch ihn.	*giving thanks to God and the Father through him.*
(Colossians 3:17)	
Drauf streck' ich auf mein Hand,	*So I stretch forth my hand*
greif an das Werk mit Freuden,	*And take up with joy*
dazu mich Gott bescheiden	*The work that in my position and profession,*
in mein'm Beruf und Stand.	*I do by His command.*

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[45] 'Incrementum est potentissimum, cum magna videntur…' *Institutio* VIII.iv.3f.,8. Translated in Dietrich Bartel, *Musica Poetica — Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 210.

[46] For a useful history, see G. Karstädt: *Die 'extraordinairen' Abendmusiken Dietrich Buxtehudes: Untersuchungen zur Aufführungspraxis in der Marienkirche zu Lübeck; mit den Textbüchern des 'Castrum Doloris' und 'Templum Honoris' in Faksimile-Neudruck* (Lübeck, 1962); and Kerala J. Snyder, 'Lübeck Abendmusiken', in A. Edler, W. Neugebauer and H.W. Schwab (eds), *800 Jahre Musik in Lübeck* (Lübeck: Senat der Hansestadt Lübeck, Amt für Kultur, 1983), 63–71

[47] Snyder, *Ibid.*, 211.

After an opening sonata, the first chorus sets a homiletic passage from Colossians 3:17, imploring each and everyone to carry out their works in Jesus's name. In the trio that follows, the singers promise to sacrifice their collective 'mind', 'strength' and 'desires'.[48] And, in the concluding section, before a reprise of the opening chorus, the singers come together to call on God to bless 'all my deeds, my work and my actions', in the words of Georg Niege's sixteenth-century chorale 'Aus meinem Herzens Grunde'. With its plain musical style, with a conspicuous absence of the intricate counterpoint Buxtehude was capable of producing, Snyder proposes this composition directly 'addresses itself to the concerns of the ordinary citizen in the workday world.'[49] With the interplay of chorus, soloists and instruments, once again there is a sense of the different levels of interplay between a number of discrete individuals within a larger collective whole.

A similar ethos is readily discernible both in Bach's music, and in the markings he appended in his copy of Abraham Calov's three-volume edition of the Luther Bible, which was published in 1681. Bach is thought to have obtained this in 1733, ten years after he arrived in Leipzig, and his underlinings and marginal commentary highlight passages with which he must have identified. As John Butt points out, one such area that must have particularly resonated with Bach is Calov's précis of the Book of Wisdom, which declares that there is 'no greater wisdom than to do one's duty.'[50] Bach notes 'Summa Libri' beside this, as Calov goes on to instruct how, in the light of this passage, a Christian should have no fear for what the future may bring, but 'dedicate oneself to the work and station God has ordained for him'. Bach also underlines passages in Luther's translation itself, which warn that no man should be thwarted in his handiwork, and how a man should dedicate his work only to God, regardless of any of the actions of his fellow citizens. Butt suggests this perhaps indicates a 'conservative' attitude in Bach's mindset, seemingly going against the grain of the emergent values of the Enlightenment. However, there is perhaps something modern at play here, in the way through which Bach sought doctrinal affirmation in his attempts to reconcile the relationships between work and the world, as a musician in early modern Lutheran society.

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[48] 'Dir, dir Höchster, dir alleine,
alles, Alleshöchster, dir,
Sinnen, Kräfte und Begier
ich nur aufzuopfern meine.'
[49] Kerala Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude — Organist in Lübeck* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 204.
[50] Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity*, 53-4. Howard Cox (ed.), *The Calov Bible of J.S. Bach* (facsimile) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1985), 414, 423, 438.

These themes form the basis for two secular works composed by Bach in 1726 and 1733: the *drammi per musica* 'Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten' (BWV 207) and 'Laßt uns sorgen, laßt uns wachen'. The former was dedicated to Dr Gottlieb Kortte (1698-1731), who was appointed Professor of Law at the University of Leipzig on 11 December. The librettist is unknown and only the alto and bass are specifically labelled in the extant source materials, but the four SATB soloists can be identified as allegorical personifications of four virtues — *Das Glück* ('Fortune'); *Die Dankbarkeit* ('Gratitude'); *Der Fleiß* ('Diligence'); and *Die Ehre* ('Honour') respectively. Following a virtuosic opening chorus, a vocal reworking of the Allegro of Brandenburg Concerto No. 1, a series of recitative-aria pairs ensue, with each of the characters featuring as soloists, including a duet between Fortune and Honour. The first solo voice heard is the tenor (*Der Fleiß)*, whose recitative extols the necessity and virtue of hard work in the realization of *Kunst*, and how it confers honour upon the worker. The librettist's choice of the word *Kunst* here is perhaps deliberately ambiguous, playing on its inherent polysemy. In this context, it could be translated either as 'art' or as 'skilful practice'.

Wen treibt ein edler Trieb zu dem,	*He whom a noble impulse drives to what*
was Ehre heißt,	*is called honour,*
Und wessen lobbegierger Geist	*And whose spirit, desirous of praise,*
Sehnt sich, mit dem zu prangen,	*Longs to shine with that*
Was man durch Kunst, Verstand und	*Which can be achieved through art,*
Tugend kann erlangen,	*Understanding, and virtue,*
Der trete meine Bahn	*May he tread my path,*
Beherzt mit stets verneuten Kräften an!	*Heartened by ever-renewed powers!*

[…]

In nichts als lauter Müh und steter Arbeit	*Hover in nothing but pure exertion and constant work,*
schweben,	*They could, after achieving their goal, satisfied in*
Die können nach erlangtem Ziel, an Ehren	*honour,*
satt,	*Live in noble repose;*
In stolzer Ruhe leben;	*For they experience in action*
Denn sie erfahren in der Tat,	*That for him who rightly enjoys repose It sweetens his*
Daß der die Ruhe recht genießet, Dem sie ein	*sour sweat.*
saurer Schweiß versüßet.	

'Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten' (BWV 207) — Second movement (*Der Fleiß* recitative)

Zieht euren Fuß nur nicht zurücke, Ihr, die ihr	*Do not draw back your foot, You who*
meinen Weg erwählt!	*choose my path!*
Das Glücke merket eure Schritte, Die Ehre	*Good fortune marks your steps, Honour*
zählt die sauren Tritte, Damit, daß nach	*counts your sour treads, So that after the*
vollbrachter Straße	*path has been trodden,*
Euch werd in gleichem Übermaße Der Lohn	*For you to the same extent shall The*
von ihnen zugezählt.	*reward of these things be*
	enumerated.

'Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten' (BWV 207) — Third movement (*Der Fleiß* aria)

After the conclusion of the effervescent opening chorus in D major, the tenor recitative opens in the relative minor, B minor, a key frequently selected by Bach to carry a 'serious' affect in his vocal writing.[51] This recitative and aria pairing is in fact the only minor-mode movement in the piece, the other characters being allocated bright-sounding major tonalities (D major for *Das Glück* and *Die Ehre*; G major for *Die Dankbarkeit*). Over the course of both the recitative and aria, Bach forces the tenor to the upper limits of its register, requiring a tritone leap from D♯—A (another *saltus duriusculus*) onto 'Kunst', making the word a literal and figurative highpoint. The move towards the cadence in the dominant

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[51] See, for example, 'Erbarme dich' and 'Es ist vollbracht' in the Passions.

minor (the sharper F♯, from b.9) signals an intensification, as the tenor continues in his drive. The second half of the recitative establishes that only through 'Müh und steter Arbeit' (harmonized as a G♯ minor triad) can such goals be fulfilled, before a resolution back to the tonic with 'sweet sweat'.

Music Example 1.6 J.S. Bach — Tenor recitative (*Der Fleiß*); third movement (BWV 207)

Music Example 1.7 J.S. Bach — Tenor aria (*Der Fleiß*) — opening ritornello (BWV 207)

The aria picks up on this directive, with the tenor paired with the strings. The ritornello, heard in the first violins, seems to strive to rise beyond the sense of gravity imposed by the pedal B in the continuo part. Repeating its initial motive (marked *piano* in the second instance), in its syncopations this *Hauptsatz* anticipates the essence of the voice's invocation — that diligence compels us to carry on with our labours, in order to attain honour and fortune. When the tenor enters however, the ritornello is compressed, highlighting this message. Extended semiquavers mark the invocation to follow in Diligence's way, taking the tenor to a top B in b.15 — a note deployed extremely rarely by Bach in his tenor writing. The A section is truncated for the 'da capo', emphasizing the impression of urgency on the part of *Der Fleiß*.

Written some six years later for the autumn of 1733, the same year in which Bach most likely acquired the Calov Bible, *Herkules auf dem Scheidewege* (as it is entitled in Picander's libretto) is longer and more complex example of the *dramma per musica*. The subject of Hercules was the basis for several eighteenth-century composers, including Handel (*The Choice of Hercules,* HWV 69) and Fux (*La Decima Fatima d'Ercole*). As an indefatigable hero overcoming various obstacles, Hercules was deemed to be an excellent allegorical personification of the kind of qualities an eighteenth-century monarch ought to possess.[52] Based on Prodicus' version, Picander provided Bach with a libretto almost of operatic potential, with a simple, but an unusually coherent dramatic narrative. In the midst of a journey, Hercules, meets two characters at a crossroads: *Wollust* ('Pleasure' or 'Vice'), sung by a soprano; and *Tugend* ('Virtue'), sung by a tenor. Hercules is sung by an alto, directly between the registers of the other two characters, who each convince him to follow their path. Surveying the debates regarding whether Bach's alto parts would have been performed by boys or more mature falsettists, Simon Ravens suggests Bach's Leipzig altos were most probably teenagers or young men somewhere between fifteen and twenty-three years old, making the depiction of Hercules as the representation of the young prince overt.[53]

Following on from the third movement, the sensual 'Schlafe, mein Liebster, und pflege der Ruh' (also recycled for a somewhat different text in the Christmas Oratorio), the

[52] Herbert Seifert, 'The Secular-Dramatic Compositions of Fux: A General Survey', in Harry White (ed.), *Johann Joseph Fux and the Music of the Austro-Italian Baroque* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1992), 142.
[53] Simon Ravens, *The Supernatural Voice: A History of High Male Singing* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell & Brewer, 2014), 110–15.

fourth movement is the most operatic moment in the piece, as the two symbolic characters compete for Hercules' affection by exchanging extended passages of recitative. *Wollust* attempts to entice Hercules to choose the 'comfortable' rose-lined path, while Tugend attempts to convince him that it is only through 'virtue, effort and diligence' that the noble mind is elevated' (*Durch Tugend, Müh und Fleiß Erhebet sich ein edler Sinn*). Once again, Bach makes use of an ascending tritone (A—D$\sharp$), with the singer leaping onto 'Fleiß', implying that while diligence is the righteous course, it is by no means comfortable.

In the aria that follows, Hercules ponders his options, being helpfully assisted by the mysterious echo. In the end, Hercules unsurprisingly pledges himself to *Tugend*, before being received by Mercury (who, in the eighteenth century, was held without any apparent sense of irony to be the god of tradesmen, as well as rogues and pickpockets) and the Chorus of the Muses, who explicitly petition the dedicatee Friedrich by name to flourish, and use his virtue to the betterment of his people.[54] While breaking with Picander's diegetic allegory and now appearing perhaps somewhat obsequious, this denouement serves to unequivocally reinforce the ethical and theological message of the piece, which would have been readily perceived in the minds of the relatively socially diverse Lutheran audience gathered in Zimmermann's coffee house. Thus, even in Bach's secular music it is possible to observe the prevalence of the ethic of work projected as an imperative for tradesmen, academics and princes alike.

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[54] John Bell, *Bell's New Pantheon; Or Historical Dictionary of the Gods, Demi-gods, Heroes &c.* (London: 1790), 72

Music Example 1.8 J.S. Bach — recitative for *Wollust* and *Tugend* (BWV 213)

Moving Outwards from Within: Lutheranism and the Individual Subject

As I have already alluded, one of the key features in the music I have discussed here by each of these composers is the dialogical nature of the interplay between solo voices, chorus and instruments. This mirrors the relationship of the individual and his society — something Luther's theology draws specific attention to. In his *On the Freedom of a Christian*, Luther's address to Pope Leo X, he articulated *Beruf* as a union combining both a sense of duty and a means to personal freedom:

> A man does not live for himself in this mortal body to work for it alone, but he also lives for other men on earth; rather, he lives only for others and not for himself…the Christian is thus free from all works, [although] he ought in his liberty to empty himself, take upon himself the form of a servant, be made in the likeness of men, be found in human form, and serve, help, and in every way deal with his neighbour as he sees that God through Christ has dealt and still deals with him.[55]

In affirming this dualism between duty and freedom, Luther provided the basis for a set of values that were to define the dynamic interdependence of early modern urban Lutheran societies, with a sense of meaning for the individual subject. In the same text, Luther proclaims how 'a Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.' This is an acutely modern notion of freedom for secular workers (it might be traced in Franciscan or Augustinian theologies, but these of course required the taking of religious orders). This sense of social duty is observable in the way these composers expressed it in their creative endeavours, which represented them as individuals within society. The concept of work introduced new ways of perceiving the relationships between human beings, their social world, and the natural world, and underlies the German culture of *Arbeitsfreude*, which reached maturity with industrialization in the late eighteenth century.[56] This is what Tilgher sensed, when he identifies Lutheranism as 'the moving force in the profound spiritual revolution which established work in the modern mind as the base and key of life.'[57]

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[55] *LW* 31, 364. Luther's original letter was composed in Latin and uses *vocatio* in place of *Beruf*. However, shortly after the delivery of his letter, Luther made his own German translation of the letter, addressed to Hermann Mühlpfordt in Zwickau. The German text has been more frequently cited by scholars, though both are reprinted in the same volume *WA* 7, 20-38 (German); 49-73 (Latin).

[56] See Joan Campbell, *Joy in Work, German Work*, 9.

[57] Adriano Tilgher, *Work: What it Has Meant to Men Through the Ages* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1930), 47.

Theological historians frequently trace many of Lutheranism's spiritual roots to a number of pre-Reformation German figures, including Meister Eckhart and Johannes Tauler. Understanding the roots of this doctrine are helpful in appreciating from where early modern understandings of the individual emerged in seventeenth-century Lutheran culture. Eckhart's writings emphasize a highly personalized, almost irrational form of religious observance, whereby a person could feel an actual absorption 'into the deity' by aspiring to achieve the *unio mystica.*[58] Eckhart stresses the bidirectional aspects of religious faith, describing how 'Whatever can be expressed properly in words must come forth from within and must have movement from an inner form; in cannot enter in from without but must come out from within outwardly.'[59] This sense of duty — of actively exploring one's identity in the world, often realized through highly aestheticized religious experience — had a profound influence upon Lutheranism, and was to exert a considerable influence on the Pietist movement as it emerged in the late seventeenth century. Hahn suggests 'it may be this mystical, irrational aspect of German Protestantism which affected the Lutheran attitude towards work and worldly matters.'[60] The encouragement of making individualized expressions to a man's fellow citizens and God figured as an important means of self-definition, and one of the crucially modern features of urbanizing German societies. Musical works, in the style of Schütz's psalms and Bach's *drammi per musica* alike, constitute such articulations, with the composer in effect drawing together the ethical imperatives regarding work in his own work. This is an important theme to bear in mind in advance of the discussion contained within my fourth chapter, which considers how 'actualized' musical works essentially constituted a tangible extension of the composer's individual identity in the world.

John Butt has related Bach's music to the contemporary metaphysical understandings of Leibniz, Wolff and Spinoza.[61] The former pair made particularly perceptive contributions to the actions that mediate between the individual subject and his

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[58] Axel Hägerström, *Philosophy and Religion*, trans. Robert T. Sandin (New York: Humanities Press, 1964), 189.

[59] 'Swaz eigentlich gewortet mac werden, daz muoz von innen her ûz komen und sich bewegen von innerer forme und nigt von ûzen her în komen, mêr: von inwendic sol ez her üz komen.' Eckhart, *Die deutsche Werke*, trans. Bernard McGinn and Frank J. Tobin *Meister Eckhart, Teacher and Preacher* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1986), 249.

[60] Hans Joachim Hahn, *German Thought and Culture: From the Holy Roman Empire to the Present Day* (Manchester: Manchester University Press,1995), 29.

[61] See particularly John Butt, '"A Mind Unconscious that It Is Calculating"? Bach and the Rationalist Philosophy of Wolff, Leibniz and Spinoza', in John Butt (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 60–71; and John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity*, 244-5.

world. Responding to Descartes and his materialist conceptions, Gottfried Leibniz provides the most original interpretations of individual identity. His own interest in the individual originated from the scholastic disputes regarding the principle of individuation, which he explored from his earliest writings. The individual substance, or monad, as he refers to it in his mature writings, forms the focal point of his thinking. In his later works, he celebrates individual human 'immortality', critiquing philosophers such as Spinoza and the Neo-Cartesians, whose theories Leibniz takes to be incompatible with immortality. Leibniz claimed personal identity was necessary for moral judgement, and that this could only be possible if we conceive the identity of the self to be an immaterial soul. He argues that the identity of the soul as substance (metaphysical entity) is a necessary — but not a sufficient condition alone — for the identity of the self as person (moral identity). According to Leibniz, the essence of a man's individuality is therefore not just one of its component parts — i.e. form or matter — but *all* of the constituents which make up its entity. As Udo Theil observes, Leibniz's early position on individuation has several essential features in common with his later theory.[62] Thiel draws attention to Leibniz's examination of what is relevant for the evidence or knowledge of our individuality, and what actually defines individuality in reality. One of the common themes this has with Leibniz's later thinking is in his identification of the 'complete being' or discernible entity.[63] In the Leibnizian worldview, the concept of the individual is a necessity for the function of the universe. As he argues, if there were two indiscernibles, then 'God and nature would act without reason, in ordering the one otherwise than the other.'[64] To Leibniz then, each individual was unique, and the product of his working could be expected to be a unique entity. Leibniz articulates this in an anecdote:

> An ingenious gentleman of my acquaintance, discoursing with me, in the presence of Her Electoral Highness the Princess Sophia, in the garden of Herrenhausen; thought he could find two leaves perfectly alike. The Princess defied him to do it, and he ran all over the garden a long time to look for some; but it was to no purpose. Two drops of water, or milk, viewed with a microscope, will appear distinguishable from each other.[65]

[62] Udo Thiel, *The Early Modern Subject: Self-Consciousness And Personal Identity From Descartes To Hume* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 282.

[63] Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, *Discours de métaphysique* (1686), §8.

[64] Quoted in Leibniz, *Philosophical Papers and Letters: A Selection (Vol.2)*, Leroy E. Loemker (ed.) (Dordrecht and Boston: Kluwer Academic, 1989), 699.

[65] Cited in Lloyd Strickland (ed.), *Leibniz's Monadology: A New Translation and Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 59.

Christian Wolff extended Leibniz's line of thought, claiming that a sense dependency exists between the consciousness of salient objects and our self-consciousness. Wolff was a highly influential philosopher in his own right, with his writings featuring prominently in the syllabuses of German universities in the early eighteenth century.[66] Wolff stated that 'something becomes an individual thing by being determined in everything that belongs to it internally as well as in that which belongs to it externally in relation to other things.'[67] In terms of personal identity Wolff largely follows Leibniz, but he stresses that it is the consciousness of our own diachronic identity, gained through our actions and experience, that makes us individuals. However, going beyond Leibniz's theories, Wolff stresses the importance of objects in relation to self-consciousness, in terms of the mental act of our ability to distinguish between them.[68] Wolff maintains that 'if we do not think of the acts of the soul and thereby distinguish ourselves from the things of which we think, then we are not conscious of ourselves either.'[69] Wolff illustrates what Thiel calls a 'double relation of consciousness' between both the subject and the object of consciousness. Through this means of thinking, there is no possibility for self-consciousness without our consciousness of objects, just as there can be no consciousness of objects without self-consciousness. Many of these ideas can be seen as descending from English philosophy, particularly John Locke, who might be seen as the real pioneer of self-consciousness of the final decades of the seventeenth century. Locke's publications circulated widely in northern Germany, and were known to have been well received by Johann Mattheson, a central figure in the development of German musical aesthetics in the eighteenth century, and whose ideas I will discuss in the third chapter.[70]

Conclusions

In this discussion, drawing together music, theology and philosophy, I have attempted to show how we might begin to deepen our understanding of the contemporary values surrounding the act of musical composition in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century

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[66] Matt Hettche, 'Christian Wolff', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 2016 <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2016/entries/wolff-christian/> Last accessed 18 September 2017.
[67] Christian Wolff, *Vernünftige Gedanken von den Kräften des menschlichen Verstandes* (1713); cited in Thiel, *The Early Modern Subject*, 303.
[68] Thiel, 309.
[69] Thiel, 308.
[70] Andrew H. Clark, 'Making Music Speak', in Keith Chapin and Andrew H. Clark (eds), *Speaking of Music — Addressing the Sonorous* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 77-8.

Germany. While apparently abstract philosophical conceptions of individuality and the uniqueness of objects might seem somewhat tangential, I am keen to introduce it at this point, as it is helpful in supporting many of the ideas I go on to develop in what follows — particularly my discussion of the 'actualization' of musical work in the fourth chapter. Understanding work as an activity, responsible for the creation of objects and individual subjects alike, I contend that in the case of these composers, their music itself can be heard as an individual's work, separable from the performative act. In what follows, I will show how this conceptulization became a central part of the work-concept that Bach inherited. This potential for being able to physically realize the act of working in music, through the development of an eloquent, poetic musical language, was one of the key features of seventeenth-century German music. And, through the legacy of figures particularly including Schütz, we might begin to appreciate how works were — and are — essential to accept, in order to consolidate the idea of the composer within a wider cultural consciousness. Moreover, we can see why the separation between *Componist* and *Musicant/Musicus*, was such a key part of Birnbaum's response to Scheibe, as the difficulty inherent in composition came to be viewed as a higher 'calling'.

One of Goehr's central claims is that the work-concept of c.1800 is a signal of the 'modern'. As Matthew Lauzon points out, however, it is important to state the significant disjunction between 'the temporal and the substantive conceptions of modernity.'[71] Over the course of this dissertation, I hope to show that the sense of the musical work within Lutheran German culture in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries represented a new perception of the inseparable duality between effort and product, between self and society. In a culture that was very much still attempting to find its own identity in the seventeenth century, with unprecedented social and political turmoil, we might nonetheless see in these individuated work-acts some of the first strands of a musical modernity.

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[71] Matthew Lauzon, 'Modernity', in Jerry H. Bentley (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of World History*, (Oxford University Press: New York, 2011), 72

CHAPTER II

Working in Theory

In the first chapter, I showed that the representation of work is readily observable in several examples of Lutheran German music. These examples, dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are evidence of how keenly aware composers were, over a period of around 100 years, of the importance given to the work ethic in Lutheran culture. In this chapter, I wish to expand on this, and show how the act of composition itself had already been characterized as an act of work by Lutheran musical theorists. From the middle of the sixteenth century, an emphasis began to be placed on the idea that a composer *worked* in order to obtain his skills (as opposed to merely observing rules), and that the application of personal effort was required to develop his ideas into successful forms that could successfully communicate with the listener. This is particularly evident in the writings of the *musica poetica* tradition, a uniquely German movement which began to develop from the middle decades of the sixteenth century onwards. In this chapter, I aim to highlight and discuss the significance of the frequent allusions made to work in theoretical and pedagogical writings about music, and reflect on what they might tell us, in terms of how they depict the composer as an individual capable of constructing pieces of music that could induce discrete affective responses from the listener. Additionally, I aim to show how the early modern Lutheran concept of work in music — as a process and an ethic, and not simply as a product — has significant implications in signifying a tangible facet of a broader sense of cultural modernity.

A number of writers have explored the work-concept's roots back into the early sixteenth and fifteenth centuries. In 2001, the German scholar Heinz von Loesch published a book that built on his *Habilitationsschrift*, examining the relationship between the musical work-concept and its relationship to the writings of the first Wittenberg reformers.[1] Von Loesch began his project with the initial impression that Protestantism had been the central

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[1] Heinz von Loesch, *Der Werkbegriff in der protestantischen Musiktheorie des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts: Ein Mißverständnis* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2001).

force in generating the work-concept in the sixteenth century, noting that Listenius studied at the University of Wittenberg from 1529 to 1531, when both Luther and Melanchton were teaching there.[2] However, over the course of his work, he came to the conclusion that his hypothesis was misguided, and that sixteenth-century musicians did not in fact ascribe to anything resembling the musical work-concept. On the other hand, Laurenz Lütteken and Reinhard Strohm have each argued that the work-concept is something that can be observed in fifteenth-century music. Lütteken suggests that in the fifteenth century, 'all of the theoretical and practical premises upon which the musical work of art depends were present: notation and written tradition, authorship and professionalization, historicity and historical memory, the position of music in an emerging generic classification of the arts, reproducibility, and "aesthetics."'[3] For his part, Strohm suggests the work-concept was something known even before Tinctoris, attributing its inception to the influence of humanist values upon music from the middle of the fifteenth century.[4] In another article, Strohm points out that even if the fifteenth-century work-concept 'fostered deception…[it] nevertheless became a cultural reality because people acted on it.'[5]

However, this study is of course primarily focused on a later period, which presents its own challenges. As a result, it takes a different approach, in seeking to present a different perspective on the *musica poetica* tradition. In what follows, rather than focusing on its apparent philosophical and conceptual implications, I observe how, following Nikolaus Listenius, its contributors increasingly characterized composition as an act, and thereby opened up a new space for the composer's artistic agency. As George Buelow observed, German music theory of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries often 'displays an unstable as well as exceedingly energetic thrust into frequently contradictory areas of musical thought.'[6] Buelow identifies the cause of this as the sometimes-uneasy fusion between modern Italian humanist ideas with the deep-rooted conceptions of music in the medieval tradition of northern Europe. In this chapter, I attempt to make both a more general

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[2] Ibid., 1.

[3] Laurenz Lütteken, 'The work concept', in Anna Maria Busse Berger and Jesse Rodin (eds), *The Cambridge History of Fifteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 55-68 (56).

[4] Reinhard Strohm, '"Opus": An Aspect of the Early History of the Musical Work-Concept', in Thomas Jez, (ed.), *Complexus effectuum musicologiae studia Miroslao Perz septuagenario dedicate* (Kraków: Rabid, 2003), 309-19.

[5] 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), 128-152 (129). See also Strohm's chapter 'France and the Low Countries: The Invention of the Masterwork' in Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music: 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 412-88, as his initial contribution to the subject, and to which his subsequent articles relate.

[6] George Buelow, 'Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory: Germany', *Journal of Music Theory*, 16 (1/2) (1972), 36.

exploration of where the German values of composition as labour came from, and a more specific attempt to better understand the (in)famous Nikolaus Listenius, in relating his statements to the Lutheran theorists' conceptual mindset. It is my hope that by understanding the theoretical culture in greater context, in terms of its own broader cultural background and its Italian progenitors, we will hopefully gain greater familiarity with this tradition, which has often been depicted a somewhat recherché area of music theory. While this might seem to constitute a somewhat large frame of reference, a number of unifying themes are readily perceptible in the consolidation of the notion idea that music — when properly *worked* — might function as an eloquent and individualized artistic utterance, and acquires an increased amount of artistic prestige. In the writings of the theorists whose work I discuss, it is clear that out of the conflicts regarding what music was and could be, a new, more modern conception of composition was emerging, emphasizing the acquisition of skill and diligence by composers as individuals, and their capability for the creation of unique works. I seek to show that many of the attitudes to composition detectable in writings about German music of the earlier eighteenth century emanate from precisely the kind of description offered by Listenius in 1537.

Listenius's Three Branches

In the discourse surrounding the work-concept, the name of Nikolaus Listenius (1510-?) has been one of the most frequently cited, owing to his use of the term *opus perfectum et absolutum* — the 'perfect and absolute work'.[7] In his *Rudimenta Musicae* (1533), Listenius described how the study of music comprised two discrete but complementary parts: *theorica* and *practica*.[8] As part of his definition of *musica practica*, Listenius outlined how 'a poem or fabricated thing' is called such when 'a work is left after labour, just as when also music is composed.'[9] But in a revised and enlarged edition of his treatise, published just four years later and entitled simply *Musica*, Listenius now divided music into three parts — *theorica*, *practica*, and *poetica*. This latter branch, previously considered by Listenius to be a part of *musica practica*, was now considered by him as an area of study in its own right.[10] Offering a slightly more detailed

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[7] Nikolaus Listenius, *Musica: Ab authore denuo recognita multisque novis regulis et exemplis adaucta* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1537). A digital copy is available from the University of Freiburg at <http://dl.ub.uni-freiburg.de/diglit/listenius1537 >, Last accessed 1 December 2018.

[8] Nikolaus Listenius, *Rudimenta Musicae* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1533).

[9] *Ibid*., 'Poetica siue fabricatiua dicitur quando opus post laborem relinqitur, veluti, cum a quoque musica conscribitur.'

[10] Listenius, *Musica*. Goehr, Richard Middleton and Leo Treitler each cite the year 1527. This seems to be descended from a mistake in Goehr's text, though she does include the additional qualification that the date of *Musica*'s publication is 'sometimes 1537' in brackets. See Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works*, 115; Richard Middleton, 'Work-in(g) Practice: Configuration of the Popular Music Intertext', in Michael Talbot

outline of its principles, Listenius described how *musica poetica* results in the creation of the 'perfect and absolute work' (*opus perfectum et absolutum*). As something that seems to resemble an early reference to the work-concept, this is the phrase that has made Listenius the subject of so much scrutiny. However, Listenius's description of the *opus* is tantalizingly vague and open to a myriad of different readings. On the one hand, Listenius seems to point to the *opus* as being an object, while on the other, his understanding of music as a whole seems to express his perception of music as an act — something that people do. An examination of the earlier version of Listenius's formulation may be revealing.
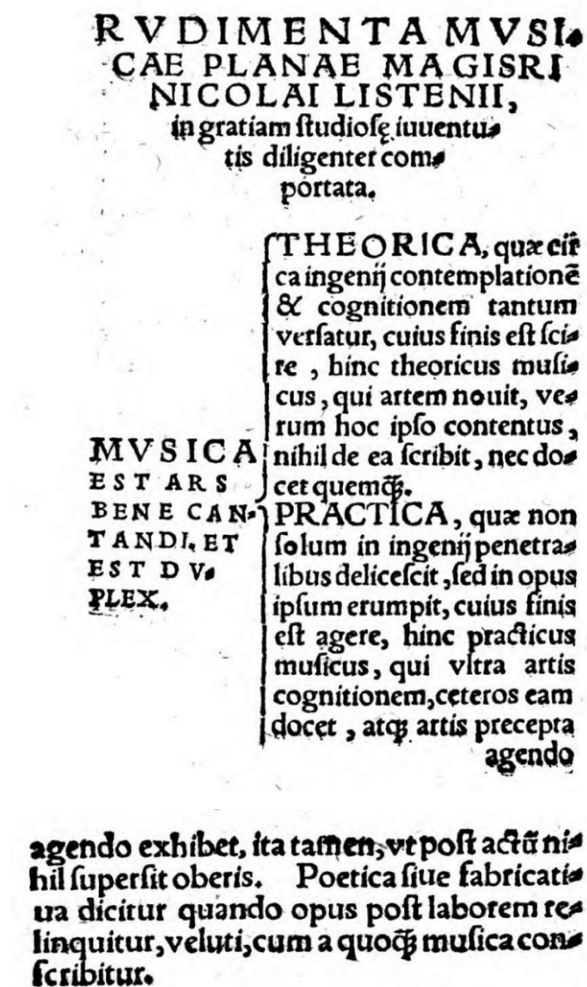
Theory is that which is concerned only with contemplation of a thing, of its innate quality and knowledge of the thing. Its goal is to understand. Hence the musical theorist, who has learnt this same art, and is truly content with this alone, writes nothing about it, nor teaches anyone.

Practice is that which does not simply conceal itself in the deepest recesses of its innate quality, but also produces a work — although no work is left after the performance: its goal is to perform. Hence, the musical practician teaches others more than just knowledge of the art, but rather puts the precepts of the art into practice.

A poem or fabricated thing is that work left after labour, just as also when music is composed.

Figure 2.1 Detail and translation from Listenius, *Rudimenta Musicae* (Wittenberg: 1533), 8-9

Listenius's primer was clearly very popular, judging by its forty subsequent editions appearing between 1537 and 1583. Like the majority of sixteenth-century Lutheran

(ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention*, 86; and Leo Treitler, *Reflections on Musical Meaning and Its Representations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), 100.

musical primers, however, Listenius's *Musica* was primarily concerned with offering instruction for teaching school pupils how to sing.[11] The account of music's tripartite nature is given at the top of the text, but following these relatively brief explanations, Listenius does not go into any greater depth regarding the practical elements of composition — or, indeed, the ontological nature of its products. Nonetheless, from Listenius's inception, the term *musica poetica* was adopted by numerous writers, being employed in one form or another as the title of pedagogical texts by authors including Heinrich Faber, Gallus Dressler, Seth Calvisius and Joachim Burmeister among others.

Goehr argued that Listenius's phrase was not, as it might appear *prima facie*, any solid evidence for a stable sixteenth-century work-concept. While she was willing to concede that it is possible Listenius's work-concept may have 'preceded and gradually developed into our modern one', she is convinced that Listenius is not the seminal figure he has previously been hailed.[12] She suggests that Listenius cannot and should not be regarded either as a 'Robinson Crusoe' figure, or 'an exceptional genius'. She argues that Listenius's description of the opus is not necessarily what it might appear to be *prima facie*, claiming that this tripartite division of music was drawn from previous conceptualizations made by Boethius and Johannes Tinctoris, who in turn had lifted it directly from Aristotle's Poetics. As Goehr describes, Aristotle separates the creative process into 'knowledge' (*episteme*), 'doing' (*energeia*), and 'making or producing' (*ergon*).[13] Goehr suggest how 'an *opus* [i.e. Listenius's opus] is the product of performance — i.e. an activity — and not simply the pre-existing idea that brings a performance about. A finished performance is as perfect and absolute as any activity of making that yields a separate, concrete, product. Both remain after the event as having been perfectly performed.'[14] Goehr claims that Listenius's description of *musica poetica* does not necessarily imply that the term 'opus' was used to denote a product as something existing beyond its performance, or that this opus might have been considered the central focus (*telos*) of contemporary musical practice.[15] But in Listenius's writing, one thing is unequivocal: this opus which remains after the act of performance — outliving its creator — is the result of its creator's labour.

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[11] See John Butt, *Music Education and Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; reprinted 1996), Ch.1, 'The establishment of Lutheran musical practice in the sixteenth century', 1-10.
[12] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 118.
[13] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 117.
[14] *Ibid.*, 117.
[15] *Ibid.*, 118.

However, in the discussion regarding the work-concept, the implications of Listenius's remarks regarding composition and his allusions to work have not really been examined in the wider context of these other writers' own *musica poetica* treatises — or, indeed, against the descriptions of composition related by early modern German composers. I wish to propose that there is in fact more that might be considered modern about Listenius's description than Goehr is willing to admit, and that resonances of his ideas are to be found in the writings of subsequent Lutheran music theorists. Whereas most scholars have debated Listenius's classification in terms of its ontological implications, I suggest that the real novelty in his writing is not to be found in what he might imply regarding the product of composition, but rather what he implies about the process itself. That Listenius opts to depict this is an act of labour is surely the salient point. The opus's value presumably resides in the experience it offered performers and listeners. In describing its creation as an act of work, Listenius suggests that this experience is afforded by the skill of the composer, and that the ability to construct such compositions is not an easy undertaking. In *musica poetica*, composition is venerated as an activity in its own right, dependent on the effort of the composer. The opus is the relic of the activity.

While musical theory before Listenius's *Musica* generally considered music to be the tangible manifestation of the fulfilment of cosmic laws, Listenius unequivocally depicts composition as an act of labour (*laborare*) on the part of man. In doing so, he suggests the composer has a sense of individual agency, and that composition — like the other constituent parts of the study of music — is a skill capable of being learned and developed, rather than simply the reflection of God's creation. In Listenius's terms, composition was a means of manipulating natural materials to render human artefacts, capturing subjectivized human emotions and experiences, forming the basis for a new kind of performance and listening. William Bouswma describes in *The Waning of the Renaissance* how this new sense of human creativity was a modern distinctly modern development. Prior to the sixteenth century, it was widely regarded that the only true creator was God, and that — as God's creations — humans' art was merely an attempt to imitate nature, in keeping with the Aristotelian conception of art as *techne*.[16] From the late sixteenth century onwards, this changed across the arts, in painting, and literature, as well as music, with an increasing

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[16] As Martha Husain describes: 'Aristotle leaves no doubt that the relationship between *physis* and *techne* is imitation (*mimesis*). All *techne* imitates *physis*. He sometimes adds that *techne* can also complete *physis* cannot finish, but this seems to pertain to *technai* such as medicine, which restores the healthy condition of a natural *ousia*.' Martha Husain, *Ontology and the Art of Tragedy: An Approach to Aristotle's Poetics* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2002), 22.

emphasis on man as a creative agent, to whom work was the means for transforming the world to render his own vision, rather than simply imitate it.[17]

       As I will go on to show in the remainder this chapter, this emergence of this new conception can be clearly observed as having been established within the minds of other writers in the *musica poetica* tradition, and a perceptible ethos that persisted in the teaching of composition into the early eighteenth century — particularly influencing the Catholic composer and pedagogue Johann Joseph Fux, as evidenced his *Gradus ad Parnassum*. Having located the origins of the *musica poetica* tradition in Listenius, I will explore some specific examples of how its writers dealt with the theme of work, and how they built upon the foundations of Zarlino's compositional theory. These writings form a distinct strand in the pedagogy of music in terms of their conception of what the composition of music actually meant, and why its successful practitioners were increasingly afforded an increased sense of prestige. Furthermore, in establishing a practice founded on critical analysis, introducing the use of exemplary works by sixteenth-century 'master' composers, this tradition might also be seen to have created its own musical canon, reifying works for the purposes of analysis, while encouraging a new generation of German musicians to go beyond the exemplars, and synthesize these acquired techniques with their own ideas in the creation of a new kind of music.

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[17] William J. Bouwsma, *The Waning of the Renaissance — 1500-1640* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 30. Bouwsma's second chapter, 'The Liberation of the Self' (20-34) is particularly relevant regarding this subject, offering a useful overview of this phenomenon across the different arts and taking into account the writings and work of prominent European artists and writers.

Music Theory and the Idea of the Modern Composer

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries witnessed numerous heated disputes between theorists and composers across Europe. Within Italian circles, the correspondences between Vicenzo Galilei and Gioseffo Zarlino, Vicente Lusitano and Nicola Vicentino, and Claudio Monteverdi and Giovanni Maria Artusi were the most significant, having the most potent ramifications in German circles. These were, as Karol Berger describes, the result of the increasing influence of Platonism upon Italian Renaissance culture.[18] For the most part, these debates centred around the apparent friction between different conceptions of what music was, and how it impinged upon composition. To the conservative, medieval mindset, the substantive elements of music—particularly with regard to the handling of consonances and dissonances—were regarded as the fulfilment of natural laws. 'Modern' composers, however, felt capable of developing their own new, sometimes unorthodox musical materials, in order to convincingly render subjective human states.

The exchange between Artusi and Monteverdi is the most famous example of such a conflict, clearly articulating the essentially moral values that underlie these discourses. In the second *ragionamento* of his *L'Artusi, overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica*, Artusi presented a stinging critique of some madrigals known to be by Monteverdi, while not specifically naming him as the composer. As part of his critique, presented in the form of a dialogue, Artusi's Luca (the character who reports having heard the madrigals in performance) characterizes the kind of approach 'modern' composers or 'new inventors' made in pursuit of their new discoveries, which forced them to 'toil night and day' at their instruments.[19] Artusi's description of these composers working hard was not intended to complement any work ethic — rather, this work was seen to be a waste of time and the result of their musical ineptitude. Artusi claimed that the resulting 'tumult of sounds', 'confusion of absurdities' and 'assemblage of imperfections' was actually deceptive. His implication is that that working at composition should not be necessary, and this laborious process of experimentation was only required by ignorant, unskilled composers. The suggestion was that the kind of music such a process produced wilfully distorted music's role

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[18] Karol Berger, *Theories of Chromatic and Enharmonic Music in Late 16th-Century Italy* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1980), 118-120.

[19] 'Si conosce che il senso è ingannato; et à questo attendono alla gagliarda questi Compositori, ò nuovi Inventori; le bastadi sodisfare il senso, che perciò il giorno la notte s'affaticano intorno a gl'instromenti per sentire lo effetto che fanno, cosi fatti Passaggi; & li meschini non s'accorgono, che gl'instromenti le dicono il falso, et alto è cercare con le voci, e i suoni una cosa appartenente alla facoltà Harmonica; & alto è con la ragione accompagnata col senso ritrovare il vero et l'effatto.' Giovanni Maria Artusi, *L'Artusi, overo delle imperfettioni della moderna musica* (Venice: Giacomo Vincenti, 1600), 42r.

within the universe, failing to demonstrate the 'natural' and 'truthful' laws of music, as observed and codified by Artusi's teacher, Zarlino.

In a note appended to the end of the *quinto* partbook of his Fifth Book of Madrigals (1605), Monteverdi offered a brief response to Artusi. In this, he apologized that time did not allow him to respond at greater length, but that in time he would publish a defence entitled *Seconda Pratica* of 'The Perfection of Modern Music'. Monteverdi refuted Artusi's criticisms, claiming that he did not compose 'by accident', and that the modern composer 'constructs his works on the fundaments of truth.'[20] In his *Scherzi musicali*, published just two years later in 1607, Monteverdi responded at greater length in the guise of his brother Giulio Cesare. Once again, he reiterated that he did not compose his works by chance, and urged the reader to 'have faith that the modern composer builds on foundations of truth'. He clarifies that his brother has chosen to designate his method as a practice — rather than a theory or an institution, as Zarlino had laid out — because he intended it to be useful in practical terms, rather than codifying any laws or rules.[21] As I will discuss in what follows, Zarlino's conceptual understanding of composition actually had a significant amount in common with Monteverdi's than Artusi was willing to admit.

But, in any case, 'the truth' — insofar as Monteverdi understood it — was that of the expression contained within the text, which the harmony was designed to express. Giulio Cesare described how, in the Second Practice, harmony was considered *commanded*, rather than commanding.[22] This statement is telling, pointing to a fundamental shift in the understanding of what music could be. Rather than being bound to working in accordance with universal laws, composition became an act through which music could be taken by man, and worked into a form that was capable of carrying individuated expression. In the modern world, man had become capable of commanding nature. This ability was articulated by Alessandro Striggio in his libretto for Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo* (written and

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[20] 'Hò nondimeno scritta la risposta per far conoscer ch'io non faccio le mie cose à caso, & tosto che sia rescritta uscirà in luce portando in fronte il nome di SECONDA PRATICA, overo PERFETTIONE DELLA MODERNA MUSIC…& credete che il modern Compositore fabrica sopra li fondamenti della verità.' Claudio Monteverdi, *Il Quinto libro di Madrigali* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1605).

[21] 'Per cotali ragioni halla detta seconda e non nova; ha detto prattica e non Theorica percioche intende versar le sue ragioni intorno al modo di adoperar le consonanze e dissonanze ne atto prattico…ma lascia al Cavaglier Ercole Botscritti, che perciò disse institutioni Armoniche perchè volle ha detto Seconda prattica, cioè secondo uso pratticale, delle considerationi melodiche…' Claudio Monteverdi, *Scherzi Musicali* (Venice: Ricciardo Amadino, 1607), Canto, 43v.

[22] *Ibid.*, 'Seconda prattica, e intendenti de la vera arte, intende che sia quella che versa intorno alla perfettione della melodia, cioè che considera l'armonia comandata, e non comandante…'

performed in 1607, the same year as the *Scherzi musicali* was published). After Orfeo lulls Caronte to sleep with 'Possente spirto', the *Coro di spiriti infernali* close the Third Act proclaiming how — through his labour — man has conquered nature:

Nulla impresa per uom si tenta invano	*No enterprise is tried by man in vain,*
Nè contr' a lui più sa natura armarse.	*and against him no more can nature be defended.*
Ei de l'instabil piano	*Of the ever-varying plain*
Arò gli ondosi campi, e 'l seme sparse	*he ploughed the waving fields, and scattered the seed of his labours,*
Di sue fatiche, ond' aurea messe accolse.	*from which he gathered golden harvests.*
Quinci, perchè memoria	*Hence, so that memory of his glory should survive,*
Vivesse di sua gloria,	*Fame has loosed her tongue to speak of him,*
La fama a dir di lui sua lingua sciolse,	*how he controlled the sea with fragile wood,*
Ch'ei pose freno al mar con fragil legno	*how he scorned the enmity of Auster and Aquilo.* [23]
Che sprezzò d'Austro e d'Aquilon lo sdegno.	

Text and translation of first *spirito* chorus from *L'Orfeo*

For the 'modern composer' (a term Monteverdi seemingly happily accepted Artusi using) therefore, composition worked around — and sometimes actively against — Zarlino's laws, in order to render music that was truthful and aesthetically compelling. Sixteenth-century Italian madrigals and, of course, Monteverdi's own music were well-known in German-speaking centres.[24] These exerted a significant influence on German music, not least in the impression Monteverdi obviously made upon Heinrich Schütz. As I will show, in German circles it increasingly became the expectation that a composer should have to work hard to find his own voice, rather than simply learn and obey rules. This new sense of the composer's role, in producing original works that might provide discrete, authentic subjective responses to poetic ideas, was an integral development in consolidating the role of the modern composer as an individual.

In the *musica poetica* tradition, theorists such as Joachim Burmeister, whose writings I will examine below, encouraged would-be composers to analyse a series of original musical gestures made by so-called 'masters'. These were to be observed in context from practice,

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[23] Translation by Hugh Griffith. Liner notes to *Claudio Monteverdi — L'Orfeo* CD Recording by Taverner Consort/Andrew Parrott (Avie, 2012).

[24] For an example of this and a fascinating insight to the collection of Georg Knoff, a Danzig merchant, who amassed a vast quantity of Italian madrigal and sacred publications, see Martin Morell, 'Georg Knoff: bibliophile and devotee of Italian music in late sixteenth-century Danzig', in *Music in the German Renaissance: Sources, Styles, and Contexts*, ed. John Kmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 103-126.

rather than as abstract rules, with Burmeister helping to distinguish their effectiveness. On acquiring a fluency with these, composers were to use them as inspiration, reworking them for their own artistic purposes. In humanist terms, music might be seen as increasingly being understood to be part of the trivium — alongside grammar, logic and rhetoric — and no longer part of the quadrivium, with arithmetic, geometry and astronomy. As Daniel Chua describes:

> In the trivium, music becomes human and can be made infinitely malleable by the power of rhetorical persuasion. This shift allows man to bend music according to his linguistic will, twisting and distorting its intervals to vocalize his passional self, breaking the harmonic laws of the cosmos to legitimize humanity as the new sovereign who creates his own laws out of his own being. This is the second nature of the second practice.[25]

Expanding on Weber's concept of *Entzauberung*, which posits that the definitive result of modernity was the 'disenchantment' of the world, Chua examines perceptible signs of disenchantment in music theory of the late sixteenth century, particularly in the writings of Vincenzo Galilei.[26] In doing so, Chua demonstrates how the supernatural becomes reduced simply to be the natural, and the natural becomes the comprehensible, claiming that 'the modernization of society is therefore its secularization.'[27] The extent of this assertion is somewhat questionable, and it might be more appropriate to see this process more as the relocation of the divine to a more immanentist locus, within nature itself, rather than 'secularization'. As Chua explains, Galilei was compelled to divide the nature of music theory in two: 'first, as a *desacralized* object that can be scientifically interrogated and instrumentally rationalized in the name of empirical reality, and second, as a *moral subject* searching for meaning.'[28]

Regardless, it is clear that from the sixteenth century, thinkers across Europe sought to establish new, systematic means of comprehending knowledge and the experience of existence itself, and these trends must be seen as an important influence upon the way the

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[25] Daniel Chua, 'Vincenzo Galilei, modernity and the division of nature', in *Music Theory and Natural Order from the Renaissance to the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 28.
[26] Weber himself adopted this concept from Friedrich Schiller's 'die Entgötterung der Natur'. For a helpful discussion of the complexities and implications of Weber's usage of this concept, see Iván Szelényi, '*Entzauberung*: Notes on Weber's Theory of Modernity', *International Political Anthropology*, 8/1 (2015), 5-14.
[27] Chua, 'Vincenzo Galilei, modernity and the division of nature', 20.
[28] *Ibid.*, 29 (italics added).

dualistic relationship between the individual and his social identity was perceived. Chua's choice of language in this passage clearly resonates with the kind of concerns articulated by some of the most prominent philosophers of the seventeenth century, including Descartes, Leibniz, Spinoza, and Hobbes. In the disenchanted world, the previously unified universe became segmented into a series of overlapping, but different worlds. These might be thought of as personal, public, professional and spiritual. Chua proposes that, in this universe, 'the human subject, in its pursuit of knowledge is alienated from the objects it disenchants, creating a rift between fact and value, knowledge and meaning, the self and the cosmos.'[29] For Chua, this is apparently a bad thing, reflecting that the 'cost of progress' is accounted for by a 'loss of meaning.'[30]

However, from the evidence I have surveyed in my research for this project, I have determined that the opposite was frequently held to be the case, as reflected by early modern German music theorists. In much of this literature there is a readily perceptible sense that the pursuit of knowledge actually served to *increase* a sense of meaning for musicians as individuals. Rather than a loss of meaning, music in fact gained a new set of human meanings, incrementally becoming understood as a language that was replicable and portable, and which could enable the sharing of specific experiences. Throughout the seventeenth century, an increasing sense of collective cultural belief that man was capable of defining his own relationships with the materials comprising his universe, and find comfort in the confidence of his own truths. As Chua implies, religious identity became increasingly bound up with civic identity, and for the German states who adopted Lutheranism after the Augsburg Confession, the gradual process of creating an educational system and a musical tradition that reflected their values did not occur overnight or straightforwardly. Indeed, in the large body of writings on music made by Lutheran German writers there is an occasionally paradoxical sense of simultaneous pessimism and optimism, in their frequent depiction of the apparently degenerate state of contemporary music, while maintaining hope for the potential of its redemption by the imposition of a new, rationalized approach to music and composition.

The writings of Lutheran theorists, Johannes Avianius (?-1617) and Johannes Lippius (1585-1612) — who were among the first writers anywhere to discuss the nature of

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29 *Ibid.*, 18.
30 *Ibid.*

the triad as the fundamental unit of harmonic organization — readily communicate a palpable sense of optimism. Lippius was well regarded in his own day as an insightful and erudite scholar, and he claimed to have read over a hundred musical treatises. In addition to his highly regarded musical knowledge, he was also respected as a performer, and lectured on logic and metaphysics before his untimely demise. We know from his *Synopsis Musicae Novae*, derived from the three Wittenberg disputations, that Lippius planned a comprehensive encyclopedia that was to include music, grammar, logic, rhetoric, maths, physics, ethics, economics, politics, metaphysics, medicine, law, and theology. As Benito Rivera has suggested, this was clearly not out of any 'accidental desire to collect sundry information', but rather a genuine attempt to communicate his conception that these discrete areas of human knowledge were part of a programme to synthesize an understanding of the world based upon related but diverse epistemological disciplines. Owing to this, the German music theory of this period represents a unique tradition of rejection, reordering and filtration. Early modern German composition treatises implore the reader not only to learn by observing exemplars, but to experiment with them in their own compositions.

It is often difficult to ascertain the extent of theory's historical role, insofar as how far it directly reflected or effected musical change, and it can be tempting to overstate its relationship to compositional practice. In his book *The Language of the Modes*, Frans Wiering introduces the concept of a 'double discourse' to describe the relationship between theory and practice in relation to musical modality.[31] As he describes, traditional musicological approaches frequently 'simplify the often complex interaction [between music and theory] to a one-dimensional process', presuming that theory either prescribes dry 'academic' techniques, or simply describes what happens anyway in practice (and which would be better simply observed than described).[32] Wiering's idea of binary model of interaction takes its lead from the observation that two media are involved in music teaching — music and language — and noting the symbiotic relationship between the two in the development of new styles and forms. Such an idea seems to be also relevant in the context of this chapter. It is important to observe that in the case of the Lutheran German theorists, a significant number of the writers were themselves highly respected professional musicians, composers and teachers. It is perhaps due to this that much early modern German music

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[31] Frans Wiering, *The Language of the Modes: Studies in the History of Polyphonic Modality* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 21. I am grateful to Stephen Rose for pointing me to this text and this idea in my viva.
[32] Ibid.

theory represents a shift in the relationship between the roles played by the composer, performer, and listener — between subjects and objects. In this context, these terms denote the individuals and the musical materials that formed the basis of their interaction.

Despite the longstanding musicological interest in compositional theory and musical analysis, few Lutheran German theorists of this period have truly entered into the pantheon of musical history, with the possible exception of Joachim Burmeister — and Listenius, so far as the work-concept is concerned. With regard to the *musica poetica* tradition, what was most notably cited by twentieth-century scholars was that, for the first time, theorists (most of whom were active as composers and performers themselves, on some level) actively encouraged composers to communicate and engage with the listener on a human level, using terminology borrowed directly from rhetoric.[33] In what follows, I want to build on this, by making an exploration of the values and the intellectual universe in which German theorists and composers worked. Although the connections between music and rhetoric had been considered across Europe from the early sixteenth century, the German tradition of *musica poetica* should be seen as being progressive, in how it placed the onus of the listener's being moved on the composer, rather than on the performer, as it was — most notably — in the case of Italian monody. It became the voice of the composer that was represented in the work.

From Science to Art

As I have suggested above and will discuss in detail below, Zarlino's conceptual understanding of what how composition was defined and how it could be taught was in fact more modern, in terms of the agency it afforded the composer, than has been credited. Understanding what supported Zarlino's theory is essential in order to appreciate where many of the key developments in German music theory came from — particularly in relation to Seth Calvisius and Johannes Lippius. Widely respected as a composer himself, Zarlino was critical of theorists who became embroiled in pedantic feuds, in whose writings he complained 'one finds nothing but the innumerable villanous slanders which they immodestly address to one another (O what shame!) and in the end do so little good that

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[33] See, for example, Heinz Brandes, *Studien zur musikalischen Figurenlehre im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Triltsch & Huther, 1935) and Hans-Heinrich Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16-18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg: Triltsch, 1941).

one is dumbfounded.'[34] In the third book of his *Istitutioni Harmoniche*, Zarlino lamented that
few theorists since Boethius had kept to the 'good road' and supported the advancement of
music, and had instead become preoccupied with theory merely in an attempt to validate
their own existence.

Citing a shift in contemporary priorities, he described how the time of the Arte
sofistica 'is almost spent and extinct and that he [i.e. God] has put us into an age concerned
only with the multiplying of good *concenti* and good melodies, the true end toward which the
musician ought to direct his every work.'[35] In this passage, Zarlino makes it clear that he
perceived himself and his approach as a progressive. He characterizes composition as a
means to actively enhance the experience of living. Citing classical authority for this, he
quotes from Horace's *Art of Poetry*, which describes how 'Poets should benefit, or amuse, and
utter words at once both pleasing and helpful to life.'[36] Zarlino's own purpose in the
Institutioni armoniche was intended to bring this about, in attempting to provide extensive and
specific guidance as to how composers might achieve this. As he outlined: 'I shall go on to
show with evident reason what is to be done and how the rules are to be understood, adding
also certain further rules, not only useful but also most necessary to those who seek to train
themselves in a regular and well-ordered way of composing music of any kind in a learned
and elegant manner, with good reasons and good foundations.'[37] Zarlino is clear that his
'rules' are not simply to be observed for the sake of orthodoxy, or that these rules can be
observed in nature — rather, they are to be observed from good practice, learned and
developed through application. This is an early example of the move towards empirical
thinking.

In common with the majority of the humanist musical experiments that were
carried out across Italy and Europe, Zarlino centred his approach on the text. He attempted
to show how contrapuntal music might be most successfully composed, in terms of

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[34] 'Si trovano etiandio molti Trattati, & molte Apologie di alcuni Musici, scritti contra alcuni altri, ne i quali (se
bene si leggesero mille fiare) dop lette, riletti & essaminati, non si tritrova alto, che infinite villanie, &
maledicentie & poco di buono; di maniera che è un stupore' Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le istitutioni harmoniche* (Venice:
1558), Book 3, 279. Translated in Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: Norton, 1950), 252.
[35] 'La onde dovemo di continuo lodare, & ringratiare Dio, che a poco a poco (non sò in che maniera) tal cosa
sia spenta; & che ne habbia fatto venire ad una età, nella quale non si attende ad alto, che alla moltoplicatione
delli buoni concenti, & delle buone Melodie.' Zarlino, Book 3, 280. Strunk, 252-3.
[36] 'Aut prodesse volunt, aut delectare poetae / Aut simul et iucunda et idonea dicere vitae. Zarlino, 479.
Strunk, 229.
[37] 'Con ragioni evidenti mostrarò, in qual maniera si haveranno da intendere, aggiunge dovene etiandio alcune
altre, che saranno, non solo utili; ma anco necessarie molto a tutti coloro, che desiderano di ri dursi in un modo
regulato, & ordine buono ragioni: & buoni fondamenti, ogni cantilena.' Strunk, 233.

maximizing its effect on the listener. Zarlino underlines a set of Platonic priorities, in a way that seems to be at odds with Artusi's subsequent citations of his work, and in many ways surprisingly closely aligned with Monteverdi's approach. In the fourth book of the *Institutioni*, Zarlino describes how a composer should 'combine' harmonies with the words.[38] Zarlino instructs that the harmony should be combined with the words in a way that renders a convincing version of composer's reading of them, pointing out that those who have studied his modal theory in Part III should already be aware of how to provide an appropriate musical setting of a given text:

> He who has studied what I have written in Part III and has considered the nature of the mode in which he wishes to write his composition will, I think, know precisely how to do this. In so far as he can, he must take care to accompany each word in such a way that, if it denotes harshness, hardness, cruelty, bitterness, and other things of this sort, the harmony will be similar, that is, somewhat hard and harsh, but so that it does not offend. In the same way, if any word expresses complain, grief, affliction, sighs, tears, and other things of this sort, the harmony will be full of sadness.[39]

The 'combination' that he refers signals a process of drawing things together, rather than simply sitting down and writing them out. With these instructions, Zarlino makes it clear that he saw polyphonic composition as capable of evoking and elaborating on discrete poetic ideas. He sees the musical expression of a text as a means of expressing discrete ideas, gained from a subjective communication from person to person — i.e. from composer to listener (as opposed to singer(s) to listener). His characterisation of the individual composer and his advice for how he should create '*his* composition' reinforces the sense of the composer as an individual communicating with an individual. In this, he shows a conviction that polyphony is a rhetorical device unique to music. This is a theme that had significant implications for German musicians, who maintained the primacy of contrapuntal composition into the first half eighteenth century, and which I will discuss in greater depth in the following chapter.

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[38] 'Questa hora da videre (essendo che il tempo, & il luogo lo ricerca) in qual maniera si debba accompagnare le Harmonie alle soggette Parole. Dico accompangnar le Harmonie alle Parole, per questo…' Zarlino, Book 4, 339; Strunk, 257.

[39] 'Il che penso, che chiascuno lo saprà fare ottimamente, quando haverà riguardo a quello, che hò scritto nella Terza parte, & considerato la natura del Modo, sopra'l quale vorrà comporre la cantilena. Et debbe avertire di accompagnare in tal maniera ogni parola; che dove ella dinota asprezza, durezza, scrudeltà, amaritudine, & altre cose simili, l'harmonia sia delle parole diostrarà pianto, dolore, cordoglio, sospiri, lagrime, & altri cose simili; che l'harmonia sia piena di mestitia.' Zarlino, 229. Strunk, 257-8.

Zarlino describes how it is the text that gives the subject, and this in turn functions as the most important part of composition: 'Beginning with the first, then, I say that, in every musical composition, what we call the subject is that part from which the composer derives the invention to make the other parts of the work (*cantilena*).'[40] This depiction of composition as a process of *inventio* is prescient. Zarlino's emphasis on the ability to create and/or identify a good subject is a crucial factor, defining the subsequent possibilities in the compositional process, a tenet that formed a part of what was expected of expert composers in the German Lutheran tradition throughout the seventeenth century and well into the eighteenth century. Expert composers were those who knew immediately how to exploit the possibilities for a given theme. But this is something that Zarlino suggests can be learned, rather than being a God-given faculty. In supporting this, Zarlino uses a telling metaphor:

> Without the first of these, the subject, one can do nothing. For just as the builder, in all his operations, looks always toward the end and founds his work upon some matter which he calls the subject, so the musician in his operations, looking toward the end which prompts him to work, discovers the matter or subject upon which he founds his composition. Thus he perfects his work in conformity with his chosen end.[41]

In likening the composer to a builder, Zarlino makes the act of composition appear structured and systematized. In his conception, composition is a process of work, which — in a similar way to the plastic arts — can be learned with due diligence and effort on the part of the would-be composer. He also gives a clear sense of physical form and presence to the product of the compositional act. In using this metaphor, Zarlino defines musical compositions as neither the work of genius or of the mere observation of nature, but as a rational, humanized process. Zarlino's theory distilled for music the wider humanist values that had already found their way into the German academic sphere through the works of

[40] 'Incomiciando adunque dalla Prima dico, che il soggetto di ogni compositione musicale si chiama quella parte, sopra laquale il Compositore cava la inventione di far le altre parti della cantilena, siano quante si vogliano.' Zarlino, Book 3, 172. Strunk, 230.

[41] 'La Prima è il Soggetto, senza il quale si farebbe nulla: Imperoche si come lo Agente in ogni sua operatione hà sempre riguardo al fine, & fonda l'opera sua sopra qualche Materia, la quale è chiamata il Soggetto; cosi il Musico nelle sue operationi havendo riguardo al fine, che lo muove all'operare, ritrova la Materia, overo il Soggetoo, sopra'l quale viene a fondare la sua compositione, & cosi viene a condurre a perfettione l'opera sua, secondo il proposto fine.' Zarlino, Book 3, 171. Strunk, 229.

Aristotle, Horace and Quintilian, and which generated an increased emphasis on self-assertion and individuation.[42]

Music's gradual shift from the quadrivium to the trivium — from science to art — was not necessarily a smooth transition in the German-speaking world, and was a subject that was addressed by several prominent theorists from the sixteenth century into the eighteenth. In his *Dodecachordon*, published in 1547, the German-Swiss scholar Heinrich Glarean (1488-1563) articulated one of the clearest examples of the frictions between old and new conceptions of music. Although he eventually made a *volte face*, coming to regard Luther as a dangerous rebel and affirming his support for the Roman church, Glarean had been an early supporter of Luther, admiring the reformer's inquisitive qualities from the perspective of a fellow humanist.[43] For the most part, Glarean's writings on music are extremely clear and concise. The *Dodecachordon* was one of the most comprehensive musical treatises of the sixteenth century, and Glarean provided an invaluably lucid and systematic overview of the modal system. In its third book, however, Glarean takes a more discursive approach, examining the music of a number of leading sixteenth-century composers including Jean Mouton, Jean Richafort, and Josquin. In his 'encomium' for Josquin, which heaps praise on the Franco-Flemish composer, Glarean also addresses a number of perceived faults in Josquin's compositional technique, centred on the composer's apparent lack of understanding of the modal system. As a figure frequently cited as the first modern composer — whose music was famously well regarded by Luther himself — it is interesting to consider the underlying themes of Glarean's critique:

> Now in this class of authors and in this great crowd of the ingenious there stands out as by far pre-eminent in temperament, conscientiousness, and industry (or I am mistaken in my feeling) Jodocus à Prato, whom people playfully (υποκορισικως) call in his Belgian mother tongue 'Josquin', as though they were to say 'Little Jodocus.' If this man, beside that native bent and strength of character by which he was distinguished, had had an understanding of the twelve modes and of the truth of musical theory, nature could have brought forth nothing more majestic and magnificent in this art; so versatile was his temperament in every respect, so armed with natural acumen and force, that there is nothing he could not have done in this

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profession. But moderation was wanting for the most part and, with learning, judgement; thus in certain places in his compositions he did not, as he should have, soberly repress the violent impulses of his unbridled temperament. Yet this petty fault be condoned in view of the man's other incomparable gifts.[44]

Glarean, whose outline of modality is amongst the most valuable pieces of historical music theory, represents a confluence of the old scholastic mentality and that of the increasingly disenchanted world. Though he points out some of Josquin's less orthodox handling of modality, he observes the almost universal high regard for Josquin's music at the time. While criticizing Josquin's apparent lack of a proper musical education (this is, of course, debatable), Glarean's account of Josquin, whose music he describes as being 'more easily enjoyed than properly explained', is overwhelmingly positive. Glarean claims that it was only through Josquin's own personal determination — his possession of the qualities of 'industry', 'strength of character'— that he was able to draw together musical materials by 'force', resulting in compositions that resonated with his fellow humans. From Glarean's perspective as a theorist and teacher, Josquin might have achieved these ends more easily had he engaged in proper study. Furthermore, Glarean also praises Josquin for his 'diligence in revising his works', going on to describe how those who knew Josquin had frequently heard him say that he only released his music to the wider world after spending much time working on it, giving 'no composition to the public unless he had kept it by him for several years' — in distinction with another master, Jacob Obrecht.[45] Within this account, Glarean praises Josquin's human qualities. In his eyes, Josquin is both hard-working and magnanimous, actively striving to overcome whatever shortcomings he may have, in order to fashion his music into an optimal state and connect with his listeners. Glarean's description might be seen as an early model for the kind of composer we see being revered in later writings — talented, but always dedicated to actually working hard to acquire and develop the necessary skills to execute a successful composition. From Glarean's perspective,

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[44] 'Porrò in hac authorum classe, atque magna ingeniorum turba, multo maxime, nisi affectu fallar, eminet ingenio, cura ac industria Jodocus à Prato, quem uulgus Belgica lingua, in qua na tus erat, ὑποκορισικως Iusquinum vocat, quasi dicas Iodoculum. Cui uiro, si de duodecim Modis ac vera ratione musica, noticia cõtigisset ad nativam illam indolem, & ingenij, qua viguit, acrimoniam, nihil natura augustius in hac arte, nihil magnificentius producere potuisset. Ita in omnia versa tile ingenium erat, ita naturæ acumine ac ui armatum, ut nihil in hoc nego cio ille non potuisset. Sed defuit in plærisque Modus, & cum eruditione iudicium, Italcque lascsivientis ingenij impetus, aliquot suarum cantionum locis non sanè, ut debuit, repressit, sed condonetur hoc vitium mediocre ob dotes alia viri incomparabiles.' Heinrich Glarean, *Dodeachordon* (Basel: 1547), 362v. Translation adapted from Strunk, 220.

[45] 'Haec mihi causa suit, cur in hoc ultimo Colophone potissimum huius viri exempla adduxerim. Por rò cum ingenium eius inenarrabile sit, magisque mirari possimus, quàm dignè explicare, non solo tamen ingenio cæteris præferendus videtur, sed diligentia quoque emendationis.' Glarean, 363r. 'Aiunt enim qui noverunt, multa cunctatione, multifariaque correctione sua edidesse, nec, inisi aliquot annis apud se de tinuisser, ullum in publicum emsisse cantum, contra atque Iacobus Hobrecht, ut in superioribus diximus, fecisse fertur.' Ibid.

and in terms of the meanings such labels would gradually acquire, Josquin is an artist rather than a scientist.[46]

This changing conception of music, as artefact rather than exemplum, reframed composers as human individuals. Composers were increasingly portrayed as human individuals who developed their ideas through a working out, combining the acquired, complementary skills of industry and judgement. This conception afforded them an increased sense of agency in choosing how they actually composed, and how they wanted their music to be heard. It affirmed them as subjects with the capacity to make choices, based upon their own personal response to a given stimulus.

Throughout his writings, Johannes Lippius portrays music as something capable of being broken down into constituent monads (using the same terminology as, but predating, Leibniz), and resynthesized by man for his own ends. He outlines this in his description of the *cantilena,* or 'harmonic piece':

> The form of a harmonic piece consists in the artful and prudent arrangement of its material elements or parts, namely, its monads, dyads, and triads, which are combined or composed according to the sense of the text. Therefore, the musical text provides a soul, as it were, to the harmonic piece. The harmonic piece is the image of the text. Just as the text cannot be depicted and expressed unless it properly understood with the aid of the *philosophia instrumentalis* [i.e. grammar, rhetoric and logic] and *philosophia practica vedlis* [ethics, economics, politics], so too it must be expressed according to the way it is understood.[47]

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[46] It is important, of course, to regard Glarean's evidence with a certain amount of caution. Paula Higgins has suggested that Glarean's writings regarding Josquin found particular resonance in the twentieth century owing to their 'evocation of the "struggling artist" genius trope and, more specifically, of Beethoven, the embodiment of heroic striving, the indefatigable genius, laboriously reworking his compositions in sketch after sketch after sketch.' Paula Higgins, 'The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57/3 (2004), 443-510 (460). See also Rob Wegman, '"And Josquin Laughed…" Josquin and the Composer's Anecdote in the Sixteenth Century', *The Journal of Musicology*, 17/3 (1999), 319-35. Wegman points out how all of the anecdotes depicting Josquin are 'unverifiable and uncorroborated.' (320).

[47] 'Forma Cantilenae Harmonicae in Materiae ejus seu partium, Monadum, Dyadum, Triadumque juxta Textum connexarum sive Compositarum dispositione Artificiosi atque Prudente consistit. Textus igitur Musicus dat Animam quasi Cantioni Harmonica tanquam sua Imagini: quâ prius aptè effingi & exprimi ille nequit, quam intelligatur probè ex Sophiâ cum Instrumentalitum Reali comprimis Practicâ: & ità exprimitur idem, uti intelligitur, cum talis sit Imago, quale est id, cujus est Imago per similitudinem.' Lippius, *Synopsis musica novae* (Strasbourg: Paul Ledertz, 1612). 7v-8r. Trans. in Benito Rivera, *German Music Theory in the Early Seventeenth Century: the Treatises of Johannes Lippius* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1977), 20.

From this description, Lippius's *cantilena* resembles what I would like to suggest might be regarded as an example of the early modern musical work-concept — and Listenius's *opus.* By an 'artful' arrangement, Lippius implies that the harmonic piece is something which the composer constructs from various elements gained from diverse areas of his studies. The composer draws them together 'prudently' in that he exercizes his own judgement in response to the way the text is understood. Lippius is not entirely clear whether or not this understanding is on the part of the composer or the listener — or indeed both, in the shape of 'composer-as-listener'; regardless, his use of the term signifies that it is related to the process of human cognition, and not merely the relation of something inanimate. The increased prestige afforded to this subjectivity — where musical composition became seen to be dependent on the input of human faculties, is at the heart of music's transition from the quadrivium to the trivium.

However, it is important to clarify that the debate regarding whether music was an art or a science was by not by any means resolved unanimously, and remained an underlying part of German theoretical discourse throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. In the *Exercitatio musica tertia* of 1611, Lippius's friend Seth Calvisius (1556-1614) demonstrates this, in answer to his own rhetorical question:

> Is music an art or a science? To this question you reply that music is an art rather than a science. I neither affirm nor deny your assertion, because *per se* it has no proper bearing on music, and it neither impedes nor profits the musician who does not know or does know the answer. It is for philosophers to investigate the difference between the arts and the sciences. As for me, I shall not meddle with their arcane pursuits, and I shall leave this question where it is, although I tend more toward your opinion.[48]

Appointed *Thomaskantor* in 1594, Calvisius was something of a polymath, publishing several scientific texts in addition to his writings on music. In his music theory, he took up and

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[48] 'An Musica sit ars, an scientia? Ad hanc questionem respondes, quod Musica magis sit ars quam scientia, quam tuam assertionem nec habeo affirmare nec negare, ut quae ad Musicam per se proprie non pertineat, nec Musico ignoranti obsit, nec scienti prosit. Philosophorum est disquierere, quaenam artium & scientiarum sit propria differentia, ego me arcanis ipsorum non immisceo, & hanc quaestionem in medio relinquo, quanquam tuae sententiae magis accedo.' Seth Calvisius, *Exercitatio musica tertia* (Leipzig, 1611), 11. Trans. Rivera, 26.

adapted ideas first outlined in print by Zarlino, making them available for the first time to a German readership. A noted chronologer and astronomer, he maintained correspondences with figures including Johannes Kepler, and was offered positions at the universities of Frankfurt an der Oder and Wittenberg on the strength of his *Opus chronologicum*.[49] As a scientific, rationalist thinker, immersed in this kind of world, his ambivalence regarding music's nature as art or science might seem somewhat surprising. As a successful composer in his own right, in his music theory he seems content simply to attempt to teach how music might be most profitably understood as an end in itself, as a practical discipline. In his *Melopoiia*, his central theoretical text, Calvisius echoed Philipp Melanchton in describing how the process of affective composition works:

> Although a bare harmony such as is found in instrumental music, when intelligently read and skilfully wrought by an artist, may reach men's minds by virtue of its numbers and proportions and exert great power in arousing the affections, nevertheless, if one adds a human voice which at the same time sings a significant idea portrayed in harmonic numbers, the melody will become much more elevated, more welcome to both the ears and to the mind, because of the twofold delight which the harmony and the noble idea will engender.[50]

While this passage is notable in being an early example expounding the aesthetic potential of instrumental music, it also hints at Calvisius's understanding of the relationship between science and art. The idea that compositions are 'intelligently and skilfully wrought' once again points to the understanding of composition as a temporal process, requiring the composer's acquired learning and experience, in order to create music capable of communicating effectively with his listenership. Calvisius suggests that vocal music is more effective than instrumental music by virtue of the fact that it combines numbers with human affects. The numbers — that is to say, the scientific aspects of music — are seen as a way of describing the constituent units (i.e. the monads) of music, which are only useful insofar as they are employed by man. By composing in this way, Calvisius suggests that the resulting music might be amenable to both physical and mental senses, to both body and

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[49] Adam Adrio and Clytus Gottwald, 'Calvisius, Sethus', *NGO*.

[50] 'Etsi autem Harmonia nuda, ut videre est, in instrumentis Musicis, scienter & perite ab artificibus tractatis, propter numerorum ac proportionum rationem, quibus sese humanis mentibus insinuat, plurinam in affectibus excitandis exercet potentiam: tamen si accesserit humana vox, quae sententiam insignem, numeris Harmonicis expressam, simul accinat, propter duplicem, quam & Harmonia & sententia aliqua praeclara gignit, delectationem, Melodia multo est mirabilior, augustior, auribusque pariter atque animo acceptatior.' Calvisius, *Melopoiia* (1592), I 2r. Trans. Rivera, 171. For an elucidating insight on Melanchton's writings as the basis for an understanding of the affective powers of music in the earlier sixteenth century, see Inga Mai Groote, 'Musikalische Poetik nach Melanchthon und Glarean: Zur Genese eines Interpretationsmodells', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 70/3 (2013), 227-253.

brain. In Calvisius's conception then, art therefore employs science to achieve its goals — to produce original, arresting music.

This new conception of music, of something that could be broken down into constituent parts, which could then be built up by the individuated composer into a personalized utterance, was a key part of the conceptual worldview that Listenius and the *musica poetica* writers inhabited. Indeed, such a notion can be observed as stretching through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries into the eighteenth century, into J.S. Bach's own lifetime, as evidenced by Mattheson. A clear example of this features near the opening of *Der volkommene Capellmeister*, in which Mattheson defines music as 'a science and an art, requiring the skilful arrangement of appropriate and pleasing sounds, correctly combined and gracefully performed, in order that, through its harmonies, God's glory and every virtue might be achieved.'[51]

'It is the art of shaping a musical poem'

It was against this backdrop of this disenchanting world that the *musica poetica* tradition emerged, and so its origins as a discipline must be regarded as part of the wider humanist culture that precipitated Lutheranism. *Musica poetica* can be seen as building on Zarlino's sense of the composer as a creator, developing a more systematized way of thinking about the construction of discrete forms to elicit specific responses from the listener. Understanding this transition of music from cosmic law to expressive art is essential in fully appreciating what Listenius and his colleagues actually meant when discussing composition in terms of work(s). Despite Listenius's promises made in the second chapter of his second book, of a third book outlining compositional techniques and which would presumably have outlined his conception of *musica poetica* in greater depth, he never fulfilled this intention. Nonetheless, his ideas are picked up by later writers, who expanded on his ideas and began to offer a thorough grounding in the actual rudiments of poetical music. As part of the Lutheran educational project that was first envisaged by Luther and formulated by Melanchton, the tripartite division of music in the curriculum represented an attempt to create a class of musicians and a body of music reflecting the values of a people who sought to make authentic expressions and understandings in their relations with texts.

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[51] 'Music ist eine Wissenschaft und Kunst, geschickte und angenehme Klänge klüglich zu stellen, richtig an einander zu fügen, und lieblich heraus zu bringen, damit durch ihren Wollau Gottes Ehre und alle Tugenden befördert werden.' Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Captellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739). Facsimile Margarethe Reimann (ed.) (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954; sixth edition, 1995), 5.

Musica poetica was modelled on the pedagogical principles of classical rhetoric, as laid out by Quintilian and Cicero, which formed a fundamental part of the humanist-influenced curriculum of the *Lateinschulen*.[52] In essence, it associated compositional procedures with the texts, and its practitioners borrowed terminology directly from classical rhetorical theorists, as well as sometimes inventing their own classical-sounding argot. By using a discursive approach that took works by leading sixteenth-century composers as models, the *musica poetica* writers began to treat musical compositions as a work of oration, with the intention of assisting composers in producing music that could instruct, move and delight the listener (*docere*, *movere*, *delectare*).[53] They offered instruction on how composers could construct coherent and stable texts, premeditating the effect that their performance would have on listeners. Throughout the writings of the *musica poetica* treatises, there is a strong sense that written texts were of more value than improvised speeches.

This was emphasized even before Zarlino by writers such as Heinrich Faber (c.1500-1552) and his *De musica poetica* (1548). A direct acquaintance of Luther's and former pupil of Melanchton's, Faber describes how 'Poetic music can be divided into two parts, improvisation and composition…Improvisation is the sudden and impulsive ordering of a song through diverse melodies. But because this ordering of singing is not greatly approved of by the learned, it is not worth dwelling on any further…'[54] The unpredictable nature of improvisation, which does not deal with any stable text, was not deemed by Faber to be conducive to facilitating a meaningful musical experience. By contrast, Faber describes how composition 'consists in making something, that is, after labour that leaves behind a perfect and finished work, even after the artist is dead. This is why it is called by certain people creative.'[55] While Faber's description is clearly indebted to Listenius, his elaborated description can be seen to place as much emphasis on the act of labour as the *opus*. The 'perfect' value of the *opus* is the result of the creative act.

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[52] For a more comprehensive history of *musica poetica* and a survey of its *Figuren*, see Bartel, *Musica Poetica*.
[53] See Quintilian, *Institutio oratorio*, III.5.2.
[54] 'Dividitur autem musica poetica in duas partes, sortisationem et compositionem…. Sortisatio est subita ac improvisa cantus per diversas melodias ordination. Quia vero hæc ordination canendi non valde probatur eruditis, non opus est ut diutius huius rei…' Heinrich Faber, *De musica poetica* (Zwickau MS 1548, f.98v).
[55] 'Consistit enim haec musica ipsa in faciendo fabricando, hoc est, in tali labore, qui et artifice mortuo opus perfectum et absolutum relinquit. Quare a quibusdam et fabricativa vocatur.' Faber, f.98r.

Gallus Dressler, Cantor at Magdeburg (a school known for its musical excellence, owing largely to Martin Agricola), repeated this dichotomy between composition and improvisation almost verbatim in his *Præcepta musicæ poëticæ* (1563). Without citing Faber (from whom he borrowed extensively), Dressler, who possibly studied with Clemens non Papa in the Netherlands, also added the qualification that improvisation (*sortisatio*) 'is more usual among foreigners than among us.'[56] Dressler's treatise makes a number of noteworthy statements within his treatise that resonate with both Faber and Listenius's implications.[57] He offers a more succinct definition of *musica poetica*: 'What is poetic music? It is the art of shaping a musical poem. It differs from the other parts of music. Theoretic music contemplates, practical music sings. This art [i.e. poetic music] indeed composes new harmonies and leaves behind a finished work, even after the death of the composer.'[58] Here we see the beginnings of the idea that composition should create something new, through the active shaping of its natural materials by the composer, rather than simply observing them.

Dressler goes on to describe the process of composition as the 'gathering into one harmony' of various parts according to the 'true method, namely counterpoint.'[59] This idea of a harmonic 'one' is an obvious precedent for the sense of musical unity that was to become a central part of the modern work-concept. That is, the understanding of the interdependent elements of a work as the workings of one single author, and not as the voices of the performers. This also implies a sort of proto-monadic thinking, by which the 'work' becomes regarded as a sort of whole. As I will discuss in more detail in the next chapter, counterpoint was repeatedly invoked as the process by which composers shape or work musical ideas into more substantive and meaningful forms. In showing how cadential formulae can be used to punctuate polyphonic music, Dressler warns that young men should not 'persuade themselves that musical *concentus* are simply the result of a casual and fortuitous accumulation of consonances', and that it takes hard-earned skill and experience

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[56] 'Hæc apud exteros usitatior est quam apud nos.' Dressler, *Præcepta musicæ poëticæ* (Magdeburg: 1563). Translated in Robert Forgács, *Gallus Dressler's Praecepta Musicae Poeticae* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 73.

[57] Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller and Egbert Hiller, 'Listenius, Nikolaus', *NGO*.

[58] Est ars fingendi musicum carmen. Differt a reliquis musicæ partibus. Theorica considerat, practica canit. Hæc vero novas harmonias componit, et opus absolutum vel authore mortuo post se relinquit.'

[59] 'Quid est compositio? Est diversarum hamoniæ partium per discretas concordantias secundum veram rationem in unum collectio, et habet unam tantum speciem quæ appellatur contrapunctus.' Cf. Faber, 98v-99r: 'Compositio est diversarum harmoniæ partium per discretas concordantias secundum veram rationem in unum collectio, et habet unam tantum speciem, quæ est contrapunctus.'

to appreciate how they might be best handled.[60] This is in many ways premonition of Monteverdi's response to Artusi, where he defended his approach by stating that his music was not composed by chance.

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, when composition began to feature in the musical curriculums of the *Lateinschulen*, these values began to be increasingly propagated. It might seem surprising to contemporary readers that the composition of complex musical forms was something taught to students of secondary-school age, the vast majority of whom would not, of course, go on to pursue music in any professional context. It would perhaps seem more expedient for them to focus on performing and theory. However, Dressler offers a concise list of four reasons why 'young men ought to love and learn poetic music before the rest':

> I The art teaches the composition of new harmonies.
> II It adds judgement as to which songs are artistic, which are commonplace, and which are false
> III It shows methods by which errors can be corrected.
> IV) It makes singers more unerring, and if by chance the target is missed, it shows the way of returning to the goal; for by this, the recognition of consonances and cadences can be manifested with propriety.[61]

There does not appear to be any obvious hierarchy in terms of the importance of these rewards, but once again Dressler reemphasizes the importance of the novelty and innovation of the composition. In addition to this, he points to a set of enhancements *musica poetica* provides to the students' general musicianship and their broader critical faculties. Towards the end of his treatise, Dressler recommends that the songs of 'proven composers' such as Lassus and Clemens should be investigated with the 'rules of reason' and transcribed onto ten lines.[62] By learning to compose and engage with works that might be appreciated as being 'artistic', Dressler suggests the learning process might help students

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[60] 'Non sibi persuadeant adolescentes concentus musicales esse temerariam et fortuitam consonantiarum coacervationem.' Trans. Forgács, 153.

[61] 'Propter quas adolscentes poëticam præ reliquis amare et discere debeant ||
I Hæc ars docet rationem componendi novas harmonias / II Addit iudicium quæ cantiones sint artificiose, quæ vulgares, quæ falsæ / III Ostendit qua ratione errores sint corrigendi vel ex… / IIII (sic) Hæc ars facit canentes certiores, et si forte a scopo aberratur, monstrat viam redeundi ad metam, hoc enim præstari potest cognita consonantiarum et clausularum proprietate.' Trans. Forgács, 189

[62] As Lippius outlines, this was reputedly a common way of teaching composition to less-experienced students.

exercise and improve their own capacity for judgement. However, he affirms that 'It is not enough for students to examine the work of others unless they approach it in their own experience. Therefore, they must come to it through practice, and the teacher must draw together the rules with practical experience.' This has strong echoes of Zarlino, and was a tenet that informed many of the successive *musica poetica* writers.

Writing almost fifty years later, Joachim Burmeister expresses many of the same values and methodology as Faber and Dressler. Burmeister is clear that the acquisition of skill is something that requires a proactive approach on the part of the student. In his *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae*, published in 1606, he included the disclaimer:

> We will not actually provide examples [i.e. in notation] by composers but simply cite the texts which employ such ornaments. We do this only to urge and encourage the novice toward the frequent practice of transcribing compositions, to keep this book from becoming too lengthy. Furthermore, we should also add that if a music student is eager to learn when and where to adorn harmonic pieces with the flourish of these figures and when to use them, he should carefully examine the text of a master composer's harmonic work, especially a work which evidently uses the elegance and sophistication of a particular ornament. Then let him think to himself that a similar text should be adorned with the same figure with which the text of that master composer was adorned. If the music student does this, the verbal text itself will serve him in place of rules, and he will be unencumbered by a bothersome host of precepts.[63]

Burmeister stressed that students would not find any foolproof rules for creating authentic gestures, but rather shows how and where composers (particularly Lassus) had made particularly artful musical gestures. In Burmeister's approach, *Musica poetica* was thus only partly a systematic attempt to rationalize the constituent parts of composition. Throughout his text, Burmeister reiterates that the study of *musica poetica* was as much an analytical practice as a practical process. By identifying and naming particular figures, would-be composers could identify their affect-inducing qualities, and use them in response to texts in

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[63] Exempla item apud auctores obvia non damus ad oculum, sed tantum indicamus textum, qui eorum ornatu utitur, et facimus id saltem, ut tyronem ad crebram resolvendarum cantilenarum exercitationem invitemus et incitemus, tum ut opusculum hoc nimis non excrescat. Insuper et hoc addimus, si forte philomusus sollicitus foret scire, quando et quo loco harmoniae flosculis harum figurarum sint ecornandae, et quando eae adhibendae, ibi philomusus textum alicius harmoniae cuiusdam auctoris, et praesertim, quae alicuius ornamenti cultum et ornatum induisse videtur, probe consideret, arbitreturque sibi similem textum eadem figura esse oxornandum quo ille alterius artificis textus est exornatus. Quod cum praeceptorum copie moleque liber…' Trans. Benito Rivera, *Musical Poetics by Joachim Burmeister* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 157.

combination with their own individual approaches. The understanding of how the different elements of *harmonia* could be best integrated. Burmeister describes what this means in practical terms:

> Euclid calls musical poetics *melopoiia* and deigns it as the use of materials subject to harmonic treatment, for the purpose of elaborating upon a given theme. It is that part of music which teaches how to put together a musical piece by combining melodic lines into a harmony adorned with various affectations of periods, in order to incline men's minds and hearts to various emotions.[64]

Burmeister refers to examples of such musical pieces, breaking them down into their constituent gestures. One such example Burmeister refers to is Lassus's motet *Deus qui sedes*, a setting of the Responsory for the Second Sunday after Epiphany, which was published in the composer's *Sacrae Cantiones*.[65] Burmeister describes how Lassus depicts the words 'labour and sorrow' (*laborem et dolorem*) 'so artfully' that he 'presents to the eyes the thing signified so that it appears to the eyes as if it were alive.'[66] He refers to this technique as *hypotyposis*, a figure of speech first outlined by Quintilian, who described it as the 'presentation of a thought which is expressed through the oration in such fashion that it is perceived as though it were seen rather than heard.'[67] In Burmeister's own definition, he describes how *hypotyposis* 'is that ornament whereby the sense of the text is so depicted that those matters contained in the text that are inanimate or lifeless seem to be brought to life.' In citing Lassus's example, what Burmeister is clearly referring to is the almost pictorial nature of the ascending dactylic figures heard in each of the voices in turn to depict *laborem*. Lassus juxtaposes this active, industrious-sounding texture with the sudden switch to the lanquid, static homophony at 'et dolorem'.

| Deus, qui sedes super thronum et iudicas aequitatem: | *God, who sits on the throne and judges righteousness:* |
| | *be a refuge of the poor in distress,* |

64 'Musica poetica, quam Euclides μελοποιίαν nominat, definitque esse usum harmonicae tractationi subiectorum, ad decorum propositi argumenti, est illa musicae pars, quae carmen musicum docet conscribere, coniungendo sonos melodiarum in harmoniam, variis periodorum affectionibus exornatam, ad animos hominum cordaque in varios motus flectenda.' Trans. Rivera, 17.

65 Orlando Lassus, *Sacrae Cantiones* (Nürnberg: 1562).

66 'Exemplum pro multis unicum seligatur apud Orlandum in carmine *Deus qui sedes* quinque vocum. Is certe textum, laborem et dolorem, etc., tam artificiose explicavit, imo depinxit, ut ipsis intervallorum contortis flexibius ad oculum rei significantiam statueret, ac si viva oculis appareret.' Trans. Rivera, 235.

67 Ab aliis ὑποτύπωσις dicitur proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius videatur quam audiri.' *Institutio* IX.ii.40

<div style="margin-left: 2em;">

esto refugium pauperum in
tribulatione,
quia tu solus laborem et dolorem
consideras.

*because you alone consider labour and
sorrow.*

</div>

Examining how Lassus makes use of *hypotyposis* here, Burmeister cannot praise the composer highly enough for this effect, describing how

> …it is through the care of the master composer who gives attention to mixing perfect and imperfect consonances with dissonances that the conglomerate is transformed from simplicity to a certain majority of gesture and ornament. By Hercules, neither Apelles with his most precise skill, nor Demosthenes and Cicero, with the art of persuading, swaying, moving speaking eloquently, could have more exquisitely presented to the eyes, relayed to the ears, and instilled in the heart of the heaviness and sorrow of labour as Orlando did in this work of art.[68]

In this passage, Burmeister establishes a set of criteria for the 'master composer': the combination of skill and technique, with an understanding of how best to communicate an idea with the listener. Burmeister points out how in the wrong context 'such a bare, uniform texture of consonance would not give rise to such a work of art', but that in Lassus's hands it does indeed become part of a work of art.[69]

The reverence for Franco-Flemish polyphonic style shown by Burmeister and his contemporaries German musicians might seem quite reactionary and far from modern, in light of the contemporary musical experiments occurring elsewhere — for example, the monodic developments of the Florentine Camerata, and Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, which was completed and performed less than a year after the publication of Burmeister's treatise. However, it can be seen to generate its own sense of modernity in its exploration of the relationship between the composer, his work, and the act of performance, and also in inaugurating the modern field of music analysis. It opened up a new possibility for the subject-object relationships for those involved with music, consolidating the role of the

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[68] 'Hoc certe artificium nuda consonantiarum aequabilis textura non exprimit, sed industria artificis notitiam habentis concordantia utrasque cum dossonantiis ita permiscendi, ut a simplicitate ad quandam gestus et ornatus maiestatem sit domata syntaxis. Non mehercle Apelles exactissima artis suae peritia, non Demosthenes, non Cicero, persuadendi, flectendi, movendi, eloquendique artificio laboris pondus et lamentationem magis composite ad oculos poneret, ad aures deferret, in cor ingereret, quam harmonico hoc artificio Orlandus fecit.' Trans. Rivera, 235.

[69] Ibid.

modern composer. The *musica poetica* writers were the first to define the difference between polyphony and counterpoint. As I will discuss in the following chapter in greater depth, in polyphonic music it is often difficult to hear who is 'speaking': in counterpoint, where each line is heard as part of a cogent unity, individual voices serve to reassert a unified point. The sense that an artful combination of contrapuntal blocks could enable its creator to communicate complex and multidimensional emotional utterances through the means of music, supports the sense that each musical work is a unique thing in itself.

Thus, *musica poetica* and actual composition represented opposite functions: one breaks down materials for analysis, the other builds up as part of the creative process. This sense of man being capable of breaking music down into its elemental parts and synthesize them together in his own image, with the application of individual intent, is consistent with a new, modern set of values. Rather than being bound by cosmological laws, German composers were encouraged to assume the role of creator, rather than acting as imitators. One of the many epigrams to Burmeister's publication by Johannes Posselius, erstwhile Professor of Greek at the University of Rostock, applauds Burmeister's method and approach to teaching:

> The skilled musician pleases God and
> gladdens men whose hearts are laden with sorrow.
> For this reason you are loved by God and wise mortals,
> Burmeister, as you weave the lovely and artful song
> rendered in good order, while others have randomly written theirs.[70]

While we have no firm evidence of Burmeister's own compositional abilities, in characterising Burmeister as a skilled musician capable of 'weaving' an artful song, we see how Posselius consciously depicts Burmeister's approach as a process of synthesis. Like Zarlino's housebuilder, this metaphor of weaving and construction is in keeping with this recurring theme, which occurs throughout descriptions of the compositional process in early modern German writings. With the application of knowledge and labour, composition takes disparate materials from the natural world and makes them into a cogent whole.

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[70] Burmeister, trans. Rivera, 241.

As Palisca describes it, 'Composition was more than just devising counterpoint by properly using consonances and dissonances; it was an art of setting down a completed work that had a coherent design and unity — a beginning, middle, and end, as Aristotle observed in his poetics.'[71] The writers of *musica poetica* treatises did not see their efforts merely as an attempt to codify the teaching of strict counterpoint, but rather gave serious credence to the original Greek sense of *poieo* (ποιευω) — that making and creating art — could connect with listeners and result in tangible effects in the real world. The concept of the work they established was based on the consubstantial contingency of three acts: composition, performance, and reception. As Listenius, Faber, Dressler and Burmeister all suggest, a musical work was understood as being capable of communicating something unique in and of itself, and continued to do so even after its creator's death. Previous histories of the work-concept, which have either disputed or supported Listenius's 'novelty' in the debate have failed to recognize the act of composition as being so important, accepting it as a mere formality.

A Word on Rhetoric

As I have already discussed, by seeking to imitate the teachings of classical literary rhetorical theorists and making use of paradigmatic works as models in order to theorize and teach the art of musical eloquence, the *musica poetica* writers were building upon the foundations of a well-established part of the *Lateinschule* curriculum. This was to have a transformative effect on German music, and its preoccupation with counterpoint, well into the eighteenth century. Laurence Dreyfus has shown convincingly that, even in his most apparently abstract instrumental works, Bach's music frequently actively engages with rhetorical models.[72] However, it is a truism simply to remark that music is rhetorical, as many writers who have discussed early modern Lutheran music have been content to do. The metafunctions and wider implications of rhetoric's application in seventeenth-century German music have not really been discussed. As Joshua Rifkin points out, 'Rhetoric has, first of all, almost nothing to do with content and meaning. The use of rhetorical terms in music theory was simply a way of labelling certain devices in compositions for which there was not a commonly accepted terminology.'[73] The adaptation of sophisticated classical

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[71] Palisca, Foreword to Rivera, *Musica Poetics*, viii.
[72] See Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996; third printing, 2004), particularly Chapter 1, 'What is an invention?', 1-32.
[73] 'Reinventing Wheels' Interview with Joshua Rifkin, in Bernard D. Sherman, *Inside Early Music: Conversations with Performers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 238.

terminology for often very simple compositional techniques was a deliberate attempt to try and make music appear more artistic — and its composers as true artists.

The ramifications of rhetorical theory and how it shaped the role of the composer, distinct from the performer(s), are essential to consider. As laid down by Cicero, the five stages of constructing a rhetorical invention are: *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, *Elocutio*, *Memoria* and *Pronunciatio*. From the implications of Listenius and other *musica poetica* writers' texts, there would seem to be some significant overlap between 'rhetorical' composition and the act of performance. With regard to these writers, I trace the Ciceronian model in a slightly different manner to other scholars, such as Dreyfus. *Inventio* is of course the first step, in generating basic musical materials; the disposition is the working-out of these ideas. For early modern Lutheran composers, this was where counterpoint, which *musica poetica* sought to encourage composers to explore and develop, became the dominant process. While *elocutio* has normally been regarded as being represented in the figural surface of the music, it might also be understood as the point at which the performer enters, with the sounding of the music marking the synthesis of invention and working, through creating a unit. This would seem to be, in fact, where the work is generated, according to the *musica poetica* theorists. *Memoria* is the responsibility of the performer, in memorizing the composer's work for performanc, while *pronuncatio* would seem to imply repeatable performance (as something repeatable), as a necessary condition for the subsequent process of transmission. Although historically this stage might often have included the composer in performances, this increasingly began to be less of a requirement, as evidenced in the development of increasingly specific notation and the inclusion of performing guidelines in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As I will discuss in the fourth chapter, such directions played a key part in defining the role of the composer and the actualization of the musical work.

In the widest sense, rhetoric is essentially the study of how best to use a particular mode of language to elicit a particular response from the recipient. To the modern reader, there might appear something somewhat insidious about this purpose. Indeed, rhetoric is often used nowadays in political commentaries as a byword for manipulation and using words merely for their own sake, devoid of any real intent. But in terms of music, the sense that a composition could move a listener, to allow them to share and experience another individual's temporal consciousness (i.e. that of the composer), was truly a modern idea. Employing terminology borrowed from Roland Barthes, Patrick McCreless discusses

musical rhetoric as a 'metalanguage', and examines it as the technical apparatus for the unfolding of musical ideas in time.[74] The attempt to systematize this apparatus was to be an important part in the development of music as an artistic medium, and an intrinsic feature of its consolidation as a modern means of expression. While baroque music is often described as especially 'rhetorical', McCreless shows how in fact rhetoric is never really far from any subsequent musical theory, and provides a valuable means of understanding how particular musical affects are effected through integrated gestures.

The *musica poetica* writers' work was therefore novel in the way that they gave the composer a clear role, as the person identified as the music's originator, while not necessarily being actively engaged in the performance of his music. Both Cicero and Quintilian make reference to the dual personalities involved in a rhetorical construction as *orator* and *actor*.[75] The former was afforded more prestige, as a *vir bonus*, who produced his own speeches in line with honest ambitions, rather than the actor, who simply said what had been crafted by someone else, in order to move his listeners to whatever state might be most expedient at that particular moment. In specific relation to Machiavelli and early modern Italian rhetorical culture, Virginia Cox discusses how these corresponded with the intended end (or *ethos*) in practice.[76] She cites the example of Antonius in Cicero's *De Oratore*, which would have of course been well known to sixteenth-century humanists. Within a dialogue, Antonius describes himself in a neat piece of wordplay as 'not the actor of an alien persona but rather the author of my own' (*neque actor...alienae personae, sed auctor meae*).[77] This distinction is particularly relevant in relation to music, and the relation between composers and their works. In terms of how this would have been understood by *musica poetica* writers,

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[74] Patrick McCreless, 'Music and Rhetoric', in Thomas Christensen (ed.), *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 847.

[75] Cicero makes consistent reference to the two roles throughout *De Oratore*, essentially contrasting orators as those who construct and maintain reality (*veritatem suscipere, actor veritatis*) with actors, who merely imitate it. However, he stresses that it is essential 'to study actors as well as orators, that bad practice may not lead us into some ugly habit.' (*Intuendi nobis sunt non solum oratores, sed etiam actors, ne mala consuetudine ad aliquam deformitatem pravitatemque veniamus*). Cicero, *De Oratore*, I, xxiv, 156. Translation in E.W. Sutton (ed.), *Cicero: De Oratore I and II*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 106-7. Quintilian describes how his intention was not to 'form a comic actor, but an orator', and that 'oratory has a different flavour and objects to elaborate condiments, since it consists in serious pleading, not in mimicry,' (*Non enim comoedum esse, sed oratorem volo…Aliud oratio sapit nec vult nimium esse condita; actione enim constat, non imitatione*) Quintilian, *Institutio Oratorio*, XI, iii, 181-3. Translation in Harold Butler (ed. and trans.), *The Institutio Oratorio of Quintilian*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922), 347.

[76] See Virginia Cox, 'Rhetoric and Ethics in Machiavelli', in John M. Najemy (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Machiavelli* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 182-3.

[77] Cicero, *De oratore*, ii.47.194. For a discussion regarding 'imposture' in *De oratore*, see Michelle Zerba, 'The Frauds of Humanism: Cicero, Machiavelli, and the Rhetoric of Imposture,' *Rhetorica*, 22/3 (2004), 227–8.

the rhetorical construction of a musical work was seen to begin with the composer's idea, making him the orator, with the performers as actors.

Thus, the onus for the movement of the listener is placed upon the composer and not the performer, as it was in other humanist musical experiments. In the contemporarily developing Florentine monodic tradition, for example, the addition of an individual singer's *accenti* were considered a central part of the the rhetorical means by which key textual ideas could be best communicated, drawing on the figures of natural speech by employing essentially rather basic musical language.[78] In German music, composition was understood to be the method of moving the listener. Thus, *musica poetica* was the rationalization of compositional practice, and an attempt to systematize the musical language that had been proved to be effective by established practitioners, into theory. Individuated musical works, as the *musica poetica* writers understood them, were deemed capable of rendering unique and distinct experiences. The crucial point to note in all of the examples from the literature I have cited, is that for the theorists, the composed work could, for the first time, be separated as an entity from its performance and considered on its own terms.

Composition as Work — Man's Metabolism with Nature

Throughout the writings of these theorists, the ethical value of work is prominently featured, in two main forms. First, there is a strong conviction that it is through work — in both the physical and mental sense — that composers acquired their abilities and, as a result, were able to generate their compositions. Throughout the *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae*, Burmeister is particularly keen to stress that compositional skill is not something that is easy to acquire, and that it is 'learned more properly from practice than from rules.'[79] For Burmeister, any obedience to 'rules' is of secondary concern — the essential ingredients for a successful, authentic composition are inspiration, integrity and hard work. Second, the process of creating a composition was itself seen as a work process. I will return to this characteristic in my fourth chapter, but it is important to understand how these two processes relate to the wider conception of man's relationship with nature. In the modern world, work was seen as the process through which man mediated his relationship with the

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[78] For an illuminating discussion regarding this, see Claude V. Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), Chapter 7, 'Theories of Monody and Dramatic Music' 107-130, particularly the section at 117-118.
[79] Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 67.

natural and social worlds. This gave rise to the ethical values attached to it in the urbanising cultures of early modern German-speaking areas. Such values, which were by no means specific to music, became ethical foundations of modern European culture, though they have only really been discussed in economic histories. In his theorization of work and labour processes, and how the way they were harnessed gave rise to capitalism, Marx describes his understanding of man's fundamental relationship with nature as being 'metabolic':

> Labour [*Arbeit*] is, first of all, a process between man and nature, a process by which man, through his own actions, mediates, regulates and controls the metabolism between himself and nature. He confronts the materials of nature as a force of nature. He sets in motion the natural forces which belong to his own body, his arms, legs, head and hands, in order to appropriate the materials of nature in a form adapted to his own needs. Through this movement he acts upon external nature and changes it, and in this way he simultaneously changes his own nature. He develops the potentialities slumbering within nature, and subjects the play of its forces to his own sovereign nature…
> It [i.e. labour] is the universal condition for the metabolic interaction (*Stoffwechsel*) between man and nature, the everlasting nature-imposed condition of human existence.[80]

In pointing out how mass production systems and the division of labour had removed man from the point of being able to fully appreciate his own work, and been one of the significant factors in his alienation, Marx was of course witnessing the effects of modernity from a much later vantage point. However, his description articulates exactly the same sort of understanding that a number of early modern German music theorists held, in relation to work's status and role in transforming nature through work to cater for man's needs. Parallels to this might be observed in Hobbes's sense of 'necessary artificiality', which was one of the characteristics that bound modern civil societies. Hobbes's view was that 'mere nature' was not capable of providing man with any improvement of his current situation, or a 'return' to any state of natural unity with God.[81]

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[80] Karl Marx, *Capital* (New York: Vintage, 1976), 283, 290. For the original German, see Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels *Werke* Band 23 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1962), 192, 194. For a useful discussion of Marx's ideas regarding work and nature, see John Bellamy Foster, *Marx's Ecology: Materialism and Nature* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), particularly Chapter 5, 'The Metabolism of Nature and Society', 141-177.
[81] See Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan* (ed. Richard Tuck, *Leviathan: Revised student edition (Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 111. For a useful discussion of Hobbes's moral philosophy, see S.A. Lloyd, *Morality in the Philosophy of Thomas Hobbes: Cases in the Law of Nature* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2009), 217-218. John Butt discusses the relevance of the concept of 'necessary artificiality' in specific relation to Bach and Lutheranism in John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity*, 63-4.

In the *Synopsis Musica Novae*, which was intended to form a small part of a much larger systematic compendium, Lippius explains at great length his perception of the system of causal relations that gives rise to music, and to the *cantilena*. As part of this, Lippius locates man's role within the third in his series of six processes:

> God, who fashioned the universe according to weight, measure, and harmony.
> Nature, the mother of sound.
> Man, who exploits nature to make a *harmonic cantilena*.
> The human voice, the most natural instrument of music.
> Musical instruments, which are artificial imitations of the human voice.
> The monochord, which is the canon, root, and mother of all musical instruments, the most simple and most direct.[82]

This perceived chain of processes shows the lasting influence of the Aristotelian understanding of causality. In this, Aristotle suggested that causes could be reduced to four types: material cause, formal cause, efficient cause and final cause.[83] As I have already suggested, there is much in common between Lippius's *cantilena* and Listenius's *opus*. Lippius defines the harmonic cantilena as 'a successive and concordant multitude of sounds with measurable duration, volume and pitch, arising from the impulse of nature and art.'[84] In other words, it is a recognizable entity, constructed from the combination of nature and art — i.e. man's work. In causal terms, the material cause can be identified as the idea that man can take natural materials and process them into whatever form he pleases, in accordance with his own will. The *causa finalis* of the harmonic cantilena, however, is 'thoroughly moving man to moderation'.[85] From Lippius's perspective then, the *cantilena* — which is an

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[82] 'DE CANT HARM. / Efficiente
Efficient ejusdem causa (qua impensiusitidem, quam fit à malis & invidis, venit notanda) & quidem omnium prima est universi juxta pondus, nuerum, mensuram & harmoniam ARCHITECTUS Sapientißimus, Dulcißimus JEHOVA ἀεὶ ζεωμετϛῶν ϰὶ μϰϰν.
Efficiens secunda, particularis, ac proprior est ιή Φύσις mater sonorum, & τέϰνη illam usurpans, perficiens & superas HOMINIS MUSICI: que juxta præscripta Scientiæ, Artis & Prudentiæ MUSICÆ Generalis & Specialis…& Naturali, quod est Hominis aspera arteria per buccam vocalis Norma omnium reliquorum Instrumentorum Musicalium miranda: vel aliena & Artificiali…Horum omnium Canon, Radix & Mater est simplicißimum & rectißimum…hin appellatum MONOCHORDUM in quotas & quantas vis divisibile portiones secundum Numerous…' Lippius, *Synopsis Musica Novae*, B 2r-4r. Rivera, 36.
[83] Falcon, Andrea, 'Aristotle on Causality', *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2015 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/aristotle-causality/> Last accessed 21 November 2017.
[84] 'Cantilena Harmonica est Sonorum numerabiliter longorum, latorum, & crassorum gravium acutorumque a Natura & Arte motante perfectorum…' Lippius, *Synopsis musicae nova*, A 2r. Trans. Rivera, 31.
[85] 'Cantilena Harmonica…dispositorumque successiva multitudo concinna Homini moderate permovendo…' *Synopsis musicae nova*, A 2v.

identifiable thing — is the instantiation of a series of contingent processes, and by no means the endpoint or *telos*. To Lippius, it is the processes themselves — the processes of judgement, working and, finally, the experiences performing and listening — that provide the experiential value of music.

Burmeister also emphasizes the interactive nature of the multiple processes he identifies as part of the act of composition. He foregrounds the process-based essence of composition as something crucial for any would-be composers to bear in mind, and urges that they should not to be too focused on the product. Attempting to encourage any students inclined towards composition, Burmeister stresses the importance of acquiring a strong work ethic in order to succeed, describing how through the amalgam of nature, imitation and effort, 'anyone can acquire a grasp of the art.'[86] For Burmeister, it was one of man's unique capabilities that he can decide on an outcome and then work towards achieving it by synthesizing and transforming the 'natural' materials of sound and language. Burmeister also counsels that if learning and understanding the names and effects of the different rhetorical *topoi* he identifies initially proves to be difficult, it will 'become clear in due time with use and experience, and any difficulties will be overcome.'[87] Burmeister then makes one of the most telling statements in the entire *musica poetica* literature: 'For nothing is so difficult that it cannot be overcome and mastered through effort.'[88] Like Lippius, constructing a successful composition is simply a process that combines personal diligence with learning and judgement — it is a process that can be learned, and which does not rely on any divine genius or inspiration.

Building on Zarlino's foundations then, both Lippius and Burmeister assume a certain degree of subjective integrity of the composer in the act of composition. It is possible to trace this conception of composition as an act being carried into the eighteenth century in a number of pedagogical writers. Indeed, it can be seen as forming one of the central themes of Johann Joseph Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, which, published in 1725, was to become one of the seminal texts of modern compositional teaching. Fux's manual is more than a simple contrapuntal primer — as Harry White describes in a review of Goehr's

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[86] 'Dum ne natura, imitatio, et exercitatio ad fastigia rerum, quae in arte tractantur…' Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 5.
[87] *Ibid.*, 237.
[88] *Ibid.*

Imaginary Museum, it represents a 'vocational understanding of composition.'[89] While Fux was, of course, a Catholic, serving as court composer to three Habsburg emperors, and the *Gradus* displays the hallmarks of the Italianate influences prevalent in early eighteenth-century Vienna, he was clearly well acquainted with the practices of his Lutheran contemporaries and their predecessors.[90] Much of Fux's approach overtly reflects the same set of values afforded to work as an ethic and a process by Lutheran writers, as well as in the manner that the composer's role is seen as corresponding with the natural order. Its title functions as an illustrative metaphor — the gradual ascent via a steep climb to the top of Mount Parnassus is an allusion to the taxing nature of mastering contrapuntal composition, and the ability of human intent to overcome the challenges of the natural world. In the opening section of the treatise, Fux makes this explicit:

> Josephus: I come to you, revered master, to be instructed in the precepts and laws of music.
> Aloysius: What, you wish to learn musical composition?
> J: That is indeed my wish.
> A: Are you unaware that the study of music is a boundless sea, not to be concluded within the years of Nestor? Truly, you are planning to assume a burden greater than Aetna. For if the choice of a mode of live is universally a matter full of difficulty, since on this choice, rightly or wrongly made, the good or bad fortune of all the rest of life depends, how much more cautious foresight must he who thinks of entering upon the path of this discipline use before he can venture to adopt a counsel and decide his own case! For a musician and poet are born. You must think back, whether from tender years you have felt yourself impelled to this study by a certain natural impulse, and whether it has befallen you to be intensely moved by the delight of harmony.[91]

This depiction of composition being a sea or boundless ocean, uncharted and daunting, is prevalent in writings about music by Lutheran theorists and composers alike. Burmeister makes use of it in warning that the 'aspiring composer' should avoid beginning his work 'in confusion', and not 'pull up safe anchor in face of the adverse screech owl (an ill omen) and

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[89] Harry White, '"If It's Baroque, Don't Fix It": Reflections on Lydia Goehr's "Work-Concept" and the Historical Integrity of Musical Composition', *Acta Musicologica* 69/1 (1997), 95.

[90] As J.H. van der Meer describes, discussing the role of rhetoric in Jesuit curricula: 'The question as to whether Fux was aware of musical rhetoric, given that it was mainly developed in Protestant Germany by such authors as Burmeister, Nucius, Thuringius…can most likely be answered in the affirmative.' Also see See Harry White, 'Canon in the Baroque Era: Some Precedents for the "Musical Offering', *Bach* 15/4 (1984), 4-14.

[91] J.J. Fux, *Gradus ad parnassum*, trans. in Leo Treitler and Margaret Murata (eds), *Strunk's Source Readings in Music History — Vol. 4: The Baroque Era* (New York: Norton, 1994), 175-176.

set sail without having selected a sure helmsman for the ship.'[92] The sure helmsmen Burmeister recommends are Jacob Meiland, Johannes Dressler (examples of the lowly style), Ivo de Vento, before he moves onto 'completing the journey' with Lassus himself.'[93] Schütz also employed this imagery in several places, in both the final madrigal (*Vasto mar*) of his first published collection, and in its dedicatory preface addressed to the Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel.[94] However, in Fux's text, by way of response to his teacher's peremptory warnings, Josephus assertively responds that he will not 'shrink from the severity of the task, which with nature's aid I am confident of mastering without difficulty.'[95] This idea of nature being conquerable by the industry of the composition student is further reinforced by Fux, when Aloysius responds to his student:

> You have managed this quite well enough. Thus the gods bestow all things on the industrious; bear also this saying in mind: 'The drop of water wears away the stone, not by its force, but by its constant falling,' which teaches that untiring application to study is required for the attainment of the sciences, so that (as the saying goes) we should 'allow no day to pass without its line'…
> Do this, and little by little you will perceive the darkness giving place to light and the veil of obscurity being raised before you to some extent, and you will rejoice.[96]

Fux's description here represents the sense that art requires man to observe natural processes and emulate them, insofar as they are useful, in order to improve the world by human artifice. As I will show in the next chapter, this is exactly the kind of perspective invoked by Bach's friend and defender Birnbaum, who, in response to Scheibe's criticisms of Bach's music as being unnatural and overly artificial, suggested that 'the greater the art is

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[92] 'Discrimen futuro componistae habendum est, ne, cum primum imitari coeperit, confusione comissa sacram anchoram adverso bubone quasi solvat, ventisque vela, certo navis gubernatore non selecto, committat.' Trans. Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 211.

[93] Chapter XVI: Imitatione 'A Meilando vel Dressero alterove itineris initum fiat, sed gradus moveatur ad Ivonem eive consimiles, et apud hos aloquantisper componista tyro commoretur. Dehinc ad Orlandum reliquiosque iter absolvat.' Trans. Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 211. In the *MGG*, Ruhnke (*Joachim Burmeister* 167, 390) suggests that Johannes Dresserus is, in fact, Gallus Dressler.

[94] The text of the final madrigal ties in with the image of the Landgrave as a sea, and Schütz as a tributary river.
'Vast Sea, in whose bosom / Concordant winds / Make suave harmony /
Of Greatness and Virtue, / These devoted accents / My Muse offers you, / You, great Moritz, take pleasure in them, / And in so doing, you will make harmonious my uncouth song.'
Furthermore, in his dedication of the second volume of the *Symphoniae Sacrae* to the Prince-Elector of Saxony, later to become Johann Georg II, Schütz makes an allusion to Horace's Ode 1.5, in which the poet describes his escape from his Pyrrha as a shipwreck, and how he hangs up his soaked clothes in tribute to the god of the sea: 'me tabula sacer / votiva paries indicat uvida / suspendisse potenti / vestimenta maris deo.' ('As for me, a votive tablet on his temple wall records that I have dedicated my drenched clothes to the deity who rules the sea.') See *HSR*, 72.

[95] Fux; Treitler and Murata, *Source Readings — Vol. 4*, 176.

[96] *Ibid.*, 191.

— that is, the more industriously and painstakingly it works at the improvement of Nature — the more brilliantly shines the beauty thus brought into being.'[97] Birnbaum's response upholds the necessity of artifice in making the world a better place to inhabit.

Raising Music's Status

One of the other key reasons Lutheran German writers appear to have stressed the sense of workmanship required by composers was in attempting to raise the status of music within their contemporary society. The place of music within the academic curricula of the *Lateinschulen* has often been stressed; however, despite the ostensible value placed on music by Luther and its role within Melanchthon's curriculum, it is clear from numerous treatises that music was in fact a subject that was frequently looked down upon, in comparison to other educational subjects. Within the writings of the *musica poetica* authors, there is a palpable sense of acute concern regarding music's status within educational establishments — and, indeed, its place within society at large. At the outset of his *Praecepta*, Dressler advises that 'Boys must not allow themselves to be deterred by the foolish dissuasions of certain bawlers that the study of music is only fitting for the poor; also that music hinders the course of other arts.'[98] On the contrary, Dressler suggests that by giving up their leisure time and dedicating themselves to the study of music (and particularly *musica poetica*), boys will acquire learning and a skillset that will allow them to build and enhance valuable social connections in the wider world.[99] To Dressler, cultivating an ability to appreciate what constituted artful and well-constructed music would lead to an improvement in society as a whole. His treatise was therefore intended to go some way towards realizing this.

However, even at the beginning of the seventeenth century, Burmeister was still conscious of the disdain by which music was regarded in some circles of Lutheran society, both as an object of study in the classroom and as a profession. In the introduction, he warns that musicians who cannot claim to have a 'properly-made foundation in the art, much less claim the title of master composer' will not be respected by their fellow citizens. Burmeister describes his fear:

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[97] *NBR*, 345.

[98] 'Non sinant se pueri stolidis quorandam dehortationibus deterreri clamitantium, studium musices pauperibus tantum convenire.' Trans. Robert Forgács, 67

[99] 'Propter quidem isactura temporis succisivis horis fieri potest, et adolescentes hoc studium omnibus pijs et doctis commendabit.' *Ibid.*, 69.

I am afraid he will be numbered among those vagabonds who wander to many regions selling their putrid and disgusting wares to many good people in order to extort their livelihood from them, putting aside all shame. It is because of them that this art [music] is in no small degree open to an unfair verdict of contempt, and it is even now (alas) being subjected to it.[100]

This image of the uneducated, itinerant musician, travelling from place to place in order to see whatever work they might be able to obtain, is one that features prominently in Lutheran German culture. The stock character of the disreputable and degenerate beer-fiddler was, as I will discuss in the next chapter, a particularly clear manifestation of this, as a figure who made money by deceiving listeners — and getting away with it through sheer novelty. In the same manner as Dressler then, Burmeister's treatise was intended as a means of remedying this. He describes how he realized that the 'true art' of music could be communicated more clearly, and that he set about producing his treatise 'in order to redeem music from that fate as much as I can.'[101] By encouraging a critical engagement with music, incorporating a creative and analytical perspective, Burmeister sought to raise the status of music and protect would-be musicians from disrepute. It was Burmeister's hope that by allowing young men to appreciate the inner workings of high-quality music, the status of music as an art would be elevated which would be to the benefit of society at large. This process, in Burmeister's eyes, would be self-catalysing. He continually suggests that the honour of musicians necessitated the crafting of 'proper' works and on others reifying them for the purposes of analysis. Burmeister describes how it would be 'a matter of dishonour for a gifted man and would indicate the height of ingratitude toward God, the first source of this art, if this art is not learned or cultivated, cultivated and enhanced, enhanced and propagated…'[102] He describes how good music should be saved for posterity (*et ad posteros usque conservanda*) and studied. Burmeister believed that through the model of exemplary works, music would thus be redeemed and saved from destruction. The *musica poetica* methodology thus had a dualistic function: firstly, to raise the standard of the craft of composition, and also in the longer term to make music a more respectable art.

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[100] 'Vereor ne erronum numeo annumeretur multas regiones pervagantium et putridas ac putidas suas merces multis bonis viris causa aeris ab his ipsis extorquendi, omni pudore neglecto, offerentium. Quorum gratia haec ars iniquae contemptus sorti non leviter exposita est, et etiamnum subiecta esse contemptus sorte non leviter oxposita est, et etiamnum subiecta esse (proh dolor) cogitur.' Rivera, *Musical Poetics*, 7.

[101] A quo, quoad fieri, et quoad a me aliquid opus huc ecceder potest, ut vindicetur, haec praecepta, quantum Deo suggerente iam longa observatione notavi posse hanc artem plenius communicari, eodem cooperante conscribere…' Ibid., 7

[102] 'Ut mihi videatur indignam homine ingenuo rem committi et quidem Deo, artis huius primo fonti, summam ingratitudinem probari, si non haec ars cognoscendo colatur, excolendo augeatur, aucta propagetur.' Ibid., 219.

The strong moral and ethical values of the *musica poetica* movement exhibited by both Dressler and Burmeister appear laudable enough. However, the sense that music was an art that could be — or deserved to be — taught to and practised by all was not something that was necessarily held by everyone in the early modern Lutheran musical world. Addressing the musicians who would read the second volume of his monumental *Syntagma Musicum* (1618), Michael Praetorius states how 'in this book and in all his other works, the author has intended to put to the service of our common German fatherland the gifts and talent bestowed on him by God, Lord of Mercy.'[103] Praetorius's three-volume text (he alludes to a fourth volume, but it was apparently never completed) documented the latest musical history and theory, and categorized the rich variety of forms and instruments — and not just those known in German-speaking regions, but across the whole of Europe. It was to be perhaps the most ambitious musical-theoretical project of the whole seventeenth century. In this introduction, Praetorius points out how many 'works of science and art' have been published for posterity by the most eminent doctors, surgeons, mathematicians, geometricians, painters, and 'others educated in the liberal arts'. He expresses his hopes that his own 'well-meant labours' might be received in the same spirit, being also presented for posterity's sake, and thus help to elevate music's social status.[104] However, in the same address, Praetorius also includes a somewhat self-conscious apology for having opted to publish this second volume in German. He describes how he was unsure about this, finally opting to do this for clarity's sake, as many of the Italian and German terms he discusses have no straightforward equivalents in Latin, and in order to appeal also to organ and instrument builders, who would be less familiar with classical languages. Once again, taking the opportunity to stress the industry he applied in the course of compiling the *Syntagma*, Praetorius describes how he hopes readers will

> accept this well-intentioned labour…completed with not an insignificant amount of effort and expense from authoritative writings and out of his [Praetorius's] own diligent research and learning; and trusts that he will not be seen as wishing to *vulgarize* this art [i.e. Music] by publishing this work in our own German mother tongue, and thus revealing it to every blockhead and bungler.[105]

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[103] 'So hat der Autor in diesem/ wie auch in allen andern seinen Operibus dahin gesehen/ daß er mit seinem von GOtt dem HErrn aus Gnaden throne verliebenem…' Praetorius, Praetorius, *SM* II, 5v.

[104] 'Und wenn sie betrachten/ wie viel herrlicher Sachen und treffliche künste von vornemen *Medicis*, *Chirurgis*, Mathematicis, *Geometris*, *Pictoribus* und andern der Freyen Künsten erfahrnen publiciret und an Tag gegebem, damit der *posteritet* mercklichen gediener worden: Auch seine wol und gemeinem Nuz zum besten gemeinte labores mit besserm Betrachte vnd nach dencken ansehen.' *SM* II, 5v.

[105] 'Wunschet der *Autor* gebürlichem Gruß/ vnd nach Standes gebühr seiner Dienste/ Glück/Segen und alle Wolfart: Und bittet dienstfreundlich/ es wolle ein jeder diese seine wolgemeinte Arbeit/welche er nicht mit geringer Mühe und Unkosten/ so wol auß andern bewehrten Schrifften/ *Relationibus*, als auch sonsten aus

At first glance, this introduction seems somewhat self-contradictory: Praetorius opted to write in German in order for his findings to be intelligible to a wider readership, yet was at the same time afraid that he would 'vulgarize' music by revealing its secrets to the *Hümpfer* and *Stümper*. If Praetorius had really wished to safeguard the values of music as an art from those who might debase it, then why bother to publish his treatise in German — or indeed at all? This is clearly a rhetorical device, signalling a clear message to the readership. Praetorius's deployment of these caricatures of unqualified musicians (who, as I will also discuss in the next chapter, feature as recurrent figures throughout in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German writings on music), makes explicit the divide between those who knew how to discuss music properly, and those whose who were content for their music to reflect their moral standards — lax and lacking in rigour.

Throughout his three volumes, Praetorius makes a point of emphasizing the difficulty of his task in their compilation, and how he accomplished it. In the dedication of the third volume to the city fathers of Nürnberg, he describes how he has 'assembled by the grace of God, and not without significant effort and labour, a musical compendium for the benefit of all developing, sincere, and enthusiastic lovers of the noble art of music, both in the present and the future.'[106] In stressing his own effort and the industry required in compiling the *Syntagma*, Praetorius deviates from the normative tone of such dedications, which normally exude ironic magnanimity. However, in doing so, Praetorius calls on the reader to match his own rigour — he implies that only those who approach music with the same set of ethical values, who are willing to apply themselves humbly to the acquisition of knowledge, will be able to benefit from it. In highlighting this ethical imperative, Praetorius establishes a clear boundary between the artistic musicians in his class, who in applying their diligence seek to raise the status of music as an art and an object of study, and the bunglers and blockheads. From this perspective, the construction of the integrated, responsible subject is seen as going hand-in-hand with the construction of an enduring 'work'.

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eigner fleisiger Erforsch- und Erfahrung zusammen bracht/ im besten/ und nicht dergestaltauffnehmen oder vermercken/ ob wolte er diese kunst zu gemeine machen/ und vor einen jeden deroselben unwissenden Hümpfer und Stümper in unser Teutschen Mutter Sprach an Tag geben.' *SM*, 5r.
[106] 'Edle/ Ehrenveste/ Fürsichtig- vnnd hochweise/ Insonders großgünstige Herren, Demnach ich durch GOttes verliehene gnade/ nicht ohne sonderbare Mühe und Arbeit/ ein *Syntagma Musicum*, welches in *Quatuor Tomos* distribuiret, vnnd allerhand *Musicalische* sachen oder ja das meiste so ad *Musicam* gehöret…' *SM* III, 2r.

Theoretical Writings as Works Themselves

The ethical values observable within the writings of these theorists reflect a number deep-rooted and far-reaching social and cultural themes. Equally, they also reveal a sense of the aspirational status of the individual theorists themselves. Such texts would have been relatively expensive to publish, and frequently simply repeat similar material previously published by other writers (cf. Faber and Dressler, as discussed above). In one sense, this is entirely in keeping with the traditional view of authority as something of a common heritage, rather than individual, achievement that could be understood as intellectual property. However, the public prestige that these treatises would have acquired for their authors is nonetheless essential to consider. In fact, many of the treatises were perceived as works in their own right. They represent an attempt to reify or *actualize* (a term I will define and discuss more fully in the fourth chapter) their ephemeral, mental abilities into a physical form. They represent the attempt to demonstrate their writers' abilities in critically engaging with pieces of music as works of art, exercising their knowledge and capacity for judgement. They are a clear example of the theorists' attempting to consolidate their skills as cultural capital. The self-consciously academic nature of the texts was clearly intended not only to raise the status of music, but also their own stature as teachers, and aid them in acquiring a level of wider social and professional respect.

The tributes offered between theorists and included as testimonials within the printed texts offer a key demonstration of such intentions. Heaping praise upon his friend Lippius's *Disputatio musica secunda*, Calvisius addresses him as the most 'admirable and most learned man…to whom the highest honour is due.' The language is highly performative, clearly intended to convey authority on the text and magnify the author. But it is not just Lippius's intellect and learning that is deemed so impressive; Calvisius even denigrates himself, in suggesting that Lippius's industry is deserving of a tribute more glowing than he is capable of articulating.[107]

In the third volume of the *Syntagma*, Praetorius lists no fewer than sixteen treatises, which he suggests will be published by his friend Henricus Baryphonus, Cantor in

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[107] 'Ornatissimo ac doctissimo Viro Dn. M. Iohanni Lippio. Amico suo officiose colendo. S[alve]. Hosce versiculos, ornatissime amice, tandem a me quanquam invetissima Minerva, cum nunquam ei rei deditus fuerim, extorsi. Tua sane industria illustrius aliquod encomion mereretur, fateor: sed cum id in mea facultate non sit, hoc quodcunque est, boni consule & Vale.' Appended to Johannes Lippius, *Disputatio musica secunda* (Wittenberg, 1609), C2r.

Quedlinburg. Additionally, Praetorius claimed that he intended to cover the cost of publication of these himself, and that 'many distinguished people are just now waiting on these works with anticipation.'[108] In the second volume of the *Syntagma*, Praetorius had enthused about Baryphonus's 'theoretical works', which he told — employing unusually excited language — would follow in the same tradition as Lippius and Calvisius, and be of 'great service to the German nation.' Praetorius also stated his intention to include part of Baryphonus's *De Melopoeia* as part of the fourth volume of the Syntagma, but which was apparently never completed. As it happened, only one of Baryphonus's treatises, the *Pleiades musicae* (1615), seems to have actually made it into print. It is perhaps questionable how excited anyone has ever been awaiting the release of a work of music theory, but Praetorius's enthusiasms hint at the extramusical functions carried out by theoretical works. The fact that Praetorius describes the 'German nation' is telling: Baryphonus's writing does indeed show strong influences of Zarlino and Calvisius, and it is likely that Praetorius supported him for sharing a similar enthusiasm for the integration of Italianate influences into the German pedagogical tradition. By establishing a set of ethical values associated with music theory, and giving rise to perceptible 'personalities', Praetorius is clearly trying to create a canon of pedagogical texts and models that befit his vision for a German, Lutheran music.

While Praetorius, one of the foremost musical figures in Europe by the time even the first volume of the *Syntagma* was published, is straightforward in stressing the value of his and Baryphonus's work, Burmeister is comparatively more reticent. In the dedication of his publication, he tells how 'I regard myself humbly and wish only to serve the public good with the best of my ability, without any spirit of selfishness. And if anyone can present something richer and better, I only wish to encourage him by my example.'[109] However, the inclusion of several epigrams at the head of his publication make it clear how his work was regarded by a number of his illustrious colleagues. Daniel Spalchauer, a pastor working in Rostock at the same time as Burmeister, compares Burmeister directly to Orpheus:

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[108] 'Allß bin ich auch der mernung/ das vorgedachtem vortrefflichen *Calvisio*, sonderlich/ was *Theoriam in Musicis* anlangen thut/ der Sinnreiche *Mathematicus* und *Musicus Theoricus*, Henricus Baryphonus VVerniggerodano Cheruseus jeniger zeit *Opera Theorico Musica*, damit Teutscher *Nation* mercklichen wird gedienet seyn/ auch albereit viele vorneme Leute mit verlangen darauff warten/ in furzen an Tag geben wird.' *SM* II, 5r.

[109] 'Quod, humillime de me sentiens nulloque invidiae oestro percitus bonum publicum pro virili iuvare, et qui uberiora et meliora praestare possit, eum exemplo meo incitare vellem.' Rivera, 7. Dedicatory letter.

Orpheus mirantes tenuit testudine rupes,
  Fibrasque flexit corneas,
Quem sibimet tantum laudis servavit honorem,
  Talem haud relinquens Orphea:
At majus laudis tua BURMEISTERE merentur
  Vulgata scripta encomium:
Queîs homines potis est Philomusus flectere quivis,
  Usus modò his accesserit.
Ede igitur fausta, ut suesti, coeloque soloque,
  Comitante vita et gloria.

Orpheus with his lyre entranced the rocks
  and made the cornel trees to bend.
Such noble fame the Orphic art has won for itself,
  had it left nothing more for others.
And yet more worthy of praise, Burmeister,
  are your published writings.
For with them any musician can sway humans,
  if he only but use them.
Bring out therefore your auspicious works,
  and in heaven and on earth
life and glory will be your companions.[110]

—Daniel Spalchavervs Rostochiensis.

As I have already suggested, the Orphic resonance of Spalchauer's comparison would have been specific, referring to the power of music in harnessing the forces of nature. However, his assertion that Burmeister's published work is in fact more valuable than Orpheus's music rests on the fact Burmeister's was written down. As Spalchauer describes, any human can learn from them — Burmeister's 'auspicious works' are of such significance because they allow *any musician* to engage with the power of music. In addition to Spalchauer's tribute, Peter Hoppener, Cantor at the Petrischule in Rostock, also offered an original poem in honour of Burmeister's achievements:

Joachime Pieridum decus,
Doctisque eandem regulis,
Doctis simùl Hypomnematis
Lustras, polo gratissimum
Edis, solo utilissimum
Opus, unde perpetuus tibi
Splendor resultat nominis.
Eja ergò perge gnaviter,
Et aspidorum Zoilûm,
Qui cuncta dente livido
Rodunt adinstar murium,
Rictus, susurros clanculos,
Atrasque morsiunculas

Joachim, pride of the Pierides,
since with learned rules
and learned observations
you make it lucid, and since to heaven
you bring forth
a work most pleasing and on earth
most useful,
endless glory to your name has come.
Carry on diligently therefore,
and disdain with steadfast hear
the evil talk, secret muttering,
and dark malevolence
of secret critics,
who with spiteful envy
gnaw like mice at everything.[111]

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[110] Trans. Rivera, 11. Burmeister, Musica Poetica. For more information on Spalchauer, see 'Spalchauer' in Carl Günther Ludovici (ed), *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste* Vol 38 (Leipzig & Halle, 1743), 1077.
[111] Trans. Rivera, *Musical Poetics*.

Contemne forti pectore.

—Petrus Hoppenerus
Cantor ad Divum Petrum

Hoppener, who would of course have been responsible for teaching taught music at the school, praises Burmeister's work for its clarity. Part of the reason Burmeister is so deserving of praise in Hoppener's eyes is that he is willing to share his deep knowledge of music and experience, rather than using it to seek any fame as a composer himself. Hoppener's tribute also includes a dismissal of any potential critics of the text, likening them to the rodents who are only content in causing destruction. The second volume of Praetorius's *Syntagma* also contains a message for any would-be detractors: 'People who can think of nothing but how to find fault with an honest man, and who view only their own accomplishments as worthy and reputable, should take all of this in mind, or else be met with the old proverb *Hic Rhodus, hic salta* ('here is Rhodes, here you jump').[112] This is a reference to Aesop's fable of 'The Boastful Athlete', which expresses the moral that actions speak louder than words. As an incredibly prolific publisher of his own music during his own lifetime, the inclusion of this reference communicates a sense of prestige he afforded his own works. For Praetorius, his text — and, as I have shown, he does frequently refer to the work relating to the *Syntagma* as both process (*Arbeit*) and product (*Operis*) — served as an actualized document preserving his skill and virtue for posterity. While others may claim to know more than the author, they are challenged to produce something solid themselves.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have sought to provide an exploration of the creative culture of seventeenth-century German theory relating to composition, to help contextualize the compositional practices that emerged in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. I

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[112] 'Welches die jenigen/ so sonsten nichts gedencken/ als wie si einem ehrlichen Mann ein Mackel anhengen mögen/ vnd allein das/ was mit ignen nicht vorgeworffen werden möchte/ das Alte *Proverbium*: *Hîc Rhodus, hîc salta*.' Praetorius, Syntagma II, 6r. For more information on this reference, which was quoted variously by Erasmus, Hegel and even Marx, see Laura Gibbs, *Aesop's Fables in Latin: Ancient Wit and Wisdom from the Animal Kingdom* (OUP: 2002), 209. 'There was a man who had been away on a journey and had then come back home. He strutted about town, talking loudly and at great length about the brave deeds he had accomplished in the various lands he had visited. In Rhodes, the man said, he had jumped such a long jump that no man alive could equal it, and he claimed that there were witnesses who could back up his story. A bystander then remarked, 'Alright! If you're telling the truth, here is your Rhodes: go on and jump! *This fable shows that talking is a waste of time when you can simply provide a demonstration*.' See Laura Gibbs, *Aesop's Fables. A new translation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 209.

have attempted to show that *musica poetica*, as first described by Listenius, did in fact have an important role to play in the initiation of the — or at least *a* — work-concept, in terms of how it reoriented the understanding of what composition was and what it could do. In turn, it fundamentally shifted the understanding of what a composer was, and afforded them many of the characteristics that were subsequently to become an intrinsic part of classical musical culture. By seeking to understand and systematize the act of composition, the musica poetica writers sought to demystify the practice of composition. Rather than suggesting that music was simply the work of God, they showed that by hard work on the part of the composer, new forms of music could be constructed that represented individuated states. The emphasis on the ethical nature of work and its centrality in validating the individual was a clear attempt to raise the status of music, and helped it to acquire much of the prestige it eventually obtained.

The influence of sixteenth and early seventeenth-century theory therefore made more significant and wide-ranging impacts on the practice of musical composition than Goehr was willing to admit — both within early modern Lutheran German culture and beyond. By consolidating the foundation that music was an art, which combined natural phenomena and individual subjectivity through the generative act of working, theorists clearly comprehended a new role for music as a token for personal expression and representation. Furthermore, by celebrating a number of paradigmatic works, reified for emulation, theorists can also be seen to have given roots to a canon of musical works. These writers were among the first to give music a sense of autonomy, in the way that they created a culture that could analyse and approach music on its own terms, who understood how to interpret and perform it as 'second' nature. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the idea of a systematized approach to musical rhetoric was something that was seen as ineffectual and disingenuous, and musical critics including Mattheson and Scheibe began to question the 'veracity' of music that was overly artful in its contrapuntal artifice. But understanding this seventeenth-century mindset is essential if we are to begin a clearer understanding of what was perceived as valuable — artistically, ideologically and culturally — in the tradition that Bach inherited.

While scholars such as Goehr have attempted to locate the work-concept as a nineteenth-century phenomenon, in what I have discussed we can see the clear theoretical beginnings of a culture that held up and celebrated certain composers as true artists, and

attempted to understand their practice through analysis. In this vein, it was responsible for the identification of the composer as an individual defined through his works, and the development of composition as a professional activity in itself, separate from performance and theory. It endowed music with a new-found power of eloquence, with the ability to make statements and not simply to articulate a single affect, but subjective. These features, developed through the lineage of theorists following in Listenius's footsteps, must surely be seen as significant parts in the development of the work-concept, and of fundamental importance in appreciating an emergent feature of musical modernity.

CHAPTER III

'Man is indeed the Lord of Tone'

In the lexicon of the contemporary reception of Lutheran music — particularly Bach — 'counterpoint' is surely among the most frequently invoked terms. Reviews of performances and recordings of any of Bach's major vocal and instrumental works almost invariably make reference to the performers' abilities in providing contrapuntal 'clarity' and in making sense of 'complex counterpoint'.[1] In an extended review article on Pierre-Laurent Aimard's recording of *Die Kunst der Fuge* for the online magazine *Slate*, the American composer and writer Jan Swafford attempts to explain the essence of Bach's contrapuntal procedures for the uninitiated listener. He describes how 'counterpoint is the art of juxtaposing melodies so that instead of getting in one another's way, they complement one another and make good harmony together. As any music student will tell you, counterpoint is damned hard to write, and the requirements of fugue only make it harder.'[2] The contrapuntal nature of the music, and the sense of how intellectually difficult its forms may have been for the composer to construct, are regarded as affording a particular seal of quality to particular musical works and a composer's stature.

As David Yearsley has discussed, Bach's nineteenth-century afterlife and his inauguration as a 'colossus' of the Western musical canon were based to a large extent on his contrapuntal facility.[3] Writing in 1802, Forkel described gleefully how 'nothing is more able to excite the reflection of a young composer than the arts of counterpoint.'[4] In 1892, having received his copy of Samuel Scheidt's *Tablatura Nova*, the first volume of the *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, Brahms wrote excitedly to his friend Eusebius Mandyczewski,

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[1] See Geoffrey Norris, *The Telegraph* <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/music/classicalmusic/7598335/Bach-Sonatas-and-Partitas-BWV-1004-1006-CD-review.html> 'Solemnity and contrapuntal clarity coalesce in the more "scholarly" Sonata No 3...'. Barry Creasy, *MusicOMH* <https://www.musicomh.com/classical/reviews-classical/prom-25-english-baroque-soloists-gardiner-royal-albert-hall-london-2> 'the choir and instrumentalists turned in first-rate performances, making Bach's complex counterpoint sound effortless…'. Kate Molleson, *The Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2012/dec/06/scottish-ensemble-review> 'Bach's counterpoint is brought out in stereo, and there was rustic thrust from the full band and whispered pianissimo from solo lines…'. All last accessed on 2 December 2017.
[2] Jan Swafford, *Slate* <http://www.slate.com/articles/arts/music_box/2008/05/bach_on_top.html> Last accessed 2 December 2017.
[3] David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
[4] 'Nichts ist aber fähider das Nachdenken eines angehenden Componisten zu erwecken, als die contrapunctischen Künste.' Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802), 67; *NBR*, 477.

asking if he was also 'wallowing in contemplation and admiration for him…in relation to Bach?' Brahms was thrilled by the 'great and deep nature' he perceived in Scheidt's music, sensing that it would enrich his understanding of Bach and 'everything concerning counterpoint, fugue, chorale and variation!'[5]

At the very outset of this dissertation, I suggested that Bach's *Musikalisches Opfer* is a work that epitomizes many of the values associated with an early modern Lutheran musical work-concept. Bach's description of his compositional process — in 'working' the theme as fully as possible, through 'modest' (thus clearly implying significant) labour — is clearly rooted in the same ethos as Schmidt. Bach self-consciously depicts the act of composition as an act of working, to which he has diligently applied himself. The result of this was the print comprising two *ricercare*, ten canons, and the sonata. While the sonata demonstrates Bach's endless versatility, using what seems like an unlikely theme to invoke the elegant simplicity of the *galant* style, the print contains—for the most part—exemplars of strict counterpoint. In dedicating this to Friedrich then, Bach was dedicating a token of his mental capacity, and attempting to show that this product was something even more valuable than the apparently spontaneous improvisations he had offered at Potsdam. We have no idea what Friedrich — the Calvinist and a ruler who virtually personified the idea of the *galant homme* (as much as he did the enlightened despot) might have made of this.

In any case, as I alluded in the previous chapter (particularly in quoting Dressler), the associations of counterpoint with musical work as a form of activity in the Lutheran tradition go back to the sixteenth century. By the middle of the seventeenth century, counterpoint had become indelibly associated with Lutheranism. In his *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), Athanasius Kircher, the German Jesuit who fled to Avignon and then Rome to escape the Thirty Years' War, describes how 'the Italians hate the dour seriousness in the German style more than is just.'[6] He describes this seriousness as being represented in the 'style in several voices', claiming that this type of music was so natural to the Germans (implying the Lutherans) because they were used to living in a cold climate and possessed 'a

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[5] Letter from Johannes Brahms to Eusebius Mandyczewski: 'Haben Sie den ersten Bd. Denkmäler? (Schöne Orgelsachen) u. schwelgen Sie in Betrachtung u. Bewunderung ihn u.—Bach angehend? Eine wie große und tiefe Natur er selbst u. von wie hohem Inter- esse — Bach vor Augen — alles was Contrapunkt, Fuge, Choral u. Variation angeht! Das ist ein üppiger Sommer! Ein neuer Band Schütz liegt da, ein Bach ist zu erwarten.' Reproduced in Karl Geiringer 'Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Eusebius Mandyczewski', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 15 (1933), 352.
[6] Athanasius Kircher, in Leo Treitler (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History — Revised Edition* (New York: Norton, 2008), 708.

temperament that is serious, strong, constant, solid and toilsome, to which qualities their music conforms.'[7] In this description, an early example of the national stereotypes later to develop, Kircher implies that counterpoint is more than simply a compositional technique; he suggests that it represents toil in some sense, and is the aesthetic manifestation of the social, cultural and theological influences that characterize Lutheranism. More recently, John Butt has suggested that the very sense of counterpoint defined not only Bach's music but also early modern Lutheran culture in the broadest sense. He demonstrates how it might be employed a means of understanding the relationship between the 'modern and non-modern' and 'religious and subjective-autonomous' elements in the culture, making it a particularly compelling choice for seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Lutheran composers.[8]

In the preface to this *Geistliche Chormusik*, published in 1648, Schütz included an extended note explaining his decision to publish a collection of contrapuntal motets without basso continuo — something highly unusual for the time. Observing the popularity of the Italianate style among German musicians and courts at the time, for concerted vocal textures supported by continuo, Schütz clearly felt that this threatened the next generation of German composers' development, by diverting them from the 'right path of counterpoint' (*auff den rechten Weg zu dem Studio Contrapuncti anführung können*).[9] Schütz described how counterpoint was the fundamental of any good composer's education:

[7] *Ibid.*
[8] Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity*, 19-20.
[9] Preface to Heinrich Schütz, *Geistliche Chormusic* (Dresden: Gimel Bergen, 1648).

But since, for all that, there is no doubt, even amongst all musicians educated in good schools, that in the most demanding study of counterpoint, no one can rightly set out on other types of composition and properly deal with or manage them, unless he has already be sufficiently schooled in the style [of composition] without basso continuo and, at the same time, has acquired the necessary requisites of a regulated composition: namely (among others), *dispositiones modorum; fugae simplices, mixtae, inversae; contrapunctum duplex; differentia styli in arte musica diversi; modulatio vocum; connexio subjectorum*, etc., and other such things; about which the learned theorists write at length, and students of counterpoint are instructed orally in the school of practice and without which, according to learned composers, not a single composition can succeed (even if this may sound as though it were a celestial harmony to those ears not properly trained in music) or indeed be valued much more highly than a hollow nut, etc.[10]

In pointing out that it does not necessarily matter whether or not uneducated listeners appreciate a composer's music, Schütz is clear — counterpoint is more than simply an aesthetic choice, it is a skill that separates professional composers from mere musicians.

Both in contemporary and historical consciousness then, there is a strong sense of a synergy between ethics and aesthetics latent in counterpoint. In this chapter, I wish to focus on counterpoint and explore its centrality in relation to what was seen as constituting musical work and the act of composition for early modern Lutherans. Building on the previous chapter, in which I showed how the theoretical conception of music had been fundamentally transformed by the beginning of the seventeenth century, I aim to show how and why counterpoint was one of the main aesthetic results of this new conception. As the act of composition was increasingly characterized as a process utilizing naturally occurring substances, counterpoint was regarded as the chief means of how musical materials were combined and synthesized through work to create something greater than the sum of its parts. As part of this, as I will explore how contrapuntal composition became likened to

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[10] 'Weil es aber gleichwohl an dem/ auch bey allen in guten Schulen erzogenen Musicis auser zweifel ist/ daß in dem schweresten *Studio Contrapuncti* niemand andere Arten der *Composition* in guter Ordnung angehen / und dieselbgen gebührlich handeln oder *tractiren* könne / er habe sich dann vorhero in dem *Stylo* ohne den *Bassum Continuum* genugsam geübet / und darneben die zu einer *Regulirten Composition* nothwendige *Requisita* wohl eingeholet / als da (unter andern) sing die *Dispositiones Modorum*; *Fugæ Simplices, mixtæ, inversæ; Contrapunctum duplex: Differentia Styli in arte Musicâ diversi: Modulatio Vocum: Connexio subjectorum, &c.* Vnd dergleichen Dinge mehr; Worvon die gelehrten *Theorici* weitleufftig schreiben / und in *Scholâ Practicâ* die *Studiosi Contrapuncti* mit lebendiger Stimme unterrichtet werden; Ohne welche / bey erfahrnen Componisten ja keine eintzige Composition (ob auch solche denen in der Music nicht recht relehrten Ohren / gleichsam als ein Himmlische Harmoni fuurkommen möchte) nicht bestehen / oder doch nicht viel höher als einer taube Nuß werth geschätzet werden kan / etc.' *Ibid.* Trans. *HSR*, 164.

alchemy and magic — processes which conspicuously attempt to avoid the work necessary in the transformation of natural materials into valuable products. I also want to show how early modern Lutheran composers and musicians saw the emergent nature of contrapuntal music as explicitly signifying the apparent construction in real-time of a musical work. Such qualities are highlighted in the exchanges between later eighteenth-century critics such as Johann Adolf Scheibe, who saw counterpoint as pointlessly 'artificial', and in the defences employed by their respondents — notably Johann Abraham Birnbaum — who stressed the ethical qualities of contrapuntal music. In all of this, I aim to show how counterpoint defined a cohesive set of cultural and musical ideals, which are inextricably connected with the early modern work-concept and the act of composition.

Note against note

As I have already shown, counterpoint has frequently been depicted as a *sine qua non* in relation to Lutheran music; but the acquisition of this status was not entirely straightforward. The Lutheran tradition by no means started out as a crucible for elaborate contrapuntal experimentation. Indeed, the first Lutheran musical developments witnessed the conscious attempt at creating a deliberately simple, largely homophonic style, capable of setting both liturgical and devotional texts in a straightforward and easily comprehensible manner — even when they were intended to be sung by the choir and clergy as opposed to the congregation.[11] While some composers such as Johann Walther did, of course, make use of contrapuntal techniques, sixteenthe-century Lutheran composers' music was, on the whole, less elaborate than that of their Catholic counterparts. However, with the consolidation of the ethos of the *musica poetica* tradition, the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw an increasing emphasis on the teaching, performance and composition of *musica figuralis*.[12] Assessing the musical developments that occurred through this period in conjunction with composers' writings, it is clear that the sense of being capable of writing 'artful' counterpoint increasingly became an essential part of being a professional composer.

Before assessing this process, it is worth taking into account counterpoint's origins, and considering the distinction early theorists made between its written and improvised types, in

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[11] See Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars*, particularly Chapter 6 'Congregational Hymnals', 87-106. Herl points out that in larger cities, Lutheran hymnals were do not seem to have been used by congregations until the mid-seventeenth century, with the exceptions of Strassburg, Rostock and Riga, and are best understood as 'commercial' publications.

[12] See John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*, 2-4.

order to appreciate how its expressive function came to be regarded. The term itself — as has been described in so many twentieth-century pedagogical textbooks — is derived from the medieval practice of singing *punctus contra punctum* (i.e. 'note-against-note'). However, in recent texts, it is often employed synonymously with the term 'polyphony'. While the etymologies of these respective terms are complex, I would like to clarify here their respective meanings and implications, as I employ them. I understand 'polyphony' simply to describe a general musical texture, comprising more than one voice or instrument, singing or playing clearly separate parts. On the other hand, counterpoint describes a specific compositional technique, by which two or more musical lines are imposed upon one another in accordance with the rules of consonance and dissonance handling, as outlined by theorists from Zarlino onwards. The nature of these 'rules' are important to bear in mind, for the way that they constitute the rules of the game, and provide a set of criteria by which compositional technique might be evaluated.

It has been well documented that counterpoint first began as an improvisatory process, as a means of adding texture to chant in the tenor. While it seems almost a truism to point this out, it is important to bear in mind that counterpoint thus had its beginnings as a 'centrifugal' musical texture — that is to say, of moving from the centre outwards, rather than vertically from the treble or the bass, as later styles became oriented. This has significant ramifications regarding how we hear the musical effect in real-time: the initial voice that a composer uses to introduce a theme becomes submerged between outer voices, becoming less audible in the musical foreground. To the medieval musical mind, strict forms such as canon and *fugae* were considered perfections, by virtue of the fact that they created their own apparent sense of internal context, being substantiated by the quality of their own complementary contrapuntal materials. The Franco-Flemish theorist Johannes Tinctoris (c.1430-1511) offers a clear distinction between improvised and 'composed' counterpoint:

> Counterpoint that is written is usually called a composed piece (*resfacta*). But that which we put together in the mind we call a counterpoint pure and simple, and those who do this are said in common parlance to 'sing over the book' (*super librum cantare*). A composed piece differs from a counterpoint above all in that all parts of a composed piece, whither three, four, or more, are mutually bound to one another, so that the ordering and rule of consonances of any one part must be observed with

respect to each other and all the others…But when two, three, four, or more sing together over the book, one is not subject to the other.[13]

Tinctoris is clear that a *composed* piece is a particular kind of thing in itself, consisting of interdependent parts, in distinction to music created through improvisation, where the singers are not necessarily subject to one another. Tinctoris clearly implies that in a written piece the responsibility for the obedience of the rules of consonances and dissonance handling comes down to one person — the composer. He implies that composed pieces are more complex and of a higher quality. The written nature of the *resfacta* composition is distinct, in making the process apparently resemble an object, which can then form the basis for interaction between musicians rather than requiring the presence of or any supplementary information from the author. In the first book of the same text, Tinctoris demonstrates his critical acumen, in describing his experience with poorly executed written pieces, relating how 'I have now and then had in my hands some very ancient songs of unknown authorship that they call "apocrypha", composed so ineptly, so tastelessly, that they much more offended than delighted the ears.'[14]

From Tinctoris onwards, the acquisition of contrapuntal mastery was routinely depicted as a difficult, labour-intensive discipline, requiring a high level of experience and diligence on the part of the composer — but resulting in music that is properly 'worked', and therefore deemed to be of high quality. Contrapuntal composition — particularly in relation to German music — has frequently been described using value-laden epithets with resonances in economic terms, including 'exhaustively worked', 'inventive', 'learned', 'economical' and 'rigorous', both by contemporary and modern writers.[15] From the early seventeenth century through to the early eighteenth century, German musical culture began to afford high levels of praise to musicians who were seen as being tenacious in their contrapuntal writing. As the *musica poetica* tradition attempted an ideographical means of systematizing and teaching composition through counterpoint, counterpoint became understood as the principal means for organizing ideas that could be developed and communicated through music. Thus, contrapuntal practice became a bedrock for German Lutheran musical education, and this became attached to instrumental music as much as it

[13] Tinctoris, *De Liber Arte contrapuncti*, trans. Gary Tomlinson, Treitler (ed.), *Source Readings in Music History* (revised edition), 401-402
[14] From the new translation by Ronald Woodley, Jeffrey Dean et al, *Early Music Theory – Johannes Tinctoris Complete Works* <http://earlymusictheory.org/Tinctoris/texts/deartecontrapuncti/>
[15] See Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth During Four Centuries of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 161.

was to vocal music. As Laurence Dreyfus has shown, Bach's music displays all the evidence of his having been immersed within a culture that prioritized *inventio* and *dispositio*, depicting them as processes of effortful shaping dependent on the labour of the composer rather than mere 'discovery'.[16]

I wish to suggest that the predominance of fugal writing and the consolidation of the fugue as a form in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in the Lutheran tradition was a manifestation of this ethic, of the work process being valuable. While early modern German writers often acknowledged the Italian roots of the *ricercar*, Paul Walker suggests that the Germans' early preference for the term *fugue* indicates a deliberate attempt to move beyond the Italian style, and to develop their own genre.[17] Fugue carried fewer Italianate connotations, and acquire a sense of greater 'seriousness and sophistication'. In the third volume of the *Syntagma*, Praetorius devoted special attention to the fugue as a genre:

> As Abbot Johann Nucius tells, fugues are simply recurrent echos of the same theme at different degrees, divided by rests…the Italians called them *Ricercari*, because *ricercare* means to investigate, look, search, explore diligently and to find out. To construct good fugues then, special diligence and intellect are required to put it together from all perspectives, in whatever way it can be properly, artfully, and pleasingly combined, woven together…In the main it is by this genre that musical aptitude can be seen, if suitable fugues can be developed in accordance with the individual modes and joined together properly with good and praiseworthy cohesion.[18]

This passage offers a revealing insight into how Praetorius, one of the foremost composers of his day and one of the celebrated patriarchs of the Lutheran German school that developed in the seventeenth century, considered the relationship between the act of

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[16] Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 4-7.

[17] Paul Walker, 'Rhetoric and the Ricercar' in Daniel R. Melamed (ed.), *Bach Studies 2* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 175-191, and Paul Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 221.

[18] '*Fugæ nihil aliud sunt; ut ait Abbas D. Joannes Nucius, quàm ejusdem thematis per distinctos locos crebræ resultationes Pausarum interventu sibi succedentes…Italis vocantur Ricercari. RICERCARE enim idem est, quod investigare, quærere, exquirere*, mit fleiß erforschen, unnd nachsuchen. Dieweil in tractirung einer guten Fugen mit sonderbahrem fleiß unnd nachdencken aus allen winckeln zusammen gesucht werden muß/ wie unnd uff mancherley Art und weise dieselbe in einander gefügt/ geflochten/ duplirt, per directum et indirectum seu contrarium, ordentlich/ künstlich und anmuthig zusammen gebracht/ und biß zum ende hinaus geführt werden könne. *Nam ex hac figura omnium maximè Musicum ingenium æstimandum est, si pro certa Modorum natura aptas Fugas eruere, atque erutas bona et laudabili cohærentia ritè jungere noverit.*'
Praetorius, *SM* III, Part I, Ch.8, §2, 23-24.

composition and its product. Praetorius alludes to the self-generative nature of counterpoint as a technique and fugue as a genre, whereby a composer is required to construct something out of nothing, rather than merely discovering it. Praetorius emphasizes fugal composition as being a difficult endeavour, necessitating the composer to apply all his skill and ingenuity in order to pursue the possibilities that a theme might afford. Once again invoking the necessity of *Fleiß*, the descriptive imagery Praetorius uses is very much concentrated on the recurrent metaphor of a process of building up — of construction, weaving — a musical form into a stable and 'good' entity. Praetorius's fugue is projected as the combination of disparate parts, worked together through the skill of the composer. As I will show, such a sense forms a central theme, recurring in much of the writing about fugue and counterpoint by early modern Lutheran musicians. Praetorius is clear that the ability to write a fugue satisfying both the professional expectation of being significantly inventive and well constructed, while being aesthetically pleasing, is no mean feat. Over the course of the next hundred years or so, fugue was regularly projected as something of a testing ground for German composers, for the very reasons that it required both skill and determination.

This almost proto-nationalist sense of German music being particularly well-constructed and well-worked, in contradistinction to Italian music, which was depicted as lacking in contrapuntal substance and thus superficial, is recurrent right through to the middle of the eighteenth century. Writing in 1750, Bach's student Johann Friedrich Agricola described how 'Fux, Telemann, Bach, Handel, Graun, and others among the Germans have accomplished much more [than the Italians]. All these composers stick to the point in fugal works; they are not as superficial as the Italians, who are in the habit of producing sham fugues.'[19] The Italians were not seen as producing echt fugues because they were not sufficiently worked. While this might have been a matter of perception and intention rather than actuality, it shows that for Lutheran composers, the ability and willingness to exercise this ability for work was almost a moral obligation. In his *Musico-Theologia oder erbauliche Anwendung musicalischer Wahrheiten* ('Musical Theology or the Edifying Application of Musical Truths') published in 1754, another of Bach's pupils from his later years, the theologian and musical writer Johann Michael Schmidt paid particular tribute to Bach:

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[19] 'Fux, Telemann, Bach, Händel, Graun und andere unter den Deutschen haben es viel weiter gebracht. Alle diese Componisten bleiben in den Fugenarbeiten bey der Stange, sie sind nicht so leichtsinnig, wie die Italiener, die nur Scheinfugen zu Machen plfegen.' *NBR*, 358; *BD* II, 620. It is interesting to note that Fux is the only non-Lutheran composer in this list, perhaps suggesting he was afforded a sort of honorary status among the other contrapuntalists.

Man is indeed the Lord of Tone, but his song is not ready as soon as he opens his mouth to sing, as the song of the birds is. He must first add poetry to his [inarticulate] song, or learn a song from others. To the extent that he does the former, often and skilfully, he is called a composer. If he wishes to become great and famous, he must possess, in addition to knowledge of rules already discussed, all the powers of understanding in considerable degree; he must be able to think deeply and in intricate combinations. To be convinced of this, just look at the chorale, published in copper engraving, by Bach, who has now been received into the choir of angels: *Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her*. I cannot persuade myself that the most difficult demonstration in geometry requires much deeper and more extensive reflection than this labour must have demanded. To be sure, only a few composers are of this type, but you can recognize immediately from their works, which of their mental capabilities is their strongest.[20]

It is likely that Schmidt studied with Bach in 1749, when he was a student at Leipzig University.[21] His text, which borrows heavily in places from the ideas of Lorenz Mizler — another of Bach's students — is notable for its criticism of a number of Enlightenment values and its author's obviously direct acquaintance with Bach's music. In this passage, Schmidt's views clearly correlate with many of the values of the seventeenth-century writers I discussed in the previous chapter. Schmidt's suggestion that man is the 'Lord of Tone' and possesses greater musical potency than birds is owing to his (man's) abilities to skilfully work the natural materials of music. Singling out an individual work, Bach's *Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her* (BWV 769), Schmidt is clear regarding how this typifies his conception of the necessary skills a composer should possess; he emphasizes that the application of significant mental labour is necessary for the composition of complex and 'intricate' counterpoint. He also implies that he understands the musical works to be as much a representation of this ability and work ethic as capable of providing a valuable, edifying listening experience.

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[20] Johann Michael Schmidt, *Musico-Theologia oder erbauliche Anwendung musicalischer Wahrheiten* (Bayreuth and Hof: Johann Gottlieb Bierling, 1754), 150.
Translation adapted from *NBR*, 361; *BD* III, no. 659 (although this omits the first bit, and NBR the last bit): 'Der Mensch ist zwar Herr der Tone, aber sein Lied ist nicht gleich fertig, wenn er nun den Mund zum Singen aufthut, wie bey den Vögeln. Er muß erst auf die Weise seines Gesanges dichten, oder andern eine ablernen. Sofern er das erste oft und mit einer Geschichlichkeit verrichtet, heist er ein Componist. Soll er [ein Componist] groß und berühmt werden, so muß nächst der Wissenschaft der schon erfundenen Regeln, auch alle Verstandeskräfte in einem ziemlichen Grade besitzen; er muß tief und viel aufeinander denken können. Sehet nur den Chor der Engel augenommen Bachen an: Com Himmel hoch da komm ich her. Ich kann mich nicht überreden, daß die schwerste geometrische Demonstration ein viel tieferes und weitläuftigeres Nachdenken erfordere, als diese Arbeit erfordert haben muß. Zwar die wenigsten Componisten sind von der Art. Man merkt es aber ihren Arbeiten gleich an, welche Verstandeskraft bey ihnen die stärkest sey.'
[21] 'Schmidt, Johann Michael (i).' *NGO*.

Professional Ethics

This sense of there being a moral imperative to produce music that is well crafted and edifying is a subject that is touched upon by numerous writings relating to music's status as a profession. Early modern German writings about music are filled with frequent references to musicians' anxieties regarding how they were perceived by their fellow citizens. Across German civic societies, a complex hierarchy existed between the amount of skill required for a particular profession, the honour it was seen to produce via its outputs, and the level of prestige its practitioners were afforded. In the sixteenth century, music — while being celebrated as a gift from God and an important constitutive part of a rounded education — was seen as a degenerate profession, not only in German-speaking areas but across Europe. Portrayals of stock characters like the beer-fiddler and itinerant minstrels make it clear that musicians figures were viewed as the scourge of society.[22]

Prominent composers including Schütz and Telemann, representing the opposite ends of the timeframe for this study, describe their parents' dismay at their choice of music as a career. Schütz tells us that it was against the wishes of his parents that he attempted to make music his profession, and that he began his legal studies at the University of Marburg in order to 'acquire for myself a stable profession, and through this one day achieve an honourable station.'[23] In his autobiography in Mattheson's *Ehrenpforte*, Telemann recounts how 'hordes of music-haters visited my mother attempting to convince her I would become a circus artist, acrobat, minstrel or animal trainer, if I did not give up my musical ambitions.'[24] In his *Ehrenpforte*, Mattheson was clearly attempting to create a canon of respectable composers, including Lutheran luminaries from the late sixteenth century through to his own day. In his foreword, he highlighted the necessity for cantors to be musically educated men, who understood composition, and were in possession of the harmonic and contrapuntal skills that distinguish church musicians from the 'frivolous' and 'sensual' art of opera, in which music was debased as mere 'entertainment'. For Mattheson,

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[22] For a discussion regarding the professional role the beer fiddlers occupied in Bach's Leipzig, see Walter Schenkman, 'Bach and the Beer-Fiddlers', *Bach*, 26/1 (1995), 48-56.

[23] 'Auff die Universite[t] Marpurgk begeben, In willens meine, auser der *Music*, anderweit zimlicher massen angefangene *Studia* daselbt fortzustellen, Eine gewisse *Profession* mir zu erwehlen, und dermahl eins Ehrlichen *Gradum* darinnen zu erlangen…' *SD* I, 141.

[24] 'Ach! aber, welch ein Ungewitter zog ich mir durch besagte Oper über „den hals! die Musik-Feinde kamen mit Schaaren zu meiner Mutter, und „stellten ihr vor: Ich würde ein Gaukler, Seiltänzer, Spielmann, Murmelthierführer zc. werden, wenn mir die Musik nicht entzogen würde.' Mattheson, *Ehrenpforte*, 356.

music that was produced in conjunction with serious, rigorous principles had a genuine sense of ethical potency. As Keith Chapin has discussed, Mattheson possessed a firm conviction that music had a fundamental role to play in the definition of the public sphere, and the transformation of its tenets.[25] The increasingly serious and academic approach to both composition and writing about music through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was thus a conscious attempt to raise the status of music to that of a high art. By depicting composition as a serious endeavour, requiring significant amounts of hard work and application to in order to achieve mastery, some composers began to be regarded not simply as musicians, but as statesmen capable of producing music for the betterment of society at large.

The predilection for complex contrapuntal writing in German music throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was, I contend, bound up with this. The ability to produce counterpoint that demonstrated simultaneous ingenuity while retaining obedience to the rules is one of the features that was considered important in distinguishing between professional composers and amateurs. In his fascinating and revealing monograph, Stephen Rose examines a number of *Roman* texts written by respected musicians who were also active as composers during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[26] Their texts thus represent first-hand accounts of the entrenched divisions between musical classes in early modern German society, and offer an insight into the insecurities of the professionals. The writers Rose examines include: Johann Kuhnau, Bach's predecessor as Cantor at the *Thomasschule*, whose *Der musicalische Quacksalber* I have already discussed; Johann Beer, a celebrated composer, violinist and singer, as well as novelist; Daniel Speer, whose three autobiographical novels describe his time spent as a travelling musician, before he his appointment as Cantor at the Lateinschule in Göppingen; and Wolfgang Caspar Printz, a central figure in German music history and historiography, who practised creative and pedagogical writing as well as musical composition.[27]

In his history of music in Leipzig, Arnold Schering cites a document from c.1640 explicitly prohibiting the beer-fiddlers from performing at any establishment where military

[25] Keith Chapin, 'Bach's Silence, Mattheson's Words: Professional and Humanist Ways of Speaking of Music', in Keith Chapin and Andrew H. Clark (eds), *Speaking of Music — Addressing the Sonorous* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2013), 49-69.
[26] Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[27] Rosemary Roberts and John Butt, 'Speer, Daniel.' *NGO*.

officers might be present.[28] Rose shows how Wolfgang Caspar Printz is particularly disparaging of the beer-fiddler, describing him as 'the enemy of skilful composition' in his composition manual *cum* travelogue *Phrynis Mitilenæus oder Satyrischer Componist* (1676-77/1696). The title page for the third volume of this publication in fact features a somewhat graphic engraving, picturing a group of *Bierfiedler* beating up Phrynis, Printz's composer-protagonist. References to the beer-fiddlers' performances assert that they were largely self-taught and made music in a haphazard way, devoid of proper skill or knowledge of rules, merely in an attempt to acquire libation. As part of his response to Scheibe in 1738, Birnbaum lists a series of more appropriate titles than *Musicant* to which Scheibe might have used in referring to Bach.[29] Birnbaum states that there was hardly any difference between *Musicanten* and *Bierfiedler*, showing the presence of such anxieties even in the mind of a composer of Bach's stature in the middle decades of the mid-eighteenth century. The beer-fiddler was one of the most recognisable musical figures of degenerate status, regarded as an abhorrent figure by professional musicians for several reasons. As Printz describes in his novel *Battalus*, the beer-fiddlers play their music without skill, while qualified musicians worked with 'thoughtful industry and practice', the beer-fiddlers' performances were littered with consecutive octaves and fifths, and were content to play for beer in lieu of money.[30] Furthermore, Printz is careful to state that while professional musicians play either from written notation or from memory, the beer-fiddlers could not read musical notation in any case, and were thus limited to performing their own worthless music.

Johann Beer's *Bellum Musicum oder musicalischer Krieg* which gives an account of a somewhat contrived narrative, based on an allegorical war between the 'honourable' musicians (Pythagoreans) and the *Hümpleren* (bunglers; the Tarentines). Throughout the tale, Beer uses sometimes humorously inventive musical imagery to project the distinctions between the Pythagoreans and Tarentines, to characterize their skilled and inept musicianship respectively.[31] The plot centres around the liberation of the Pythagoreans' Queen Compositio, who has been captured by the bunglers. She tells of her journey to the German-speaking lands, lamenting that she found the people's ears there to have been 'enchanted by the Tarentines' sirens', particularly in parochial schools and provincial

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[28] Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs, Vol. II* (Leipzig: Kistner & Siegel, 1926), 286-7.
[29] *NBR* 338-339; *BD* II, 409.
[30] Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 94-95.
[31] Published 1701, no publisher named. For a detailed discussion of this, see Rose, *Ibid.*, 168.

towns.[32] In an undated manuscript treatise entitled *Schola phonologica*, thought to date from the 1680s or 90s, Beer uses the same adjective 'Tarentine' to describe music by certain Italian composers, who were regarded as having infringed the accepted rules of voice-leading. While it might seem somewhat idiosyncratic, Beer's portrayal of this metaphorical battle between the bunglers and Harmonia for Queen Compositio offers a pithy representation of the conflict that early modern German composers perceived, between the rigorous and artful use of natural musical phenomena, and cheap, easy tricks passed off as compositions by incompetents. Beer warns: 'If one sees no counterpoint in the land, you should be certain that bad times have come and the bunglers have taken over.'[33]

Such references to *Hümpfer* and *Stümpfer* are consistent with the language used by the trade guilds that governed most professions in early modern German cities. As Rose points out, this scorn for the *Pfuscher* — pretenders, who attempted to work in trades for which they were not properly qualified — was a major part of asserting the distinction between properly crafted music and a degenerate cacophony. In clearly establishing the 'otherness' of the beer-fiddlers and attempting to separate out the qualities of honourable musicians, Printz attempts to impress upon the reader that composition is a craft 'determined by necessary rules' (*nothwendige Regeln*).[34] This picture of music clearly sets out to align composers with the values of the guild-based professions, where personal diligence and a strong work ethic, rendered in conjunction with an expectation of rigorous professional standards, were considered fundamental attributes of an individual's honour. As Printz describes 'Considerable and long-lasting practice is required in anyone who wants to become a good composer…No art can be learned without practice, even if you have a natural ability and a good teacher.'[35] In his defence against Scheibe's attempts to undermine Bach's status, Birnbaum stressed the level of dedication that Bach had diligently applied to learning his craft, as both a performer and composer, and with which his music was thus endowed:

> His [Bach's] reasoning can only be as follows: that which I have achieved by
> industry and practice, anyone else with tolerable natural gift and ability can also

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[32] *Ibid.*

[33] 'Wann man in dem Land keinen *Contrapunct* sehe/ solle man nur sicher gläuben/ daß böse Zeiten kommen/ und die Stümper überhand nehmen werden.' Johann Beer, *Bellum Musicum*, sig. E2r. Cited by Rose, 176.

[34] Rose, 101.

[35] 'Wird von einem guten *Componisten* eine embsige/ stete und langwürige Ubung erfodert…keine Kunst ohne Ubung gelernet werden kan/ ob einem schon weder die natürliche Fähigkeit noch guter Unterricht mangelt.' Wolfgang Caspar Printz, *Phrynis Mitilenæus oder Satyrischer Componist,* 2 vols (Quedlinburg, 1976-7), II, 33. Trans. Rose, 101.

achieve. And for this very reason the alleged impossibility falls to the ground. One can do anything if only one really wishes to, and if one industriously strives to convert natural abilities, by untiring zeal, into finished skills.[36]

Though I will examine Scheibe's criticisms in more detail in due course, it is important to establish at this point how Birnbaum perceives this sense of individual application as honourable, and requisite for successful composition. For Beer, Printz and Birnbaum alike, the production of *authentic* music is heavily dependent on an individual's own diligence. The composer must first make the choice to learn his skills properly, and then work tirelessly in order to realize an individualized, artful and valuable musical product.

Nature, Alchemy & Magic

This perceived value of properly crafted contrapuntal works, and the difficulty in manufacturing them from base materials, is illustrated by the parallels which some contemporaries drew between music and precious metals, and the processes by which each were created. David Yearsley has examined writings by the Saxon composer and theorist Heinrich Bokemeyer, as well as Johann Theile, in showing that they made explicit use of alchemical terminology in describing the process of composing contrapuntal forms. Yearsley notes how both disciplines demanded 'unrelenting toil and diligence on the part of the *artifex*.'[37] Bokemeyer was clearly particularly highly regarded by his contemporaries, being referenced in writings by Scheibe, Mattheson and Mizler, the latter inviting him to join the *Societät der Musikalischen Wissenschaften*. Matthesons's *Critica musica* includes the section *Die canonische Anatomie*, in which Bokemeyer attempts to describe canon as the zenith of all musical forms.[38]

This comparison is telling: from the middle ages, alchemy, attempting to discover the agents that would provide material perfection, was regarded as occupying an ambiguous position somewhere between a scientific and a philosophical study. With this in mind, it might be seen to have shared a number of similarities with the study of musical

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[36] 'Sein schluß kann kein anderer als dieser seyn: wozu ich es durch fleiß und übung habe bringen können dazu muß es auch ein anderer, der nur halwege naturell und geschick hat, auch bringen. Und eben aus diesem grunde fällt auch die vorgeschützte | unmöglichkeit weg. Es ist alles möglich wenn man nur will, und die natürlichen fähigkeiten dutch unermüdeten fleiß in geschickte fertigkeiten zu verwandeln eyfrigst bemühet ist.' *NBR*, 346; *BD* II, 409.
[37] David Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002; reprinted 2004), 67.
[38] Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica* I (Hamburg: 1722) §§2–4.

composition. As Michela Pereira describes: 'some alchemists wanted only to induce nature to give a new form to alchemically 'prepared' matter, while others considered their *opus* as an artificial production of things equal to, or even better than, natural ones.'[39] Essentially, both alchemy and music rely on the imitation of natural processes in combination with human creative effort and craftsmanship, to produce something valuable and new.

As Yearsley shows in his study of Bokemeyer's correspondence with Johann Walther (in whose *Musikalisches Lexicon* his biography was included), the former defines the contrapuntist as *artifex*, the Latin term for alchemist. Yearsley argues convincingly that this is not merely a generic reference to the composer being an artist, but specifically as an *artificer*, working like the alchemist in a laboratory 'trying to fabricate gold.'[40] Yearsley draws attention to Bokemeyer's depiction of the composer's perseverance, working in isolation in 'his secret laboratory' (*geheimes Kunst-Zimmer*), as further evidence of Bokemeyer's attempt to liken music to alchemy and to alchemical practice.[41] By this allegorical comparison of two disciplines, Bokemeyer was attempting to show how valuable the product of contrapuntal composition was, and just how difficult it was to create. The remarkable feature of the contrapuntal work was its synthesis of disparate natural materials into perfections, realized through the power of human ingenuity.

However, it is worth pointing out that alchemy was a practice regarded with some degree of suspicion by Lutheran theologians, who likened it to a magical art. In the second volume of the *Thesaurus Consiliorum Et Decisionum* (1671), a compilation of doctrinal and moral meditations intended to support the ministry of contemporary Lutheran pastors, a section was included specifically devoted to a discussion of 'forgery and alchemy' (*De monetae adulteratione et alchymia*).[42] As Benjamin Mayes suggests, late seventeenth-century Lutherans considered subjects such as magic, witchcraft and alchemy as examples of the evil spiritual forces in the world. Alchemy was disdained as the 'improper acquisition of temporal goods.'[43] In his *General Theory of Magic*, Marcel Mauss — the first scholar to properly identify and explore the idea of the gift economy — provides a framework for understanding magic

[39] Michaela Pereira, 'Alchemy and Hermeticism', *Early Science and Medicine*, 5/2 (2000), 118-9.
[40] Yearsley, *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint*, 67.
[41] Mattheson, 'Die canonische Anatomie', *Critica musica* (Hamburg, 1722-1725); quoted by Yearsley, *Ibid.*, 54.
[42] See Georg Dedekenn, Johann Ernst Gerhard & Christian Grübel, *Thesaurus Consiliorum Et Decisionum* Vol. II (Jena: Zacharias Hertel, 1671), §2.9, 720-42.
[43] See Benjamin Mayes, *Counsel and Conscience: Lutheran Casuistry and Moral Reasoning after the Reformation* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 135.

as a process ineluctably connected to science and technical apparatus. Mauss describes how magic and human artifice actually desire similar outcomes, namely the management and transformation of the human world in man's image. The crucial distinction is in man's requirement to perform work processes upon the materials of the world to achieve his goals. Magic, Mauss describes, is able to fulfil outcomes without the necessity of any labour, becoming 'pure production, *ex nihilo*.'[44] In contradistinction to magic therefore, the value in human endeavour (in this sense, in the composition of obedient and effective counterpoint) is contained as much in the process itself as in the product.

Descriptions and Depictions of Counterpoint as Work

The suspicion with which alchemy and magic were regarded was rooted in the notion that they subverted and distorted God's creation. They employed unnatural means to create beneficial materials, and so distorted God's vision for the universe. Much has been made in discussions of eighteenth-century music in asserting that its contemporaries understood music as the mirror of God's nature and evidence for the divinity of his creation. Such discussions frequently cite Andreas Werckmeister, particularly his *Der Edlen Music-Kunst*, in which he describes music as a mirror demonstrating God's divinity and creation.[45] From the outset of this text, Werckmeister affirms music's status as God's creation, and how musicians were obliged to 'aid one another with knowledge in how to make use of music in glorifying the Almighty, and be vigilant for any abuse of it.'[46]

To be clear, I am not suggesting that the idea of man as the creator of his own world is at odds with such evidence as Werckmeister's writings — indeed, Werckemeister's writings might be seen to corroborate my claims, in supporting the idea that work was seen as a moral imperative, imploring musicians to treat the raw materials provided by God with the utmost respect. In what I have discussed so far, I have attempted to highlight the

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[44] Marcel Mauss, *A General Theory of Magic* (first published in *Anné sociologique*, 1902; reprinted 1950), trans. Robert Brain (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 175.

[45] Andreas Werckmeister, *Der Edlen Music-Kunst Würde, Gebrauch und Mißbrauch…* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Theodorus Philippus Calvisius, 1691). For an example of this, see Eric Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), particularly Chapter 2, 'The Lutheran "Metaphysical" Tradition in Music and Music Theory', 23-41. See also Ruth Tatlow, *Bach's Numbers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), Chapter 3, 'Unity, proportions and universal harmony in Bach's world', 73-101.

[46] Also ist die Music ein Spiegel der Göttlichen Geschöpffe und Weißheit Gottes, ja Gottes Geschöpffe und Ebenbild (auff gewisse Maße) selbst, weil sie in solcher Form und Proportion, wie der Mensch bestehet: … So können wir auch nicht alle Ursachen erforschen warum Gott die liebe Music zu seinem Dienste verordnet hat, wir müssen uns behelffen, daß wir wissen, wie wir sie dem allmächtigen Schöpfer zu Ehren gebrauchen und anwenden, auch uns für allen Mißbrauch derselben hüten sollen'. Werckmeister, *Ibid.*, 12.

importance of work as process as something that has largely been overlooked, and to draw attention to its position as the central act by which man manifested himself, in mediating his relationship with the world. The composers who are praised for their contrapuntal ingenuity are not praised for what they create; they are primarily praised for *how* they create. By considering contrapuntal composition in terms of work, as a means of drawing together disparate materials into cohesive wholes, I believe we might better understand how some of the abstract metaphysical and theological conceptions of music were materialized in practical terms. The explicit references made to contrapuntal composition as work process highlight the association of such values as part of counterpoint's intrinsically process-oriented nature, and raise significant implications regarding how early modern Lutherans perceived man's place in the cosmos.

Writing in 1687, Werckmeister proposed that 'God himself has created nature in his omnipotent wisdom, and as such that all things should strive to be at unity and rejoice therein'.[47] In his response to Scheibe some fifty years later, Birnbaum demonstrated his affinity with this worldview, in upholding Bach's contrapuntal aesthetic. As he explained:

> It is certain, by the way, that the voices in the works of this great master work wonderfully in and about one another, but without the slightest confusion. They move along together or in opposition, as necessary. They part company, and yet all meet again at the proper time. Each voice distinguishes itself clearly from the others by a particular variation, although they often imitate each other. They now flee, now follow one another without one's noticing the slightest irregularity in their efforts to outdo one another. Now, when all this is performed as it should be, there is nothing more beautiful than this harmony. If, however, the clumsiness or negligence of the instrumentalists or singers brings about confusion, it is truly very tasteless to attribute such mistakes to the composer.[48]

Birnbaum's defence highlights the sense of internal autonomy he perceived in Bach's contrapuntal writing. He implies that man had to actively work to reveal God's creation. His

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[47] '…daß Gott selber nach seinen Allweisen Rath die Natur also zugerichtet habe, daß alles nach der Gleichheit strebe, und sich daran belustige.' Andreas Werckmeister, *Musicae Mathematicus hodegus* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Theodorus Philippus Calvisius, 1687), 69.

[48] 'Ubrigens ist gewiß, daß die stimmen in den stücken dieses grossen meisters in der Music wundersam durcheinander und wiedereinander; beydes wo es nöthig ist. Sie verlassen einander und finden sich vor der ander nachahmen. Sie fliehen und folgen einander, ohne daß man bey ihren beschäfftigungen, einander gleichsam zuvorzukommen, | die geringste unregelmäßignichts schöners, als diese harmonie. Verursachet aber die ungeschichlichkeit, urtheilet man gewiß sehr abgeschmackt, wenn man deren fehler dem componisten zurechnet.' *NBR, 344*; *BD* II, 409.

description of the voices working collaboratively evokes a palpable sense of motion, suggesting that through music mental power could be converted into real worldly energy. His praise of the composer's intellectual capacity in managing apparently discrete materials, being capable of combining them into a cogent unity, point towards the idea that a musical work was expected to have been worked out, and to invite the listener in to work cognitively in engaging with the music, rather than simply listening passively, in order to appreciate it.

The appreciation that rigorous contrapuntal procedures necessitated difficult intellectual work — and thus resulted in works deemed to be of superior value — is something detectable beyond Birnbaum, as evidenced by a number of later eighteenth-century sources. For example, in response to Burney's comparison of Handel and Bach, in which he had expressed his preference for the expatriate composer, an anonymous respondent (widely believed to have been C.P.E. Bach) came to Bach's defence, claiming in relation to the 'fugue by him on the Royal Prussian theme', that:

> When it comes to the art of harmony, or the genius of the master who created many parts for a large work, worked them out completely, and dovetailed them into a large and beautiful whole that combined diversity and the greatness of simplicity, and this in such a manner that even the amateur, if he but have some understanding of the language of fugue (and others can have no judgement of fugues), was delighted — I doubt whether Handel's fugues will ever bear comparison with Bach's![49]

From the Lutheran-German perspective, in which Handel had obviously been immersed before departing for Italy and then London, it was implied that there was an intellectual integrity in Bach's fugal writing that gave his music a higher pedigree. While much was made of Bach's individual lines as being singable or as melodies in themselves, the praise for the cognitive effort in 'working out' is observed as being something associated with contrapuntal composition in a way that it was not in relation to any of the more contemporary, vertically oriented textures. One of Bach's foremost pupils Johann Philipp Kirnberger qualifies this, in describing how 'There is perhaps in the whole science of writing nothing more difficult than this: not only to give each of the four voices its own

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[49] 'Wenn von harmonischer Kunst die Rede ist, von dem Genie des Meisters, das viele Theile einem großen schönen Ganzen bildete, und in einander paßte, das Mannichfaltigkeit und simple Größe vereinigte, und zwar so, daß selbst der Liebhaber, der nur einigermaassen entzückt wurde: so zweifele ich, ob je Händels Fugen mit den Bachischen die Vergleichungen aushalten.' *NBR*, 404; *BD* III, 439.

flowing melody, but also to keep a uniform character in all, so that out of their union a single and perfect whole may arise.'[50] In Kirnberger's case, an apocryphal but cautionary anecdote from the late eighteenth century warned of the dangers of overexertion:

> When Kirnberger went to Leipzig in order to study counterpoint under the tutelage of the great Sebastian Bach, and to learn to write in pure four-part style, he exerted himself so strenuously that he fell ill with a fever and for eighteen weeks had to keep to his room. But he nevertheless continued, in his hours of respite from the fever, to work out all kinds of themes, and when Sebastian observed this extraordinary industry, he offered to come up to Kirnberger's room, since it might be bad for Kirnberger to go out and the sending back and forth of the papers was somewhat inconvenient…[51]

While counterpoint-induced fever is not a widely documented malady, and the implication of the study of counterpoint being so mentally exhausting that it could induce illness might seem somewhat bizarre to the modern reader, this vignette alludes to the value contrapuntal mastery was deemed to have for a young composer. Furthermore, the idea that Bach was supposed to have been enthused by Kirnberger's physical striving to overcome his natural difficulties — and carried on teaching him — is telling.

The sense that contrapuntal mastery was a hallmark of a master composer was one of the key themes characterizing Bach's reception in the early nineteenth century. Claiming to have been provided with information from several sources with first-hand experience of the composer as a pedagogue, Forkel described Bach's method of 'sure and excellent' teaching, stressing how Bach exhorted his students to avoid 'dry counterpoints that led nowhere' and to eschew 'calculations of the proportions of tones, which, in his opinion, were not for the composer, but for the mere theorist and the instrument-maker'.[52] Bach was

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[50] 'Es ist vielleicht in | der ganzen Wissenschaft des Satzes nichts schweereres als dieses, daß jede der vier Stimmen nicht nur ihren eigenen fliessenden Gesang habe, sondern, daß auch in allen einerley Charakter beybehalten werde, damit aus ihrer Vereinigung ein einziges vollkommenes Ganzes entstehe.'
NBR, 367; *BD* III, 767.

[51] 'Als *Kirnbergerr* sich nach Leipzig begab, um unter der Anweisung des grossen *Sebastian Bach* den Contrapunkt zu studiren, und rein vierstimmig schreiben zu lernen, so griff er sich so heftig an, dass er ein Fieber bekam, und achtzehn Wochen lang die Stube hüten musste. Er fuhr nichts destoweniger fort, in den guten Stunden, welche ihm das Fieber verstattete, allerhand Themata auszuarbeiten, und da Sebastian diesen aufserordentlichen Fleiss bemerkte, so erbot er sich zu ihm auf die Stube zu kommen, weil ihm das Ausgehen nachtheilig seyn könnte, und das Hin- und Herschicken der Papiere etwas mühsam war.' Friedrich Ludwig Kunzen and Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Studien für Tonkünstler und Musikfreunde* (1792), 112. Trans. adapted from *NBR*, 322

[52] 'So zweckmäßig und sicher Bachs Lehrart im Spielen war, so war sie es auch in der Composition. Den Anfang machte er nicht mit trockenen, zu nichts führenden Contrapuncten, wie es zu seiner Zeit con andern

reported to have encouraged his students to work on four-part counterpoint in conjunction with figured bass from the outset of their studies, in order to acquire the ability of managing the 'natural connection and flowing melody in all the parts'. Forkel singled out two maxims, which Bach reputedly abided by in teaching composition:

> (1) To compose entirely from the mind, without an instrument. Those who wished to do otherwise, he called, in ridicule, 'knights of the keyboard' [Clavier-Ritter].

> (2) No part, not even a middle part, was allowed to break off before it has entirely said what it had to say. Every note was required to have a connection with the preceding: did any one appear of which it was not apparent whence it came, nor whither it tended, it was instantly banished as suspicion. This high degree of exactness in the management of every single part is precisely what makes Bach's harmony a manifold melody.[53]

Bach's reported insistence on his students composing in isolation from the keyboard is an important point to consider, by virtue of the distinction it makes between composition, improvisation and performance.[54] It defines composition as a cerebral activity, solely dependent on mental aptitude. The second maxim, encouraging thorough contrapuntal writing, affirms the dialectical nature of counterpoint, and the tenacity that young composers were required to possess in order to convincingly effect it. While these 'rules' are of course to some extent mythical conceptions, they nonetheless consolidate the eighteenth-century idea of contrapuntal composition as a rational procedure, calling upon the

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Musiklehrern geschah; noch weniger hielt er seine Schüler mit Berechnungen der Tonverhältnisse auf, die nach seiner Meynung nicht für den Componisten, sondern für den bloßen Theoretiker und Instrimentenmacher gehörten.' *NBR*, 454. Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 39
[53] '1) ohne Clavier, aus freyem Geiste zu componiren. Diejenigen, welche es anders machen wollten, schalt er Clavier-Ritter. 2) Ein stetes Augenmerk so wohl auf den Zusammenhang jeder einzelnen Stimme für und in sich, als auf ihr Verhältniß gegen die mit ihr verbundenen und zugleich fortlaufenden Stimmen zu haben. Keine, auch nicht eine Mittelstimme durfte abbrechen, ehe das, was sie zu sagen hatte, vollständig gesagt war. Jeder Ton mußte seine Beziehung auf einen vorhergehenden haben; erschien einer, dem nicht anzusehen war, woher er kam, oder wohin er wollte, so wurde er als in Verdächtiger ohne Anstand verwiefen. Dieser hohe Grad von Genanigkeit in der Behandlung jeder einzelnen Stimme ist es eben., was die Bachiche harmonie zu einer vielfachen Melodie macht.' *NBR*, 455; Forkel, *Ibid.*, 40.
[54] It is important to bear in mind that the evidence relating Bach's teaching is far from solid, and that Forkel's view relates his own preoccupations. Taking into the account of Ernst Ludwig Gerber, the son of Bach's pupil Heinrich Nicolaus Gerber, Stephen Daw has considered Bach's teaching as a more creative and holistic practice, with an emphasis on drawing together the different strands of keyboard performance, improvisation, contrapuntal mastery and invention (i.e. composition). See Stephen Daw, 'Bach as teacher and model' in John Butt (ed), *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 195-202. Furthermore, Bach's pupil Friedrich Erhardt Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1700) suggests Bach made use of more artisanal teaching methods, in his keyboard harmony instruction. For an insightful consideration of Niedt's text and on its status in relation to the German *fundamenta* tradition, see Thomas Christensen, '*Fundamanta Partiturae*: Thorough Bass and the Foundations of Eighteenth-Century Composition Pedagogy', in Thomas Christensen, *The Work of Music Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 77-100. Christensen focuses on Niedt and Bach from 91-98.

composer to *work out* lines that make sense in accordance with learned principles. Forkel held up Bach's fugal writing as the product of this process and ethical approach:

> These are the properties of Bach's fugue, properties which necessarily excite admiration and astonishment in every judge who knows how much power of mind is required for the production of such works. Must not then such a work, in which all is united that is found separate in other kinds of composition according to their various destinations, deserve special admiration? I must say still more.[55]

To Forkel, whose Bach biography was published in 1802 and thus coincided almost directly with the period Goehr's work-concept was supposed to have taken shape, Bach's contrapuntal abilities defined him as a different sort of genius from that of the Beethoven paradigm. Forkel singled out Bach's own work ethic, describing how 'the greatest genius, with the most unconquerable propensity to an art, is in its original nature never more than a disposition, or a fruitful soil upon which an art can never properly thrive except it be cultivated with indefatigable pains.' Forkel stressed that Bach's achievements in counterpoint were not the result of God-given talents, but of his own hard work.[56] Like many of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century writers I have cited, Forkel maintained that it was Bach's diligence and industry, 'from which all art and science is properly derived', that was the standout quality in Bach's music.[57]

It is notable that Forkel does not make reference to any particular pleasure as such to be gained from listening to Bach's contrapuntal music. Rather, he emphasizes that Bach's work is impressive and worthy of admiration, and the 'power of mind' required for the production of the work. The implications of Forkel's praise for Bach suggest that on hearing a fugue we should primarily be filled with a sense of reverence for the composer, in contemplating how difficult the process of creating such an audibly complex musical texture constituted from independent lines must have been. This sense of hard composition plus

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[55] 'Dieß sind die Eigenschaften der Bachischen Fuge, Eigenschaften, die bey jedem kenner, welcher weiß, was für ein Maaß von Geisteskraft zur hervorbringung solcher Werke erforderlich ist, Bewunderung und Staunen erregen müssen. Sollte auch ein solches Kunstwerk, in welchem sich alles vereinigt, was in andern Compositionsgattungen, ihren veränderten Bestimmungen nach, vereinzelt wird, nicht vorzügliche Bewunderung verdienen? Ich muß noch mehr sagen.' *NBR*, 450; Forkel, *Ibid.*, 34.
[56] 'An solchen klippen scheiterte Bach nicht. Sein feuriges Genie hatte einen eben so feurigen Fleiß zur Folge…' *NBR*, 477; Forkel, *Ibid.*, 66.
[57] 'Das größte Genie, mit dem unwiderstehlichsten Trieb zu einer Kunst, ist seiner ursprünglichen Natur nach nie mehr als Anlage, oder ein fruchtbarer Boden, auf welchem eine Kunst nur dann recht gedeihen kann, wenn er mit unermüdeter Sorgfalt bearbeitet wird. Fleiß, von dem eigentlich erst alle Kunst und Wissenschaft bekommt, ist hierzu eine der ersten und unerläßlichsten Bedingungen.' *Ibid*.

hard listening equalling an edifying experience, was of course to become a central part of the modern work-concept from the nineteenth into the twentieth century. In these depictions of counterpoint then, the ethical dimension of counterpoint and its relation to work can surely be seen as significant ingredient for the work-concept that Goehr defined, and which she could have recognized, rather than suggesting that Bach and his contemporaries did not regard his music in terms of works.

The Experience of Hearing Counterpoint

Up to this point, I have mainly surveyed the historical evidence that associates counterpoint with 'work'. However, before concluding this chapter, I would like to draw together these writings with some analytical examples and more general considerations regarding counterpoint's aesthetic effect, in assessing what these testimonies might mean in musical terms. Exploring two contrasting works by Schütz and Bach, I show how the essence of work is perceivable in their respective contrapuntal approaches. These examples demonstrate work, in terms of sedimented effort, as something palpable both in vocal and instrumental music, and as something that can be traced in Lutheran composers' forms across a period of almost a hundred years. As I have shown, throughout this period numerous references to counterpoint can be seen to have regarded it with a similar sense.

In the first chapter, I drew attention to how Schütz's *Psalmen Davids* explicitly invoked the theme of work, making use of a particular set of musical gestures in expressing and meditating upon the ethical resonances of particular psalm verses. This integration between professional principles and musical language in setting a particular text was clearly something Schütz upheld throughout his career. At the outset of this chapter, I drew attention to Schütz'z *Geistliche Chormusik*. Published almost thirty years after the *Psalmen Davids*, the *Geistliche Chormusik* represented Schütz's attempts to present models of contrapuntal vocal composition without any continuo, against the fashion for the Italianate concerted styles that were gaining favour at the time. Schütz described how the collection was specifically intended to show to young German composers that 'before moving on to the concerted style, they first should crack this hard nut (wherein is to be found the true kernel, the very foundation of good counterpoint).'[58]

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[58] 'Wercklein ohne *Bassum Continuum* auch einsten wieder anzugehen / und hiedurch vielleicht etliche / insonderheit aber theils der angehenden Deutschen *Componisten* anzufrischen / das / ehe Sie zu dem *concertirenden Stylo* schreitten / Sie vorte diese harte Nuß (als worinnen der recht Kern / und das rechte Fundament eines guten *Contrapuncts* zusuchen ist)…' Schütz, Preface to *Geistliche Chormusic*.

Within this collection, Schütz included the motet *Selig sind die Toten* (SWV 391). Setting a text from Revelations 14:13, Schütz's particularly artful handling of this passage very possibly inspired future generations of German composers including Telemann and Brahms in the composition of commemorative and funereal works. The text is particularly relevant to this discussion on two levels — first, in how its subject matter specifically addresses the subjects of labour and work; and second, in how Schütz's contrapuntal dexterity effectively articulates a series of important subtextual ideas. In the context of the scriptural passage, the text is spoken to John by the Son of Man, sitting on a cloud.

Selig sind die Toten,
die in dem Herren sterben, von nun an.
Ja, der Geist spricht:
Sie ruhen von ihrer Arbeit,
und ihre Werke folgen ihnen nach.

Blessed are the dead
which die in the Lord from henceforth:
Yea, saith the Spirit,
that they may rest from their labours;
and their works do follow them.

Revelations 14:13
(Authorized King James Version)

The motet opens with a C held by the first tenor, before the rest of the ensemble join around him to introduce the collective blessing 'Selig sind die Toten'. Following this rich, homophonic opening, the second tenor introduces a figure of a falling minor third, which is taken up and imitated by each of the lower voices. This creates a sense of emerging from the group, signifying the dead not simply as a group, but as a palpable series of individuals. After reiterating the opening blessing in a contracted form with a series of stretto entries, the upper voices reiterate the same imitative texture.

This forms the body of the first cohesive section of the motet. The second main section begins at bar 45, where the voices coalesce into a languid texture, comprised of slow stepwise movements — figures that do not really go anywhere. This conveys a genuine impression of rest from the labour the dead are presumed to have been engaged in during their mortal lives, emphasizing the collective rather than the individual. The stasis created by this passage is presented as a parallel to the following figure on 'und ihre Werke', which it then alternates with for the remainder of the piece. This figure, built around the dactylic ascending fourth, is heard as emerging out of the thick collective texture, signifying the individuals as discrete individuals, as defined by their works.

Music Example 3.1 *Heinrich Schütz — opening of 'Selig sind die Toten' (SWV 391)*

Music Example 3.2 Heinrich Schütz — second idea ('und ihre Werke') of 'Selig sind die Toten' (SWV 391)

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Exploring this range of registers and employing the full rhetorical potential of solo and ensemble groupings within the six-voice *a cappella* texture, a number of implications in Schütz's reading of this text reading resonate audibly with the Lutheran theological tenets regarding work, which I discussed in the first chapter. A readiness for labour is a virtue in light of its importance for the collective good, while that the justification of working through faith is an essential condition for individual salvation. Thus, in this motet, Schütz makes a paradigmatic motet on multiple levels. Not only masterfully demonstrating just how effective a contrapuntal form can be in communicating a text's ethos, he consciously selected a text actively dealing with the subject of work, and explores its inextricable connections with self-definition as part of a collective group.

Hearing Bach's Fugue

In what I have discussed so far, I have mainly made references to examples of vocal music. However, the emergence of a repertory of German instrumental music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be seen to have developed with many of the same expressive concerns, particularly in terms of the implicit rhetorical gestures within its contrapuntal forms. Laurence Dreyfus has shown convincingly that Bach's contrapuntal models were founded on solid rhetorical principles, and rhetoric is now talked up much in relation to music. But what does rhetoric actually achieve in tangible terms? It was, as I discussed in the previous chapter, a means of teaching communication — providing models to articulate and clarify nuanced ideas in relation to one another. It was formulated primarily to function on the behalf of the rhetorician, by convincing the recipient(s) of the legitimacy and validity of his message. In essence, its aim is to convince the listener that a new idea has been generated, which the hearer could not have imagined on their own. With the words removed, counterpoint's essence as a technique — necessitating the hearing of a work unfold and construct its own context temporally — is even more concentrated. It requires the listener to engage with the work synchronically, and proposes a particular way of contextualising the composer's craft, as he draws together apparently disparate forces.

This is, of course, an illusion. The composer designs the counterpoint on his own terms, developing the constituent parts in order that they complement each other in the terms of his own chronology. That is to say, the composer need not have (and most probably did not) work out his formal structure in real time. As I will show in what follows in relation to Bach's fugue, the beauty of the contrapuntal matrix is that it provided a

means of presenting the same materials in new contexts, thus seeming to successively solve the same problems in different ways. As I have shown over the course of this chapter, many of the early modern commentaries on contrapuntal composition imply a sense of reverence to the composer whose ingenuity and perseverance somehow 'overcomes' or works with nature to achieve a harmonious texture. The effect of this in the performative experience is worth considering. When we hear an ensemble performing a fugal exposition, the impression is of a democratic dialogue — of spontaneous agreement, as the theme is exchanged and complemented, before being developed through the deconstruction of its base building blocks. The episodic material is inevitably derived from the theme, reinforcing the sense of unity. This sounds 'clever' and impressive to the listener, as we marvel at the idea that a composer was capable of working such things out. This function of contrapuntal writing was obviously part of its continued value for later eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century composers. Since the advent of Leonard Ratner's *Classic Music*, analysts of later eighteenth-century music have frequently referred to imitative contrapuntal writing as an example of the 'learned' style.[59] It is located as one of the staple features of musical workmanship, constituting the opposite pole to the 'natural' genius of composers such as Mozart (although the latter was, of course, completely fluent in writing counterpoint). As a *topos*, it is taken as a choice of character, as a demonstration of erudition and craft, of an awareness of an understanding made through practice of the potential within basic musical units.

In earlier contexts, however, where contrapuntal music did not wear a sense of 'struggle in their self-consciousness', I would like to suggest that a significant amount of aesthetic value was predicated on actually hearing the contrapuntal form as the construction of a work in progress in real-time.[60] This is the work that the composers and writers I have cited describe. The strict contrapuntal forms of fugue and canon epitomize this, in the way they generate cogent models for cognitive appreciation. In a fugal exposition, we are shown elemental music units by the composer, in the form of the subject, and then the answer and countersubject. These function as auditory tags to orient our listening, after the developmental processes have dissipated within our short-term consciousness. As Dreyfus has shown repeatedly in his pervasive exploration of Bach's

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[59] Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer, 1980), 23-4. For a stimulating exploration of the potential for signification of the 'learned style', see Keith Chapin, 'Learned Style and Learned Styles', in Danuta Mirka (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 301-326.
[60] Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 99.

inventive processes, 'analysing inventions as structured repetitions reveals aspects of the composer's thinking that are not otherwise apparent.'[61] A fugue is a very specific type of working musical process — a synthetic process, whereby apparently disparate musical materials are managed by the composer and harnessed into a multi-dimensional musical object. The effect is impressive: as we hear how these are combined into a unity, we cannot help but marvel in a similar fashion to Birnbaum.

The dialectical nature and appeal of Bach's fugue were stressed by Forkel: 'He considered his parts as if they were persons who conversed together like a select company. If there were three, each could sometimes be silent and listen to the others till it again had something to the purpose to say.'[62] This impression of hearing a fugue as something developing apparently spontaneously is something that early eighteenth-century listeners seem to have particularly valued. In understanding Bach's contrapuntal process as primarily *inventive*, Dreyfus defines this as 'a conventional metaphor for the idea behind a piece, a musical subject whose discovery precedes full-scale composition.'[63]

I would like to examine these ideas in relation to Bach's C minor fugue (BWV 847) from the first book of *Das wohltemperierte Klavier*. My reason for discussing this fugue in particular is simply for the fact that it is well known, and has received a significant amount of attention from analysts to date, as a result of Heinrich Schenker's reading of it in which he cites it as an example of Bach's supposed musical organicism. This is largely debunked in Laurence Dreyfus's own analysis, which convincingly shows that Bach's inventive processes generate their own inertia, *forma formans*.[64] While Ulrich Siegele describes it as 'pedestrian' in his analysis, I would like to show how it actually serves as an excellent model for hearing fugue as a work in process, in line with the kinds of experience I have explored above by Bach's contemporaries and predecessors.[65]

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[61] Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 5.
[62] 'Er sah seine Stimmen gleichsam als Personen an, die sich wie eine geschlossene Gesellschaft mit einander unterredeten. Waren ihrer drey, so konnte jede derselben bisweilen schweigen und den andern so lange zuhören, bis sie selbst wiederum etwas zweckmäßiges zu sagen hatte.' *NBR*, 455; Forkel, 40-1.
[63] Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 2.
[64] Heinrich Schenker, 'Das Organische Fuge', in *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik* (München: Drei Masken Verlag, 1926) Vol 2, from p.58. Translation by Silva Kalib, *Thirteen Essays from the Three Yearbooks "Das Meisterwerk in Der Musik" by Heinrich Schenker* Vol II. 248; Dreyfus, Chapter 6, 'Figments of the Organicist Imagination' 169-188.
[65] Ulrich Siegele, 'The Four Conceptual Stages of the Fugue in C Minor, WTC I', in Don Franklin (ed.), *Bach Studies 1* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 197-224.

The fugue's opening subject is an excellent example of how an eventually elaborate musical texture seems to be generated almost out of nothing: the theme is particularly rhetorical in its tripartite nature. In the first figure, with the anapestic C—B—C neighbour-note figure twice returning to where it begins, there is the apparent impression of a struggle in escaping the tonic. Only after the third repetition does it finally reach the dominant for the entry of the answer.

Music Example 3.3 J.S. Bach — subject and answer of Fugue in C minor (BWV 847)

That the first countersubject is a descending scale (C—C) is important to note, for the way by which it fulfils two functions. First, it introduces a sense of energy with its rushing semiquavers; second, it disguises the tonic-dominant polarity established by the answer. It injects a sense of inertiatic *catabasis* — of both forwards and downwards motion — conveying a sense of the inexorable pull of gravity, which the fugue always seems to be actively working to transcend. Note how the second countersubject is also based on a downwards trajectory, shadowing the first countersubject in thirds.

Music Example 3.4 J.S. Bach — first fugal matrix of Fugue in C minor (BWV 847)

Dreyfus refers to the different inversions of the fugal materials as 'fugal complexes'; however, I prefer to describe them as thematic matrices, given the necessity of their variable positions within the same structure. Each fugal matrix has a very different function from a standard ritornello. The successive fugal entries — each presenting familiar material in apparently unfamiliar inversions — are the key to the sense of working out, as the listener hears something familiar, while gaining an impression each time of a new point of arrival.

Episodes in fugues are often overlooked, being regarded as necessary filler material for the more structurally important fugal entries. However, they fulfil an essential function in the depiction of the sense of work, creating the sense of momentum between entries, most often through sequential repetitions on directional vectors. Cognitive scientist Douglas Hofstadter poses questions regarding why and how repetition generates a sense of meaning for forms based on repetition: 'This idea (of not noticing the identity of certain repetitive events) is interesting when we apply it to ourselves. Are there highly repetitious situations which occur in our lives time and time again, and which we handle in the identical stupid way each time, because we don't have enough of an overview to perceive their sameness?'[66] In BWV 847, the combination of the repetition of the opening neighbour-note figure with the scales, which traverse the entire register of the implicit tenor and bass voices, serve to keep each fugal entry seem like an achievement, as a point of arrival. Dreyfus points out the ubiquitous nature of such figures in Bach's inventive process, referring to them as 'workaday *exercitio* figures of running sixteenth notes that populate his inventions' and feature as part of the 'German tendency to industrious regularity'.[67] The first episode runs directly into the E♭ entry, making it unclear whether or not the episode is still in progress, or if a middle entry has taken over. How far the brain can tease out these different contexts is contingent on it making sense of the function of the tag line in a synchronic context. As we hear the composer lay out the elemental musical materials, we hear the apparent work of composition in real time. Hofstadter sums up the work of the listener, describing how: 'In the end, we are self-perceiving, self-inventing, locked-in mirages that are little miracles of self-reference.'[68] This is, I propose, exactly what is at the root of the complexity we — and early modern German listeners — heard in contrapuntal textures, and which gave rise to the popular conception that contrapuntal textures somehow cohere into a recognizable, self-referential, work.

Thus, a significant part of the experience of hearing a fugue is the cognitive work involved in listening, and working these contexts out — even when we are not aware of our brains actively doing this. Neuroscientists and psychologists have shown conclusively that A.S. Bregman describes the so-called 'cocktail party effect', where the brain is able to process a vast array of sonic information simultaneously, separating out and focusing upon particularly vital cues in a given instant:

[66] Douglas Hofstadter, *Gödel, Escher, Bach* (London: Penguin, 2000), 614.
[67] Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention*, 42.
[68] Douglas Hofstadter, *I Am A Strange Loop* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 363.

> Amid the steady din of party sounds — e.g., tinkling of glasses, multiple
> conversations, music — the brain keeps the sources distinct. Auditory cues such as
> the location of the sound or the pitch of a speaker's voice help this process of
> segregating the total stream of sound, which has been called auditory stream
> segregation.[69]

The independent contrapuntal voices are different sources of information, which require the brain to process, filter and categorize. As I have shown in my analysis and in the evidence of how Bach's contemporaries engaged with his work, the conflict between hearing individual lines in a harmonic or a linear context might be understood to be what makes a fugal texture so compelling to us. As Sussman and his colleagues have repeatedly shown, the brain works to 'tease apart the cacophony of these sounds', in order to construct meaningful representations based upon the incoming acoustic information.[70] Fugue thus actively engages with our sense of cognition. As listeners, we are forced to try and understand what we are hearing in relation to its temporal function, with reference to the materials picked up in the exposition. As Hofstadter has described, our sense of 'I am' consciousness is defined by a serious of neurological loops. By grasping these, and working to synthesize them together into what appears to be a meaningful process, the listener of an apparently complex contrapuntal texture receives a sense of personal validation in having worked to make sense of this. The successful performer is in the position of having to appreciate and offer an effective realization of these complex interchanges. Therefore, the fugal work process splits three ways — and this work process is discernible. In this way, fugues might be seen as being analogous to plots for the self-construction of the human subject.

Criticisms of Counterpoint

However, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the same aesthetic values that had been considered hallmarks of 'good' music since the sixteenth century began to be seen as negative characteristics. While hard work in composition had been depicted seen as a mark of professional skill and craftsmanship by early modern musicians and performers, it became criticized as affected, conceited, and irrelevant. Dense contrapuntal writing

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[69] Elyse Sussman, Walter Ritter and Herbert G. Vaughan, JR, 'An investigation of the auditory streaming effectusing event-related brain potentials', Psychophysiology, 36 (1999), 22. See also A. S. Bregman, *Auditory Scene Analysis: The Perceptual Organization of Sound* (Boston: MIT Press, 1990).
[70] Sussmann et al, *Ibid*.

received harsh criticism from theorists, critics and musicians alike. In his *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, Johann David Heinichen — a former pupil of Johann Kuhnau and an alumnus of the *Thomasschule* — described the laborious style of the contrapuntalists as being like 'the farmer shovelling dung on his wagon.'[71] That is to say that Heinichen recognized the difficulty and effort involved in the work, but regarded it as menial and lacking in true artistry.

Aesthetic paradigms were shifting and the values of the *galant* style, with its much more verticalized, melodically oriented textures had overthrown rigorous contrapuntal forms. The sense of the *galant* began to characterize a general set of manners, attitudes and behaviours associated with the cultured nobility. As Robert Gjerdingen summarizes: 'If we imagine an ideal *galant* man, he would be witty, attentive to the ladies, comfortable at a princely court, religious in a modest way, wealthy from ancestral land holdings, charming, brave in battle, and trained as an amateur in music and other arts.'[72] In other words, this new set of values favoured easiness and things being inherited, found and discovered, already existing in an apparently natural state, rather than created. The conflict between the artifice of counterpoint and its veracity as a musical language had of course already been a key issue in the Italian humanist polemics of the late sixteenth century. Over a century earlier, Caccini had drawn on Plato as an authority for his monodic style, which he claimed to carry more integrity in musical expression of texts.[73] The same criticisms were raised by eighteenth-century German critics, as complex counterpoint was demeaned as a wilful attempt merely to sound deliberately clever and an attempt at self-aggrandizement on the part of the composer, rather than a meaningful attempt at moving the listener.

Work began to be something that was not deemed fit for respectable men to be involved with. It is no coincidence that during this time the international slave trade began to become a global industry, with work being seen as a dirty activity. Hannah Arendt suggests that one of the key features of the Enlightenment was its prioritisation of the *vita*

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[71] 'Daß der meiste Theil der Contrapuncte an sich selbst zwar arbeitsam, (wie die Bauren, wenn sie Mist auff den Karn laden) aber nicht künstlich sey, wer die tägliche Leyer einmal gelehrnet.' Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden: 1728), 8.

[72] Robert Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5.

[73] 'And so I thought to follow that style so praised by Plato and the other philosophers, who maintained music to be nothing other than rhythmic speech with pitch added…designed to enter into the minds of others and to create those wonderful effects that writers admire, which is something that cannot be achieved with the counterpoint of modern music.' Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche*, translated and edited by H. Wiley Hitchcock (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, Inc., 1979; second edition, 2009).

contemplativa over the *vita activa,* as man as *homo faber* was reduced to a mere labourer and no longer a 'worker', in the sense that he had produced things of value on his own terms. Individual work that had formerly produced things that were meaningful and intended for posterity was replaced by the compulsion to produce things that were necessary. As work became a means for the production of commodities, art served as a repose from such worldly concerns.

In Scheibe's *Cornelius* satire published in 1739, he parodies the values of the old style, which he heard in Bach's music:

> I am one of those Musikanten who have striven with the greatest care to achieve extreme facility in playing an instrument, and an admirable ability at composing in the most intricate style…I compose so intricately and wonderfully that listening to my pieces makes people quite bewildered. Everything is intermingled. Everything is so completely worked out that one cannot tell one voice from another, nor can one ever recognize the principal melody or understand the words.[74]

Scheibe criticized the self-referential nature of counterpoint as an 'unending mass of metaphors and figures that one can only with the greatest effort divine what his [the composer's] meaning is.' He described how its composers and admirers should be regarded as 'parrots who speak a language without knowing its meaning.'[75] He claimed that Bach's music had forsaken the natural in pursuit of the artificial, claiming that while one could admire the 'onerous and uncommon effort', it was wasted as it conflicted with 'Reason'.

These statements are telling: the fact that Scheibe could hear and sense the compositional work involved — and appreciate the difficulty Bach's music must have required in its construction — yet saw this ultimately as meaningless, demonstrates how Scheibe was clearly acquainted with the qualities of the older style, yet had rejected it. Scheibe goes on to criticize the style for its lack of memorability, mocking how 'everything is finely intermingled, so that the listener is astonished and cannot conceive in what variegated curlicues everything is interwoven with everything else, since no melody and in fact nothing can be remembered. These are the true masterpieces. In them one may recognize a

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[74] *NBR*, 350-1.
[75] *NBR*, 351.

composer.'[76] In this, Scheibe indicates a change of priorities. By jesting that 'one might recognize a composer', he shows that a shift had occurred in prioritising the listening experience as being pleasurable, rather than a difficult process necessitating significant cognitive effort.

Other critical perceptions of rigorous counterpoint showed that the sense of work that had previously elevated contrapuntal composition began to be regarded as unnatural and ineffective, in line with Enlightenment sentiments. While he obviously respected Bach a great deal, his criticisms notwithstanding, Mattheson cautioned that working out a piece of music too fully not only detracted from its rhetorical effect, but also forced the composer to misdirect his efforts away from finding a language that could connect directly with the listener. Mattheson suggested that 'among 2,000 listeners there will hardly be one who recognizes the subtleties (*Finesse*), and he would had to have been warned beforehand.'[77] One of Bach's former students Lorenz Mizler referred to Mattheson's *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft*, in acknowledging Scheibe's criticisms. As Mizler responded, 'It is stated that "Bach's church compositions are always more artificial and laborious, but by no means of such effect, conviction, and reasonable reflection as the works of Telemann and Graun.' But, as Mizler pointed out, Bach was capable of writing in a range of styles:

> If Mr Bach at times writes the inner parts more fully than other composers, he has taken as his model the music of twenty or twenty-five years ago. He can write otherwise, however, when he wishes to. Anyone who heard the music that was performed by the students at the Easter Fair in Leipzig last year, in the Most High Presence of his Royal Majesty in Poland, which was composed by Capellmeister Bach, must admit that it was written entirely in accordance with the latest taste, and was approved by everyone. So well does the Capellmeister know how to suit himself to his listeners.[78]

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[76] *NBR*, 352.

[77] '…Und mache dir nur / nach allem Federkäuen und saurem Fleiß / keine Rechnung / daß dir die Mühe belohnet werde: *Responsura tuo nunquam est par fama labori.* Unter 2000 Zuhörern einer seyn / der die Finesse merke; er wäre denn vorher gewarnet worden.' Mattheson, *Critica Musica II*, 29.

[78] 'Wenn aber Herr Bach manchmal die Mittelstimmen vollstimmiger setzet als andere, so hat er sich nach den Zeiten der Musik vor 20 und 25 Jahren gerichtet. Er kan es aber auch anders machen, wenn er will Wer die Misuk gehöret, so in der Oster Messe zu Leipzig vergangenen Jahrs bey der allerhöchsten geführt, vom Herrn Capellmeister Bach aber componiret worden, der wird gestehen | müssen, daß sie vollkommen nach dem neuesten Geschmack eingerichtet gewesen, und von iedermann gebillichet worden. So wohl weiß der Herr Capellmeister sich nach seinen Zuhörern zu richten.' (Leipzig, 5.3.1739); *NBR*, 350; *BD* II, 436.

From this, we might understand that while Mizler is aware of how Bach's style might seem over-worked and excessively cerebral, he affirms this was a choice on Bach's part — when he wanted to write music in this vein, he did so; when he wished to entertain, he made use of more contemporary styles. As David Yearsley explores, in his music Bach actually exploited the fullest range of textural possibility, from simple homophony through to the most complex counterpoint, in many of his expanded multi-movement works. However, he clearly upheld the importance of being capable of writing florid counterpoint and enforced its practice among his pupils. Another of his students, J.F. Agricola, who assisted with C.P.E. Bach with Bach's obituary, wrote to Telemann in 1752 describing how he learned from Bach to compose 'industrious polyphony'. From Telemann, on the other hand, he related how he had learned a sense of 'painterly liveliness'. 'Perhaps in Leipzig', he continues

> I would have been…tempted to imitate the deep industriousness of my teacher (of blessed memory) on the keyboard, the organ and in the fundamentals of harmony — an imitation that does not succeed for everyone nor perhaps might not have succeeded for me — if it had not been for your sacred and instrumental works, of which I then heard and accompanied a great number at the keyboard, which have always given me and inspired me with the sense of the pleasant and the touching.[79]

It is clear then, that even while Bach's dense counterpoint met with criticism from his contemporaries for being old fashioned, Bach's students were aware that they were living in a pluralist world, and that they still sensed some value in the old 'worked' style. Therefore, we must hear his counterpoint as the deliberate attempt to convey a wilful sense of complexity, and as an attempt to demand a significant deal of the listener's attention, in line with the set of values he had inherited.

Conclusions

This chapter poses broad questions pertaining to why North German composers were so focused on work as both an ethic and aesthetic in music, and how this manifested itself in the form of contrapuntal rigour. I have attempted to demonstrate that counterpoint developed as the representation of a synthetic work process in real-time, that demands

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[79] 'Vielleicht wäre ich nach diesem, in Leipzig, durch die tiefsinnige Arsimply beitsamkeit meines seeligen Lehrmeisters auf dem Claviere, der Orgel, und in den Grundsätzen der Harmonie, zu einer Nachahmung angelocket worden, die nicht allen gelingt, und mir vielleicht auch nicht hätte glücken mögen: wenn nicht Ihre Kirchen- und Instrumentalstücke, deren ich damals eine große Menge gehöret, und auf dem Flügel begleitet habe, die Empfindung das Gefälligen und Rührenden bey mir immer erhalten und angefeuert hätte.' *BD* III, 652.

much of listener and performer alike. It was therefore the sonic consolidation of deep-rooted theological and social values. Counterpoint represented the move towards musical autonomy, whereby inter-referential voices constructed a self-sufficient musical unity. Adorno detected this, in describing how in counterpoint

> Differences are eroded into complementarities; the antithetical nature of counterpoint, the representation of freedom, is submerged in synthesis without retaining its identity. However, the achievement of counterpoint as an artistic economy, the very thing that made composers feel the labour was worthwhile, had been to bring free, autonomous shapes (*Gestalten*) together through the very power of artistic organization.'[80]

From this perspective, the links between counterpoint and work seem clearer. While it might seem like an exercise in splitting hairs to try and define a difference between an early modern work-concept and a modern one, as Goehr and Berger attempt, I believe that the sense of work that contrapuntal composition signified for seventeenth and early eighteenth-century German Lutheran composers must be seen as a definitive part in the development of musical modernity. The idea that a composer, as an individual possessed of learning, experience and acquired ability, could manipulate basic musical materials into complex textures, generating a multi-dimensional musical soundworld, was a significant manifestation of a modern conception of man's relationship with the world. As Birnbaum, Bach's staunch defender eloquently surmised:

> Many things are delivered to us by Nature in the most misshapen states, which, however, acquire the most beautiful appearance when they have been formed by art. Thus art lends Nature a beauty it lacks, and increased the beauty it possesses. Now, the greater the art is — that is, the more industriously and painstakingly it works at the improvement of Nature — the more brilliantly shines the beauty thus brought into being. Accordingly, it is impossible that the greatest art should darken the beauty of a thing. Can it be possible, then, that the Hon. Court Composer, even by the use of the greatest art he applied in the working out of his musical compositions, could take away from them the natural element and darken its beauty?[81]

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[80] Theodor Adorno, 'The Function of Counterpoint in New Music', *Sound Figures* (*Klanfiguren*, 1978), trans Rodney Livingstone (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 140.
[81] *NBR*, 345.

What Birnbaum valued in Bach's music was precisely its sense of self-reliance, in which Bach could be heard as using his own faculties to transform natural materials into objects and experiences that made the world a better place. It is clear that over this period of just over a hundred years, counterpoint began to be understood as work, in a negative context. As Adorno describes, we need to 'to understand counterpoint as the stratum of composition in which verticals and horizontals are interwoven.'[82] It seems as if in interpreting contrapuntal music in Bach's time and into the twentieth century, listeners and critics could not but see and hear individual voices working in concert, or, from another point of view, voices forced to labour together against their wills: the same procedures, indeed the same pieces of music, could be interpreted by different writers as signs of both dependence and independence. The early eighteenth-century work concept that Bach represented was thus based on the contextual processing of musical materials, demanding a high level of cognitive effort — or, more simply, work — from everyone who encountered it.

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[82] Adorno, 'The Function of Counterpoint in New Music', 125.

CHAPTER IV

The Actualization of Musical Work
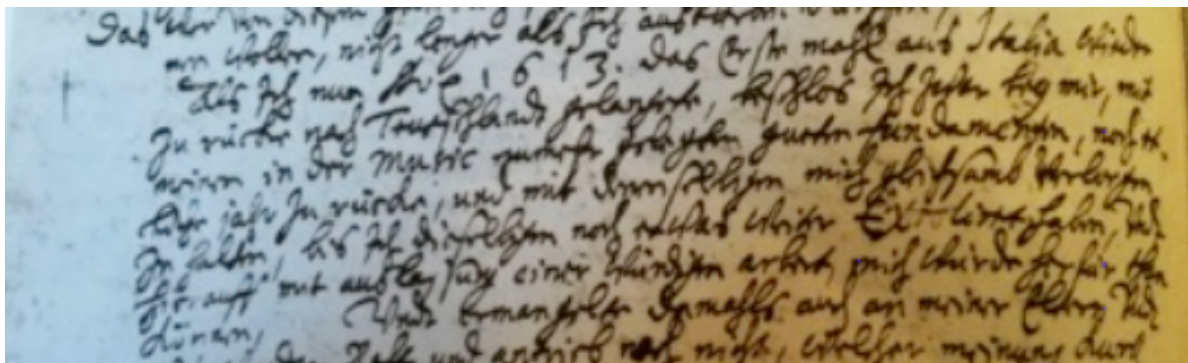
Figure 4.1 — Extract from Dresden Hauptstaatsarchiv 8687, 292v, Schütz's letter to Johann Georg I, dated 14 January 1651, showing the excerpt translated below *(see footnote for transcription)*.

When I returned to Germany from Italy for the first time in 1613, I resolved in truth to keep my, now, well-laid foundations in music to myself for a few years, and to keep them and myself out of sight, as it were, until I had refined the same somewhat more and could make my mark with the publication of a worthy work.[1]

<div align="center">Heinrich Schütz</div>

The labour of some of the most respectable orders in the society is, like that of menial servants, unproductive of any value, and does not fix or realize itself in any permanent subject; or vendible commodity, which endures after that labour is past, and for which an equal quantity of labour could afterwards be procured…In the same class must be ranked, some both of the gravest and most important, and some of the most frivolous professions: churchmen, lawyers, physicians, men of letters of all kinds; players, buffoons, musicians, opera-singers, opera-dancers, &c.

Like the declamation of the actor, the harangue of the orator, or the tune of the musician, the work of all of them perishes in the very instant of its production.[2]

<div align="center">Adam Smith</div>

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[1] 'Als ich nun Ao. etc. 1613 das Erste mahl aus Italia wieder zu rücke nach Teutschlandt gelangete, beschlos Ich zwar bey mir, mit meinen in der Music nunmehr gelegten gueten fundamenten, noch etliche jahr zu rücke, und mit denenselbigen mich gleichsamb verborgen zu halten, bis Ich dieselbigen nochetwas weiter Excoliret haben, undt hierauff mit auslassung einer würdigen arbeit, mich würde herfür than können.' *HSR*, 183; *SD* I, 141.

[2] Adam Smith, An Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (London, 1776), Chapter III, II.iii. Reprinted in R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (eds), *The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith*, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 331.

In the three preceding chapters, I have shown how the moral value attached to working was strongly rooted in the theology and ethics of early modern Lutheran culture. I have traced how this ethic helped define both the conceptual and technical understanding of this culture's musical aesthetics throughout the seventeenth early eighteenth centuries. In all of this, I have stressed that it was the process of working that was was regarded as being as important, often even more than the product, and that music — as a temporal art, but also something that could notated — was uniquely placed to package and carry this ethical value. However, as I stated at the outset, the fact remains that both historical and modern writers unequivocally describe musical compositions as works — that is to say, as products. When, and why, did descriptions of seventeenth-century German music start to use the term 'work' (i.e. its German equivalents)? What is the relationship between the act of composition and its product? How does this correspond with our contemporary epistemological priorities? These are questions that need to be answered if we are to get to the bottom of the primacy of work in this musical culture.

From the seventeenth century onwards, the musical work ethic began frequently to precipitate apparent objects. At a time of tumultuous social change and political flux, musicians who composed began to use their music as a means of establishing their status and pursuing professional opportunities. The skills, time and rigour of composers needed to be packaged in a portable form that could be used to communicate their skills to a wider audience. Bearing in mind the dedication from the *Musikalisches Opfer*, how can we reconcile this with Goehr's work-concept, and her assertions that the work-concept was entirely 'foreign to Bach'?[3] According to Goehr, references to Bach's pieces as works are the product of a reception tradition that misappropriated 'pre-modern' music, applying the label in line with a set of nineteenth-century values.[4] However, in this my final chapter, I will show that this is simply not the case, and that the term 'work' is very much appropriate, having enjoyed significant currency up to this point in time. As I showed in the introduction, Bach readily made use of the term work (both *Arbeit* and *Werk*) to describe his own compositional process. I wish to show that his usage was specific, encapsulating the ethical resonances the term was endowed with in early modern Lutheran musical culture, as I have explored in the previous chapters.

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[3] Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum*, 8
[4] *Ibid.*

Thus, in this chapter, I aim to do two things. First, I will show that in using this term, Bach was doing so in line with a distinguished tradition of eminent Lutheran composers — particularly the so-called *Vater* of 'modern German music', Heinrich Schütz. The first German composer to personally give his works opus numbers (see Figure 4.2), Schütz is a central figure in this discussion, embodying so many characteristics that would become associated with the persona of the modern composer. Second, I want to show how the work ethic was transformed and translated into musical entities. This is not something that has been sufficiently examined in the existing discourse on the work-concept — perhaps because it depends on information that is normally beyond the scope of ontological questions and, indeed, philosophers' interests. I believe that an understanding of causal factors in the concept's early consolidation are more illuminating. Therefore, as part of this, I want to propose a new kind of epistemological framework, which might help to comprehend *how* and *why* music began to be considered in terms of works, as opposed to simply attempting to define *what* a work is. The term I use to describe this framework is *actualization*. This term has its roots in Aristotelian philosophy, and has since been employed by biologists and psychologists, who have used it to describe how beings move from the state of potentiality to actuality. My hope here is so show how the musical work is essentially the nexus for a series of ephemeral acts, that become bound together in the work-object. As I will describe, such a manner of thinking has many useful parallels to help connect the historical evidence with a theoretical understanding of how musical works were realized in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

SPECIFICATION

Deren bißhero von dem Authore in Druck ausgelassenen unter-
schiedenen Musicalischen Wercke/ dem günstigen Leser zu
beliebender Nachricht.

Madrigali à Cinque An. 1611. zu Venedig gedruckt.
Opus Primum.

Deutscher Psalmen sambt etzlichen Moteten und Concerten mit 8. und mehr
Stimmen Erster Theil in folio 1619. zu Dreßden gedruckt.
Opus Secundum.

HISTORIA RESURRECTIONIS DOMINICÆ: An 1623.
zu Dresden gedruckt.
Opus Tertium.

Cantiones Sacræ Quatuor Vocum An. 1625.
zu Freyberg gedruckt.
Opus Quartum.

Doctor Beckers Psalm-Büchlein/ mit Einhundert und Drey Melodeyen/
worunter Zwey und Neuntzig Neue des Authoris ein Buch in octav 1628.
zu Freyberg gedruckt.
Opus Quintum.

Symphoniarum Sacrarum Prima Pars à 3. 4. 5. 6. An. 1629.
zu Venedig gedruckt.
Opus Sextum.

Musicalische Exequien An. 1636. gedruckt
zu Dresden.
Opus Septimum.

Erster Theil der geistlichen Concert mit 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. An. 1636.
zu Leipzig gedruckt.
Opus Octavum.

Ander Theil der geistlichen Concert mit 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. An. 1639.
zu Dresden gedruckt.
Opus Nonum.

Symphoniarum Sacrarum Secunda Pars mit 3. 4. und 5. An. 1647.
zu Dresden gedruckt.
Opus Decimum.

FINIS.

Figure 4.2 Catalogue included by Schütz in the *Bassus pro Violone* partbook of the *Symphoniae Sacrae II* (1647)

The two epigrams at the head of this chapter — an excerpt from a letter from 1651 addressed by Schütz to Johann Georg I, Elector of Saxony, and a passage from the Scottish moral philosopher Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776 — might seem strange bedfellows. At first glance, they appear to present contradictory understandings and appreciations of music.[5] On the one hand, Smith, the forefather of the social sciences, points out the problems associated with music's ephemeral nature from an economic perspective, it being incapable of producing any 'vendible commodity' (musicians and singers presumably being members of the most frivolous professions). On the other, Schütz offers a particularly revealing insight into the pride with which he regarded his *Psalmen Davids*, labelling it 'a worthy work' (*einer würdigen Arbeit*). Examining the relationship between Schütz's career and his compositions clearly illustrates both the ethics of work applied to music and the kind of processes that constitute the work's actualization. Writing at the age of 66 years old, seeking to secure a pension from the Electoral court for his retirement, Schütz's letter provides a comprehensive overview of his early career, with a significant amount of candid personal reflection on his formative years. He recounts his early days as a treble at the court of Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel, through his law studies at the University of Marpurg, his musical studies in Venice with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice and the publication of his 'first slight musical work' (*Musicalisches Wercklein*) there.

The remainder of Schütz's 1651 letter is devoted to a review of his life and professional activities in Dresden, where he spent the remainder of his career (aside from brief sojourns in Venice in 1628, Copenhagen 1633-34, and nearby German courts) in the service of the Elector. In the midst of such concentrated biographical detail, Schütz's reference to his 'worthy work' expresses just how important an achievement the *Psalmen Davids* must have been for the composer, as he integrated for the first time (in print, at least) sacred German texts with the grand Venetian style with which he had become fully fluent. Building on my discussion of some of its contents in Chapter 1, in this chapter I will use this collection as a key example of how works are actualized as notated pieces of music.

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[5] It should be noted that both Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations* enjoyed reasonably wide circulation in translation by German readers. For more on the influence Smith made on German-language moral philosophy and economic thought, see Norbert Waszek, 'Adam Smith in Germany, 1776-1832', in Hiroshi Mizuta and Chuhei Sugiyama (eds), *Adam Smith: International Perspectives* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 163-80.

With the words of Bruno Latour in mind, it seems essential at this point to clarify precisely *why* I believe a new theoretical means of understanding the musical work is helpful.[6] As Goehr's ideas were fully digested, new questions were raised concerning *what* musicologists should focus on as the primary object for inquiry. A particularly polemical and stimulating article by Carolyn Abbate appeared in 2004, entitled 'Music: Drastic or Gnostic', suggesting that 'what counts' is not 'a work… in the abstract, but a material, present event.'[7] Since then, the number of performance-based studies in classical music has increased exponentially, and a number of prominent scholars have looked more towards the act of performance, and incorporated it as the central subject of their scholarship. In his recent monograph *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance*, Nicholas Cook describes how the absence of serious academic studies based on upon performance was the impetus that influenced his innovative methodology:

> Most so-called histories of music are really histories of composition, or even of compositional innovation…It is partly a matter of aesthetic ideology, but it is also because histories of music are written on the basis of documents, ranging from scores and transcription to treatises and criticism. Performance, however, is an art of telling detail — detail that falls between the notes of musical texts and the words of literary ones.[8]

While Cook's text is undoubtedly a highly valuable study in a multitude of ways, this characterization of the history of western art music is problematic on several levels. Firstly, as I pointed out in the second and third chapters, the conception of a composer (i.e. separate from the performers), is one of the definitive features of the German tradition. The beginnings of this are well-documented in the history of German music. Secondly, Cook's assertion that historical musicology has primarily been a history of composition is not quite correct: it would be easier to appreciate it as a history of *compositions*. Existing theories of the work-concept frequently ignore the complex interplay between conception and reception, and often seem content to relate the creative process in a superficial manner. A significant part of the problem is that the work-concept has been studied ahistorically,

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[6] 'Should we be at war, too, we, the scholars, the intellectuals? Is it really our duty to add fresh ruins to fields of ruins? Is it really the task of the humanities to add deconstruction to destruction?' Bruno Latour, 'Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern', *Critical Enquiry* 30 (2004), 225.

[7] Carolyn Abbate, 'Music—Drastic or Gnostic?', 506.

[8] Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score — Music as Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 3. Cook's text is novel in making use of computational analysis of phrase-arching, and multimedia companion material to support the analyses offered in the text.

where it has been subjected to the litmus test of autonomy, as Dahlhaus attempted to theorize in his *Foundations of Music History*. Reformulating much of Goehr's argument, Michael Talbot has argued that what actually occurred around 1800 was, in fact, a shift towards a 'composer-centred' comprehension in 'serious' European musical cultures.[9] This leads on to my third problem with Cook's depiction: why does it seem necessary to prioritize composition or performance at the expense of the other?

As Albert Einstein famously observed in relation to the wave-particle duality of light: 'It seems as though we must use sometimes the one theory and sometimes the other, while at times we may use either. We are faced with a new kind of difficulty. We have two contradictory pictures of reality; separately neither them fully explains the phenomena of light, but together they do.'[10] Light is a considered a unique phenomenon, being both particle and wave. I hope this this might serve as a helpful analogy for how to proceed in comprehending musical work(s), being simultaneously both event and object, in line with historical understanding. Indeed, the oscillation observable between these two conceptions is perhaps the most compelling feature of early music. Rather than creating a dichotomy between 'music as sounded writing', an approach that integrates the act of composition as an act and takes into account the rich synergies between the different parts of music, discernable in the writings of *musica poetica* writers such as Listenius, I aim to highlight the trigonous links between the work-ethos, the work-concept and the very idea of the modern composer are inextricably linked, and form a crucial nexus.[11]

The traditional narrative of western music history holds that, before the nineteenth century, composition lay somewhere between being merely a necessary part of some musicians' professional obligations and a mere avocation. Composers were simply musicians who also composed, primarily as part of their professional obligations. In what I have discussed already and will further affirm in this chapter, this is shown to be misleading. Composition was regarded as a specialist activity and successful practitioners were afforded high levels of prestige by both their peers and patrons. From the early seventeenth century, several notable German musicians became known predominantly for being composers. It

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9 See Michael Talbot, 'The Work-Concept and Composer-Centredness', in Michael Talbot (ed.), *The Musical Work: Reality or Invention?* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 168-186.
10 Albert Einstein and Leopold Infeld, *The Evolution of Physics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 278.
11 Cook, *Beyond the Score*, 4.

seems a truism to state that the main criterion for being considered a composer is that one's works might be performed; however, the existence of a musical text, allowing these to be replicable in some recognisable form, performed with or indeed exclusively by other musicians, seems to become of increasing importance in seventeenth-century German sources. As I already discussed in the opening chapter, in relation to Bach's description of his father's cousin Johann Christoph Bach as 'ein profonder Componist' and his (Christoph's) brother Johann Michael as 'ein habiler Componist', Daniel Melamed claims that '"Componist" was not an occupation or profession in the late seventeenth century' and that J. S. Bach's invocation of this term was simply a reflection of his 'pride in an [sic] accomplishment of his ancestors.'[12] Melamed goes on to describe how the 'writing (and later publication) of musical works helped define a change in roles for musicians' in the late eighteenth century. This seems to support Goehr's assertion, that only as the nineteenth century approached did the work-concept appear.

In support of her central claim, Goehr, quoting from the old Grove article for 'copyright' suggests that such musicians could not even claim personal ownership over their works how 'Looking back to a time when composers produced occasional music, the conclusion drawn in hindsight was that works of music "can rarely be composed under a contract of service, since such a contract involves such immediate control over the labours of the servant by the employer", that it is at odds with "the preparation of a work of art".' She supports this emphatically, claiming it is 'Precisely so.' To Goehr's mind, before the advent of the regulative work-concept, composers did not think of their output in terms of discrete entities, beyond their occasional or functional purpose. According to Goehr, only when composers began to view their compositions 'as ends in themselves' did they begin to individuate them accordingly.' As I show, this chronocentric view is at odds with the historical evidence. Examining a broad range of materials including published prefaces and composers' letters, it seems clear that several high-profile early modern German musicians (particularly including Heinrich Schütz) understood their compositional output to be a significant part of an ongoing process of professional consolidation. Their works converted otherwise ephemeral skills and labours into objects, in order to leave something durable. This is an example of the Aristotelian understanding of *poesis,* as the branch of knowledge concerned with production and which results in the production of a concrete *opus* at its

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[12] Daniel Melamed, 'Constructing Johann Christoph Bach (1642-1703), *Music & Letters* 80/3 (1999), 346.

conclusion, as opposed to *technē*, which is normally understood as denoting technical skills.[13] Hannah Arendt explained how this desire to represent his work in the public sphere was an intrinsic urge for the *homo faber*:

> Unlike the *animal laborans*, whose social life is worldless and herdlike and who therefore is incapable of building or inhabiting a public, worldly realm, *homo faber* is fully capable of having a public realm of his own…His public realm is the exchange market, where he can show the products of his hand [i.e. and mind] and receive the esteem which is due him.[14]

This 'inclination to showmanship', Arendt claims, is inextricably bound-up with the 'propensity to truck, barter and exchange one thing for another' that Adam Smith saw as the distinguishing feature between men and animals. In getting to grips this process, I attempt to propose a new kind of epistemological framework, informed by a historical analysis of how some liminal musical works were constituted. My term for this process is actualization, a term perhaps more familiar in psychology — particularly in Abraham Maslow's so-called 'hierarchy of needs' theory, and in theology. As I will outline below, I borrow some senses of this term from each of these contexts, employing it with a specific meaning to describe both how a work might come to be appreciated as an object, and how this status allows the music to enact several secondary functions via its involvement in a series of subsequent processes, in which its apparent ontological status is seen to be reinforced.

The Problems with Ontology (and Cultural Metaphysics)

In the passage at the head of this chapter, Adam Smith pithily diagnoses music's wicked problem, insofar as its place within a liberal economy is concerned. From his writings elsewhere, we know that Smith appreciated music deeply, even using the metaphor of a 'well composed concerto of instrumental Music' in his essay on the imitative arts, to describe the order and beauty of well-ordered systems[15]. However, in The Wealth of

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[13] For a helpful discussion of *poesis* and *technē* in relation to aristic practice, see Derek H. Whitehead, 'Poiesis and Art-Making: A Way of Letting-Be', *Contemporary Aesthetics*, 1 (2003). Available online via www.contempaesthetics.org (permalink <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7523862.0001.005>).
[14] Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, 160.
[15] Adam Smith, 'On the Nature of that Imitation which takes place in what are called The Imitative Arts', II.30; in William P. Wightman (ed.), *Essays on Philosophical Subjects — The Glasgow Edition* Vol. 3 (Oxford:

Nations, which was based on lectures given at the University of Glasgow in the 1770s (not far from Goehr's 1800 watershed), Smith attempted to outline a theoretical model for a system that could accommodate and link all subjects as co-dependent agents. This lack of a stable, tangible product or 'vendible commodity', to which a nominal value could be attached, has been one of the most difficult features to quantify in relation to music, despite what is seen as its virtually universal, pre-theoretical value. Lawmakers, performers and composers have all agonized about the problems relating to the slippery nature of music's ontological status, so it should come as no surprise that philosophers too have failed to reach anything resembling a consensus. However, as I will show, this is something that German composers, in a time of rapidly shifting power balances, had sensed over 150 years earlier, and had addressed in actualizing their work. These processes are more visible in early modern German music perhaps owing to the less centralized nature of its power structures, and the similarities of its educational curricula across a relatively large geographic area. However, as a rather obscure repertory beyond the standard epochs of music curricula, this is not something that has been taken into account in the generalist ontological accounts of music.

Therefore, in essence, I believe a new framework is needed to provide an alternative understanding that avoids the temptations of ontology and doing metaphysics on music. As Alfred Whitehead lamented in 1920, 'The recourse to metaphysics is like throwing a match into a powder magazine. It blows up the whole arena.'[16] For Whitehead, no part of nature could be excluded from natural philosophy: theories accommodate evidence, not the other way around. From a musical perspective, in recent years the discourse around the work-concept has been taken up by analytic philosophy, which has steered discussions regarding the musical work towards a region far from the concerns of musicians and musicologists. Latour, an often fiercely critical steward of rigorous scientific methodology, points out the paradox that is evident across the social sciences and criticism from the late 1980s onwards, where new methodologies were supposed to reveal new insights. As Latour surmises: 'The question was never to get *away* from facts but *closer* to them, not fighting empiricism but, on the contrary, renewing empiricism.'[17]

Clarendon Press, 2003), 204–5. For an insight into Smith's aesthetics on music and its 'intellectual pleasures' see Mark Evan Bonds, *Absolute Music: The History of an Idea* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 105-6.

[16] Alfred North Whitehead, *The Concept of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1920), 29

[17] Bruno Latour, 'Why Has Criticism Run Out of Steam?', 231.

Framing some of the key problems with ontologically based approaches to music, the English philosopher Aaron Ridley warns in a polemical article entitled *Against Musical Ontology* of the temptations of 'doing ontology' and metaphysics in relation to music, suggesting that it rarely — if ever — results in helpful outcomes either for philosophy or musicology.[18] By focusing on creating a set of apparently objective identity conditions, Ridley argues that ontologists who have 'thought it interesting, and possibly even useful', to try to establish what sort of thing a musical work is, have actually conflated metaphysics and aesthetics. In doing this, they have selected the unhelpful parts of each, in the question to create analytic models. Ridley suggests that in focusing their attention on formulating an understanding of the musical work in purely ontological terms, many philosophers have missed the critical, evaluative questions that really demand to be asked of musical composition and performances, and of their relationships with their creators and traditions. As he warns of the 'lure' of metaphysics, metaphysics seems like 'grown-up philosophy, and insecure aestheticians may reach for it too readily.'[19] Ridley proposes that ontology is merely a 'distraction' and that it compels philosophers to make commitments to theoretical stances that are not particularly useful in our ongoing attempt to understand works. In this, Ridley alludes to exactly the kind of historical-philosophical approach that Goehr's book seems to propose, but then fails to take. While claiming that the work-concept is an open concept, but that it is used with both 'original' and 'derivative' functions, Goehr falls straight into the analytic trap of trying to theorize what the work *is*, rather than exploring how different understandings based on different historical and musical evidence might reveal a more meaningful sense of the values inherent to works.

As I have stated already, the farther away from the many important facts are required to create a set of identity conditions for a work are in time (or mentality), the more tempting it is to consign them to a world of primitive cultural values. The common narrative holds that composers were merely musicians who composed as part of their multitude of chores, and that autonomous works of art only emerged in the nineteenth century as the composer was emancipated from his position of subservience. In the historical evidence I discuss in this chapter, I show that this was clearly not the case, and emergent examples of composers asserting their ownership over their own compositional work was something that appeared in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Lutheran German music. While it is my long-term hope that this approach might have wider

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[18] Aaron Ridley, 'Against Musical Ontology', *Journal of Philosophy* 100/4 (2003), 231. Author's own italics.
[19] *Ibid.*, 215.

influence for studies of music from other milieus, German music of this period represents a particularly revealing series of processes, allowing us to see clearly how this consolidation was effected.

Galvanized by this spirit, rather than finding works to support a conceptual definition of the musical work, I want to move from observing the evidence to building an understanding that is helpful to those concerned with actual music. As Richard Rorty states clearly: '"Ontology" is not the name of an expert culture, and we should stop imagining that such an expert culture would be desirable.'[20] Inspired by Dewey and the American naturalists, Rorty advocated a so-called 'pragmatist' approach, drawing together historicism and naturalism, which would actively encourage scholars to engage in the philosophical debates surrounding their subjects. In the same spirit, I want to find a way of understanding how musical 'works', as they have come to be understood, actually came together, as opposed to simply evaluating specimens against a set of conceptual criteria. My approach here is thus: to develop a helpful descriptive vocabulary that will integrate musical compositions and historical writings about music, within some kind of theoretical framework. The sense is not to debunk the work-concept, but understand in a more nuanced way how and why it came to be. Goehr's concerns about the work-concept's associations with 'conceptual imperialism' are founded on the idea that the label was applied by reception, rather than conception. However, throughout this dissertation, I have shown that musicians were frequently keen to make it clear that their work was difficult, and were eager to represent their skills in a tangible form. By untangling the work-process and work-concept, I hope to try and reclaim some of the term's original meanings, and rediscover its meanings for the twenty-first century.[21] As R.G. Collingwood pithily expresses in his autobiography:

> I learned what some critics and aestheticians never know to the end of their lives, that no 'work of art' is ever finished, so that in that sense of the phrase there is no such thing as a 'work of art' at all. Work ceases upon the picture or manuscript, not because it is finished, but because sending-in day is at hand, or because the printer is clamorous for copy, or because 'I am sick of working at this thing' or 'I can't see what more I can do to it.[22]

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[20] Richard Rorty, 'Cultural Politics and the question of the existence of God', in Richard Rorty, *Philosophy as Cultural Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 25.
[21] Latour, 'Why Has Criticism Run Out of Steam?', citing Donna Haraway, uses the verbs 'protect and care'.
[22] R.G. Collingwood, *An Autobiography and Other Writings*, ed. David Boucher and Teresa Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 2.

With the benefit of his childish naïvety, Collingwood realized that the act of work is immanent in the product of work. The ontologist is only interested in trying to determine a set of identity questions for the form that the work has in its final condition. From the evidence I have discussed and will survey throughout this chapter, it is clear that seventeenth and eighteenth-century German musicians held similar values — and sought to represent them in their works and writings.

I aim to show that many of the characteristics Goehr sees as determinative for the nineteenth-century work-concept can actually be observed in early modern German music. While accepting and valuing to a significant extent Goehr's conceptual categorizations, I suggest that by gaining a better sense of where the work-concept came from, we might be in a better position to understand both how and *why* it functioned — and, crucially, make sense of why it still exerts an influence today. Thus, this chapter has both a historical and historiographical function, in attempting to portray a more continuous development of musical modernity, rather than one fractured by arbitrary periodization.

The term 'Actualization'

Near the close of the 1651 letter in which he singles out the *Psalmen Davids* and describes his career, Schütz eventually surmises his main reason for his writing to Johann Georg:

> On the physician's advice, unless I also want to put my health at risk or even collapse forthwith, I must now avoid and abstain as much as possible from the constant study, writing, and application of mind. As I am necessarily compelled to present this with due modesty to Your Electoral Serenity hereby for your most gracious consideration, and moreover to request in most humble devotion, may it please Your Grace (not only for the reasons I have drawn upon, but also in consideration of the fact that all Your Electoral Serenity's dearest noble children are now married), to remove me in future to somewhat quieter circumstances, and (so that I might be able as well to assemble my musical works started in my youth, complete them, and submit them for publication in my memory) to release me from regular service, and to the extent that it should please Your Electoral Serenity, to have me considered and declared, as it were, a pensioner.[23]

[23] 'Im fall ich auch meine gesundheit eshistes nicht in gefahr stellen, und gar zu boden stürtzen will, ~~mich~~ des Stetigen Studierens, schreibens und nachsinnens, der *Medicorum* Raht nach, mich numehr so viel mir möglich, enthalten und entbrechen mus, So werde dahero, E.[urer] Churf[ürstlichen] Durchl[aucht] zu dero gn[ä]d[i]gst[e]n behertzigung solches hirbey mit geburlichen bescheidenheit zu hinterbringen, vndt daneben in

Once again, Schütz goes to great lengths to give the impression his work has been highly strenuous and has finally taken its toll on him, both mentally and physically. It is perhaps interesting that he points out the Elector's children are married, implying there were unlikely to be any grand ceremonies in the immediate future, for which Schütz's skills would be required; the space and time he appeals for — to compile and finish his *Musikalische Wercke* 'in his memory' — are for his own purposes. In fact, Schütz was to remain alive for another twenty-one years, thus making it a somewhat sad irony that the *Schwanengesang*, his *opus ultimum*, was to remain unpublished on his death, with only the title page seen through the printing press.
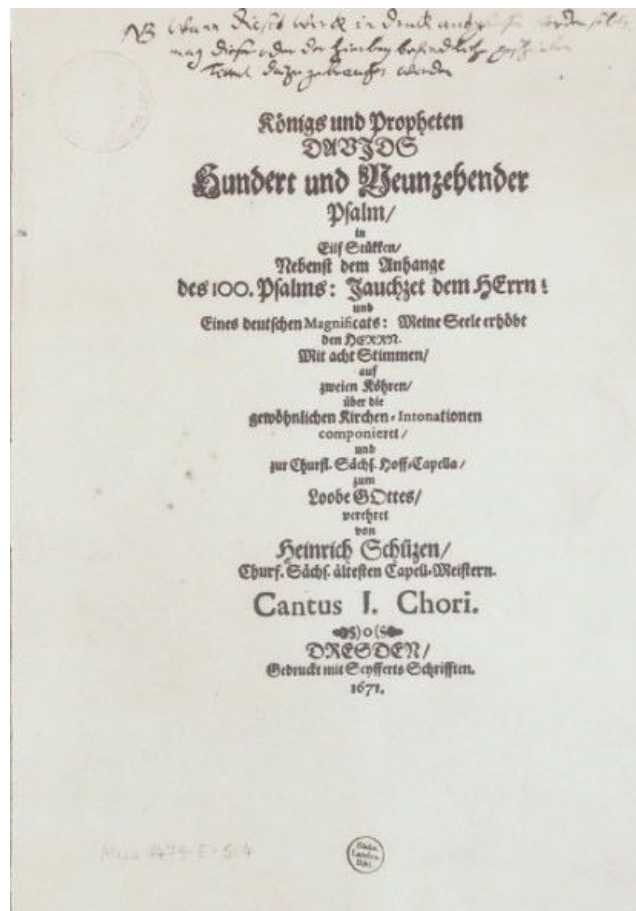
Figure 4.3 Printed title page for Cantus I partbook of Schütz's *Schwanengesang*. The handwriting at the top is in Schütz's own hand.[24] Staatsbibliotek Dresden, Mus.1479-E-504

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vnterthanigster *Devotion* anzulangen Ich ohnümbegänglich genötiget, Sie geruhen Gnädigst, (: nicht alleiene umb Itzo von mir angezogener ursachen willen, Sondern auch ium betrachtung, das Eurer Churf[ürstlichen] Durchl[aucht] liebste Churfurstliche Kinger, numehr ingesambt ausgestattet seint :) mich hinfuro auch in einen etwas geruhigeweit in meiner Jugendt angefangene Musicalische Wercke *colligiren*, ~~und~~ *Completiren*, undt zu meinem andencken auch in den druck geben könne :) von der ordentlichen auffwartung mich zu befreyen, vnd auff Ewrer Churf[ürstlichen] Dutchl[aucht] selbst beliebende masse, gleichsamb für einen *Provisioner* halten undt erkleren zu lassen…' ; *SD* I, 141; *HSR*, 185.

[24] The inscription reads: 'NB Wann dieses Werk in Druk ausgelassen werden solte, mag dieser oder hierbey befindlich geschriebene Tittul dazu gebrauchet warden.' ('N.B. If this work is printed, this or the attached handwritten title page may be used.') <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/139500/5/1/>.

Together, this letter and work demonstrate clear evidence of Schütz's attempt to *actualize* his work. They reveal the conscious effort on Schütz's part to make his works *real*, to leave an artistic legacy and consolidate his compositional achievements into a durable form. In attempts to escape this, Schütz had to find a way of converting his own habitus, to use Bourdieu's term, into a form of capital. As I will show below, in Schütz's case this later developed into an eagerness to consolidate and preserve his work, as the fashion for Italian music grew in Dresden and he became aware his own career was drawing to a close.

My sense of actualization describes the conversion of the composer's process of working into an actual, tangible thing, to realize the composer's value within wider cultural networks. As I discussed in chapters two and three, the sense of musical work was an important stage in realising a sense of a properly crafted, high quality experiences, brought about as the result of an imagined object, representing the intellectual and artistic qualities of its composer. In contemporary usage, the term actualization has had a diverse range of meanings in a wide variety of contexts. It has been applied in both specific and non-specific senses. While it might be best-known in relation to Abraham Maslow's so-called 'Hierarchy of Needs Theory' first discussed in his 1943 essay *A Theory of Human Motivation*, in the sense that I wish to use it, it was first used in the 1930s in biological terms by Kurt Goldstein. Goldstein observed organisms' (and, by extension, humans') 'tendency to actualize, as much as possible, [their] individual capacities, its "nature," in the world.'[25] What Goldstein meant by this is that all living things have an intrinsic compulsion and the potential to expand and grow, through a series of biological and interactive processes, to become as established as possible. Goldstein describes how certain potentialities of an organism can become actualized 'only when the outer world makes that possible.'[26] If this does not happen, the organism 'may vanish.' This has an obvious parallel in music, as articulated by Smith's observations, and Schütz's anxieties to see his abilities represented and his legacy preserved.

There are obvious elements of this theory that might seem to overlap with two other processes used by modern critics to explain the conversion of the abstract into the recognizable — namely, reification and concretization. A process that figures prominently in Arendt's conception, reification (*Verdinglichung*) was first employed by Marx in a particularly knotty section of *Das Kapital* entitled 'The Secret of Commodity Fetishism', to describe how

[25] Kurt Goldstein, *The Organism — A Holistic Approach to Biology Derived From Pathological Data in Man* (*Aufbau des Organismus*, 1934) (New York: Zone Books, 1995), 162.
[26] *Ibid.*, 158.

human interactions can be traced through the pursuit of physical, material objects, lending those objects a natural quality as if they had always been there.[27] Lukács expanded on this in his seminal text *History and Class Consciousness*.[28] In Lukács's formulation, reification is a pernicious process, insofar as it erodes man's individual experience:

> [Reification] stamps its imprint upon the whole consciousness of man; his qualities and abilities are no longer an organic part of his personality, they are things which he can 'own' or 'dispose of' like the various objects of the external world. And there is no natural form in which human relations can be cast, no way in which man can bring his physical and psychic 'qualities' into play without their being subjected increasingly to this reifying process.[29]

For Marx and Lukács, reification was an insidious process that led to the alienation of the individual. In 1958, however, Hannah Arendt used the term to describe the process by which work processes are necessarily converted into *things*. As she describes, ephemeral acts including speech and thought are not capable of producing or bringing forth anything in and of themselves — 'they are as futile as life itself.'[30] Arendt describes how in order to become 'worldly things' they must first be seen, heard, and remembered and then transformed, reified as it were, into things — into sayings of poetry, the written page or the printed book, into paintings or sculpture, into all sorts of records, documents, and monuments.'[31]

The second relevant term was introduced by Ingarden in his *Ontology of the Work of Art*. Ingarden makes use the term concretization, to describe the work (as opposed to the work of art itself, which he describes as a 'schematic formation') as the true aesthetic object.[32] In his scheme, any work of art can have an infinite number of concretizations, subjectively from receiver to receiver, each filling in the 'places of indeterminacy'. Reification was the necessary process that allowed temporal acts to become real and to enjoy a continuous existence, with the ability to be enjoyed by others who might not be able to see and hear them in their first instance:

[27] See Axel Honneth, *Verdinglichung: eine anerkennungstheoretische Studie* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 2005).
[28] György Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialects*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).
[29] *Ibid.*, 100
[30] Arendt, The Human Condition, 95.
[31] *Ibid.*
[32] Roman Ingarden, *Selected Papers in Aesthetics*, Peter J. McCormick (ed.), (München: Philosophia Verlag, 1985), 93.

> Without remembrance and without the reification needs for its own fulfilment and which makes it [remembrance], indeed, as the Greeks held, the mother of all arts, the living activities of action, speech, and thought would lose their reality at the end of each process and disappear as though they never had been. The materialization they have to undergo in order to remain in the world is paid for in that always the 'dead letter' replaces something which grew out of and for a fleeting moment indeed existed as the 'living spirit.'[33]

For Arendt, reification was not necessarily tied up with a pernicious ideology, but rather a necessary step in constructing stable entities from work, which would otherwise be lost. This is how, as Arendt describes, unworldly things become worldly:

> They must pay this price because they themselves are of an entirely unworldly nature and therefore need the help of an activity of an altogether different nature; they depend for their reality upon the same workmanship that builds the other things in the human artifice.[34]

Arendt's use of the adjective 'worldly' is meant in a very literal sense: that is, actually existing in the world, rather than in the pejorative sense that it is usually employed. Arendt's description of reification is close to the kind of way that I understand musical works to have been perceived as such. However, I opt for the term actualization insofar as it is based more on organic processes, rather than those connected with capital interests, and the Marxist connotations associated with reification. Rather than attempting to suggest that composers sought to gain capital, I employ my term actualization owing to the seeming lack of any willingness — either from philosophers or musicologists — to take into account the rich but often-problematic historical background and conceptual understanding of musical composition, and seeming lack of any attempt at integrating these in their theoretical discourse.

Previous theorizations of the musical work have foundered upon the zero-sum nature of the game of ontology. By attempting to identify a set of necessary conditions governing what a work is, and then testing work-candidates against these conditions, pieces that do not fit the conceptual requirements are thus rendered irrelevant. My use of the term actualization is

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[33] Arendt, 95.
[34] *Ibid*.

consciously based on an attempt at finding a descriptive and inclusive — rather than evaluative — means of understanding the process of how musical works came to be regarded as such.

While the English term has only been in use for about a hundred years or so, it is derived from the Aristotelian concept of *entelechy* (ἐντελέχεια), as used at various points in the *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, *De Anima* and *Nicomachean Ethics*. Aristotle coined the word *entelechy* as a portmanteau of *enteles̄* (ἐντελής; fully grown, complete) and *ékhein* (ἔχειν; to have), and as deliberate wordplay with endelecheia (ἐνδελέχεια; 'continuity, persistence') with the insertion of *telos* (τέλος; 'an end, completion').[35] Joe Sachs translates *entelechy* as 'being-at-work-staying-the-same'.[36] As I discussed in Chapter II, in her *Imaginary Museum*, Goehr claims Listenius's tripartite definition of music (*theoretica*, *practica* and *poetica*) should be read as an adaptation of Aristotle's *episteme*, *engergeia* and *ergon*. Aristotle's concept of *entelechy* is an important thing to understand here. Throughout his writings, Aristotle uses the terms *energeia* and *entelechy* in different contexts to describe forms of action, and *actuality* is normally seen as the opposite of *potentiality*. However, this is somewhat ambiguous. As L.A. Kosman clarifies, in Aristotle's usage '"actualization" may refer either to a process *or* to the result of a process.'[37]

That my use of this term *actualization* is particularly relevant to understanding early modern German perception is evidenced by Leibniz's use of the term. Throughout the *Monodology*, Leibniz uses entelechy to describe created monads whose energies result in the actualization and/or achievement of a potential. As Leibniz clarifies: 'The name "entelechies" could be given to all simple substances, or created monads, for they have in themselves a certain perfection. There is a self-sufficiency which makes them the sources of their internal actions and incorporeal automata, so to speak.'[38] The sense of individualized musical works marked, as I have argued, a fundamental shift in the perception of the composer as an individual communicator; the process of the actualization of the musical work might be observed in history as a fractal but seminal part of (in Jungian terms) musicians' own self-realization.

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[35] Anthony Preus (ed.), *Historical Dictionary of Greek Philosophy* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 146 and 382.

[36] Joe Sachs, *Aristotle's Physics — A Guided Study* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1995) 245.

[37] L.A. Kosman, 'Aristotle's Definition of Motion', *Phronesis* 14/1 (1969), 40.

[38] Original Leibniz, *Monadology* §18. Translated. in Lloyd Strickland, *Leibniz's Monadology — A New Translation and Guide* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 17.

In a similar sense to Leibniz's understanding of monads, what I am referring to by the actualization of the musical work is in essence the summation of the different processes that come together to allow the labour of composition to be recognized in a comprehensible form. The function of this form was to attribute the labour back to the composer. This is observable historically — and particularly acutely in early modern German music — as I will show. It is my argument that the actualized work allowed the composer a new potential for agency, which consequently enabled exchange. Once actualized, the work was able to perform several functions and 'work' on behalf of the composer as a token for his professional services. Potential patrons and admirers would be able to recreate the composer's idea and marvel at his invention, and perhaps recruit him to come and work for them. We see this in Schütz and his frequent dedication of his printed works to patrons across Europe in an attempt to escape the Dresden court, as the deleterious effects of the Thirty Years' War caused the atrophy of its previously lavish musical resources.

Arendt's comparison of the *homo faber* and the *vita activa/vita contemplativa* articulate the philosophical significance of these processes. She focuses on the Reformation, which, by expropriating ecclesiastical and monastic possessions that started the twofold process of individual expropriation and the accumulation of social wealth, marked the threshold of modernity.[39] She describes how a new status was afforded to 'things' that might be comprehended 'by the hand' and the ear with 'Cartesian doubt.' In Arendt's eyes, the core values of the Enlightenment (a byword for modernity proper) meant that a class emerged which 'began to prioritize the act of contemplation over the act of making' and that artists became 'sort of sacrificial for the benefit of others'. Thus, the musical work gave rise (perhaps ironically) in some ways to the idea of the composer as a reinvention of the monastic role.

To be clear: my introduction of the term actualization is not intended to denote a hard and fast theoretical framework for understanding precisely what musical works are. Rather, it is an attempt to introduce some context for *how* works came into being. To understand where the work-concept came from, we surely need to incorporate social and cultural networks — the basis for the temporal processes that are contained in works — into

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[39] Arendt, *The Human Condition*, xiii.

the discourse surrounding (the) musical work. Although it is perhaps most familiar from its use in new-age psychology, I borrow the term 'actualization' from its original sense, to describe the ongoing process of development of biological organisms, I feel it is a helpful means by which to understand how works appear to be. Just as a living creature never really finishes growing, so a work cannot easily be seen in isolation. Seeing musical works as part of this process of actualization helps to recover the social and historical environments of the work, and connect them with the music itself. As Roland Barthes states in his seminal but deliberately provocative *The Death of the Author* 'The Author, when believed in, is always conceived of as the past of his own book: book and author stand automatically on a single line divided into a *before* and an *after*.'[40] This much is true — but for the author to die, surely he first had to be born. Thus, the actualization of the work marks the birth of the modern composer.

Stages of Actualization

Having clarified the theoretical background to my use of the term actualization, I will now proceed to identify and describe the series of functions that form the actualization framework, and to show with reference to historical evidence how musical works were precipitated by it. As I have stated above, this is by no means a framework that follows a strict order of events/processes: each of the functions I describe below is closely related, but may be duplicated, repeated and, indeed, replaced by another function at the same stage, and the order might easily change. Some are more important than others, but each of them has a role to play in helping the work to become a stable and apparently recognizable object.

There are some *essential* functions and some *ancillary* functions. The actualized work is a work that has fulfilled all of the essential primary functions and, as a result, is then able to perform the paramusical functions that are a key part in the construction of the expectations for what constitutes our image of the modern composer. Essential functions include: being written-down (even if not printed); and being heard. The ancillary functions include acts such as dedication. Dedication, as I will discuss below, is a key act to consider in comprehending the actualization network, forcing us to consider: what, exactly, is being dedicated? Seeing the work in terms of this framework helps so show that the value resides

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[40] Roland Barthes 'The Death of the Author', in *Image Music Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London: Fontana Press, 1987), 145.

in the actualized labour. I have grouped these different functions and processes into three phases: consolidation, generation, and interaction. These are not chronologically delineated, and some processes overlap between two areas — and many of these networks will interlock with other composers' own networks. In the case of the interaction phase, many of these processes will form the basis of other musicians' consolidation processes. These labels are intended as a guide for understanding the chronology of the work. Figure 4.3 provides an overview of the phases, which I will now describe in turn, before examining specific examples of works and evidence presenting particularly salient historical examples relating to these functions. My sense of actualization might be seen to bear a strong resemblance to Robert Darnton's so-called communications circuit, which he outlines in *The Kiss of Lamourette*.[41] Darnton proposes how 'it could be described as a communications circuit that runs from the author to the publisher (if the bookseller does not assume that role), the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader. The reader completes the circuit because he influences the author both before and after the act of composition. Authors are readers themselves.'[42] Darnton's model clearly highlights the nascent role that the marketplace began to play in the world of eighteenth-century French literary publishing. However, this has particularly clear resonances with my own idea of the consolidation phase in the actualization process, as I outline below, although the protagonists in the world I consider were apparently less commercially oriented, and more dependent on symbolic interactions. For this reason, I have opted to leave my model open-ended, sensing that a circular model might be more appropriate for later repertoire — particularly, perhaps, in considerations of the nineteenth-century musical work-concept as music became a more saleable commodity.

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[41] See Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette: Reflections in Cultural History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), 111-12. See also the subsequent chapter 'The Forgotten Middlemen of Literature' (136-53). I am grateful to Stephen Rose, my external examiner, for pointing this out in the viva. I had not previously encountered Darnton's work, but have since found it extremely stimulating, presenting several ideas that resonate closely with my own thinking concerning the reception and transmission of early modern music.
[42] Ibid., 111.

CONSOLIDATION

GENERATION

INTERACTION

Education (impetus)
- learning to sing
- learning to play an instrument
- learning to read music

Exposure to other composers' music
- critical focus of *Musica Poetica*
- synthesis of rhetorical language, capable of representing individuated subjectivity

Repeated exposure
- acquiring fluency and confidence with style
- understanding of practical techniques (e.g. instrumental/vocal timbres

Stimulus
- professional obligation
- expressive urge
- declamation of personal abilities

Writing down
- 'working out' of ideas
- development of counterpoint
- consolidation of several voices into an apparent unity

Reproduction
- copying out in MS
- printing
- publishing

[Revision]
- amendments based on response to own music *or* specific performance criteria
- amendments based by others for idiosyncratic purposes

Transmission
- Exchange of works through buying/ selling/copying/swapping at German book fairs etc.

Collection
- Document itself is afforded prestige status

Dedication
- transferral of value of labour into 'thing'
- attempt to use work as simulacrum of a relationship (pre-existing or a desired one)

Performance
- renders *thing* as *experience*

Hearing/listening
- automatic comparison in line with stylistic expectations etc.
- leads to evaluation ('obvious overlap with parts of consolidation phase

**Figure 4.1** — *Model of actualisation network*

Figure 4.4 Abstract model of the network of actualization

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Consolidation is the term I use to describe the phase in which composers draw together their education, influences, skills and technique — assets that are acquired through diligent personal application. It is the phase in which they acquire a fluency with music and their contemporary stylistic norms. They gain this from performing and hearing other composers' music, and reinforce their fluency through repeated exposure. *Generation* is the point at which the composer originates their ideas. They respond to a stimulus — either a professional commission, an urge for personal expression, a declamation of personal skill (or, indeed, all three) — and set about developing musical ideas. Their work, previously intellectual until this point, is then written down, and may be reproduced through copying or printing. This writing-down is the key moment of actualization, allowing the work to acquire a life of its own. Revisions, transmission (through sale or dedication) may occur; these 'optional' steps help to reinforce the work's apparent objective status.

Finally, the phase of *interaction* describes the means through which the composer's work becomes known to the wider world and appreciated, through performance, listening and (sometimes) critical response. The interactive phase has clear links with the consolidatory phase, linking successive generations composers together into what have often been blindly regarded as 'traditions'. As Paul Oskar Kristeller describes in his searching essay '"Creativity" and "Tradition"', these two poles form an equilibrium, between which the best parts of older styles are appropriated, and the worst parts discarded.[43] This emphasis on the ethical quality of composers' works — obeying natural pedagogical rules — is matched in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century composers' apparent willingness to define their own individual voices and the effort that they have exerted in focusing this voice. By seeing works as actualizations, this should be a way of understanding how individuation of generic works is possible, against the relief of music that seems to conform only with generic stylistic expectations. As I suggested in the introduction, autonomy remains a relative characteristic; but as works gradually go through more of the processes involved in actualization, they seem to become more real and more autonomous. By comprehending works in this way, we are able to integrate the questions of how specific composers related their own labour against the relief of a wider cultural system.

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[43] Paul Oskar Kristeller, '"Creativity" and "Tradition"' *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44/1 (1983), 105-113.

Consolidation

Consolidation is the term I employ in describing the stage where musicians assimilate their studies, and influences with their own skills and technique, and begin to work as composers. It is perhaps the most difficult phase to understand precisely, owing to the idiosyncratic variation in different composers' careers, as well as their varying levels of access to different musical styles and forms. Throughout this dissertation, I have highlighted Heinrich Schütz as a figure of significant importance. As well as being one of the first composers to integrate Italian rhetorical composition with German text — text being of central theological importance in Lutheranism — he was clearly well aware of his talents. Despite his attempts at hiding them with borderline sycophantic modesty, he used his works to consolidate professional connections and to actualize his capital (i.e. his learning, his skill) and build strong bonds with his various patrons and employers. In what follows, I will discuss a few of his works which are particularly strong examples of this. It is important to bear in mind that the assimilation of Italian techniques was not something exclusively practised by Schütz. For example, Johann Hermann Schein's *Opella Nova I* (Leipzig, 1618) integrated the Italian concerto and the German chorale, demonstrating the influence of publications such as Lodivico Viadana's *Cento concerti ecclesiastici*, which was printed in by the German printer Nicolaus Stein in Frankfurt 1609.[44] However, for the purposes of this demonstration, Schütz presents a more illuminating case study than Schein, Schütz having actually travelled to Italy himself, and thus more clearly demonstrates the processes of actualization. Indeed, Schütz's persistent search for professional opportunities and willingness to travel in pursuit of new experiences and rewards saw him travel across northern Europe.[45] Nonetheless, this model is intended as something that can be applied more widely, to equally provide insight into the processes that constitute other composers' works and in understanding the relationships they represent.

In addition to the kind of approach advocated by the *musica poetica* treatises discussed in Chapter 2, several early modern documents offer a particularly revealing insight into the importance that a proper education played in the development of

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[44] See Barbara Wiermann, *Die Entwicklung vokal-instrumentalen Komponierens im protestantischen Deutschland bis zur Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 79, n.3.

[45] For a stimulating discussion of the extra-musical significance of Schütz's time in Copenhagen, see Bjarke Moe, 'Heinrich Schütz as European cultural agent at the Danish courts', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 33 (2011), 129-142. Moe proposes that Schütz, in addition to acting as director of music at the Danish court, was also employed as a 'cultural mediator', exploiting his international network of contacts to supply the court with new repertory and to recruit new musicians.

composers. In the 1651 letter from Heinrich Schütz addressed to Johann Georg II, in which he calls on the Elector for his pension and the appointment of .[46] Schütz describes how he first began studying Law at the University of Marburg in accordance with his parents' wishes, in order to obtain an 'honourable station.' However, he goes on to describe how the pull of music was simply too strong and he applied himself to it exclusively 'with the greatest of all possible diligence, and to see how I might succeed at it.'[47] This rhetorical tactic, the two-fold attempt to try and represent not only any natural talent he possessed but also the value and prestige of his musical education through his works, is evident in several of Schütz'a dedicatory prefaces and letters. As I discussed in Chapter 2, it is difficult to identify exactly how composers were taught, so it would seem to be helpful to work backwards from the evidence in actualized works to trace the consolidatory phase for composers. In the case of Schütz, we might see explicit evidence of the consolidatory phase in two key publications from 1611 and 1619: the *Primo Libro di Madrigali* and the *Psalmen Davids*.

Schütz published his madrigals following his studies in Venice with Giovanni Gabrieli, which were sponsored by his first patron, Landgrave Moritz of Hesse-Kassel. The madrigals were regarded by Schütz as a key work, as evidenced by his later references to them, as the consummation of his studies. In the 1651 letter to the Elector in Dresden, who had effectively poached him from the Kassel court, Schütz describes how 'after progressing in my studies to such a degree that after three years (and one year before I returned from Italy) I had printed there my first slight musical work in the Italian language, to the enthusiastic approval of the most celebrated musicians in Venice at that time, and sent it from there to Lord Landgrave Moritz (to whom I also dedicated it as a most humble expression of gratitude).' Schütz continues, describing how, following the publication of this work, he was encouraged by Gabrieli and 'other distinguished musicians' in Venice to persevere with his studies and hope for 'every felicitous success in it.'[48]

The madrigals were held by Schütz as an important token of his educational credentials and his acquaintance with Giovanni Gabrieli, widely regarded at the time as one of Europe's foremost composers. In their preface, he tells how in Venice he was able 'to unite with that wave which illuminates all Italy, with a murmuring similar more than any

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[46] *SD* I, 141.
[47] *HSR*, 156.
[48] *Ibid*.

other to Heavenly Harmony' and that Gabrieli shared with me the wealth of his shores, so rich in this kind of studies, that they can envy neither Tagus nor Pactolus.'[49] Schütz offered them to the Landgrave in order to show the kind of music he would have freshly encountered in Venice in order to represent his training there. The madrigals represent a sort of contrapuntal education that was not available in Germany at the time, and Schütz's obvious fluency and affinity with the advanced techniques of the style equal the achievements of virtually any late sixteenth-century Italian madrigalists. With the exception of the final piece *Vasto mar*, which is scored for eight voices, the collection is made up of five-voiced settings of texts by Guarini and Marini. While they demonstrate Schütz's clear absoroption of the sixteenth-century madrigal and the influence of composers such as Marenzio, they also contain a number of more modern textural variations, using the five voices in a series of smaller units, in a highly discursive manner. Scored for eight voices, *Vasto mar* is a clear demonstration of the Gabrielian style, with the two choirs interacting dialogically, in a style that makes use of fluent counterpoint within more clearly articulated homophonic paragraphs.[50] Although Schütz apparently never returned to the Italian madrigal, on 11 August 1653 he wrote a letter of endorsement that was appended to poet Caspar Ziegler's treatise *Von der Madrigalen*, describing how the madrigal was 'the very best suited for the creation of an artful composition' but had unfortunately been ignored by the recent generation of German composers.[51]

Schütz's next publication, the *Psalmen Davids* (1619) likewise represents a further attempt to affirm his pedigree. In the preface, he tells how his German psalms were composed 'in the Italian manner…in which I was diligently instructed by my dear and world-famous teacher, Giovanni Gabrieli, while I stayed with him in Italy, and upon earnest entreaty from various distinguished people, I undertook to publish the same.' Later in his

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[49] The River Tagus is the longest river in Iberia, travelling some 630 miles through Spain into Portugal, where it meets the Atlantic Ocean. It was of significant strategic value to the Spanish and Portuguese empires, and was frequently cited by sixteenth and seventeenth-century humanists in signalling their efforts in learning. Running through the kingdom of Lydia (modern-day Turkey) and known to have been rich in alluvial deposits (particularly gold), the Pactolus features in Greek mythology as the place where King Midas washed in order to rid him of the golden touch. See W.H. Herendeen, 'The Rhetoric of Rivers: The River and the Pursuit of Knowledge', *Studies in Philology* 78/2 (1981), 107-127.

[50] For an interesting comparative study of the music produced by the northern European composers, including Schütz, who studied with Giovanni Gabrieli in Venice, see Konrad Küster, *Opus primum in Venedig: Traditionen des Vokalsatzes 1590-1650* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 1995) and Siegfried Schmalzreidt, *Heinrich Schütz und andere zeitgenössiche Musiker in der Lehre Giovanni Gabrielis: Studien zu ihren Madrigalen* (Stuttgart: Hänssler, 1972).

[51] '…daß das jenige *genus Poseseos*, welches sich zu Auffsetzung einer künstlichen Composition am allerbesten schickete/ nehmlich der Madrigalien/ bißhero von ihnen nicht angegriffen/sondern zurück geblieben were.' Caspar Ziegler, *Von der Madrigalen* (Wittenberg, 1685), 10. Available online at <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/vd17/content/structure/9834> (Last accessed 1 December 2018).

life, in the 1651 letter to Johann Georg I, Schütz references the *Psalmen Davids* (1619) — his first published work on returning to Germany. Schütz tells how he wanted to keep his 'well-laid foundations in music' out of sight until he was ready to reveal them 'with the publication of a worthy work.' The influence of Gabrieli and the *cori spezzati* Venetian style was significant — but clearly, in this work, he sought to sythesize the training and experience he had gained with his own style and uphold the priorities of the Lutheran tradition. This is surely what he alludes to in using the term 'worthy work', in an attempt to establish his status as a respected professional composer.

By the time Schütz published his *Geistliche Chormusic* in 1648, he had become one of the most famous composers in Europe, and felt compelled to articulate what he saw as the right kind of approach for young composers. In its preface, from which I quoted in the previous chapter, Schütz describes how the concerted style of composing came from Italy, and had rapidly become popular, before going on to address all those 'here in our German Nation', and uphold the ethical importance of a composer being capable of writing fluent counterpoint. Schütz's work is so clearly intended to serve as an example of his own abilities in producing well-written contrapuntal works. He describes how he was compelled to 'undertake once again a slight work of this kind without basso continuo, and perhaps in this way to encourage a few — especially, however, some of the novice German composers — that, before they proceed to the concerted style, they might first crack this hard nut (wherein is to be found the true kernel and the very foundation of good counterpoint) and therein pass their first test.'[52] In the same passage he goes on to describe how this was an essential part of his own training in Italy — 'the true university of music (when I in my youth first began to lay my foundations in this profession)'. Schütz is clear that for a composer to earn his stripes, he must be capable of writing fluent counterpoint, as this work — in a consciously archaic style — demonstrates.

All of this is obviously interlinked with the importance for a composer being exposed to music, the value of which Schütz frequently attempts to gain and stresses the importance of to his correspondents. As the Thirty Years' War began to encroach on the

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[52] 'Als bin ich hierdurch veranlasset worden derogleichen Wercklein ohne *Bassum Continuum* auch einsten wieder anzugehen / und hiedurch vielleicht etliche / insonderheit aber theils der angehenden Deutschen Componisten anzufrischen / das / ehe Sie zu dem *concertirenden Stylo* schreiten / Sie vorher diese harte Nuß (als worinnen der rechte Kern / und das rechte Fundament eines guten *Contrapuncts* zusuchen ist) auffbeissen / und darinnen ihre erste Proba ablegen möchten.' Heinrich Schütz, *Geistliche Chor-music* (Dresden, 1648). Translation adapted from *HSR*, 164-5.

Dresden Court and its once-lavish musical resources began to be affected, Schütz began to petition the Elector to allow him to take a sabbatical to travel to Italy. In his first letter, dated 9 May 1627, Schütz called on Johann Georg I for permission to return to Venice, in order to experience the cutting-edge musical developments he was clearly aware were occurring there. He attempts to impress upon the Elector that now, as a fully fledged musician and with a better understanding, he would draw on the experience 'many lessons which shall be of use and benefit to me in my profession for my entire life.'[53] Schütz goes on to further emphasize that such a trip is not out of any sense of 'wanderlust or frivolousness', but rather was a vocational opportunity to expand his musical horizons — something that would be of direct benefit to the Electoral music (presumably when normal service was resumed after the war).

Clearly, Johann Georg required some convincing, and Schütz was compelled to write a second letter later that year. In it, Schütz makes a key point in writing to the Elector about the importance of skills and experience, rather than simply acquiring goods: 'For if those who would gladly increase their worldly goods do their utmost repeatedly in connection to Your Electoral Serenity, why should I not also strive more than once, most humbly, to gain that which serves me in the advancement of my learned liberal art, and in other virtues as well?'[54] In his letter, Schütz compares himself to art collectors such as Philipp Hainhofer, the diplomat and dealer who acquired music for the re-established Kapelle of the Braunschweig-Lüneburg court at Wolfenbüttel, writing to Giovanni Valentini in Vienna, Monteverdi in Venice and Giovanni Giacomo Porro in Munich.[55] In doing so, Schütz clearly articulates exactly the point I have stressed in previous chapters — that work and individual labour, even in the liberal arts, were seen as means for personal enrichment, and of a value greater than simple worldly goods. Schütz presented the experiences that the trip would afford as something that would have bilateral benefits, not only improving his own professional abilities but also enhancing the quality of the musical experiences he would subsequently be able to lead at the Dresden court.

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[53] 'Aldieweil ich hiebevorn in *Italia* nu rein schüler gewesen binn, auch anderweit keine *Music sonderlich gehöret als zu Venedig*, an itzo aber nach besser ausgeübten Vorstande auf einer solchen reise mich so viel *lection* zu erholen getrawen thue, das die zeit lebens mir in meiner *profession* nutzne vndt frommen soll…' *SD* 41; *HSR* 45.

[54] 'Dann wnn dieJenigen, welche Ihre zeitliche güter gerne erweitern wollen, beÿ E.[urer] Churf.[ürstlichen] Durchl.[aucht] sich manchmal fleisig bemühen thun, Warumb solte nicht auch, ümb dasJenige, was zu fortsetzung meiner erlerneten freÿen kunst, vndt anderen tugenden mir dinlichen ist, Ich mich mehr als einmahl vntterthenigst bewerben? *SD* 50; Trans. *HSR*, 57.

[55] See Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-40), *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130/1 (2005), 1-37 (particularly from p.16). Rose cites Ronald Gobiet (ed.), *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Philipp Hainhofer und Herzog August d. J. von Braunschweig* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984), letters 1276-9 and 1282.

After receiving permission, Schütz eventually set off for Venice, arriving in 1628. Writing back to the Dresden court, he described how the musical scene had changed greatly, and how that music had significantly improved since his first visit. The result of this trip was the first instalment of his *Symponiae Sacrae*, published in Venice on 19 August 1629. In its dedication to Johann Georg I's son, who was to become Johann Georg II, he described how he 'laid anchor' in the place he had served the 'apprenticeship of my art'.[56] Schütz eloquently articulates how he took full advantage of this opportunity to expose himself to new music:

> Having stayed at Venice amongst old friends, I learned that the method of composition, having changed considerably, had in each part cast off the ancient modes, in order to charm the ears of today with new enchantment; in order to bring forth some things in this style for you from the store of my industry and in accordance with my plan, I applied my mind and strength to this end. But I see that, while toiling away at whatever kind of work it might be, I undergo a perilous risk before you, a young man, most praiseworthy prince very well educated in other noble virtues, so experienced in this art in accordance with the highest expectations.[57]

In this passage, we see examples once again two key themes in seventeenth-century Lutheran composers' writings: the apparent attempt at composers overcoming nature, and how personal application is required to compose music. Once again, Schütz focuses attention upon the difficulty of his work, drawing parallels with mental and physical energy required by composition. The *Symphoniae Sacrae I* thus served to consolidate Schütz's skills, educational experiences and willingness to learn more, his work ethic and his relationship with his patrons in the form of an apparently actualized object. In an earlier letter, in which apologizes profusely for returning from Venice later than planned, due to mysterious 'adverse circumstances', he tells of how 'I have now accomplished as wished…I have collected together a considerable store of various musical compositions and have already sent these away together with some instruments to Leipzig.'[58] While it is important to bear in mind that such letters are highly rhetorical constructions and that it can often be

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[56] Dedication to Heinrich Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae I* (Venice: 1629). Trans. *HSR*, 70.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Trans. *HSR*, 67.

misleading to accept all their statements at face value, the implications in this letter are clear. Schütz represents himself as a composer always attempting to further the expressive abilities of music who will, in turn, bring increased prestige to his employers in Dresden.

Generation

As I outlined above, *Generation* is the term I use to describe the phase during which the composer actually converted his experience and mental skill into cultural capital in the compositional act. In this, he committed his work to a physical, semantically rich form, which could in turn be understood, interpreted and appreciated by others. The generative process begins in response to a stimulus, which might range from a simple professional obligation for daily liturgical or courtly usage; a special commission for a particular event; an urge for the exploration of a technical idea; a personal emotive response; the declamation of personal skill. However, many works clearly draw on more than one of these stimuli, which leaves them open to claims by Goehr *et al* that they are not *bona fide* works, and merely *Gebrauchsmusik*. In response to this, I propose that the system of actualization a work proceeds through is contingent on a multiplicity of music's functions and status as an emergent form of social capital. In the case of the *Psalmen Davids*, Schütz was fulfilling both his own artistic ambitions and his obligation to provide music for the 1619 Reformation celebrations in Dresden.[59] Prior to the generative phase, composers' work (the acquisition of performance skills, contrapuntal practice, repeated exposure etc.) is abstract and ephemeral. During the generative phase, however, it begins to be actualized as something durable, as it is written down, being subsequently reproduced through copying (by scribes or other musicians) or through the printing press. The act of writing down is a crucial moment in the process of actualization, when the work seems to acquire a life of its own. Revisions, transmission (through sale or dedication) may occur, and these additional steps each help to reinforce the work's apparent appearance of being a 'thing'.

On returning to Dresden, in August 1629 Schütz published the first volume of the *Symponiae Sacrae* (Venice, 1629). In a particularly poetic dedication to Duke Johann Georg, son of the Elector, later to become Johann Georg II, Schütz deploys richly poetic imagery to describe the genesis of the collection. Addressing the dedicatee as the first-born son of the Elector (in fact, Johann Georg I had already had three sons with two wives, Sibylle

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[59] See Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, Chapter 1, '*Trumpets and drums* (Psalmen Davids, *1617*)', 8-43.

Elisabeth, daughter of Frederick I, Duke of Württemberg, and Magdalene Sibylle, daughter of Albert Frederick, Duke of Prussia, all of whom died either in birth and infancy), Schütz invokes numerous natural metaphors describing how he overcame various natural obstacles, redolent of the same kind used by the treatise writers I discussed in my second chapter. Schütz extols how how the young prince had been variously the 'wind in his sails' (*flante mihi semper*) and his 'north star' (*mihi Cinosura*, i.e. Ursa Minor). He describes how music had moved on since the time of his studies with Gabrieli, discarded the old modes and developed new means of enchanting the ears.[60] Schütz then describes how he had fully immersed himself in this, applying all of his mental strength and industry to become fluent in the new style.[61] Again, within this collection, which sets a mixture of psalm texts and passages from the Song of Songs, Schütz included a motet invoking labour. The opening of the fifth concerto, sets Matthew 11:28-30, juxtaposing a musical depiction of the work with the serenity gained by its fulfilment (i.e. in Christ):

Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam vos	*Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.*
Tollite iugum meum super vos et discite a me quia mitis sum et humilis corde et invenietis requiem animabus vestris	*Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls.*
Jugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve est	*For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.*
	Matthew 11:28-30
	(King James Version)

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[60] 'cognoui modulandi rationem non nihil immutam antiquos numeros ex parte deposuisse, hodiernis auribus recenti allusuram titiillatione'. *Ibid.*

[61] 'ad cuiius ego norman vt aliqua tibi de me[a]e industriæ penu pro instituto depromerem, huc animum, & vires adieci.' *Ibid.*

Music Example 4.1 Heinrich Schütz — opening of 'Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis' (SWV 261)

The 'labour' is heard in the first idea with the violins, and their close, often dissonant Dorian imitation, over a G-pedal. There is a kind of Sisyphean effect, with the violins seemingly unable to escape this, even after an upwards ascent. This idea quickly gives way to a *noema* in F, a device described by Burmeister and Thuringus, whereby an extended passage of consonant homophony is used to highlight a particular textual idea.[62] When the tenor enters with the words of Christ, he invites the labourer(s) echoing this first affect, before similarly resolving to a similar noema on *laboratis* and *onerasti*.

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[62] Burmeister 'Noëma νόημα est talis harmoniae effectio, sive periodus, cujus habitus voces conjunctas habet in eadem sonorum quantite, aures, imo & pexctora suaviter afficiens & mirifice demolcens, si tempestive introducitur.'
'The *noema* is a condition of the *harmonia* or *periodus* characterized by united voices with the same number of notes. It is most aggreably stimulating and wonderfully soothing on the ears and spirit if it is properly introduced.' Trans. in Bartel, *Musica Poetica*, 341.

Music Example 4.2 Heinrich Schütz — vocal entry of 'Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis' (SWV 261)

The main idea expressed is that labour is fulfilled by faith — i.e. in accordance with Lutheran principles. The 'sincere gift' that Schütz offered the Saxon prince might be heard in this motet as including the embodiment of these virtues, and an attempt to prove to the Elector that the trip was, in fact, professionally beneficial.

While I have already discussed Schütz's youthful and larger-scale works, in which he sought to establish his credentials, it is also worthwhile considering the significance of his smaller-scale works, to see how even the horrors of the Thirty Years' War became, in effect, a stimulus. Compelled by the decimation of the Electoral Court's musical resources, Schütz was forced to focus his attention away from polychoral settings to more modest genres, resulting in the vocal concertos of the two volumes of *Kleine Geistliche Concerte,* which he published in 1636 and 1639 respectively. In the dedication to the first volume addressed to Heinrich of Friesen, President of the Appellate Court at Dresden, Schütz articulates the artistic frustration the war had caused him.[63] He tells how the ravages of the war have caused a severe decline in the quality of music and the free arts (*freyen Künsten*) in our fatherland, the German nation (*vnserm lieben Vater-Lande Teutscher Nation*). Note here how Schütz connects the sense of a collective German identity not with the territorial struggles of the war, but with a larger, apparently more cohesive cultural identity. Schütz goes on to describe how he was forced to 'set aside' some of his musical works (*meiner* componir*ten* Musical*ischen* Operum) for want of a willing publisher, but how in order to preserve his divinel imparted talents (*mein von GOtt verliehenes* Talentum), he felt only able to produce these

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[63] Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine Geistliche Concerte I* (Dresden, 1636).

small-scale concertos. This, he claims, was in order to continue his musical work, in celebration of God's glory (*meiner* Musical*ischen Werck zur Ehre Gottes*). This description offers a clear insight into Schütz's generative stimuli, and how as a professional composer, he was able to make the best of the resources he had on hand at the time, even if he harboured ambitions to work with more substantial forms.

However, three years later in his dedication to the second volume (this time to Friedrich III, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein-Gottorf), Schütz appeared somewhat less sanguine.[64] Here, he expressed how it is with shame (*ich mich schemen*) he is forced to offer such a small and inconsequential work (*meiner Musicalischen Arbeit…mit einem so kleinen vnd schlechten Wercklein*). He assures Friedrich that will be able to supply better works (*bessern Wercken*), if the present state of affairs improves. What exactly does Schütz mean by 'better' works? The implication is most probably larger-scale works, which would allow Schütz to better demonstrate his own artistic abilities. Nonetheless, Schütz maintains his sense of artistic integrity in being able to work productively even with the most quotidian forms. Similarly, in the second edition of the *Becker Psalter* (1661), Schütz clarified the necessity for a revised edition, reporting on the editorial process.[65] He stressed that he did not do this for his own fame (*Ruhm*) but rather that he wanted to ensure his settings were fit for regular devotional use. Schütz then makes the rather candid remark that he only completed the project because he felt it was essential; otherwise, he states, he would have spent the short period of his life left revising and completing (*Revidirung und complirung*) more 'profound' or 'significant' inventions (*mehr Sinnreichen Inventionen*).

This urge to preserve and consolidate his work for future generations seems to have been a powerful stimulus for Schütz's compositional activities, showing early signs of the tradition of perfection of *Vollkommenheit* that would characterize eighteenth-century German philosophy and culture.[66] Between the years 1652 and 1653, he seemed particularly exercised by this. In a letter dated 26 June 1652 addressed to Heinrich von Taube, the Marshall of the Electoral Court, Schütz discusses several issues related to his employment and the musicians of the *Hofkapelle*.[67] Schütz laments how he is overworked, and his daily duties — including the significant amount of writing his profession necessitates — and

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[64] Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine Geistliche Concerte II* (Dresden, 1639).
[65] Heinrich Schütz, *Becker Psalter* (Dresden, 1661; second edition).
[66] See Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 18.
[67] *SD*, 152.

complains that the administrative demands placed upon him were causing him great physical pain. A significant part of his frustrations were also likely due to the Prince-Elector Johann Georg introducing number of Italian musicians to his ensemble at the Dresden court from 1650, without any prior consultation with Schütz.[68] Schütz must have felt undermined and aware that the growing vogue for Italian music and Italian musicians at northern European courts signalled a new era, and that many of the aesthetic priorities he had championed (including fully worked counterpoint) would soon be regarded as outmoded. Schütz responded to his anxieties by showing an increasing desire to complete his own compositional projects and secure his own artistic legacy. In his 1652 letter, Schütz stressed his concern to uphold the good reputation he had earned in his younger years (*mein in der jugend verhoffentlich in der Weld, erlangetes guete Zuegnus* [i.e.*Zeugnis*]). Schütz goes on to state that he regretted having invested so much of his effort and work (*So viel fleis, arbeit, gefahr und unkosten*) on the undervalued study of music in Germany, when it might have been better focused elsewhere. He concludes the letter by informing Taube of his intention to travel to Halle and Weissenfels, where he still possessed a property. Writing to the Elector Johann Georg I directly the following year (21 August 1653), Schütz reiterates his request for a pension, in order to conserve the vital strengths demanded to *work out* (or 'promote') praiseworthy musical inventions and compositions (*welche zu lobwürdiger* Musicali*scher* Inventionen *Vnd* compositionen *erfordert warden*).

Exactly one month later (21 September 1653), Schütz wrote again to the Elector, reiterating his request to retire to Weissenfels clearly in a numerated list. Though he described that composition was becoming increasingly difficult, on account of his poor eyesight and degenerating health, he also outlines how he requires time and space to complete some works that are important to him before his death — for God, the world, and his own reputation.[69] In a further letter, undated and addressed to an anonymous recipient at the Dresden court (probably late 1653 or 1654), Schütz repeated his intention to move to Weissenfels, where its peace and quiet would allow him to take his musical works closer to completion (*ersitzen mit ausarbeitung meiner Musicalischen wercke es viel weiter bri gewislich bringen*)

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[68] See Wolfram Steude, "'...vndt ohngeschickt werde, in die junge Welt vnd Neueste Manir der Music mich einzurichten." Heinrich Schütz und die jungen Italiener am Dresdner Hof', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 21 (1999), 63–76, and Mary Frandsen, *Crossing Confessional Boundaries: The Patronage of Italian Sacred Music in Seventeenth-Century Dresden* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), particularly 3-5 and 6-11, which introduce the context for the reforms.
[69] 'So habe ich auch noch etliche meiner mir hochangelegene, v.[nd] albereit angefangene Musicalische wercke zu compliren, wordurch nach meinem Tode auch, Gott, der weldt, vndt einem meinem gute nahmen noch zu dienen, ich Verhoffens bin…' *SD* I, 158.

Indeed, the court chaplain Martin Geier told how Schütz, in his last months and unable to leave his house, still 'worked with great diligence in completing his ever-magnificent musical compositions on various psalms of David — particularly Psalm 119 — and the passions of three of the evangelists.'[70] Clearly, then, Schütz viewed his own work in terms of a hierarchy of more artful projects and the necessary, simple materials required for devotional use, and drew a distinction between the works he was obliged to produce and those he wanted to produce. His correspondence shows his willingness to produce music for the purposes of his employers at Dresden, while at the same time also revealing his own personal artistic ambitions. In the light of these works and Schütz's letters, we might see clearly how at various stages of his career he consciously sought to actualize his works, firstly as a means of establishing a professional reputation, and latterly to serve as a durable legacy after his death.

As I have already suggested, the point at which a composer commits their work to the page marks a definitive moment. The composer makes a statement of intent — either implicitly or explicitly — that the work is intended for the attention of other musicians, even if the composer might be involved in its performance, and it apparently acquires a life of its own. It is this act that characterizes a composer. With the introduction of Italian styles to German musicians in the seventeenth century, extra information was clearly required to clarify some of the practical and spatial procedures, in line with composers' expectations. Throughout his printed works, Schütz was also novel in including specific instructions detailing how his works should be performed — partly to clarify how the Italianate features of his work and some of the logistical idiosyncrasies should be handled — but also because he evidently cared about how he, as the composer, might be perceived in performances in which he was not personally involved.

In the preface of the Basso Continuo partbook for the *Psalmen Davids*, Schütz first stated that it is of course the Kapellmeister's responsibility for how the ensembles should be

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[70] 'Sondern mehrentheils zu Hause bleiben müssen/ daselbst er aber seine meiste Zeit mit Lesung der heiligen Schrifft und anderer geistreicher Theologorum Bücher zu gebracht/ auch noch immer stattliche Musicalische Compositiones über etliche Psalmen Davids/ sonderlich den 119. jtem die Passion nach drey Evangelisten/ mit grossen Fleiß verfertiget/ darbey sich sehr Diaetisch und Mässig gehalten.' Facsimile edition with a commentary by Dieterich Berke, Martin Geier, *Kurtze Beschreibung des (Tit.) Herrn Heinrich Schützen / Chur=Fürstl. Sächs. Älteren Capellmeisters / geführten müheseeligen Lebens=Lauff* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972). My translation. However, a full English translation is included in Robin Leaver, *Music in the Service of the Church: The Funeral Sermon for Heinrich Schütz (1585– 1672)* (St. Louis: Concordia, 1984).

distributed, before adding some instructions for those 'well-minded' musicians (*gutmeindenden* Musicis) who have requested to know the author's intentions.[71] After explaining how the *Coro favoriti* and *Capellen* should be spaced Schütz offers guidance for the performance of passages in *stylo recitativo*, which he appreciated was virtually unknown in Germany at that time.[72] He advises that the singers should not attempt to sing these sections too quickly, as this would result in a disagreeable harmony resembling a 'battle of flies', against the intentions of the author.[73] In closing, Schütz explains how these directions are intended to accompany this lowly work (*geringen Arbeit*) for well-meaning musicians (*gutmeinenden* Musicis).

Schütz's anxiety that his works should be performed in accordance with his own intentions is to be discerned throughout his printed music. In the preface to the *Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, published only four years later, he gives clear guidelines for how the continuo part should accompany the speaking characters (*der Personen colloquenten mit gesetzt worden*) so that the work is able to be 'understood and performed without confusion.'[74] Similarly in the basso continuo book of the *Symphoniae Sacrae II*, published over twenty years later in 1647, Schütz included a 'friendly' request to those German musicians unfamiliar with the 'black notes' of contemporary music (*heutige Music und die schwartzen Noten*) to seek without shame some instruction from those who are familiar with them before any public performance, so that neither they — nor the *author* — suffer the indignity of being mocked.[75] Indeed, Schütz stresses that this is not simply borne of vanity on his part, but that performing these works correctly would go some way to raising the reputation of the German-speaking musicians:

> Experience (to admit the truth here reluctantly) up to now has repeatedly proven
> how this modern Italian composition and works written in that style, together with
> its proper measure, a good many of us Germans, for our part, and so many of
> whom hereby not uneducated, neither rightly know about the black notes applied
> therein nor play them properly, in that (even those places where one believes there

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[71] 'Jedoch damit auch denen welche hierumb deß *Authoris* Meinung zu wissen verlangen haben ein Genüge geschehen möge…" Schütz, *Psalmen Davids* (1619), Preface to the basso continuo partbook.

[72] 'Welcher bis Dato in Teutschland fast vnbekandt…' *Ibid*.

[73] '*Battaglia di Mosche*, oder Fliegenkrieg darauß entstehen der *intention* deß *Authoris* zu wider.' *Ibid*.

[74] 'Damit das Wercke sein ordentlich ohne *confusion* auffeinander folge.' Heinrich Schütz, *Historia der Auferstehung Jesu Christi* (Dresden: 1623).

[75] 'Mein freundlichen Bitten sie wollen ehe und zuvor sie sich unterstehen eines oder das andere dieser Stücken offentlich zugebrauchen sich nicht schämen deswegen zuvor eines Vnterrichts bey solcher Manier Erfahrnen zu erholen auch an der Privat übung keinen Verdruß zu schöpffen damit im wiedrigen nicht etwa ihnen und dem Autori selbsten wider seine Schuld vor gehörigen Danck ein unverhoffter Spott zuwachsen möge.' Heinrich Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae II* (Dresden: 1647), Preface to basso continuo partbook.

to be a good *Music*) pieces composed in this way are oftentimes so badly played, mishandled and, as it were downtrodden that they arouse nothing but disgust and vexation to the laudable German Nation, as though it were unfit in the noble art of music (for, indeed, there is certainly no lack of such accusations from some foreigners.[76]

Once again, we see Schütz's inherent sense of ambition for his works. The *Symphoniae Sacrae* were in no sense *Gebrauchsmusik*, but rather as an extension of the project he began with the *Psalmen Davids*, as the consummation of his absorption of the Italian style and as a totemic representation of how it could be integrated with the German language. Schütz again stressed in its preface that the Thirty Years' War had undermined his own artistic ambitions, and prevented the circulation of modern Italian music in Germany — particularly that of Claudio Monteverdi, who, in Schütz's words, had 'perfected' music.[77] In the preface to the *Bassus ad organum* book of the Symphoniae Sacrae III, he describes how despite the fact that many musicians will know how to perform his music correctly (*sich selbst wohl recht*), he has included some information in his capacity as the author (*Authoris*). Schütz's citation of Monteverdi's name is interesting to note. While there is no solid evidence to back up the suggestion that he actually studied with the Italian composer during his second visit to Venice, it is highly likely he at least met him and perhaps acquired some of his values. Monteverdi's own keenness that his music was performed 'correctly' is attested by a letter from the composer to Annibale Iberti, the ducal ambassador:

> …on seeing His Highness's commission, I straightway began setting the sonnet to music, and was engaged in doing so for six days, then two more what with trying it out and rewriting it. I worked at it with the same devotion of mind that I have always had in regard to every other composition written by me in order the more to serve His Highness's most delicate taste. But I did not work with comparable physical strength, because I was a little indisposed.
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> […]

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[76] 'Vnd hat es zwar bißher die Erfahrung mehrmahls bezeuget / wie dieselbige heutige Italianische / und auff derer Art gerichteten Composition / nebenst dero gebührlichen *Mensur*, über die darinnen angeführten schwartzen Noten (die Wahrheit ungerne allhier zu bekennen) uns Deutschen disseits zum guten theile / und so viel derer hierbey nicht erzogen / weder recht fügen / noch gebührlich abgehen wollen / in deme (auch wohl an solchen Orten / da man eine gute Music zuhaben / sich hat bedüncken lassen) derogleichen auffgesetzte Sachen offtmahls so übel angebracht / zerlästert und gleichsam geradebrecht worden seynt / das sie einen verständigen Gehöre nichts anders als Eckel und Verdruß / ja auch dem Autori selbsten / und der löblichen deutschen Nation / als were dieselbige zu der Edlen Music Kunst so gar ungeschickt / (wie es dann gewißlich an solcher Beschuldigung bey entlichen | Ausländischen nicht ermangelt) eine gantz unrechtmässige Verkleinerung erwecken müssen.' *Ibid.* Trans. *HSR*, 147.

[77] 'die Music nunmehr zu ihrer entlichen Vollkommenheit gelanget seyn soll.' *Ibid.*

Here then is the music I have composed; but you will be doing me a kindness by handing it over, before His Highness hears it, to Signor Don Bassano [Casola; *vice-maestro di cappella*] so that he can rehearse it and get a firm grasp of the melody together with the other gentlemen singers, because it is very difficult for a singer to perform a part which he has not first practised, and greatly damaging to the composition itself, as it is not completely understood on being sung for the first time.[78]

Schütz's increasingly prescriptive notation and advice on how his music *should* be performed seems like an attempt to have his works performed in accordance with his own artistic ideals. When Schütz addresses his remarks to 'well-meaning' musicians, what exactly does this imply? It seems that for Schütz, he was keen for his works to be performed just as he intended them to be (or as close as possible). 'Well-meaning' performers are apparently those who are willing to serve the composer's vision, rather than distorting it — either willfully or through ignorance. While I am by no means suggesting that this is some concrete forerunner of the *Werktreue* ideal, it is interesting to note just how keen Schütz apparently was for his texts to be respected in performance.

It is tempting to see printing as the definitive stage in the actualization of the musical work, as the work is set-down in a duplicable form that can be readily transmitted to numerous recipients. During the seventeenth century, book production across Europe generally increased, and writers such as Cervantes and Milton represented the emergence of the modern author, as the figure primarily responsible for the experience enjoyed by the reader.[79] However, as the recent project based at Royal Holloway co-directed by Stephen Rose has shown, both book and music printing actually declined after the second decade of

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[78] 'Così visto il comandamento di S.A.S. di longo mi posi a comporre in musica il sonetto, et vi sono statto dietro sei giorni, et duoi altri tra provarlo e rescriverlo, mi sono affaticato in farlo con il medesimo affetto che sempre ho hauto d'animo, intorno ad ogni altra compositione da me fatta per causa di maggiormente servire al delicatissimo gusto di S.A.S. ma non mi sono affaticato con le medesime forze di corpo, poichè mi trovo un poco indisposto…questa è la musica da me fatta, ma mi farà gratia avanti sano atiò possa provarla, et pigliarne la sicurezza del'aria, insieme con li altri sig.[ri] Cantori, perchè è cosa molto difficile al cantore rappresentare un aria che prima non habbi pratticato et è di molto danno a quella compositione musicale, come nella prima volta che vien cantata non viene intesa interamente…' Transcribed in Domenico De' Paoli, *Lettere, dediche, e prefazioni di Claudio Monteverdi* (Rome: De Santis, 1973), 28. Translation in Denis Stevens, *The Letters of Claudio Monteverdi* (London: Faber & Faber, 1980), 51.
[79] See Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983; second edition, 2005).

the seventeenth century in German-speaking regions, as a result of the Thirty Years War.[80] Understanding how print functions in the actualization framework is therefore more complex than one might initially imagine.

The publication of Schütz's second volume of *Symphoniae Sacrae* in 1647 demonstrates an interesting case of the hierarchy the composer saw between manuscript and print. As I have already described and shown above, Schütz attached a catalogue of his published music to the *Bassus pro Violone* part, so clearly he afforded if some special status. In the dedication to Christian V, Prince of Denmark, Schütz tells how he was compelled to publish the collection having already provided the prince with copy of the same music, 'at that time written only with the pen.'[81] The composer describes in the preface how versions of his music in manuscript had been Schütz explains how this new edition had been revised and enlarged, in accordance with his ongoing loyalty and dedication to Christian. In this, Schütz lets slip the customary magnanimity, specifying that this is a 'new and *public* edition (*diesen…newen und offentlichen* Edition). Evidently, Schütz was eager for this relationship with the Danish court — as well as his music — to be represented publicly. This is a clear example once again of Schütz actualizing a relationship, and the music that it enabled, as a means of consolidating and enhancing his own status.

Print was by no means an essential part of authorship, but it enabled composers to make their works public and separable from themselves, creating a new public arena where their works could take on the apparent status of independent objects. On 10 January 1664, Schütz wrote to Duke Augustus of Brunswick-Lüneburg discussing the deposit of his music in the Duke's library, during the seventeenth century the largest library north of the Alps (Leibniz was, in fact, later to become the librarian).[82] In the letter, Schütz apologizes for being unable to include recent works of his, which he describes as being even better elaborated or 'worked-out' than the ones he had already discussed, but which only existed in manuscript at the time, owing to the lack of a willing publisher.[83] Schütz evidently

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[80] See Stephen Rose, Sandra Tuppen and Loukia Drosopoulou, 'Writing a Big Data history of music, *Early Music* 43 (2015), 649-660. See also Stephen Rose, 'Music Printing in Leipzig during the Thirty Years' War', *Notes: Quarterly Journal of the Music Library Association* 61 (2004), 323-349.

[81] 'Und damahls nur mit der Feder abgeschribenes musicalisches Wercklein.' Heinrich Schütz, *Symphoniae Sacrae II* (Dresden: 1647).

[82] See Leo G. Linder, *Die Herzog-August-Bibliothek und Wolfenbüttel* (Braunschweig: Westermann, 1997).

[83] 'Und have E[urer] Furstl[ichen] Durchl[aucht] Ich bevorab unterth[ä]n[i]gst[e]n grösten danck zu sagen, das solcher meinr geringen arbeit, Sie gn[ä]d[i]gst gesonnen, die Ehre und hohe gnade zu erweisen, undt deroselben auff dero furstl.[ichen] undt durch gantz Europa höchstberumben *Bibliotheck*, auch Ein räumlein gn[ä]d[i]gst zu gönnen, Dahero Ich dann auch anlaß bekommen zu wünschen, das meine noch ¨brige in

wanted his actualized works in the library for posterity, to outlive him, and to affirm his connections with one of the most prestigious households in Europe.

Making the ephemeral durable seems to have been the most significant factor in the case of the *Historia von der Geburt Jesu Christi* (published by Wolfgang Seyffert in 1664, but probably performed at the Dresden Court in 1660). The work dates from the time by which Schütz had reached the height of his creative powers. However, Schütz opted to publish only the Evangelist's part underlaid with continuo. An afterword included at the back of the collection describes how 'the author' had some reservations about issuing his inventions (i.e. the concertos that are interpolated within the narrative) in print, as the musical resources they required were beyond the provision of most institutions.[84] Only the text for each intermedium was provided.

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meinen handen mit der feder abcopirte, noch rückständige, undt (: meiner meinung nach :) besser als die vorige *elaborirte* arbeit, Ich auf solche masse…' *SD* I, 189.

[84] 'Insonderheit aber darbey mit stillschweigen nicht zu übergehen ist daß der *Author* dieselben in Druck heraus zu geben dahero Bedencken getragen hat alldieweil Er vermercket daß außer fürstlichen wohlbesälten.' Capellen solche seine Inventionen schwerlich ihren gebührenden effect anderswo arreichen würden.' Heinrich Schütz, *Historia von der Geburt Jesu Christi* (Dresden: 1664). This text is not specifically attributed to Schütz in the print, which prompted Philipp Spitta to suggest in his 1885 edition of the work that it was possibly written by Alexander Hering, a former pupil of Schütz's, who was then organist of the Kreuzkirche in Dresden. See the preface to Heinrich Schütz, *Historia von der Geburt Jesu Christi*, ed. Philipp Spitta, *Heinrich Schütz: Sämtliche Werke* I (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1885).
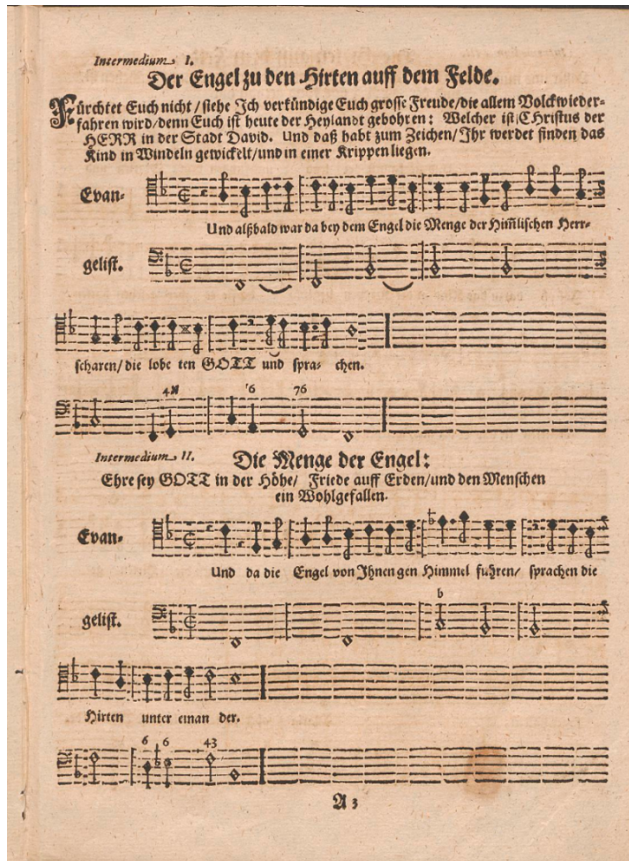
Figure 4.5 Third page of the *Historia von der Geburt Jesu Christi* (Dresden, 1664) showing text for the first and third intermedia

The afterword recommends that anyone wishing to perform the work should obtain the author's authorization (*worselbst mit des* Authoris *Bewilligung*), by contacting his agents Sebastian Knüpfer, then Thomaskantor in Leipzig, or Alexander Hering. Otherwise, it is suggested that any willing performers might compose their own concertos, or even commission them from another composer, with the texts provided, depending on their requirements The afterword claims that such restrictions, and the fact that relatively few prints of the Evangelist's part were issued, were necessary in order to limit any unlicensed copying (i.e. piracy).[85] Different versions of the concertos and choruses exist in manuscript sources — including parts (in the Düben collection) — making it clear the work was performed and most likely pirated.[86]

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[85] 'Endlich dieses vorweittläufftigen Abschreibens willen / Er etliche gar wenig Exemplar über diesen seinen Evang.[elischen] Chor / hätte auflegen lassen / und ausser dem / densemlben auch zürucke gehalten haben würde.' *Ibid.*

[86] See Eva Linfield, 'A New Look at the Sources of Schütz's Christmas History', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 4/5 (1982-3), 19-36. See also Bettina Varwig's 2017 new critical edition if the *Historia der Geburt* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2017), which incorporates the sources from the Düben collection and the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, superseding Friedrich Schöneich's 1955 edition (*NSA* I). The edition also contains a helpful appendix, succinctly outlining the work's complex transmission history.

Figure 4.6 Cantus I MS part of the *Historia von der Geburt Jesu Christi* from the Düben Collection, showing Swedish text added beneath the original German — Uppsala University Library VMHS 041:003

However, this seems a somewhat paradoxical situation: that a composer should be so keen to see his works issued in print, yet not provide sufficient resources to allow for a full performance. Joshua Rifkin and Eva Linfield have suggested that Schütz seemed neither to have 'instigated nor supervised' the publication, but it seems impossible to believe that it would have been issued without his permission, considering his proximity to the agents, and his hands-on approach in issuing his own music.[87] It seems that Schütz's priority was to actualize the 1660 performance in print, and the novelty of this Italianate drama for the German tradition, to represent his wide knowledge and versatility, rather than make the work available for performances by other musicians.

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[87] Joshua Rifkin and Eva Linfield, *NGO*, 'Schütz, Heinrich', §5. Last years (1657–72).

Interaction

I have termed the third phase in the actualization framework *interaction*. This term might seem superfluous, in that many of the processes outlined here might simply be considered part of reception. However, to my mind, 'reception' seems to allude to a more passive process. I believe that interaction better describes the symbiotic relationships between composers and those who engage with their works, which are essential for to the validation of composers' work. Interaction thus suggests how this phase reinforces the sense of reality the work has, and seeing this as part of an ongoing reciprocal relationship — as opposed to a unilateral relationship where production is followed by reception. Interaction marks the point at which the composer's work becomes known to the wider world, and appreciated through performances, hearings and (sometimes) critical responses. The interactive phase has clear links to the consolidatory phase, connecting composers and musicians together and constructing networks of influence.

As I have shown above, Schütz evidently cared deeply about how his works were perceived in the wider world: he sought to exert significant influence on how they were performed and distributed. In a number of his dedications, it is possible to see how he sought to use his works as a means of affirming relationships with key patrons and supporters. Through publication, he very deliberately sought to make these relationships public, as I have already discussed in relation to the *Symphoniae Sacrae II*. As Stephen Rose has explored, dedication was an important gesture on the part of early modern German composers, and helped to define and assert their social and cultural status.[88] As Rose describes, different levels of dedication were employed: primary dedication, where the dedicatee was clearly named and celebrated in the print; and secondary dedication, where the dedicatee was not named, but from whom some tribute was subsequently requested. But in considering the act of dedication, it is worthwhile to pause for a moment and consider — what exactly was being dedicated? I would like to suggest that what is essentially being dedicated is the composer's labour, in addition skill, time and effort. The print becomes a token encapsulating these, which are 'donated' to the dedicatee, with the expectation of reciprocation through favours and/or money. And money, as anthropologist David Graeber has shown, is simply the conversion of a personal ability or virtue into an impersonal

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[88] See Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-1640,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005), 1-37; and Stephen Rose, 'Music Print and Presentation in Saxony During the Seventeenth Century,' *German History* 23 (2005), 1-19.

'opportunity', allowing the recipient to gain agency in the wider world.[89] In the dedicatory act, abstract, ephemeral skills that are dependent on real-time experience become convertible into symbolic capital.

I have already drawn attention to Schütz's dedication of the *Psalmen Davids* to its primary dedicatee, Johann Georg I. In this dedication, Schütz takes the opportunity to thank the Elector for his favour, and to qualify the work as the product of his studies in Italy. However, on 17 July 1619, Schütz also wrote to the Frankfurt City Council, with a copy of his publication. Despite the rather overtly entrepreneurial spirit of the letter, Schütz attempts to identify himself with the original devotional function of the psalms. His letter describes how he has set some 'psalms of the King and Prophet David, in the same spirit as they were originally conceived, to praise God.' Schütz describes how this should be the objective for 'each person in his profession' (*Beruf*).[90] In addition to this apparently selfless aim, however, Schütz eventually clarifies the purpose of the letter, stating not once but twice that he has enclosed a copy of 'my work' (*meinen* Opere) for the Council's perusal.[91] An entry in the city's *Bürgermeisterbuch* dated 5 August 1619 reveals that Schütz was given 6 thalers in receipt of the dedication.[92]

Six years later, in the dedication to his *Cantiones Sacrae* (1625), Schütz addressed the dedicatee, Johann Ulrich von Eggenberg — a Catholic patron — stressing how the work was the product of Schütz's mental and artistic labour:

> Most Illustrious and Highest Prince, after I applied my mind to the study of music,
> that excellent branch of knowledge agreeable and pleasant to God and mortals, I
> directed the greatest care and all my industry toward the following goal: namely,

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[89] Graeber identifies the impersonal in several of his articles and books as being one of the central features of the modern Western economic system. In particular, see David Graeber, 'Debt, violence, and impersonal markets: Polanyian meditations', in Chris Hann and Keith Hart (eds), *Market and Society: The Great Transformation Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 106-132; and David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5000 Years* (New York: Melville House, 2011), 13-14.

[90] 'Euer herligkeiten vndt gunsten gebe ich dienst freundlich zuvornehmen, das ich ezliche Psalm des Königs vndt Propheten Davidts wie sie in ihrenn *formalibus* von ihm selbst *Conciperet*, aus sonderlicher *Devotion* Gott zu Ehrenn, wie ein ieder in seinen beruff alles zuförderst dohin zurichten vnd anzustellen...' *SD* I, 16.

[91] 'Als lebe ich hierümb der vngezweieltenn Zuvorsicht E.[uer] herligk[eiten] vndt gunst[en] wurden zuförderst an solchenn vnndt dergelichen Geistlichenn *Concerten* eiene hohe beliebung, vndt an diesenn meinen *Opere* kein vngeneigtes gemüth oder gefallen schepfenn. Derowegenn an dieselbe | ich die *offerirung* berurtes vnndt beÿ gebundenes meines *operis* hiermit zu werck gerichtet, ganz dienstlich bittend solches mit geneigten gemüth auf yndt an nehmenn.' *Ibid.*

[92] 'Als Heinrich Schüz [sic] Churf[ürstlich] Sächsicher Capelmeister zu Dreßden Einem Erb.[aren] Raht etliche geistliche Psalmen mit und[er]schiedlichen Stimmen *componirt*, verehrt .|. Soll man Ihme ein verehrung von 6. thalern thun lassen.' *SD* I, 76.

> that in this matter, my study and all my labours might yield first indeed to the glory of the divine Spirit; secondly, that they might be pleasing to men, especially princes —indeed, in my opinion, deservedly so.[93]

As this passage makes clear, Schütz suggests that the collection is more than simply a series of motets. He clearly regards the collection as drawing together his training with his work ethic, making it all the more virtuous. He claims later in the letter that he had only decided to publish the collection after being exhorted to do so by his friends and colleagues, and had only done so in order to give back to God, 'the most generous author'. However, he then reiterates the essence of the gesture, as a donation of his work, in addressing Eggenberg directly: 'I humbly offer and dedicate this musical work to Your Highness, praying with due obedience, that you accept my labours with kindness now, when I am absent, just as then, when I was present, you declared that my musical endeavours were not displeasing to the Holy Imperial Majesty, nor to you yourself.[94]

In these examples, we see a clear urge on Schütz's part to actualize his work — to make it real, in order to make it quantifiable as a form of symbolic capital. To von Eggenberg, Schütz implies that the dedication is valuable insofar as it constitutes Schütz's own time and labour. The mixture of this intent with the attempt to retain magnanimity is a clear attempt to disguise this, if not entirely cloak this intention entirely. As Derrida points out, while gifts initially appear to be a symbol of generosity, they tend to result in a sequence of actions on the part of the giver and the recipient, based in emotionally rooted obligation.[95] In Derrida's theory of gift exchange draws particular attention to the opportunity for public display, to validate one's place in society. As he eloquently describes: 'The exchangist producer feels once more — he has always felt it, but this time he does so more acutely — that he is exchanging more than a product or his labour-time, but that he is giving something of himself — his time, his life.'[96]

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[93] Principi ac Domino meo Clementissimo. POsteaquam ad præclaram illam DEO & hominibus gratam jucundamq[ue] Musicæ scientiam applicavi animum, Princeps Illustrissime ac Celissime, in id maximè curam omnem industriamq[ue] converti, ut studium hac in re meum, laboresque omnes prìmum quidem Niminis divini gloriæ cederent; pòst viris etiam Princibus placerent, meâ sane sententiâ non immeritò. Heinrich Schütz, *Cantiones Sacrae* (Freiberg, 1625), *HSR*, 38.
[94] 'Quibus de causis Celsitati Tuæ'. *Ibid.*
[95] Jacques Derrida, *Given Time: I. Counterfeit Money: Counterfeit Money* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 8-14.
[96] *Ibid.*, 141.

In addition to Schütz's enterprising approach, we might also see clear examples of him seeking to control the distribution of his works. In the basso continuo book of the *Kleine Geistliche Concerte* Schütz informs the reader that his musical works are available for purchase in Dresden from Johann Clemm, the Court Organist, and in Leipzig from Daniel Weixer, Organist of the Nikolaikirche for a 'fair/reasonable price' (*billichen Preis*).[97] Although *billichen* was a fairly standard term used in such contexts, its use seems to imply a common understanding between the composer/publisher and purchaser of the cost being relative to some moral value. It is also significant to note that the *Kleine Geistliche Concerte II* (Dresden, 1639) was to be the first of five of Schütz's publications to be printed on his own paper, implying his increasing interest in the hands-on work of printing and overseeing the transmission of his music.[98]

This sense of equanimity — of the works having a nominal, quantifiable value, and the composer having a moral sense of intellectual property rights over his music — is also evident in a number of letters in which Schütz sought privileges for his prints. Before publishing the *Psalmen Davids* in 1619, he wrote to the Elector to request an electoral printing privilege beforehand. Schütz describes that, although he would now 'gladly take up the work and make a start on it as soon as possible, I am afraid yet, that on completion of the work, experienced booksellers and printers might immediately undertake to publish it, reprint anew, and then sell it. Consequently, my copies might then remain unsold and cause me significant and considerable losses.'[99] Schütz goes on to describe how, with the Elector's protection for 10 years, he might immediately begin this work without any trouble, and complete it successfully.

Schütz made two further petitions to the Elector requesting printing privileges. In 1627, shortly before he returned to Venice, he wrote to the Elector requesting a patent for the *Becker Psalter* (published in 1628), claiming that earlier versions of these simple psalm settings had fallen into others' hands, and he was afraid that, without the protection

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[97] Heinrich Schütz, *Kleine Geistliche Concerte II* (Dresden, 1639), dedication to Friedrich III of Schleswig-Holstein.
[98] The other four publications were the *Symphoniae Sacrae II* and *III*; *Geistliche Chormusic* (1648); and the *Zwölfe geistliche Gesänge* (1657), which were all published in Dresden. See Stephen Rose, 'The Mechanisms of the Music Trade in Central Germany, 1600-1640,' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 130 (2005), 1-37 (17-18). Rose cites Wolfram Steude, 'Das wiederfraugefundene Opus ultimum von Heinrich Schütz: Bemerkungen zur Quelle und zum Werk', *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 4-5 (1982-83), 9-18.
[99] 'Wann Ich dann nun gerne zum förderlichsten das werck in die händt nemen, vndt einen anfang machen woltte, Ich aber noch die beÿsorge trage, es möchten sich etwa nach verfertigung des *Operis*, geübte buchhändtler vndt drucker vntterstehen, daßelbe also baldst aufzulegen, aufs newe widrumb nachzudrucken…' *SD* I, 11.

afforded by an Electoral patent, they would be reprinted and sold by others. By 1636, he wrote to Johann Georg, requesting a third privilege. He writes how he wished to begin issue his works made over a period of twenty years in the Elector's service, but that booksellers had been refusing to accept other works of his, on account of pirated copies. The privilege, claimed Schütz, would help to protect both him and the publishers against this 'injurious reprinting.'[100] In an undated letter (presumably penned between the request for the privilege and the collection's publication), Schütz wrote to the court, informing them that he intended to submit a number of presentation copies of the first volume of the *Kleine Geistliche Concerte* in due course, but that the specific number would depend upon whether he opted to self-publish, or if he could find a willing bookdealer.[101] Here we see Schütz's clear ambition to have his works published and be publicly available, even at a time where musical opportunities were so limited — as he constantly attempted to impress — and it might be financially costly. There is little evidence to suggest that Schütz's works were pirated at any level that would have caused him any significant financial loss, giving the impression that this is perhaps a convenient reason to appeal to the Elector's ethical sensibilities. As it happened, the collection was eventually published by the Leipzig bookseller Gottfried Gross, on 29 September 1636. Furthermore, in the April of the following year, Schütz was granted an Imperial printing privilege by Emperor Ferdinand III, just after his succession at Holy Roman Emperor on the death of his father on 15 February 1637.[102] The *Privilegium Impressorum* protected Schütz's *Opera Musicalia* from unauthorized sale or distribution, under threat of a fine of 5 Marks in *Löthiges* gold (i.e. pure, 24-karat gold), half of which would be given to Schütz and half to the Imperial Treasury, as well as the seizure of any prints.

In a recent article, Stephen Rose explores a series of documents from the Österreichisches Staatsarchiv and the Sächsisches Hauptstaatarchiv in Dresden, examining the process by which printing privileges were issued to Schütz, and a number of his contemporaries, by the Holy Roman Emperor and the Elector of Saxony.[103] The article presents fresh insight on the status of privileges, revealing that the work of Hanjörg

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[100] Letter of 9 August 1636; 'schädlichen Nachdruckes'. *SD* I, 78.
[101] 'Ich erbötig, wann ich meine werke selbst verlegen würde, 6 Ex[em]pl[a]r: ins Oberconsistorium einzu andworten, wann Es aber Ich aber Buchführer zu Verlegern haben würde, Solte noch einst so viel vndt also 12 Ex[em]pl[a]r eingeandtwordet.' *SD* I, 79.
[102] Transcription in Wessely, Othmar, 'Zwei unveröffentlichte Heinrich Schütz-Dokumente.' *Die Musikerziehung* 7 (1953–54), 7–10.
[103] Stephen Rose, 'Protected Publications: The Imperial and Saxon Privileges for Printed Music, 1550-1700, *Early Music History*, 37 (2018), 247-313.

Pohlmann, which suggested that privileges essentially marked the origin of the modern copyright system, was to some extent misguided.[104] Rose proposes that, rather than offering intellectual property rights as such, privileges were awarded for two main reasons: to protect a composer's financial investment in printing his music, and to confer prestige and symbolic power upon publications. As he shows, the correspondence between composers and rulers offer real insight to some of the implications regarding musical authorship in early modern German-speaking regions. Rose highlights the notion of *Gemeinnutz* or 'common good' (as opposed to *Eigennutz*, 'self-interest), as an central value in seventeenth-century Lutheran society, pointing out that works which were not protected by privilege were essentially regarded as common property.[105] He makes the important point that a privilege was actually a suspension of the common law — a favour afforded to a composer by the ruler, in acknowledgment of his labour and industry, and the high quality of his artistry.

In the light of such efforts and protective measures, it is clear that there was a shared understanding by Schütz and his protectors that the musical works, as actualized in the finished publications, were his. There is the strong sense that his labour — both in the sense the labour of publishing and his own intellectual labour — afforded him physical property rights (if not intellectual rights), in a similar understanding to Adam Smith, who would later his labour theory of value on this basis. As Smith stated: 'The property which every man has in his own labour, as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable.'[106] This seems entirely consistent with the early modern Lutheran understanding of musical works developed in the seventeenth century, as evidenced by Schütz and his correspondents.

Conclusions

In these examples, we can see that the idea of a work-concept, of something representing actualized compositional work, does seem to have been something of which composers (particularly Schütz) began to be increasingly conscious of in the seventeenth century. As I have stated throughout, the model I propose for the actualization of musical works is by no means fixed, and it might be adjusted to account for specific musical cases. However, I

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[104] See Hansjörg Pohlmann, *Die Frühgeschichte des musicalischen Urheberrechts (ca. 1400-1800): Neue Materialien zur Entwicklung des Urheberrechtsbewußtseins der Komponisten* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962).
[105] Stephen Rose, 'Protected Publications', 278.
[106] Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (Glasgow Edition), 138.

believe that it is nonetheless a useful means of comprehending how works came to be seen as such, and why it was in their composers' interests for them to be perceived this way. As I have shown by using Heinrich Schütz as a case study, musical works became a key part in establishing composers' status within Lutheran German society in the seventeenth century, and a means of generating capital within a complex social hierarchy. Despite her attempt to make a 'historical approach' to the work-concept, Goehr's work is more focused on reconciling ontological methods with an incredibly selective, patchy history, clearly chosen to support her own central claim. By approaching musical works from a historical perspective, and tracing how we arrived at the work-concept, we might begin to see that composers were very much conscious of how they were perceived by the work's recipients, and styled themselves accordingly. In this, we can see how the work ethic I discussed in the previous chapters came to resemble a vendible form of capital, signalling to the outside world that the composers were skilled and accomplished professionals.

Furthermore, by understanding how composers regarded their own labour and its actualized products, we see that the common narratives of ownership and autonomy are often misleading. When Goehr asserts that 'pre-modern' music was merely functional, and not deemed the intellectual property of its creator, this is shown to be incorrect even for Schütz working in the first half of the seventeenth century. We begin to render an image of composers as individuals, with their own creative desires and personal agendas, while also diminishing the traditional portraits of them as being unworldly, divinely inspired geniuses.

My analogy of music being both as both text and event — as light is both particle and wave — is, I hope, a useful way of comprehending how different priorities can yield different yet equally valid understandings. However, as I have outlined, my approach here is very much influenced by naturalist and pragmatist philosophy, which attempts to describe how things work rather than simply what they are. I believe that such a means of understanding the historical provenance of the work-concept, establishing how and why the term acquired currency, is more useful than attempting to describe what it is in philosophical terms, devoid of context. Ultimately, I believe this will be more useful to historical musicologists and to students of music, whose main interests lie in attempting to reconcile their present praxis and intellectual frameworks with those of the past.

In the framework of actualization, we see that the work-concept was a nexus for a whole series of complex processes, which we would otherwise never have been able to trace. By seeing works as things that come about through processes, we might begin to assemble a new perspective on composers such as Schütz, with the model shifting the accepted understandings of his career and music — from a dutiful musician who simply provided functional music in accordance with his professional responsibilities, to an ambitious and self-styled composer who saw his works as the consummation of his experience and creative abilities, and a means of establishing his identity in the world. Bettina Varwig describes how her approach simply attempts to offer 'one more possible reformulation, one more paraphrase around the impenetrable and endlessly fascinating chaos of historical reality.'[107] This is similar, I hope, to what the model of actualization brings to our understanding of Schütz (and could do for other composers too, in different applications). With its dualistic status as something both functional and artistic, music was an incredibly powerful medium for creating and affirming social relations, way beyond its ostensible appearances. By viewing Schütz's works within the framework of actualization, we might move beyond the kind of image that he acquired in the twentieth century as an orthodox Lutheran, with his music having been simply produced for liturgical functions. In turn, we might come to approach music as a multivalent thing that serves multiple functions and people — least of all its composer. And in doing this, we will simultaneously expose a series of deeper preoccupations that might not be explicitly visible *prima facie*, and move beyond the kind of one-way reception histories that largely characterized twentieth-century studies of the musical work.

With the reverence we still afford 'old' texts, we evince the intuitive sense of what music meant to its creators and receivers, which is surely one of the underlying factors that still inspires our fascination is its historicity. Every time we perform a piece of music, we reimagine the labour that went into its creation — we reactualize it. Asking why this is valuable and what we are valuing seems to be a critical step in coming to terms with what actually constitutes musical work. For, by tracing where these values came from and understanding our own values against the relief of their historical origins, we will be in a better position to evaluate them and consider how relevant they are (or otherwise) to our twenty-first-century musical culture.

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[107] Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz*, 7.

CONCLUSIONS

As an artist, he was uncommonly modest. Notwithstanding the great superiority which he had over the rest of his profession, and which he could not but feel; notwithstanding the great admiration and reverence which were daily shown him as so outstanding an artist, there is no instance of his having ever assumed upon it. When he was sometimes asked how he had contrived to master the art to such a high degree, he generally answered: 'I was obliged to be industrious; whoever is equally industrious will succeed equally well.' He seemed not to lay any stress on his greater natural talents.[1]

When I first conceived and embarked on this project, I was primarily concerned with attempting to better understand how early modern German composers and musicians had historically used the term 'work'. Having encountered the term in a few sources during my undergraduate studies, and been directed to Goehr by numerous writers with a wide range of scholarly interests, I hoped to better understand how the historical usage of the term might relate to the existing discourse surrounding the work-concept. I had some sense that several key figures did, in fact, perceive their music in terms of works — and so wanted to investigate what this meant in broader cultural terms. In the four chapters of this dissertation, I have sought to examine many of these references, and attempted to gain a sense of what they might tell us about work's role in early modern Lutheran society, and how its contributions to ethical and aesthetic principles made an impact on the practice of its composers.

However, over the course of my research, I began to increasingly recognize just how significant the work ethic remains today within the reception of German baroque music. In this concluding chapter, I would therefore like to draw these two strands together. I wish to point out where some vestigial remnants of this musical work ethic are still to be observed, and meditate on what these might reveal about our contemporary society. As I observed in the introduction, the term 'work' still enjoys wide currency in relation to seventeenth and

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[1] 'Als Künstler war er außerordentlich bescheiden. Bey dem großen Uebergewicht, welches er über seine Kunstverwandte hatte, und gewiß fühlen mußte, bey der Bewunderung und Ehrerbiethung, die ihm täglich als so hervorragendem Künstler bewisen wurde, hat man doch kein Beyspiel, daß er je irgend einen Anspruch darauf gebaut hätte. Wenn er bisweilen gefragt wurde, wie er es denn angefangen habe, der Kunst in einem so hohen Grade mächtig zu werden, antworte er gewöhnlich: Ich habe fleißig seyn müssen; wer eben so fleißig ist, der wird es eben so weit bringen können. Auf seine größern angebohrnen Gaben schien er nichts zu rechnen.' Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 45; *NBR*, 459.

eighteenth-century German music in mainstream music journalism. In what follows, I wish to consider some of the deeper questions for why this might be, and the importance in asking these questions. Is it possible that the term and its values still have a role to play in our culture? Can we still *hear* the composers' work, and is this one of the reasons why we continue to identify with it?

In pondering these questions, I seek to reintegrate the dualism between process and product back into the contemporary discussion of seventeenth and eighteenth-century music — and present it as a model for considering music from other historical milieus. In the last decades of the twentieth century, Goehr and other writers opened up a discussion regarding the so-called 'Beethoven paradigm', interrogating why he became regarded as such an influential figure in the classical tradition of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2] In the same spirit, and in light of the material I have discussed in this dissertation, I would like to open up a discussion regarding what we might think of as part of the 'Bach paradigm'. While the Beethoven paradigm was characterized as the struggle between genius and compulsion, the Bach paradigm perpetuates myths that are very pertinent in twenty-first-century society, including the value of hard work, self-determination and humility. I wish to consider how Bach — and his predecessors in the Lutheran tradition — might feature in what Karol Berger calls '*our* modernity'?[3] I want to encourage a comparative evaluation of the values attached to early modern Lutheran music and our own culture.

To be absolutely clear: I am not, in any way, attempting to detract from or undermine Bach's status as one of the most accomplished composers of the classical tradition. Rather, it is my hope that this dissertation might help us to ask deeper questions concerning *why* he was so capable, and how this might influence how we respond to his music. Likewise, it is worth stressing that my observations regarding the work-concept are not intended to necessarily repudiate Goehr's work — instead, they are offered as a more

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[2] For the most comprehensive overview of the 'Beethoven paradigm', see Scott Burnham, *Beethoven Hero* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995). Goehr's second chapter 'After 1800: The Beethoven Paradigm' in *The Imaginary Museum* (205-242) outlines its importance with regard to the work-concept. However, as Goehr reveals in a prefatory essay ('His Master's Voice', xvii-xlix) appended to the 2007 edition of *The Imaginary Museum*, her own doctoral supervisor, Bernard Williams, suggested that an investigation of the 'Wagner paradigm' might, in fact, provide an even more rewarding means of assessing the nineteenth-century work-concept.
[3] Karol Berger, *Bach's Cycle, Mozart's Arrow — An Essay on the Origins of Musical Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 12.

historically specific extension of it. Ultimately, I propose that much is to be gained for musical culture by reincorporating the 'work' in the work-concept as being both process and object; I hope to move beyond the aversion to objectified greatness, by promoting experiential appreciation of this music, rather than being daunted by it as a form of dominant culture. I want to probe our latent understanding of what 'great' music is, and why it continues to be upheld as such. We live in a paradoxical age, with regards to our relationship to the past. While populist politicians are winning elections in Europe and the USA by promising to return to a halcyon age, across the same societies, historically received cultural values and idols are undergoing unprecedented interrogation, whether in questions of public stature (for example, Rhodes Must Fall, and broader decolonizing efforts), or in the reappraisal of private morality, in the ongoing revelations of historic sexual misconduct by leading artists and public figures. These movements might seem to be of little relevance to historical musicology (and *vice versa*); on the contrary, I would propose that being mindful of how and why work enjoyed such culture value, as evidenced in this repertory, might offer significant insight regarding contemporary values.

Bach in the *Lutherjahr*

Completing this project in 2017 has been entirely serendipitous; in all truth, I had not even considered it was approaching when I formulated my preliminary questions, and began to frame my research. The 500th anniversary of Luther posting the ninety-five theses at Wittenberg (invariably portrayed as the seminal moment of the Reformation) has seen numerous outpourings in print of Luther's definitive influence on the 'modern world', and attempts to explain how Lutheran culture shaped northern European and American cultural values. For example, in a recent article in *The Economist*, Luther and Lutheran culture — the two are frequently presented synonymously — are cited as being the origin for, variously: the ongoing government sponsorship of the large network of professional orchestras and opera houses in Germany; the Bauhaus school (perhaps overlooking somewhat the significant roles played by its Jewish founder-members), and the design and aesthetic of flat-pack furniture of IKEA (of Lutheran Sweden).[4] While Luther is invariably personified as an liberating iconoclast, Lutheranism as a faith is depicted as being based on

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[4] Charlemagne, 'How Martin Luther has shaped Germany for half a millennium', *The Economist* <https://www.economist.com/news/europe/21713843-500th-anniversary-95-theses-finds-country-moralistic-ever-how-martin-luther-has> Last accessed 7 December 2017. As Sara Kristoffersson discusses, the kind of moralistic rhetoric in IKEA's company history and documentation (its founder Ingvar Kamprad's own history and Nazi connections notwithstanding) has often been traced to Lutheran theology. See Sara Kristoffersson, *Design by Ikea — A Cultural History* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2014).

thrift, humility, and rationalism. These critical narratives of ongoing influence tend — perhaps unsurprisingly — to gloss over Luther's fierce anti-Semitism and his actions in the Peasants' War.[5]

In any case, the year 2017 has also seen many of the composers I have discussed here and their music (rarely performed, even by specialist early music ensembles) brought to the fore, with works by Schütz and Praetorius among others being featured in major international classical music festivals.[6] In the nineteenth century, the Lutheran composers of the seventeenth century were regarded — to employ Phillip Spitta's metaphor — merely as foothills, leading to the high peaks of Bach, Handel and the Viennese classicists.[7] Despite the increased interest in earlier music, however, Bach is still discussed in positively Himalayan terms. In a review of the BBC Proms 'Reformation Day', the critic David Nice described Bach as representing 'the Alpha and the Omega' of music.[8] This sense of Bach being a point of origin has often been closely related to his work ethic. Describing the composer in his last year at Weimar, Forkel tells how how 'Johann Sebastian Bach was now 32 years of age; he had made such good use of his time, had played, composed, and studied so much and, by this unremitting zeal and diligence, acquired such a mastery over every part of the art, that he stood like a giant, able to trample all around him into dust.'[9] Forkel's giant was no freak-of-nature — he was a self-made giant, who had built himself with an unsurpassable work ethic that had compelled him to study with a great zeal in an attempt to improve both himself and music. Through his own personal rigour (note that once again we see the reference to *Fleiß* in Forkel's writing), Bach was seen by nineteenth-century critics as achieving an artistic stature without parallel.

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[5] For an interesting insight into Luther's contribution to the systemic anti-Semitic culture of German culture from the sixteenth into the twentieth century, see Christopher Ocker, 'Martin Luther and Anti-Judaism and Anti-Semitism', in Derek Nelson and Paul Hinlicky (eds), *Oxford Encyclopedia of Martin Luther* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). Currently available only online via Oxford Scholarship.

[6] Tim Ashley, 'Reformation Day review – Martin Luther's Seismic Text Gets Singalong Salute', *The Guardian* <https://www.theguardian.com/music/2017/aug/21/reformation-day-proms-review> Last accessed 7 December 2017. In its 'drastic austerity', Schütz's St Luke Passion was deemed 'a revelation' by Ashley.

[7] 'Bachs und Händels Schöpfungen sind wie zwei hohe Berge, von denen das Auge gewahr werden konnte, wie weit, reich und blühend rings die Welt war.' Philipp Spitta, 'Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst', *Die Grenzboten* 52 (1893), 21.

[8] David Nice, 'Proms 47, 48 & 49 review: Reformation Day - Superlative Bach as the Bedrock', *The Arts Desk* <http://www.theartsdesk.com/classical-music/proms-47-48-49-review-reformation-day-superlative-bach-bedrock> Last accessed 7 December 2017.

[9] 'Joh. Seb. Bach war nun 32 Jahre alt geworden, hatte seine Zeit bis zu dieser Periode so genußt, so viel studirt, gespielt und componirt, und durch diesen anhaltenden Fleiß und Eiser eine solche Gewalt über die ganze Kunst erhalten, daß er nun wie ein Riese da stand, und alles um sich her in den Staub treten konnte.' Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*, 7; *NBR*, 427.

In the radio play *BACH: The Great Passion* by James Runcie, broadcast on BBC Radio 4 on Easter Saturday in 2017, Bach's work ethic is one of the main features of the character. Runcie, son of the former Archbishop of Canterbury Robert Runcie, characterizes Bach as a man obsessed with his work, and frustrated by the limited musical resources at his disposal in Leipzig, as he prepares for the first performance of the Matthew Passion on Good Friday 1727. The work is intended to be interspersed with diegetic musical performances, and attempts to situate the audience right in the midst of Bach's life and creative process. In an early scene, as the Bach family sit around the dinner table, Bach describes how 'My father liked his beer and tobacco. My mother liked her bread. We've always been simple folk. But we have to work. It's all there is. If you're not going forward, you're going backwards.'[10]

Bach was played by Simon Russell Beale, an actor who sang as a treble at St Paul's Cathedral and has presented numerous documentaries for the BBC on sacred music in recent years. In rendering Bach's character, he seems to be conflicted between a man driven by pessimism and divine purpose, stricken by frustration, and an inability to relate to his pupils and colleagues. As Bach's trebles struggle to get to grips with the complex musical language of the piece, Bach implores them to devote more energy: 'You have to work harder, concentrate on every moment. Now go back to your cubicles. STUDY THE MUSIC. The notes are the black things. LEARN THEM.' Bach's character seems to see work as the means to overcome the frustration to achieve fulfilment. In the play's final scene, following the (inevitably successful) premiere of the Passion, we hear the final chorus's final ritornello, and Bach's wife Anna Magdalena asks the composer, 'Do you know what you've achieved?' To this, Sebastian responds:

> All I've done is to try to write the music we might one day hear in heaven — celestial music — the ultimate harmony. There's nothing complicated. Most of the time I just work. It is a duty. And the music only comes when I start. Then I just keep going until I finish. Love and work. That's all there is. You labour away. *Soli Deo Gloria.*[11]

These lines epitomize the Bach paradigm. With love and humility at its essence, Bach's working is depicted as inherently meaningful. It is virtuous, attempting to accomplish both a

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[10] James Runcie, *The Great Passion*. I am grateful to the playwright for sharing the script with me.
[11] Ibid.

divine task and personal spiritual fulfilment, rather than earn worldly riches or fame. This image was still being supported by Bach scholars in the last decade of the twentieth century. In an attempt to reconcile the issues posed for scholarship between a composer's life and works, and musical analysis, Ulrich Siegele suggests that it was due to Bach's own personal industriousness that had led him to adopt the aesthetic style that he did:

> He knew his craft because he was so industrious; and because he understood his craft, he had risen beyond the craftsman's rank. It was one and the same diligence to which he owed his professional competence and his status in society. For this reason he could not enter into the discussion of the claims that the development of the general history of composition made and that Johann Adolph Scheibe articulated. As far as he was concerned, an aesthetic question was not discussed there, but his musical and social identity, his identity as a person. If he had sacrificed his full-voiced polyphonic style, he would have sacrificed therewith himself. He would have given up what he was as a musical and social human being. He would have denied his musicianship and his social status. He would have foresworn the labour and industriousness to which he owed his musical and social status. His intricate musical style was his identity.[12]

Siegele's identification of the connections between Bach's social position and his music are valid, and this is all very well, but it surely ignores the broader cultural background in which such virtues were, as I have shown, widely encouraged. While Bach's achievements might be unique, his work ethic was not. His familial musical pedigree and the high quality of the tuition he received from an early age are frequently presented as incidental, in comparison to the emphasis placed on his perceived indefatigable sense of religious zeal or self-will, which is invoked as the main reason for Bach's success.

A secularized version of this imperative — that sustained application to a difficult task, without immediate benefit, will ultimately result in personal improvement — remains heavily accented in mainstream discussions of Bach's music. In a recent interview in the *New York Times*, leading cellist Alisa Weilerstein describes her relationship with Bach. 'I've made a resolution to play at least a couple of movements of Bach each day. Since I started doing it very rigorously, which was actually relatively recently, it's changed my playing…it demands *everything* of you emotionally, cerebrally, instrumentally. So if I play Bach daily, I

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[12] Ulrich Siegele, '"I had to be industrious…" Thoughts About the Relationship Between Bach's Social and Musical Character', *Bach* 22/2 (1991), 11-12.

listen to everything that way.'[13] The implication in Weilerstein's statement is that Bach focuses the musical mind in a unique fashion — it presses the musician to deploy a set of intellectual tools that are apparently not required or developed in other music. She describes the results of this: 'At the very end, I am emotionally exhausted, physically exhausted, and my brain is turned to mush — and it's the most wonderful feeling, a cathartic feeling. I love it.'

Another recent *Times* review relates the experience of *hearing* Bach's music as a work process.[14] The celebrated music *New York Times* critic James R. Oestreich relates hearing the complete solo violin music in New York, before the musicians came together for the event's culmination in a performance of the Orchestral Suite No. 3. Oestreich describes his own listening experience, and how he attended the event 'fresh' from the University of Massachusetts, Amherst's Bach Festival and Symposium, which had featured papers focusing on 'Bach in the Age of Modernism, Postmodernism and Globalization.' Oestreich tells how, having heard the completion of the Violin Sonata No. 1, the suite came together 'purposefully…as if embodying Bach's mind at work.' Oesterich emphasizes envisaging the act of composition, attempting to conceive how Bach could construct such effective contrapuntal forms. He describes how the performance 'afforded blessed satisfaction and release after an evening of compositional struggle, as it were, from performers and listeners alike.' The implication here is that the cognitive effort required to focus on the music was fulfilling — that the struggle was worthwhile.

If Bach's solo instrumental music is celebrated for forcing us to focus, then his strict-contrapuntal music is seen as exercising a higher tier of cognitive faculty. In a review of Phantasm, world-renowned viol consort directed by the celebrated Bach scholar Laurence Dreyfus, Bernard Sherman suggests that Bach's *Art of Fugue* is 'meant to be worked at, not just listened to.'[15] Sherman likens simply listening to this music to watching a chess game without being able to see the whole board — that 'there is more going on than the listening

[13] David Allen, '"It Demands Everything of You": Alisa Weilerstein on Bach', *The New York Times* <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/17/arts/music/it-demands-everything-of-you-alisa-weilerstein-on-bach.html> Last accessed 7 December 2017.

[14] James R. Oestreich, 'Getting Inside the Mind of Bach', *The New York Times* <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/04/25/arts/music/the-sebatians-bach.html> Last accessed 7 December 2017.

[15] Bernard D. Sherman, 'Music Meant to Be Worked At, Not Just Listened To', *The New York Times* <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/04/04/arts/music-music-meant-to-be-worked-at-not-just-listened-to.html> Last accessed 7 December 2017.

brain can process.' In order to gain the most fulfilling experience from this music then, Sherman explicitly recommends that this music demands the listener to *work* themselves. The kind of high quality journalism found in the *New York Times* — an institution which still supports serious music criticism (increasingly an exception in the Anglosphere) seems particularly keen to uphold the value of work in relation to Bach. In its writers' admiration for Bach's music there is an exhortation for the would-be audience members to respond to his music in a manner that attempts to match the composer's unsurpassable work ethic.

Work in contemporary society

Why might this emphasis on the value of work be something particularly relevant in contemporary society? The very idea of what constitutes work is in a state of flux today. In many ways, it is possible to see the 500 years between Luther posting his theses at Wittenberg and 2017 as framing a cohesive chapter of our cultural modernity. Even in the early twentieth century, Luther was being cited as having created a shift in the nature of work, which shaped the modern world. Work became irrevocably attached to self-identity, providing man with a means of agency in engaging with his fellow citizens and the natural world. At the other end of this 500-year span, automation is poised to make large numbers of occupations redundant. A key pledge in Donald Trump's 2016 electoral campaign was the promise of providing '*meaningful* jobs'.[16] This sense of 'meaningfulness' is key, implying more than simply well-paid and secure work — it indicates work that will provide people with a sense of purpose, offering them a place and fulfilment in the world. As such, a vote for this rhetoric — as opposed to meaningful policies — may be read as a powerful rejection of modernity, in favour of a culture that continues to ennoble work.

In a short but highly charged polemic entitled 'On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs', the American anthropologist David Graeber candidly describes how modern capitalism and neoliberalism have, rather than delivering economic efficiency, resulted in large numbers of highly educated people devoting their existence to apparently meaningless work:

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[16] 'Jobs — Donald Trump Policies', *Donald Trump Policies (Official)* <https://donaldtrumppolicies.com/jobs/> Last accessed 7 December 2017.

> Huge swathes of people, in Europe and North America in particular, spend their
> entire working lives performing tasks they secretly believe do not really need to be
> performed. The moral and spiritual damage that comes from this situation is
> profound. It is a scar across our collective soul. Yet virtually no one talks about it.[17]

Building on Marx's tenets, Graeber sees this lack of meaningful work as the primary cause of a significant amount of social malaise and personal alienation. That over one million people read his article within a few months of publication, and it was translated into at least 15 languages, is evidence of the connection it made with readers.[18] To surrender one's time to the completion of meaningless tasks is to irretrievably waste that time, while to work at something with purpose is fulfilling. He poses the question as to why advanced societies now offer so few opportunities for musicians and poets, while retaining a seemingly endless requirement for corporate lawyers — who, in Graeber's personal experience, inevitably 'think their jobs [are] bullshit.' Graeber's essay makes a powerful impact in forcing the reader to return to first principles, and consider what work is — and what it means to us as individuals within the context of our society.

It would be both utterly naïve and fatuously pretentious to suggest that placing the performance and study of early modern Lutheran music at the centre of our cultural world, as we have done in 2017, might restore a sense of meaning to the world. But is it possible that — to some extent — we seek to substitute some of the lost meanings of work in the contemporary world with that perceived in the music of Bach and his progenitors? Even in an increasingly secularized world, where audiences apparently find no need to question the often-problematic theological issues raised by some early modern music, critics and audience members alike latch on to its work-like nature in a way of finding meaningful experiences, in an attempt to retain some of this perceived meaningfulness for their own edification. When we still tend to think of this music in terms of 'works', rather than as merely functional, liturgical or devotional as Goehr would encourage us to, is it possible that we still trace this historical sense of purposeful work in the music's aesthetic style, and in classical music in general? I believe that this is in some part responsible for music's remaining appeal in the twenty-first century.

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[17] David Graeber, 'On the Phenomenon of Bullshit Jobs' *Strike Magazine* <https://strikemag.org/bullshit-jobs/> Last accessed 7 December 2017.

[18] For a stimulating reflection on Graeber's text, see Eliane Glaser, 'Beyond Bullshit Jobs', *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 57 (2014), 82-94.

Perhaps one of the saddest consequences of this approach is revealed in the frequency with which music listening is cited as a means for enhancing other, allegedly more important capacities — to improve our performance in apparently more meaningful and 'productive' activities. In contemporary society, which seeks to rationalize everything, studies abound attempting to quantify precisely the value of exposure to classical music, and for children learning musical instruments. However, a recent research project, which made an overview of a vast number of such studies, has shown a distinct lack of any conclusive proof across the many thousands of psychological, neuroscientific and education-oriented research outputs seeking to observe any benefit.[19]

Reinstating work as process in contemporary society

It is not my intention to launch into a discussion regarding 'classical' music's relevance in twenty-first-century society — such a subject is beyond the scope of this thesis.[20] But these issues surely lie at its heart. While the gradual shift of 'early music' from the countercultural position it occupied in the twentieth century — as an 'alternative modernism', as Laurence Dreyfus suggested — to the domain of mainstream classical music seems all but complete, Bach's music is enjoying another resurgence and high level of prestige in classical programmes all over the world.[21] As Frederic Jameson has noted, discussions of the distinctions between 'high' and 'low' culture have rarely focused on the objective qualities of either side.[22] But what is it about Bach's music that affords it this prestige as high art, removed from its liturgical context? In a recent article in *Gramphone* entitled 'Is Bach Best?', Simon Heighes interviewed a number of leading Bach interpreters, discussing the nature of Bach's supremacy. While pianist Angela Hewitt suggested that it is 'the richness of his invention that elevates his work above all others', and John Eliot Gardiner cites his 'highly intellectual level in terms of the brilliance of the working out of his contrapuntal lines', the

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[19] Giovanni Sala and Fernand Gobet, 'When the music's over: Does music skill transfer to children's and young adolescents' cognitive and academic skills? A meta-analysis', *Educational Research Review* 20 (2017), 55-67.
[20] See Julian Johnson, *Who Needs Classical Music?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); Carolyn Beckingham, *Moribund Music — Can Classical Music be Saved?* (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2009); John Butt, 'Classical Music and the Subject of Modernity', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154 (425-44).
[21] See Laurence Dreyfus, 'Early Music Defended against Its Devotees: A Theory of Historical Performance in the Twentieth Century', *The Musical Quarterly* 69/3 (1983), 297-322.
[22] Frederic Jameson, 'Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture', *Social Text* 1 (1979), 130-148. Particularly 133-134.

conductor Helmuth Rilling suggested that the true extent of Bach's genius is only now being properly appreciated.[23]

As my investigation has shown, historical allusions to the process of working in music — on the part of the composer, performers and audience alike — can generally be viewed as attributions of high-quality craftsmanship. They offer assurances that the works will provide performers and listeners alike with valuable experiences not attainable from other cultural forms, and any suggestion that Bach did not necessarily intend for his 'functional' works to be heard makes this seem like a fortunate coincidence. They remain high art, but we are all the luckier for being able to hear them. The opportunity of hearing them is an chance to engage with ideas from a formal and aesthetic domain beyond the experience of our day-to-day lives. There is a sense that performer and listener alike can, in their working, go beyond our own banal thoughts and experiences.

This view is widespread in the debates that seek to preserve classical music, from those who attempt to convince people of its apparently unique ability to teach us the value of working to transcend the quotidian. As the pianist Stephen Hough asked in his *Telegraph* blog:

> Why do we think that pretending classical music is 'easy' will gain us more youthful listeners or performers?...[classical music] take[s] years of utter dedication and total commitment. Maybe you just want to go with the crowd? Maybe it's too difficult for you?

> Yes, classical music is…*difficult*. It's difficult to listen to, difficult to understand fully, difficult to play, as a Shakespeare drama is harder to understand than a dramatic episode of (albeit fabulous) Coronation Street. Everyone should have access to classical music, but not everyone will like it. Nothing wrong in that, nothing snobbish or superior or elite in that, but are you up to it? Can you sit still for 40 minutes and let yourself be captivated, intoxicated, moved, changed, perplexed by this complex, extraordinary world?[24]

[23] 'Bach is Best', *Gramophone* <https://www.gramophone.co.uk/feature/is-bach-best> Last accessed 7 December 2017.
[24] Stephen Hough, 'Classical Music is Difficult and Dangerous: Young People Stay Away', *The Telegraph* <http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/culture/stephenhough/100076498/classical-music-difficult-dangerous-disturbing-young-people-stay-away/> Last accessed 22 July 2017.

Despite Hough's protestations elsewhere that classical music is 'accessible' and 'egalitarian', Hough's values come across as being ineluctably bound up with a high-art-as-salvation elitist narrative.[25] In the philosophy of music, debates abound as to how far artistic and aesthetic values might be regarded as synonymous or distant concepts. The majority of philosophers are in agreement, however, that the primary value of a musical work correlates with the experience it affords. For a conservative figure like Roger Scruton, this experience is more than simply one of pleasure: in his conception, the listener's response to a particular style and type of music reveal much about the individual and his relationship with his parent culture's 'soul'.[26] Scruton develops this idea in a later collection, contrasting Adorno's depiction of the fetishization of kitsch objects, and the 'true artistic gesture'. Referencing Hermann Broch, Scruton describes how 'sugary stereotypes' are settled for by the *Kitschmensch*, to whom 'commitment, responsibility, heroism and heartfelt love are all to be avoided, on account of the suffering that they entail'.[27] These people, he asserts, are content to inhabit a world of 'trinkets…[and] cling to them as proof that we can be good without effort and loved without pain.'[28] In Scruton's terms then, the harder one *chooses* to work to understand a piece of 'difficult' music, the more he will benefit from it — which, in turn, benefits the whole society.

While the work-concept generally understood by today's performers, composers and audience members remains heavily indebted to the nineteenth-century ideal set out by Goehr, complete with monuments and great men, I believe we can still observe some vestigial trace of the early modern Lutheran ideal of work. Furthermore, I believe that this might have a role to play in preserving the value of classical music. I propose that by attempting to perform and listen to works as *work* — as they were meant to be heard — we might insert ourselves into the musical process and gain a more authentic experience, and not be confined to the regulative force of any canon with its ossified objects. Music is surely most valuable when we allow ourselves to enter into dialogue with it, and when we are willing to try to understand what it does and how it does it. As Julian Johnson articulates, 'There is an urgent need for an understanding of what music may be and what it may potentially *do*. To invoke older ideas associated with classical music may seem rather grand

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[25] Stephen Hough, 'The Proms Prove That Classical Music Has Something for Us All', *London Evening Standard* <https://www.standard.co.uk/comment/comment/the-proms-prove-that-classical-music-has-something-for-us-all-a3588066.html> 22 July 2017.
[26] Roger Scruton, *The Aesthetics of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 380.
[27] Roger Scruton, 'Why Read Adorno?', *Understanding Music* (London: Continuum, 2009), 213.
[28] Scruton, *Ibid.*, 214.

and pompous to contemporary ears, but perhaps no more so than the ideas on which education itself is legitimated.'[29] By introducing this idea of work as process into education — encouraging students to hear how composers worked their ideas, and seeing how they made changes, perhaps rejecting material in favour of better solutions, and how they actualized them as apparent objects — might therefore help to reinvigorate musical practice as a whole.

In her diagnosis of the problems associated with the work-concept, Goehr stops short of considering the ramifications a work ethic conception might have. By refiguring the work-concept to acknowledge and incorporate the value in process, we might be able to revive some interest in classical music. Thus, rather than trying to debunk and erase the work-concept from our musical culture, we might do well to reframe it and embrace it. Observing work as a byword for 'meaningful activity' (or at least, the aspiration for meaningful activity) might help us to reacquaint ourselves and connect with the ethics of the culture that espoused it. Goehr's image of a museum is of an institution for holding and preserving static objects. However, museums have changed. In recent years, museum culture has developed an extensive discourse regarding their ethical foundations and purpose in contemporary society. In the last decade of the twentieth century, museums became more focused on actively engaging with their visitors.[30] As Sally Yerkovich, Director of the Institute of Museum Ethics describes, for museums 'engaging with their community can become a central focus and lead to a realignment of mission and organizational values as well as organizational structure.' Is it not possible to conceive of cultural institutions — including programmers, performers and musicologists alike — attempting to reimagine the museum, to create a repository of musical works and work, seeking to engage similarly with its visitors?

Far from being either at the root of classical music's demise, or something that says a great deal about very little, the work-concept might be redeemed and embraced, and regarded as key to its resurgence. As this thesis has shown, it is clear that music and the work involved in its creation was perceived to be a means of self-expression and self-edification from the sixteenth century. Seeing this as a definitive step in the development of

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[29] Julian Johnson, *Who Needs Classical Music*, 31.
[30] Sally Yerkovich, 'Ethics in a Changing Social Landscape — Community engagement and public participation in museums', in Bernice L. Murphy (ed.), *Museums, Ethics and Cultural Heritage* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 245.

a cultural modernity is something that might prove helpful as a means of reflection. Without the processes of enactment (and reenactment), music is meaningless. Realizing this, and going beyond the fetishism that the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attached to objects, is crucial. We can see where these values come from, and we can begin to understand what it is we find meaningful about Bach's music — and come to terms with what early modern German Lutheran music history might have to say about our own practices and ideology. As Bruno Latour warns: 'History changes quickly and that there is no greater intellectual crime than to address with the equipment of an older period the challenges of the present one.'[31] By reframing 'works' as acts then, and appreciating the temporal experience of hearing and admiring their composers' work, we might recover a sense of involvement in the whole process, and actively participate — rather than being content to merely spectate.

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[31] Bruno Latour, 'Why Has Critique Run out of Steam?', 231.

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