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## Introduction

An image by the Augsburg painter Anton Mozart, completed around 1615, presents a memorable ceremonial act, at the centre of which, beside the ruling couple depicted in the left of the background, stands a special object of courtly representation (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The entire composition of the panel, preserved today in the Berlin Kunstgewerbemuseum, revolves conspicuously around the cabinet of arts depicted prominently in the middle distance.<sup>2</sup> This cabinet of arts and curiosities *en miniature* (Figs. 2 and 3) – made of five kinds of precious wood, as well as silver, gold, enamel, gemstones, and pearls – was designed by the respected art agent Philipp Hainhofer at the order of Duke Philipp II of Pomerania-Stettin and manufactured within seven years by at least twenty-four artists and artisans.<sup>3</sup> As the most valuable and most meticulously designed exemplar of the art cabinets conceived by Hainhofer,<sup>4</sup> with the technically virtuosic workmanship of their materials and their complex cosmological schemes earning them the contemporary designation of “wonders of the world,”<sup>5</sup> the exquisite item of furniture was not only in this respect an aesthetic product of multiple authorship.<sup>6</sup>

\* Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson. The work on this chapter was carried out within the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), project no. 405662736.

1 On the painting, see Lessing/Brüning 1905, p. 21f.; Thon 1968, pp. 128f., Kat.-Nr. 137; Schommers 1994; Rudelius-Kamolz 1995, pp. 80–82, Kat.-Nr. 1.A.1; Mundt 2009, pp. 159–161, Kat.-Nr. P 183 a; Emmendörffer 2014b, pp. 39–44.

2 See Schommers 1994, p. 603.

3 On the arts cabinet, see Lessing/Brüning 1905; Hausmann 1959; Alfter 1986, pp. 42–46; Mundt 2008; Mundt 2009; Emmendörffer 2014a; Emmendörffer 2015; Mundt 2015; Cornet 2016, pp. 156–162; Bürger/Kallweit 2017, pp. 71f.; Wenzel 2020, see esp. pp. 202–208, 225–243.

4 See Mundt 2009, p. 12.

5 See Lessing/Brüning 1905, p. 4; Hausmann 1959, p. 349; Emmendörffer 2014, p. 37.

6 On the Antwerp *kunstkasten*, which are similar in their construction, as the products of plural authorship, see Baadj 2016; see pp. 270f. in relation to Hainhofer’s art cabinets.

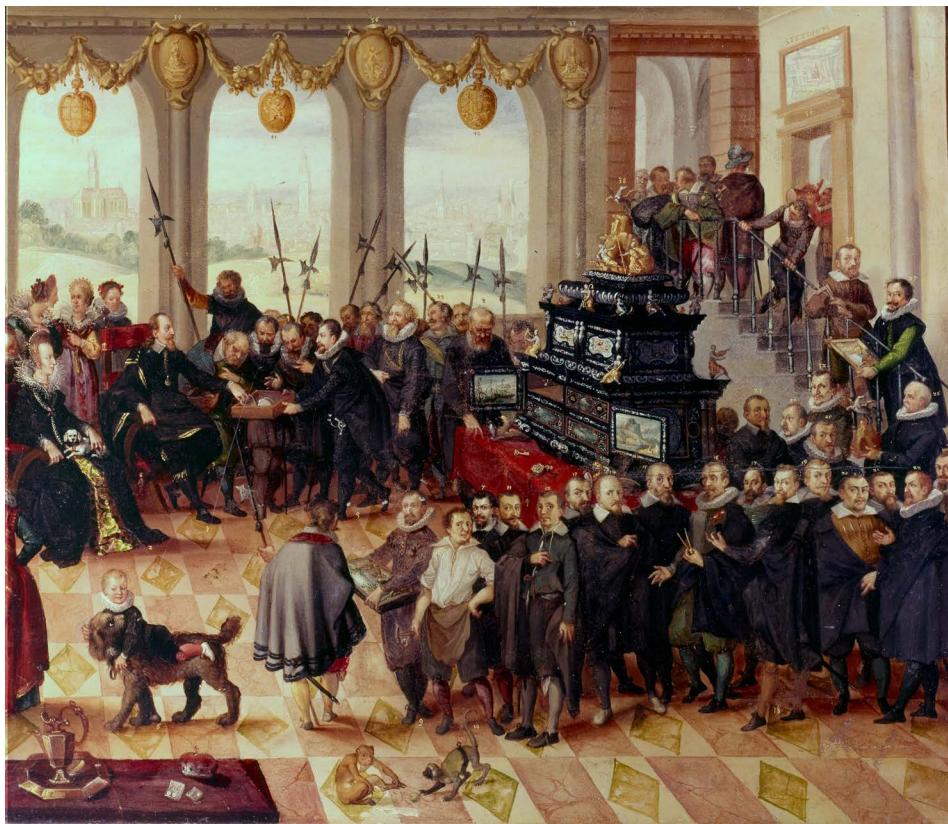


Fig. 1. Anton Mozart: *The Presentation of the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts*, ca. 1615, oil on wood, 39.5 × 45.4 cm, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, inv. no. P 183 a.

Even the innumerable *scientifica* and *artificialia* preserved in the art cabinet, as well as the individual *naturalia* and *curiosa* (Figs. 4 and 5), originated from different synchronic and diachronic creative processes and creators, including the divine *artifex*:<sup>7</sup> a multi-material and multimedial microcosm, in which the scientific instruments of astronomy, surgery, and mechanics – including, for instance, a mechanical organ – meet rare tools for playing, writing, and shaving, along with precious objects of religious contemplation.<sup>8</sup> The cabinet thus functioned as a materialized model of order, in which especially

7 See Hausmann 1959, pp. 346–351; Mundt 2009, pp. 19–21.

8 The individual objects were recorded in an inventory added to the cabinet, which is also preserved in other transcripts. The text is edited in: Lessing / Brüning 1905, pp. 31–57. On the contents of the cabinet, see extensively Mundt 2009, pp. 171–389; Emmendörffer 2014a, pp. 278–335, cat. no. 46; Emmendörffer 2014b, pp. 54–57.



Fig. 2. Anton Mozart: *The Presentation of the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts* (detail), c. 1615, oil on wood, 39.5 x 45.4 cm, Berlin, Kunstmuseum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, inv. no. P 183 a.



Fig. 3. Anterior view of the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts (closed), historical photograph by Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co., heliogravure, 1905.



Fig. 4. Toiletries from the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts, historical photograph by Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co., heliogravure, 1905.

those artful objects that decidedly served the investigation and utilization of the natural world were systematically collected and exhibited.<sup>9</sup> For this reason, too, the sculptural representations of the muses affixed to the top of the item – stylized, in complementary addition to the contents of the cabinet, after Parnassus and the liberal arts – refer paradigmatically to the reciprocal relationship between art, technology, and science in the early modern period.<sup>10</sup>

It was precisely this alliance, together with the depictions of eight virtues and selected *exempla virtutis* like Hercules, that was staged as a potent instrument of princely praise.<sup>11</sup> Subsumed into a semantic unity through the cabinet of curiosities, artefacts of

<sup>9</sup> See Hausmann 1959, p. 342; Mundt 2009, p. 23.

10 See Mundt 2009, pp. 22, 138–141; Mundt 2014, p. 25. Because only six spaces are available for the seven *artes liberales*, grammar and dialectic were combined into one figure; see Mundt 2009, p. 141.

<sup>11</sup> See Mundt 2009, p. 141; Mundt 2014, p. 25. The three Christian virtues are depicted – *Fides*, *Spes*, and *Caritas* – as well as the four cardinal virtues: *Fortitudo*, *Temperantia*, *Iustitia*, and *Prudentia*, along with *Patientia*.



Fig. 5. Gilded measuring instruments from the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts, historical photograph by Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co., heliogravure, 1905.

various origins thus became bearers of an innovative representational concept, in which the royal owner embodied the superordinate instance that could, in performative interaction with the cabinet, configure the world of objects or the world *as object*.<sup>12</sup> In other words, it was merely in the handling of the cabinet and its contents that the epistemic, and thus at the same time representational, potential of the artwork, firmly anchored in the social practice of the time, came entirely to fruition. Alongside the designer Hainhofer and the artisans and artists who constructed it, Philipp II, who had actively participated in the conception of the iconographic programme,<sup>13</sup> can thus be assigned not only the role of contractor but also of the decisive co-creator or co-author of the cabinet.

In view of this unmistakable conceptual focus on the royal individual, Anton Mozart's image may, at first glance, elicit some confusion in the arrangement of its

12 See also the addition of diverse, detailed instructions on the use of the art cabinet, as well as individual objects contained within it; see Mundt 2009, p. 21.

13 See Lessing / Brüning 1905, pp. 5f.; Hausmann 1959, pp. 341f.; Mundt 2009, pp. 135–141; Emmendörffer 2014b, pp. 44–46.

figures, a result of the palpable tension in the work between the plurality characterizing the process behind the production of the art cabinet and the univocality prescribed by the functional purpose of the courtly object. Indeed, the panel shows Hainhofer presenting one of the cabinet's drawers containing silver cutlery to the duke,<sup>14</sup> but the main action takes place in the foreground. There, the persons involved in the production can be seen in a kind of parade; for instance, at the very front are the landscape artist Achilles Langenbucher and, next to him and in work clothes, the joiner Joiß Miller, while on the staircase to the right – and thus compositionally emphasized – are, among others, the carpenter Ulrich Baumgartner, the goldsmith Mathias Walbaum, and Anton Mozart himself.<sup>15</sup> Almost all of them look out of the picture attentively and, significantly, give no attention to the events in the background. Instead, they proudly testify through the various artefacts and work tools in their hands to their contributions to the cabinet, in which some of the tools borne by them were preserved alongside the artistic objects they produced.<sup>16</sup> Recorded in the panel is thus not only the actual ceremonial presentation of the cabinet of arts but also evidently the process of its furnishing, which appears to be taking place continuously before the eyes of the recipients.

The viewers of the image are thus elevated to eyewitnesses to the performative act, the image itself to a visual documentation of communal art-making.<sup>17</sup> A testimonial status, as it were, is claimed for the panel, and this manifests itself again on the reverse side in the list of names of those present, consecutively numbered on the front side (Fig. 6).<sup>18</sup> It is precisely in this claimed status that the inherent logic or the inherent sense of the image lies. Art historians have noted, with more than a little unease, that no single historical source can verify the courtly event presented here.<sup>19</sup> Yet merely affirming the fictionality of the presentation scene fails to recognize two important aspects of the production and reception of the work that are inscribed in its making. Firstly, the *veduta* of the city of Augsburg shown in the background decidedly points to the place of origin for the object, which was worked on collaboratively for over seven years. In this way, the particular role of the imperial city as a contemporary metropolis for art is emphasized and, at the same time, consolidated permanently through its implication in the work.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, the presentation ceremony shown in the picture

14 See Schommers 1994, p. 602; Mundt 2009, p. 160.

15 See Mundt 2009, p. 160. On the artists and the objects created by them, see Lessing/Brüning 1905, pp. 17–30; Mundt 2009, pp. 163f.

16 See Mundt 2009, pp. 160–164.

17 On the status of the image as documentation, see Lessing/Brüning 1905, p. 17.

18 On the copper name board, see Mundt 2009, pp. 162–164, cat. no. P 183 b.

19 See Lessing/Brüning 1905, p. 21; Mundt 2009, pp. 159f.; Emmendörffer 2014b, p. 41; Mundt 2014, p. 27.

20 On the relevance of Augsburg as an artistic centre in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see, among others, Thon 1968; Krämer 1998; Mundt 2009, pp. 28f.

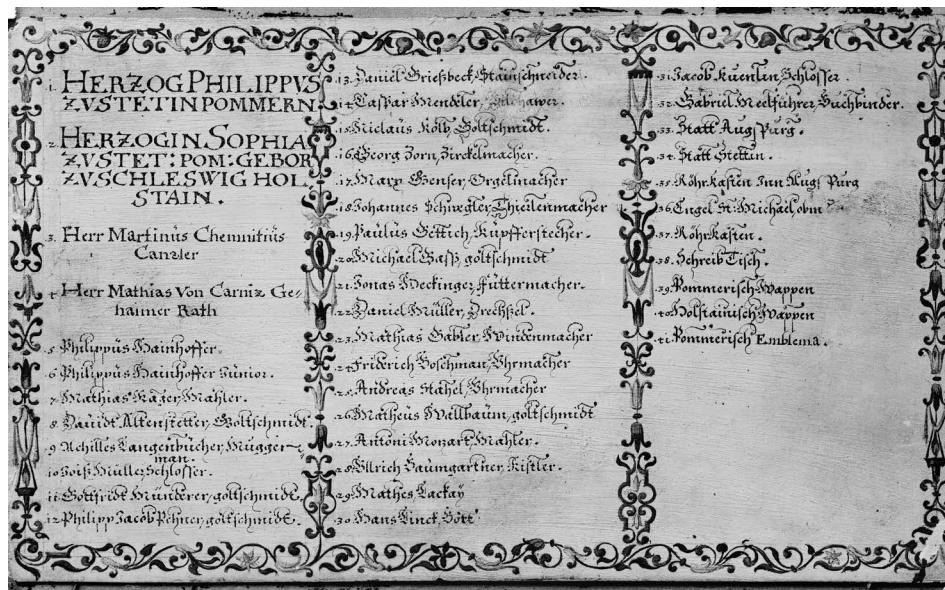


Fig. 6. Text panel for Mozart's painting, ca. 1615, copper plate, primed white, black ink?, 15.2 × 25.4 cm, Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Prussian Cultural Heritage Foundation, inv. no. PK 2780 / 17 P 183 b, historical photograph by Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co., heliogravure, 1905.

still refers back to real performative acts of this kind; moreover, it visually presupposes such a real event in a sense. The panel is thus to be understood as a painted plea for the recognition and appreciation of the exceptional artistic achievement of the participants, who, incidentally, took great personal care to ensure that their impact was not overlooked. Indeed, the image was an integral component of the cabinet from the outset and was already placed inside the furniture on the occasion of its actual presentation by Hainhofer to Philipp II in Stettin in August 1617.<sup>21</sup> Through the interaction with the cabinet of curiosities, there came into the prince's view a corporation of artists and artisans, celebrating the different artistic skills of those portrayed and their successful collaboration in the service of the co-created work. Certain dynamics, tensions, and hierarchical structures within this collective of authors can be seen in the subtle visual strategies of the painter, such as the positioning, posture, body language, costume, and attributes of the respective figures.<sup>22</sup>

21 See Mundt 2009, p. 159.

22 See Mundt 2009, p. 160.

Against the background of political-confessional discourses at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, this unusual display of artistic self-awareness apparently sought its place in the social play of distinctions and vice versa. The cabinet's function as a space for aesthetic negotiation is also evidenced by the fact that three generations of the ducal house of Pomerania-Stettin continuously developed the cabinet of arts and curiosities – which, incidentally, was never paid off<sup>23</sup> – through their respective uses of it, before it passed over to the Brandenburg court, where it was preserved in the Berlin Palace's chamber of arts from the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and in the Kunstgewerbemuseum from 1876.<sup>24</sup> During a bombing raid in March 1945, the cabinet was entirely incinerated – apart from some media representations, such as historical photographs, a propaganda film from 1934, and some previously evacuated objects, including Mozart's work.<sup>25</sup> In the course of these events, it was as if the panel shifted in its ontological status; in light of the cabinet's loss, the unconventional authorial image became almost 'forcibly autonomized' and, in the specific canonical formation of art history, only then became, as a painting, that which it had obviously always been: a material testimony to communal artistic creation. For the community that appears unified in Mozart's work attests *with* and *through* the image's authority, in a way unprecedented until today, to the historical fact that co-creative processes, in contrast to traditional narratives of aesthetic autonomy, represented a driving force of aesthetic practice in premodernity. In the context of the Collaborative Research Centrer (CRC) 1391, multiple authorship is thus to be defined as a central 'coordinate'<sup>26</sup> of premodern aesthetics, with the present volume being dedicated to its interdisciplinary assessment and investigation.

## 1. The Concept of the Author under Discussion

Anyone dealing with multiple authorship must first face the fundamental question of what is to be understood as an 'author,' or what concept of author is to be assumed. Michel Foucault's programmatic question "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?", raised in 1969,<sup>27</sup> became especially pertinent to the debates in literary studies of the 1980s and 1990s. Since then, it may be considered a *conditio sine qua non* to take into account, from the outset, the cultural and historical spectrum to which concepts like the notion of the 'author' are subject. As an example of these debates, let us quote from the introduction

23 See Mundt 2009, p. 12.

24 On its provenance, see Lessing/Brüning 1905, pp. 1, 15; Mundt 2009, pp. 12, 133; Hinterkeuser 2014.

25 See Mundt 2009, p. 12. On the propaganda film, see Savoy 2014.

26 On this term, see extensively Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2022, pp. 36f.; English translation: Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2025.

27 Foucault 1969.

of the volume “Fragen nach dem Autor” (‘Questions about the Author’), edited by Felix Philipp Ingold and Werner Wunderlich in 1992:

‘Author,’ descended from the Latin word ‘auctor’ (the substantive derived from ‘augere’), has been the collective term for persons who compose texts, in the sense of a creator and connected to the notion of the free, i.e. civically emancipated author, only since the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to the literal sense, the term originally signified as much a promoter or instigator, or also the guarantor, of a thing. This etymology is surprisingly current: poststructuralist or deconstructivist positions today proclaim the author less as the creator than as the mediator of a text, the linguistic materiality of which, as it were, already existed before it was accessed and shaped by an author. This is an understanding that makes the author in fact the promoter of a process of writing down and the instigator of possibilities of deciphering and understanding, and that ties in historically with the understanding of the author from, on the one hand, the Carolingian beginnings of German literature in written form and, on the other hand, the early history of printing.<sup>28</sup>

The concept of author as it relates to text is developed here from its historical variability in three stages. According to an older conception, the dividing line of which is marked by the much-vaunted 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *auctor* / author<sup>29</sup> is thus to be understood not “as the originator,” but as “mediator,” as “conveyer, custodian, and guarantor of the truth of what is transmitted,” and, if need be, also as a mediator of the divine word.<sup>30</sup> As it goes on to say, “for centuries, such an understanding and self-understanding of authorship remained defining in both the spiritual and secular spheres.”<sup>31</sup> Only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century did a resemanticization of the term take place, namely in the course “of the emergence of the literary market,” in which authorship came to be understood primarily as “the

28 See Ingold / Wunderlich 1992, p. 9. In accordance with this broad spectrum, the volume, certainly with progressive intentions in the early 1990s, set itself the task of demonstrating the diversity of the “Funktion Autor” (p. 15: “author function”) on the basis of examples from antiquity to the present in various disciplines and discourses.

29 The complex configurations of authorship in Greco-Roman antiquity, ranging from emphatic or strong via the inspired *poeta vates* down to a weak collective concept, cannot be delved into here; the introductory articles by Tóth 2019 and Janssen 2019 offer a helpful synopsis. For Greek literature, see also Stein 1990; for Latin literature and a history of Latin concepts, see Gavoille 2019. A detailed conceptual definition of lat. *auctor* and a historical classification in Latin writings of the early and high Middle Ages is also given in Müller 1995, p. 29, where he emphasizes, in contrast to hasty approximations of medieval and postmodern positions, the ‘considerable’ difference to modern definitions, in that the *auctoritas* of the written work is always separated from the author in medieval contexts, regardless of whether the latter is to be historically located only as a mediator or already as an individual composer. Müller 1999 is also foundational for the historical perspective. Jannidis et al. 1999b and Bannert / Klecker 2013 give a diachronic overview of the different models that have influenced the concept of the author since antiquity.

30 See Ingold / Wunderlich 1992, p. 10.

31 See Ingold / Wunderlich 1992, p. 10.

creation of texts, as mastery over the written word.” Authorship and authority, which previously could be distinctly set apart, were thus brought closer together, only to enter from that point into a dynamic development that emerged in the broader history of literature – in the words of Charles Baudelaire – as the “evaporation” or “condensation” of the authorial “I.”<sup>32</sup>

In this brief outline of rather Benjaminian “tiger’s leaps,”<sup>33</sup> the bipolar tension to which the term of author has been and continues to be subjected becomes clear in a more systematic approach. The term can be used with regard to one of the poles of this forcefield, in that its semantics suggest a mere intermediary role in which the “text (or also image) mediator” retreats behind the “truth” that an author hands down or simply administers to what he or she records as its compiler. In regard to the other pole of the forcefield, however, the term can also point in its semantics to an emphatically understood authorship that connects all responsibility to the author and the authority involved, including mastery over the *materia*, in the sense of the generation of fictional material and the subsequent generation of meaning strategically organized by the author.<sup>34</sup>

In this, it is important to recognize that the tension between both conceptions of the author – which, in a rather problematic way, are labelled in scholarship as ‘weak’ or ‘strong’ concepts of the author<sup>35</sup> – seems to represent, on the whole, a historical-teleological progression within the framework of European cultural history, especially from the emerging vernacular texts from the 9<sup>th</sup> century to postmodernity. On closer inspection, however, this opens up a forcefield of diverse possibilities, decidedly not restricted to the two ‘poles’ of the author’s conception mentioned above, for *each* time and epoch, even if different weightings can be encountered within the forcefield according to cultural understanding, the genre of a text or image, or situational necessity. Thus,

32 Ingold/Wunderlich 1992, p. 13. What is meant here is the ambiguous “status of the authorial subject [...] as it developed after the disintegration of ‘I’-centred authorship in the later 19<sup>th</sup> century; the effect of the ‘evaporation’ can be seen in the increasing fractalization of the author as creative entity (dissolution, brokenness, the schism of the authorial ‘I’), while the ‘condensation’ in turn has as its consequence the pluralization of the author, the multiplication of his name and functions.” The phenomenon of the ‘pluralization of the author’ remains entirely related to modernity, despite the use of comparative terms like ‘compiler’ or ‘copyist.’

33 Benjamin 2003, vol. 4, p. 395.

34 In this sense, Japp 1988, p. 225, gives a concise summary: “The history of the author is, in a sense, the history of the fluctuation of his accredited or contested self-responsibility.”

35 See Herrmann 2002, pp. 482f., but with examples that “to some extent thwart [the] ‘strong’ / ‘weak’ dichotomy.” Berensmeyer/Buelens/Demoor 2012 also assume this opposition, but, in their effort to understand authorship “within a cultural topography” (p. 5), translate the binary system into a four-part one by adding the categories of ‘heteronomous’ and ‘autonomous’ (p. 14). In both cases, the differentiations are correctly signposted; the historical value judgements, however, which are inscribed into the terms ‘weak’ and ‘strong’ remain unquestioned.

Otfrid von Weißenburg may have perceived himself as a mediator of divine truth in his 9<sup>th</sup>-century *Evangelienbuch*, and the poet(s) of the *Nibelungenlied* around 1200 may have understood themselves as conveyors of historically documented contexts, while in representations of the *vera icon*, for example, artists could reflect on their own share in the transmission and the religious claim to revelation of the ‘true’ image of Christ.<sup>36</sup> Yet when invoking individual authorities – such as Homer or Virgil, the latter again in Veldeke’s *Eneasroman* in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, or Apelles and Lucian in the early modern translations of the *Calumnia Apellis*, transmitted only in literature<sup>37</sup> – as *auctoritates* in various genres or in the context of particular themes, the claim to *aemulatio* not only implies a participation in the *auctoritas* of one’s predecessor but does not exclude an emphatic understanding of the author, as is paradigmatically made clear in the debates about the relationship of *inventio* and *imitatio* in early modern theories of art and rhetoric.<sup>38</sup> Conversely, the emphatic concept of the genius that emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is not only a result of the vehement displacement of earlier traditions in order fully to secure claims to free creativity in the sense of literary or artistic ‘credit,’ as well as the assumption, especially in art history, of an individual and thus unique style connected to the personality of the artist or author respectively.<sup>39</sup> Rather, advocates of the concept of genius commit themselves with equal emphasis to paragons, like the ideal of Shakespeare, in order to tie their literary emergence into their own national language and poetry.<sup>40</sup> One of the paradoxes of this view is also that it is precisely the Shakespearean period that offers the alternative model to notions of individual genius and opens up perspectives on the process of co-creativity and communal authorship.<sup>41</sup> More recent research has thus, on the one hand, highlighted theatrical practice as par-

36 On depictions of the *vera icon*, see, among others, Belting 2004, pp. 233–252; Krüger 2001, pp. 87–94; Wolf 2002.

37 On the *Calumnia Apellis*, see, among others, Cast 1981; Massing 1990; Müller Hofstede / Patz 1999.

38 Here we should recall the long history of self-glorification, from the fulminant conclusion to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Ov. met. 15, 878f.: *perque omnia saecula fama (si quid habent veri vatum praesagia) vivam*; “If truth at all / Is established by poetic prophecy, / My fame shall live to all eternity,” trans. Melville 1998) to Chrétien’s praise of himself in the prologue to *Erec et Enide: Des or comancerai l’estoire / Qui toz jorz mes iert an memoire / Tant con durra crestianez; / De ce s’est Chrestiens vantez* (ll. 23–26; “Now I shall begin the story that will be in memory for evermore, as long as Christendom lasts – of this does Chrétien boast,” trans. Carroll 1991). Cf. also the practiced gradation of the ‘value’ of plural authorship in Latin scholastic literature: Minnis 1988, p. 94. On different forms of artistic collaboration and, in this context, also differentiated concepts of authorship, see Bushart / Haug 2020b, pp. 8–20. On the connection between *imitatio* and *inventio*, see, for example, Kaminski / De Rentiis 1998; Pfisterer 2011, pp. 31–34 for further references.

39 See Löhr 2019, p. 145. On the concept of the genius, see, among others, Schmidt 1985; Murray 1989; Krieger 2007.

40 Paradigmatically, for example, Goethe: Zum Shakespeares-Tag (On Shakespeare’s Day).

41 See Stillinger 1991; Woodmansee 1994; Inge 2001.

adigmatic with regard to the plural interplay of different actors,<sup>42</sup> and, on the other, consistently brought Shakespeare into focus in his role as ‘co-author’,<sup>43</sup> and thus into the polarity between plurality and individual genius.<sup>44</sup>

The positions of modernism and postmodernism seem to be entirely open. On the one hand, the author – de-emphasized – as a writer, producer of texts, or even the medium for an *écriture* or *peinture automatique*,<sup>45</sup> retreats behind intertextual and contextual dynamics or, in visual art, behind the (supposed) autonomy of the material, or, like Marcel Duchamp with the *Readymades*, constantly questions his own status.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, with Roland Barthes’ “La mort de l'auteur,”<sup>47</sup> the author seems to lose his *auctoritas* in this period to a great extent. Yet in the wrestling over the “return of the author,”<sup>48</sup> on the other hand, his claim is defended anew.<sup>49</sup>

We will thus do well not only to ascribe each of the different semantics of the concept of the author – mediator and compiler, creator and originator, composer and automated *écrivain*, etc. – in historical prioritization to a period, but also to consider them as possibilities that often develop simultaneously alongside, with, or against the primary levels of understanding. The commitment to this methodological double-view is all the more pressing since, according to Gerhard Lauer, one must consider how much “value judgements in the form of favoritism toward certain models of the author come into play.”<sup>50</sup> Yet it is undoubtedly the model of the author or artist as (ingenious) originator and creator that is favoured – not only in literary-philological or art-historical writings since their disciplinary beginnings in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>51</sup> And even recent

42 See Bentley 1971; Masten 1997; Gurr 2009.

43 See Vickers 2002; see also Jowett 2013; Van Es 2013.

44 In his research, Cheney cleaves to the idea of the singular author and takes no account of co-creative practices; see Cheney 2008; Cheney 2018.

45 See Breton 1924.

46 See, among others, Bippus 2007; Wetzel 2022, pp. 151f.

47 Barthes 1994 [1968].

48 Jannidis et al. 1999a.

49 See also Amlinger 2021.

50 Lauer 1999, pp. 162f., opposes in a critical sense the not particularly fruitful “lines of demarcation between author-critical and author-intentionalist positions,” the delineations of which have characterized debates about the author in the scope of theoretical classifications, and suggests to “derive a clarified concept of the author’s functionality from the application of concepts of the author in literary scholarship.” In this way, it may be revealed how “important precisely extra-scientific norms of evaluation” are in dealings with the author in the context of literary scholarship (p. 164). Thus, the assumption arguably still pertains that “literary scholarship is, quite obviously, persistently guided in its dealings with texts by strong normative background assumptions about what an author is and how he communicates with the reader via the text” (p. 165).

51 This applies especially on the level of production aesthetics. Text-related phenomena like the ‘implicit author’ or the ‘lyrical I’ counteract this, but remain committed, so to say, on a second and mediated level to a norm-setting, intentionalist image of the author; see Lauer 1999, p. 165.

research can hardly escape this narrative in the practice of literary and artistic research, which often lags behind theoretical insights.<sup>52</sup> This can be seen, for example, in the fact that the modern concept of the ‘author,’ whose semantics are ultimately bound to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, is applied in a very casual way even where, as in vernacular premodernity, it can ultimately be used only with caveats and beyond the historical vocabulary. Even in art history, where the notion of the ‘author’ finds explicit use more rarely,<sup>53</sup> concepts of the artist that assume the individual author is a creator are still often pivotal. For instance, the question of separating different artistic hands, which is clearly relevant to the study of collective authorship, still proceeds primarily with the aim of appreciating (or depreciating) the individual personality of the artist, even for pieces evidently produced in workshops.<sup>54</sup> In research on communal authorship in the framework of literary studies (primarily English studies), especially as regards the early modern theatre, it is similarly current to identify the parts of individual authors, particularly Shakespeare, through means like stylometric methods.<sup>55</sup> Not least in these phenomena come to light the effects of canonization and evaluation connected with an emphatic concept of the author. Thus, the concept of author is still not often used in the historically open sense described above. Rather, as latent as persistent is its connection with the claim to inventive origination, which first and foremost guarantees creative potential, intentionally produced coherence, and the singular incomparability of the artefact – an artefact that, according to this reasoning, can only on the basis of these indices take on the rank of a ‘work of art,’ which has its foundations in itself and, in this sense, is of a complete value. Continuing the logic, this rank must conversely be denied

52 The summary by Haynes 2005, pp. 290f., is very critical of the research efforts in the last three to four decades to deconstruct and historicize the ‘romantic’ image of the author: “As a result of these developments, scholars today have a rich, if also overwhelming, mix of theories and methods from which to draw in their studies of authorship. In principle, many of these theories and methods serve to denaturalize the Romantic notion of the author as an individual and original genius. In practice, however, many recent studies of authorship still tend to adopt – whether consciously or not – such a notion. Whether conceptualized as a discourse-function (as in Foucauldian theory), an intertextual construction (as in New Historicist criticism), an actor in a ‘communications circuit’ (as in book history), or a position in a ‘literary field’ (as in cultural sociology), the author is still often depicted in literary scholarship as an individual, autonomous, and inspired figure.” On the difference between theory and the practice of literary scholarship, see similarly Jannidis et al. 1999b, pp. 17f.; Spoerhase 2007, p. 5.

53 For exceptions, see, e.g., Honig 1995; Melion 2010; Mader 2012a. On the connection between authorship and artistry, see (from the perspective of literary studies) Wetzel 2020.

54 By way of example, see the debate, also often taken up in the press, over the portrait of Pope Julius II attributed to Raphael in Frankfurt’s Städel Museum; see also, among others, Sander 2013 and polemically Mrotzek 2012.

55 See Craig 2008; Craig 2010; Naeni et al. 2016; Segarra et al. 2016; Burrows 2017; Taylor 2017. For a critical evaluation of stylistic methods, see Bauer/Zirker 2018.

to the output of mediation, compilation, or automatized writing, painting, drawing, or print – in other words, the outputs of reproduction. The intensity with which scholarship – including, and even especially, scholarship on premodernity – has for a long time interrogated which parts of an emphatic understanding of the author are apparent in a premodern artefact, whether it ‘already’ approaches such an understanding before the 18<sup>th</sup> century or not ‘yet’,<sup>56</sup> is ultimately explained by the implicit correlation of the conception of the author with the question of whether the artefact, following the modern understanding of the author, has also committed itself to this quality spectrum and may thus receive the seal of quality as a ‘work of art’ in the narrower sense.

A *different aesthetics*, as pursued by the Tübingen CRC 1391,<sup>57</sup> suggests alternative perspectives to such traditional, yet simultaneously anachronistic, attempts to posit and overwrite standards. Part of this task, then, consists in uncovering what is implied in the concept of the author as much as in particular understandings of the author, as outlined above, with regard to historical and systematic aspects, and again to differentiate them critically. This does not mean assessing the concept of the author directly from scratch, however, but has to do with specifying the question of authorship more robustly and re-perspectivizing it. The first reason for this lies in the fact that, in light of the field of study set out above, since Foucault’s programmatic writing in the 1960s, the discussion in the 1980s and 1990s, and investigations up to the present,<sup>58</sup> the question of the author has been reflected upon in a variety of ways, historically and systematically examined and illuminated. This includes calls, such as that by David Scott Kastan, to focus less on broader theories than on facts on the subject of authorship “that will reveal the specific historical conditions that have determined the reading and writing of literature.”<sup>59</sup> The second reason is that, while the concept of the author in and of itself, according to its etymology and its diverse historical semantics, is ultimately applicable to numerous aspects of authorship,<sup>60</sup> and levels of understanding should not be excluded for any period. This openness is not often retained in the heuristic process, especially not in the canonizations of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. As a foundation for

56 From the perspective of medieval German studies, for instance, see the postulation of autonomy in Haug 1992; the assertion of the author-subject in Schnell 1998; the ‘invisibility cloak model’ of Klein 2008, in particular pp. 16f. In art history, for example, Wittkower/Wittkower 1965, p. 41, state that art has “always been produced by individuals, and the lack of written transmission in no way means that earlier artists did not possess individuality.” See also Janecke 1991.

57 On the research programme, see Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2022; Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2025.

58 See, among others, Spoerhase 2007; Caduff/Wälchli 2008; Mader 2012a.

59 Kastan 1999, p. 31; see also Hackel 2005, p. 7.

60 Japp 1988, p. 224, begins similarly but uses the (in this context) rather unfortunate concept of neutrality and reduces the spectrum: “The concept of the author combines the drawback of indistinctness with the advantage of neutrality. Neither the histrionic elevation of genius nor the polemic low of the epigones is implied from the outset.”

further discussions, the term ‘authorship’ thus seems much better suited, as this does not focus precisely on the creating individual but reflects the openness appropriate to the phenomenon. First of all, however, it is necessary to hone the profile of the question of multiplicity and authorship in light of the preceding debates, with regard to implicit value judgements, and at the same time to revise this approach.

## 2. The Phenomenon of Multiple Authorship: State of the Art

The question of *multiple authorship* aims at this honing and revision. The descriptive category of the multiple now focuses on the *core* of an emphatic understanding of authorship, meaning the claim of the *singular* person usually associated with it, in which the ‘incomparable work of art’ and the individual author – who specifically creates it and who alone is responsible for it, working under his own creative power – come to an agreement. In the claim of the self-actualizing author acting from within himself, there culminates, as it were, the canonical or canonized impact of the emphatic concept of the author from the late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and its approach to value judgements. It may be seen as further evidence for the still-prevailing mindset of this concept of the author, despite the critical debates, that the phenomenon of plural authorship has so far been addressed in theoretical terms only marginally and mostly in interdisciplinary research – in contrast to scholarly discussion of the (singular) author, which can hardly be surveyed any further. Thus, in analyses and accounts in relevant monographs and edited collections in this field of research from the 1990s and also in later publications, the phenomenon emerges now and then, but the concept, as well as any theoretical reflection, is peripheral at best. Even when accessing primarily theoretical perspectives, one finds little to no material.<sup>61</sup>

This reticence toward the concept and theoretical discussions of multiple authorship is surprising in principle, but especially in relation to premodern artefacts, for it is precisely here, in the context of the development of texts and works of art, that we doubtless encounter all kinds of forms of multiple authorship, such as those resulting from collaboration in workshops and publishing houses.<sup>62</sup> The asymmetry between, on the one hand, the cultural practice of co-creative artistic production, which was widespread for centuries, and, on the other, the lack of attention given to these phenomena may be explained primarily by explicit and implicit norms of evaluation, which, since

<sup>61</sup> Paradigmatically Burke 1995; Kleinschmidt 1998; Jannidis et al. 1999a; Jannidis et al. 2000; Detering 2002; Spoerhase 2007; Schaffrick / Willand 2014. In the context of art history, Schiesser 2008, p. 29, and Mader 2012b, p. 13, summarize the theoretical reflections about forms of plural authorship in more general terms that had been broadly absent until that point. For musicology, see principally Calella 2014.

<sup>62</sup> On forms of collaboration, such as that in the combined publisher-print shop, see Grafton 2011.

German idealism at the latest, have generally represented singularity and individuality as positive in contrast to plurality and collectivity, which tend to be viewed negatively. Beginning with the predominance of a concept of authorship from the point of view of an individual *auctoritas*, it must have seemed for such a long time quite logical for plural authorship and collectivity simply to take on the status of a negative foil, an opposition, at best a preparatory stage, in comparison to a singularly and individually defined production and hence to be regarded as a necessary but nonetheless immature, and thus ultimately deficient, 'precursor' to actual art.<sup>63</sup> From this context, it becomes apparent that since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, oral tradition, among other things, has come into view as a prototype of collective authorship, which attracts attention in a new form as the foundation for texts only later transmitted in written form, but which can also be marginalized as an inconsistent precondition or negatively evaluated as artistically intentional or individual creative will. The most famous example for the discussion of plural versus singular or collective versus individual authorship, tied to notions of weakly marked versus strongly marked artistic creative will, may well be Homer.<sup>64</sup>

The fact that a change in thinking is taking place precisely in relation to these standards of evaluation, however, indicates the increased regard in recent times for phenomena of multiple authorship in the aesthetic practice of premodernity. The research field of English-language drama in the early modern period has often proved a source of impetus.<sup>65</sup> Yet, on the whole, there is movement toward this discussion on a broad disciplinary front.<sup>66</sup> Interdisciplinary studies, too, are now increasingly concerning themselves in these contexts with questions of "co-operation, collaboration, collectivity" in the sense "of shared authorship and pluralized works," as Ines Barner, Anja Schürmann, and Kathrin Yacavone recently put it.<sup>67</sup> We may accordingly summarize that research into premodernity, for all intents and purposes, provides everything to rescind the canonical standards of evaluation described above and at last to approach the phenomenon of plural authorship in a suitable way.

63 On the tension between authorship and collective, see Pabst / Penke 2022, p. 411.

64 See Latacz 1997 and Osinski 2002 as representative of the numerous works and different positions on the question of Homer's authorship. Also of consideration here are the pseudoepigrapha and supplementa mentioned above, which lean on individual, strongly marked forms of authorship; see, for instance, Guzmán / Martínez 2018.

65 See, for example, Woodmansee 1994; Masten 1997; Vickers 2002; Stern 2004; Gurr 2009; Van Es 2013; Holland 2014; Bauer / Zirker 2019.

66 As a selection: in the area of literary studies, principally Stillinger 1991; Inge 2001; Knapp 2005. Paradigmatic for perspectives on musicology: Calella 2014; for art history Baadj 2016; Bushart / Haug 2020a; Newman / Nijkamp 2021, and, under the heading of "network culture," Mader 2021a, quotation: Mader 2012b, p. 14; for modern film and literary production: Lee 2018. From a sociological and social-psychological perspective, see Becker 1982; Sampson 2001. For the state of the art, see also the chapters in the present volume.

67 Barner / Schürmann / Yacavone 2022.

In the art history of the previous decades, for example, early modern practices of artistic collaboration, as well as their market-economic and social benefits, have been repeatedly examined for different genres in critical analysis of the traditional patterns and *topoi* of artist historiography with regard to production processes.<sup>68</sup> In literary studies, too, especially as part of the approaches of New Philology, a highly nuanced debate of the author, writer, and manuscript has unfolded,<sup>69</sup> which assesses and illuminates phenomena of plural authorship anew. In the field of the edition, for instance, the principle of variant versions as independent text witnesses has been repeatedly implemented;<sup>70</sup> at the same time, this approach has been systematically pursued interpretively.<sup>71</sup> Phenomena of co-production have also found their expression in the discussion about ‘re-textualization,’ ‘re-telling,’ and ‘third-level narration.’<sup>72</sup> In addition, the polarity between *uctoritas* and anonymity has recently come into focus against the background of premodern co-creative practices.<sup>73</sup> Furthermore, inspired writing in “conversation with the incomparable partner,” God, has been reflected on regarding questions of authorship,<sup>74</sup> or the participants in the production of a text have been discussed in terms of their companionship.<sup>75</sup>

If the category of ‘multiple authorship’ generally did not appear, or at best appeared implicitly, in older, systematically oriented works on premodern ‘types of authors,’ comparable to modernist research,<sup>76</sup> the category can be encountered rather more frequently in recent times, though it must be stated that the conceptual field as a whole remains disparate. Some examples from different disciplines may serve to illustrate

68 See, among others, Honig 1995; Woollett / van Suchtelen 2006; Melion 2010; Schmidt 2013; Baadj 2016; Borkopp-Restle 2020; Bushart / Haug 2020a; Newman / Nijkamp 2021; Hammami / Pawlak / Rüth 2022; Koller / Rüth 2022.

69 For the discussion in Germanist medieval studies, see the nuanced research overview in Klein 2006, pp. 57–64. See also the formative considerations in Bleumer 2015, pp. 13–21.

70 See, for example, the synoptic edition of *Die Nibelungenklage* (ed. by Bumke 1999).

71 For instance, Kellner 2018.

72 See Worstbrock 1999; Bumke / Peters 2005; Knight 2013; Masse / Seidl 2016; Zirker 2023.

73 See Minnis 1988; Kimmelmann 1996; Inge 2001; North 2003; Drout 2012; Ranković 2012. Attempts have often been made, especially in modernity, to ascribe anonymously transmitted works, such as the *Sagas of Icelanders*, to historically verifiable individuals as a precondition for being able to interpret them as ‘literature.’ See crucially here Gropper 2021 as well as her contribution in the present volume, pp. 229–252.

74 Haug 1984. See, among others, Klein 2006; Klein 2008; Bamberger / Stellmann / Strohschneider 2018; Rogalski 2025.

75 For instance, Tríncá 2019, pp. 24f. In this volume, Martin Baisch provides a systematic overview of the different possibilities of co-production from a German medievalist perspective, pp. 275–303.

76 For instance, Haug / Wachinger 1991; Andersen et al. 1998; Coxon 2001 (though here the aspect of co-operation is at least named).

this. Hans-Jochen Schiewer assumes “the collective autograph” of the *Schwarzwälder Predigten* as the result of a group of authors,<sup>77</sup> while Balázs Nemes calls for reflection on the “collective, in any case co-operative” conditions of the genesis of mystical texts.<sup>78</sup> Beatrice Trînca generally speaks “of multiple authorship” in relation to the “specific medieval conditions” of textual production, in which the “author” is “a cipher for a collaborative contribution” or for an “authorial collective,” namely all those that “shape and reshape the text in all its versions over the course of time.”<sup>79</sup> Finally, Bent Gebert reads the compilations of Konrad von Würzburg as “an extreme case of multiple authorship.”<sup>80</sup> The phenomenon, which comes with a broad terminological range, is reflected in the field of medieval studies, particularly in the area of Old Norse research: Slavica and Miloš Ranković thus discuss the concept of the “distributed author” from various perspectives.<sup>81</sup> More recently, Lukas Rösli and Stefanie Gropper have produced a landmark volume in which the general focus on individuality as the main characteristic of premodern authorship is brought into question.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, in their approach to early modern texts in England through the concept of ‘co-creativity,’ Matthias Bauer and Angelika Zirker systematically pursue the analysis of concrete practices, functions, and the added value of co-operative processes and procedures in the production of texts (and books).<sup>83</sup> This centrally concerns poetic creativity, beginning with the assumption that it is inadequate “to examine multiple authorship solely as part of the social practice of collaborative productions of theatrical pieces,” because this disregards “poetological concepts and their realization in practice.”<sup>84</sup> The starting point for this is Sir Philip Sidney’s notion of the poet as “maker,”<sup>85</sup> which enables authorship to be regarded as “an act of collaborative creation”; in this way, it succeeds “in attaining elements of a theory of co-authorship as co-creation that are also significant for the general development of conceptions of authorship.”<sup>86</sup> On the part of art history, the concept of ‘plural author-

77 See Schiewer 1996, pp. 60–63, quote p. 63.

78 See Nemes 2010, p. 94.

79 See Trînca 2019, p. 24f. See also Kirakosian 2021, p. 211, who characterizes the vernacular transmission of Latin texts of mystical provenance as “creative collaboration.”

80 See Gebert 2021, p. 319.

81 Ranković/Ranković 2012; see also Ranković 2007.

82 Rösli/Gropper 2021a.

83 On this subject, see subproject C5: “The Aesthetics of Co-Creativity in Early Modern English Literature” of the CRC 1391, as well as Bauer/Zirker 2019; Bauer/Zirker 2021; Bauer/Rogalski/Zirker 2023; see also the chapter in this volume by Bauer/Briest/Rogalski/Zirker, pp. 31–49.

84 See Bauer/Zirker 2019, p. 423.

85 Sidney: *An Apology for Poetry*, p. 85. On this subject, see Bauer/Zirker 2019, p. 425: “By using the traditional concept of *poies* or maker not only for the poet, but also for God, Sidney indicates the analogy between the two: if the poet is a creator and God a poet, in that he creates him, so too is the poet a creator by analogy to and together with God.”

86 See Bauer/Zirker 2019, p. 440.

ship' has been applied by Birgitt Borkopp-Restle to describe the collaboration of clients, painters, and textile-workers in the design of tapestries, while Nadja Baadj, for instance, previously writes of "collaborative craftsmanship" in relation to 17<sup>th</sup>-century cabinets of arts from Antwerp, and Anne T. Woollett characterizes the "painterly co-operation" between Peter Paul Rubens and Jan Brueghel the Elder as "collaborative ventures."<sup>87</sup>

In this way, decisive approaches have been formulated; indeed, there are important impulses and indications that models of multiple authorship were the norm, rather than the exception, in premodernity, as Lukas Rösli and Stefanie Gropper have clearly noted in relation to (diachronic) processes of transmission:

Yet collaborative work undertaken at the same time on one text seems to have been the exception, with authorship usually reaching over several generations as texts continued to be altered, adapted, continued, and shortened – in other words, retold and rewritten. In this process, we can clearly see that the concept of authorship in the Middle Ages was not the same as the emphatic present-day notion; rather, the role played by an 'author' was far less definite and had a comparatively marginal position in the text.<sup>88</sup>

The present volume builds on the subject-specific approaches outlined above. Although phenomena of multiple authorship have by now often been designated and addressed in relation to specific research interests, it is apparent that these phenomena are usually not drawn on specifically for interpretation or productively turned to the analysis of texts, images, or objects. Yet clear conceptualizations,<sup>89</sup> as well as workable historical descriptions of variation, are a *desideratum* above all else. Finally, there is a lack of studies on the question of whether and how various forms of plural authorship themselves affect the aesthetic feature of documents and artefacts. In the following, we thus attempt to outline the concept of multiple authorship by systematically gathering categorical distinctions.

### 3. Multiple Authorship – A Systematic Approach

Following on from the interdisciplinary collaboration in the cross-sectional area *Individual and Collective* of the CRC 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, presented here for the first time is an attempt at an interdisciplinary, systematic approach to the complex cultural-historical phenomenon of multiple authorship. Our approach is based on the praxeological model

87 See Borkopp-Restle 2020; Baadj 2016; Woollett 2006.

88 See Rösli / Gropper 2021b, p. 13.

89 Mader 2012b, pp. 8 f. and note 5, offers an approach for the concept of collective authorship.

of the CRC 1391<sup>90</sup> which assumes that acts and artefacts, as bearers of social actions, are performatively oriented toward the environment in which they are produced and/or received. Aesthetic acts and artefacts position themselves between a technical-artistic inherent logic (the autological dimension) and a pragmatic-historical everyday logic (the heterological dimension). Their interplay and dynamic relations are tangible in those phenomena that the CRC refers to using the key term of 'figure of aesthetic reflection,' and which both become manifest in the artefacts themselves and have an effect on the practices and institutions connected to them. In this sense, multiple authorship is to be understood also as a figure of aesthetic reflection, both of artistic practice and of the artistic concept, the different facets of which are analyzed in the chapters of our volume.

The concept of multiple authorship requires reflection not only on the two concepts of 'multiplicity' and 'authorship,' but also the relationship in which both aspects stand to one another. Approaching multiple authorship via the concept of 'co-creativity' is heuristic and enables the identification of different realizations of the concepts and their aesthetic potential in connection to multiple authorship. The praxeological model allows for a closer look also at the share of actors who are hardly or not at all authorially marked in the creation of an artefact, such as printers, copy editors, translators, publishers, and even recipients. In this way, it becomes clear that each form of authorship, even emphatic and marked individual authorship, always contains collaborative parts and is tied to co-creative processes in the broadest sense: it is a matter of co-operative processes, synchronic and diachronic, that are regarded as part of the collective production of texts and objects.<sup>91</sup> In this respect, however, it is crucial to hone these terms for all their openness toward their application to new models so that they do not dissolve into arbitrariness.

The operative concepts proposed here of collaborative and collective authorship, as well as the overarching category of multiple (or plural) authorship, shall make it possible to determine markings and disparities between different processes of formation, authorial instances, and not least processes of reception, to which, in many cases, is assigned the function of further conceptual development. In the following definitional approaches, which focus in different ways on place, time, group size, and relations of communication and power within the process of authorship, the aesthetic product is not defined in more detail; it can be a literary work as well as an art object, a piece of music or a performance, etc.

*Multiple (or also plural) authorship* can function as an *overarching concept* for phenomena of the communal production process. The term denotes several authorial

<sup>90</sup> The following explanations of the praxeological model and the terminology of CRC 1391 are based on the programmatic chapter in Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2022, esp. pp. 26–31; English translation: Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2025.

<sup>91</sup> Stillinger 1991, pp. 183f.

entities that have diachronically and/or synchronically worked on one or several object(s)/text(s)/aesthetic product(s), meaning artefact(s) without temporal or spatial boundaries. The concept of multiple or plural authorship also invites the inclusion of co-creative reception processes that feed into the production of aesthetic artefacts as possible further conceptual developments, such as the supplementation of literary works in the course of their transmission or the reconstruction of texts lost or believed to be lost – for example, the response letters of the Ovidian *Heroides*, which are supplemented multiple times, or the late antique forgery of the exchange of letters between Paulus and Seneca.<sup>92</sup> In comparison to the concepts of ‘collective’ and ‘collaborative’ authorship (see below), which refer to temporally defined historical processes that are, in principle, concluded, the term could refer to the potential incompleteness of the processes as much as the multifaceted potential of the further developments of aesthetic forms of expression and concepts, and thus contribute to revealing the weaknesses of individual, emphatic authorship.

According to our classification, *collective authorship* generally describes the collaboration of more than two authorial entities, often larger groups, which work synchronously in the broadest sense on one work. The difference from collaborative authorship consists in the fact that the participants do not have to work together, i.e. without unmediated interaction. The term could describe, among other things, medieval cathedrals’ workshops or scriptoria, where the focus is not on the individual as an authorial entity. Correspondingly, production processes in artists’ workshops and publishing houses can also be characterized as forms of collective authorship. Also included here are processes of creation based on the division of labour, in which various actors, such as printers, editors, translators, directors, etc. all receive a share in authorship.

*Collaborative authorship* describes the collaboration of two or more authorial entities that generally work synchronously and in close correspondence on one artefact. We assume that collaborative authorship includes a communicative aspect *sui generis*, a creative exchange always to be considered and that decisively co-determines the creative process. The collaboration of the actors is always intended here, even if not all the participants necessarily know one another. The term can refer to production processes on an equal footing (as with the three artists Hagesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus from Rhodes, the creators of the ancient statue of Laocoön)<sup>93</sup> as well as to hierarchically structured processes (such as procedures within workshop practice; master – assistant, etc.). The term can also be used when the final outcome is decisively co-determined by individual authors and the artefact is subsumed under *one* (different) name (for example, the works of Bauhaus, films, or works by architectural firms).

92 See Meckelnborg/Schneider 2002; Fürst et al. 2006; Wolkenhauer 2016.

93 Plin. nat. 36,37.

Based on these considerations and the conceptual toolset derived from them, the volume outlines various themes and research areas. They ask in what form multiple authorship exists in each case, whether and how it becomes productive, to what extent it has an effect on the aesthetic structure, the ‘madeness,’ of acts and artefacts, and whether and in what form multiple authorship becomes productive in each case as co-creativity.

The outline of the contributions begins with (I) examples in which the processes of production and reception play a central role but where at the same time the basic figure of multiple authorship, the give and take of different actors, is reflected in complex aesthetic configurations, which to some extent make God himself a player on equal footing in these processes of exchange. Offset against these are with (II) emphases and markings of plurality, which indicate that plural conditions of origin can also have a thoroughly decisive influence on aesthetic features. Their semantic potential hence becomes a crucial component in the layers of expression and meaning of the acts and artefacts; it both stimulates and directs perception and is thus also to be included significantly in the analytical interpretation. A further form of plural authorship (III) relates not only to the production but also decidedly to the reception of texts and artefacts. The category of multiple authorship can hence be connected not only with synchronic but also with diachronic processes, resulting in the notion of a complete ‘work’ becoming obsolete in precisely these contexts. The final section collects chapters on texts in which (IV) the plural conditions of creation, as they are often encountered in the historical context, are mostly without recognizable conceptual claim but undoubtedly of aesthetic significance.

**(I) Multiple authorship as reciprocal co-creativity.** Annette Gerok-Reiter, using the example of Mechthild's of Magdeburg *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit*, shows how different actors participate synchronously in the process of aesthetic production, how they act together, and how this collaboration also continues in the reception process. God is at once both a source of inspiration and a part of this productive circulation. The participation of readers in the co-productive aesthetic process is enabled through performative realization. Based on the metaphor of giving and taking, which reflects the reciprocity of communal work, the co-created contribution by Matthias Bauer, Sarah Briest, Sara Rogalski, and Angelika Zirker concerns itself with the phenomenon of reciprocity in communal authorship, namely in literary texts from the English early modern period. The metaphor of giving and taking finds application with regard to diachronic processes of creation, exemplified, for instance, by the prologue to Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, as well as in relation to reciprocity as a moral duty, which can be drawn as a lesson from emblems but also with recourse to the co-creative role of spectators in the early modern theatre.

(II) **Explicit marking of plural authorship.** On the basis of the *Codex Buranus*, the important collection of secular poetry of the Latin Middle Ages, Frank Bezner shows how linguistic breaks between Latin texts and additions or expansions in the vernacular signal plurality. This involves a doubled multiple authorship; he reads the German-Latin poems of the *Carmina Burana* as a learned intervention into the literary matrix of the vernacular *Minnesang* (courtly lovesong), and thereby as a productive juxtaposition of two decidedly plural traditions. As with Bezner, Dirk Werle's chapter on Constantin Christian Dedekind's *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* (1657) also foregrounds the author as a co-ordinating entity involved in the organizing of different texts. Dedekind knowingly plays with these configurations in such a way that their multiplication becomes recognizable as an essential part of his aesthetic conceptions. Mara R. Wade likewise addresses an example from the early modern period and, beginning with an entry by Martin Opitz in Christian Weigel's album, considers the connection between two new book forms, the printed emblem book and the *album amicorum*. She demonstrates how a dialogue emerges between Weigel's model, Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri*, and Opitz, which is to be read both poetologically and in terms of discourses of masculine ideals of friendship. Here, too, the specific textual meaning develops on the basis of a plural configuration. The seven-branched candelabrum of Brunswick Cathedral is at the centre of Andrea Worm's considerations; the candelabrum is characterized by a hybridity that arises out of the interplay of its origin in the 12<sup>th</sup> century with its restoration in the neo-Romanesque style during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The examination of the various conditions of the candelabra shows how accessing hybrid artefacts through concepts of multiple authorship enables a deeper understanding of them in their respective artistic and historical contexts.

(III) **Plurality as reflected in production and reception.** Konrad Schmid outlines how the Torah, whose authorship often was and still is attributed to Moses, was in fact written anonymously and in collaboration. The long period of the text's production over several centuries also led to different interpretations in its reception, as Schmid subsequently argues. Particularly important to emphasize in this respect is how this plurality, both in terms of production and reception, opposes the consolidation of meaning and even makes it impossible. That the plurality of authorship is inscribed in production as well as in reception or interpretation can be seen in relation to the musical motets, as Lorenz Adamer shows with reference to the examples of Bernard de Cluny's *Apollinis eclipsatur* and Pierre Moulu's *Mater floreat*. The collective processes of production exemplified here cannot be actualized without (diachronic) processes of reception. Multiple authorship as reflected in production and reception also characterizes the copperplate engraving *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593), created collaboratively by Hendrick Goltzius and Franco Estius. Katharina Ost shows in reference to this piece how, through the medial separation of text and image, two authorial voices co-exist, entering into a productive dia-

logue with the Ovidian pretext and addressing the viewer's attitude to its reception. The intermedial concept of the copper engraving subsumes, as it were, the earlier authors under a visual formula and raises a claim to *aemulatio*, in which this plurality, in terms of production and reception, takes on an equally synchronic and diachronic dimension.

**(IV) Co-creative production in the tension between individual and collective.** Stefanie Gropper's contribution does not read the anonymity of the *Íslendingasögur* (*The Sagas of Icelanders*) as a nuisance, contrary to general scholarly opinion, but sets it against the attribution of authorship by demonstrating how this anonymity can be viewed as characteristic of the texts' plural authorship. The narrative voice co-ordinates the individual voices of the acting characters and the collective voices of tradition and public opinion, which together narrate the saga. The development of these texts is thus anchored in the interplay of the individual and the collective. Lena Rohrbach likewise takes the corpus of the *Íslendingasögur* as an opportunity to consider this polarity. Her starting point lies in the attributions of authorship since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which reveal disputes in a polarity between old and new concepts of authorship. At the same time, in this are reflected recent developments of a philological tradition and hence the related processes of the canonization of texts whose transmission has always been characterized by plurality. Martin Baisch, beginning with Wolfram's von Eschenbach *Parzival*, presumes the participation of several entities in the production of texts as a basic principle for the German-language courtly novel of the high and late Middle Ages. He suggests that the processes that contribute to the formation of texts should be understood, in comparison with singular authorship, as a form of reproductivity or as reproductive authorship, which is constantly embedded in an interplay between the individual and the collective. 18<sup>th</sup>-century botanical illustrations provide the focus of Kärin Nickelsen's examination of co-creative collaboration. This is to be thought of, on the one hand, as collective in a synchronous sense, on the basis of the collaborative work of, for instance, botanists and artists, but also, on the other hand, as collaborative in a diachronic sense through the integration of the illustrations into the discourse of the image in a European context. As in the other examples, so here too are the individuals that participate in the production of the illustration tied into a collective that underlies the plurality of the creative process.

The categories presented here briefly can only point to a few directions, which are to be expanded and further differentiated in future research. It is only in the detailed analyses of the individual chapters that the explanatory power of the classifications among systematic points of view finds complete expression, even if the chapters often overstep the boundaries of the respective rubrication because the texts and objects analyzed generally cannot be reduced to a single category of authorship. In principle, however, it should become clear on the basis of the different directions and perspec-

tives of plural authorship how central practices of collaborative productivity were in premodernity, how varied their respective manifestations could be, and to what critical degree they implicitly or explicitly influenced the aesthetic structure of individual acts and artefacts.

In this way, the volume reveals, from both a disciplinary and an interdisciplinary perspective, how multiple authorship in the premodern era functions as a ‘coordinate’ of a *different aesthetics*, that is, the extent to which it can be viewed in its respective cultural-historical context as a central reflective figure of aesthetic production and reception with a strong regional and temporal presence – which often outranges the historical reach of the concept of individual authorship. The volume thus contributes to overcoming rigid concepts of authorship, which not only cleave to an emphatic understanding of the author but also connect this first and foremost with aesthetic complexity. In turning away from such approaches and suggesting alternative paths of analysis, the volume attempts not least to provide new impetuses for research into co-creative phenomena.

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