

MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP

ANDERE ÄSTHETIK
|
KOORDINATEN 2E

Schriftenreihe des SFB 1391

Herausgegeben von
Annette Gerok-Reiter

Beirat

Matthias Bauer
Sarah Dessì Schmid
Cristina Murer
Anna Pawlak
Jörg Robert
Dietmar Till
Saskia Wendel

MULTIPLE AUTHORSHIP

AESTHETICS OF CO-CREATIVITY
IN THE PRE-MODERN ERA

Edited by
Stefanie Gropper, Anna Pawlak,
Anja Wolkenhauer, and Angelika Zirker

Translated by
Alexander Wilson

DE GRUYTER

This translation is based on the German original *Plurale Autorschaft. Ästhetik der Co-Kreativität in der Vormoderne* (AÄK 2), ISBN 978-3-11-069059-0

Funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft
(DFG, German Research Foundation) – SFB 1391 – Project-ID 405662736

ISBN 978-3-11-115305-6
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-3-11-115338-4
ISSN 2751-2665
e-ISSN 2751-2673
DOI <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111153384>



This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. For details go to <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>. Creative Commons license terms for re-use do not apply to any content that is not part of the Open Access publication (such as graphs, figures, photos, excerpts, etc.). These may require obtaining further permission from the rights holder. The obligation to research and clear permission lies solely with the party re-using the material.

Library of Congress Control Number: 2025931911

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2025 with the author(s), editing © 2025 Stefanie Gropper, Anna Pawlak, Anja Wolkenhauer, and Angelika Zirker, published by Walter de Gruyter GmbH, Berlin/Boston, Genthiner Straße 13, 10785 Berlin.

This book is published with open access at www.degruyter.com.

Cover design and title pages: P. Florath, Stralsund

Cover image: Anton Mozart: Die Übergabe des Pommerschen Kunstschranks [excerpt], 1614–1615, oil on wood, 39,5 × 45,4 cm, © Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Typesetting: Dörlemann Satz, Lemförde

Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck

www.degruyter.com

Questions about General Product Safety Regulation:
productsafety@degruyterbrill.com

Foreword

What is art? What does it accomplish? Why does it move us so? These are the questions posed by the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 1391 in our examination of images, texts, objects, and musical works from Europe in the premodern era. We understand premodern Europe as a polycentric, regionally and temporally open field of cultural, social, and societal interactions, and we hope to present evidence of aesthetic self-awareness in the acts and artifacts in this field. We begin with the thesis that acts and artifacts from different times and cultures are not only embedded in the sociocultural spaces where they originate, but through the power of their artistry to a great degree help shape – and sometimes even themselves constitute – sociocultural processes. In order to show this, various disciplines within the CRC – from archeology to art history, musicology, classis, philology, linguistics, rhetoric, history, and theology – work together in a broadly interdisciplinary approach.

Each volume of the monograph series *Koordinaten* (*Coordinates*) will present important, historically differentiated force fields of discussion about premodern aesthetics. Gradually, a representative ‘network of coordinates’ of discourse on premodern aesthetics will emerge. Our intention is to produce neither a closed system nor a theory of premodern aesthetics. Instead, the concept of ‘coordinates’ highlights dynamic, open criteria and positions that were by no means discursively or practically determinate to the same extent for all times and places but were able to develop a highly productive power and influence within the interactive fields described above. Nor does the ensemble of coordinates under discussion aim for a mutually exclusive comparison of premodern and modern aesthetic criteria. Instead, we want to illustrate the extent to which two thousand years of European cultural history – precisely because during that time there was no functional separation between art and lived reality – can provide new impulses for an understanding of aesthetics even in the present day and recalibrate traditional ideas about the canon.

Annette Gerok-Reiter for the Collaborative Research Center 1391

Contents

v | Foreword

IX | Annette Gerok-Reiter, Stefanie Gropper, Anna Pawlak,
Anja Wolkenhauer, Angelika Zirker
Introduction

I. Multiple Authorship as Reciprocal Creativity

3 | Annette Gerok-Reiter
Multiple Authorship in *The Flowing Light of the Godhead?*
Canonizations – Deconstructions – Aesthetic Structure

31 | Matthias Bauer, Sarah Briest, Sara Rogalski, Angelika Zirker
Give and Take. Reflections on Collaborative Authorship
in Early Modern English Literature

II. Explicit References to Multiple Authorship

53 | Frank Bezner
E pluribus unum? On the Aesthetics of Latin-German Poetry
in the *Carmina Burana*

77 | Dirk Werle
Multiple Authorship in 17th-Century German Lyric Poetry – the Example
of Constantin Christian Dedekind's *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* (1657)

95 | Mara R. Wade
Martin Opitz signs a *Stammbuch*. Multiple Authorship and
a 'Different Aesthetics' in the Emblematic *album amicorum*

- 121 | Andrea Worm
Multiple Authorship and Diachronic Hybridity. The Seven-branched
Candelabrum of Brunswick Cathedral and its Historical Reconfiguration

III. Multiple Authorship in the Interaction of Production and Perception

- 159 | Konrad Schmid
The Torah as Multi-Authorial Literature of Discussion. The History, Aesthetics,
and Hermeneutics of a Product of Collaborative Writing
- 181 | Lorenz Adamer
Reflections on the Concept of Authorship in Musicians' Motets
- 199 | Katharina Ost
Goltzius and Estius Read Ovid: *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593)

IV. Co-Creativity in the Interplay of the Individual and the Collective

- 229 | Stefanie Gropper
'Ek segi,' 'vér segjum,' 'verður sagt.' Multiple Authorship in the *Íslendingasögur*
- 253 | Lena Rohrbach
'Different from all other *Egils sagas*.' On the Connection between Individual
Authorship and a Different Aesthetics in Late Premodern Iceland
- 275 | Martin Baisch
Reproductive Authorship in the Courtly Novel
- 305 | Kärin Nickelsen
Artwork, Craftwork, Science – and Who Is the Author?
The Case of 18th-Century Botanical Illustrations
- 333 | Figures and Charts
- 337 | Index

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).¹ 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.² 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.³ As the most valuable and most meticulously designed exemplar of the art cabinets conceived by Hainhofer,⁴ with the technically virtuosic workmanship of their materials and their complex cosmological schemes earning them the contemporary designation of “wonders of the world,”⁵ the exquisite item of furniture was not only in this respect an aesthetic product of multiple authorship.⁶

* 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. 21 f.; Thon 1968, pp. 128 f., 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; Emmendorffer 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; Emmendorffer 2014a; Emmendorffer 2015; Mundt 2015; Cornet 2016, pp. 156–162; Bürger/Kallweit 2017, pp. 71 f.; 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; Emmendorffer 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. 270 f. 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*:⁷ 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.⁸ 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; Emmendorffer 2014a, pp. 278–335, cat. no. 46; Emmendorffer 2014b, pp. 54–57.

Fig. 2. Anton Mozart: *The Presentation of the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts* (detail), c. 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.

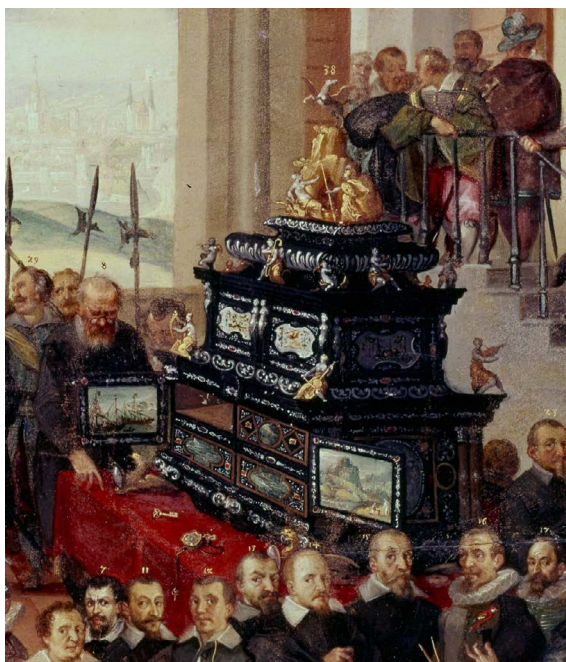


Fig. 3. Anterior view of the Pomeranian Cabinet of Arts (closed), historical photograph by Meisenbach, Riffarth & Co., heliogravure, 1905.





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.¹² 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,¹³ 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; Emmendorffer 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,¹⁴ 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.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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).¹⁸ 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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰ 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. 163 f.

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. 159 f.; Emmendörffer 2014b, p. 41; Mundt 2014, p. 27.

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



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 1617.²¹ 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.²²

21 See Mundt 2009, p. 159.

22 See Mundt 2009, p. 160.

Against the background of political-confessional discourses at the beginning of the 17th 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 off²³ – 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 17th century and in the Kunstgewerbemuseum from 1876.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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 Centre (CRC) 1391, multiple authorship is thus to be defined as a central 'coordinate'²⁶ 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 1969,²⁷ became especially pertinent to the debates in literary studies of the 1980s and 1990s. Since then, it may be considered a *conditio sine que 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 18th 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.²⁸

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 18th century, the *auctor* / author²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.”³¹ Only in the 18th 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 Gavaille 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.”³²

In this brief outline of rather Benjaminian “tiger’s leaps,”³³ 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.³⁴

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 author³⁵ – 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 9th 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 19th 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.

Otfried von Weißenburg may have perceived himself as a mediator of divine truth in his 9th-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.³⁶ Yet when invoking individual authorities – such as Homer or Virgil, the latter again in Veldeke’s *Eneasroman* in the 12th century, or Apelles and Lucian in the early modern translations of the *Calumnia Apellis*, transmitted only in literature³⁷ – 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.³⁸ Conversely, the emphatic concept of the genius that emerged in the 18th and 19th 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.³⁹ 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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹ 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, 878 f.: *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,⁴² and, on the other, consistently brought Shakespeare into focus in his role as ‘co-author,’⁴³ and thus into the polarity between plurality and individual genius.⁴⁴

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*,⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ Indeed, with Roland Barthes’ “La mort de l’auteur,”⁴⁷ the author seems to lose his *auctoritas* in this period to a great extent. Yet in the wrestling over the “return of the author,”⁴⁸ on the other hand, his claim is defended anew.⁴⁹

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.”⁵⁰ 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 19th century.⁵¹ 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. 151 f.

47 Barthes 1994 [1968].

48 Jannidis et al. 1999a.

49 See also Amlinger 2021.

50 Lauer 1999, pp. 162 f., 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.⁵² This can be seen, for example, in the fact that the modern concept of the ‘author,’ whose semantics are ultimately bound to the 18th and 19th 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,⁵³ 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.⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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. 290 f., 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. 17 f.; 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 18th century or not ‘yet,’⁵⁶ 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 1391,⁵⁷ 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,⁵⁸ 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.”⁵⁹ 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,⁶⁰ 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 18th and 19th 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 18th and 19th 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.⁶¹

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.⁶² 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

61 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.

62 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.⁶³ From this context, it becomes apparent that since the end of the 18th 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.⁶⁴

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.⁶⁵ Yet, on the whole, there is movement toward this discussion on a broad disciplinary front.⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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,⁶⁹ 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;⁷⁰ at the same time, this approach has been systematically pursued interpretively.⁷¹ Phenomena of co-production have also found their expression in the discussion about ‘re-textualization,’ ‘re-telling,’ and ‘third-level narration.’⁷² In addition, the polarity between *auctoritas* and anonymity has recently come into focus against the background of premodern co-creative practices.⁷³ Furthermore, inspired writing in “conversation with the incomparable partner,” God, has been reflected on regarding questions of authorship,⁷⁴ or the participants in the production of a text have been discussed in terms of their companionship.⁷⁵

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,⁷⁶ 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; Baad 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; Kimmelman 1996; Inge 2001; North 2003; Drouot 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, Trínca 2019, pp. 24 f. 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,⁷⁷ while Balázs Nemes calls for reflection on the “collective, in any case co-operative” conditions of the genesis of mystical texts.⁷⁸ Beatrice Trîncea 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.”⁷⁹ Finally, Bent Gebert reads the compilations of Konrad von Würzburg as “an extreme case of multiple authorship.”⁸⁰ 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.⁸¹ 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.⁸² 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).⁸³ 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.”⁸⁴ The starting point for this is Sir Philip Sidney’s notion of the poet as “maker,”⁸⁵ 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.”⁸⁶ 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 Trîncea 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 17th-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."⁸⁷

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.⁸⁸

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,⁸⁹ 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 facture 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. 8f. and note 5, offers an approach for the concept of collective authorship.

of the CRC 1391⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ 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

90 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.

91 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.⁹² 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)⁹³ 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 ‘madness,’ 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 figurations, 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 factures. 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 12th century with its restoration in the neo-Romanesque style during the 19th 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 18th 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. 18th-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.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Chrétien: Erec and Enide = Chrétien de Troyes: Erec and Enide, trans. by Carleton W. Carroll, in: Arthurian Romances, trans. with introd. and notes by William W. Kibler, London 1991 (Penguin Classics).
- Goethe: Zum Shakespeares-Tag = Goethe, Johann Wolfgang: Zum Shakespeares-Tag, in: Goethes Werke, vol. 12: Schriften zur Kunst, Schriften zur Literatur, Maximen und Reflexionen, with annotations by Herbert von Einem and Hans Joachim Schrimpf, rev. by Werner Weber and Hans Joachim Schrimpf, 5th ed., Hamburg 1963, pp. 224–227.
- Nibelungenklage = Die Nibelungenklage. Synoptic edition of all four versions, ed. by Joachim Bumke, Berlin / New York 1999.
- Ov. met. = Ovid: Metamorphoses, trans. by A.D. Melville; with an introduction and notes by E.J. Kenney, Oxford / New York 1998 (Oxford World's Classics).
- Plin. nat. = Pliny: Natural History, vol. 10: Books 36–37, with an English Translation by D.E. Eichholz, London / Cambridge 1962 (Loeb Classical Library 419).
- Sidney: An Apology for Poetry = Sidney, Sir Philip: An Apology for Poetry, ed. by Geoffrey Shepherd, 3rd rev. ed., ed. by Robert W. Maslen, Manchester / New York 2002.

Secondary Literature

- Alfter 1986 = Alfter, Dieter: Die Geschichte des Augsburger Kabinettschranks, Augsburg 1986 (Schwäbische Geschichtsquellen und Forschungen 15).
- Amlinger 2021 = Amlinger, Carolin: Schreiben. Eine Soziologie literarischer Arbeit, Berlin 2021 (suhrkamp taschenbuch wissenschaft 2363).

- Andersen et al. 1998 = Andersen, Elizabeth/Simon, Anne/Strohschneider, Peter/Haustein, Jens (eds.): *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter*. Kolloquium Meißen 1995, Tübingen 1998.
- Baadj 2016 = Baadj, Nadia: *Collaborative Craftsmanship and Chimeric Creation in Seventeenth-Century Antwerp Art Cabinets*, in: Christine Göttler/Lucas Burkart/Susanna Burghartz (eds.): *Sites of Mediation. Connected Histories of Places, Processes, and Objects in Europe and Beyond, 1450–1650*, Leiden/Boston 2016 (Intersections 47), pp. 270–296.
- Bamberger/Stellmann/Strohschneider 2018 = Bamberger, Gudrun/Stellmann, Jan/Strohschneider, Moritz: *Dichten mit Gott – Schreiben über Gott. Eine Einleitung*, in: *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 48.1 (2018), pp. 3–17.
- Bannert/Klecker 2013 = Bannert, Herbert/Klecker, Elisabeth (eds.): *Autorschaft. Konzeptionen, Transformationen, Diskussionen*, Vienna 2013 (Singularia Vindobonensia 3).
- Barner/Schürmann/Yacavone 2022 = Barner, Ines/Schürmann, Anja/Yacavone, Kathrin: *Kooperation, Kollaboration, Kollektivität: Geteilte Autorschaften und pluralisierte Werke aus interdisziplinärer Perspektive*, in: *Journal of Literary Theory* 16.1 (2022), pp. 3–28.
- Barthes 1994 [1968] = Barthes, Roland: *La mort de l'auteur*, in: Roland Barthes: *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Éric Marty, 3 vols., Paris 1993–1995, vol. 2: 1966–1973, Paris 1994, pp. 491–495 [French original in: *Manteia* 5 (1968), pp. 12–17].
- Bauer/Rogalski/Zirker 2023 = Bauer, Matthias/Rogalski, Sara/Zirker, Angelika: *Tiles and Tinctures: Interdependent Co-Creativity in Early Modern English Literature*, in: *Recherches anglaises et nord-américaines* 56 (2023), pp. 125–140.
- Bauer/Zirker 2018 = Bauer, Matthias/Zirker, Angelika: *Shakespeare and Stylometrics: Character Style Paradox and Unique Parallels*, in: Jochen Petzold/Anne-Julia Zwielerlein (eds.): *Anglistentag 2017: Proceedings*, Trier 2018, pp. 31–38.
- Bauer/Zirker 2019 = Bauer, Matthias/Zirker, Angelika: *Autorschaft und Mitschöpfung in der englischen Literatur der Frühen Neuzeit. Von George Herbert bis William Shakespeare*, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter/Anja Wolkenhauer/Jörg Robert/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *Reflexionsfiguren der Künste in der Vormoderne*, Heidelberg 2019, pp. 419–443.
- Bauer/Zirker 2021 = Bauer, Matthias/Zirker, Angelika: *Shakespeare's Medieval Co-Authors*, in: Lukas Rösli/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship*, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1), pp. 217–238.
- Becker 1982 = Becker, Howard Saul: *Art Worlds*, Berkeley 1982.
- Belting 2004 = Belting, Hans: *Bild und Kult. Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, 6th ed., Munich 2004.
- Benjamin 2003 = Benjamin, Walter: *On the Concept of History*, in: Walter Benjamin: *Selected Writings*, ed. by Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings, 4 vols., Cambridge, MA 2003, pp. 389–400.
- Bentley 1971 = Bentley, Gerald Eades: *The Profession of Dramatist in Shakespeare's Time 1590–1642*, Princeton 1971.
- Berensmeyer/Buelens/Demoor 2012 = Berensmeyer, Ingo/Buelens, Gert/Demoor, Marysa: *Authorship as Cultural Performance: New Perspectives in Authorship Studies*, in: *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 60 (2012), pp. 5–29.
- Bippus 2007 = Bippus, Elke: *Autorschaft in künstlerischer und wissenschaftlicher Forschung*, in: Corina Caduff/Tan Wälchli (eds.): *Autorschaft in den Künsten. Konzepte – Praktiken – Medien*, Zurich 2008 (Zürcher Jahrbuch der Künste), pp. 34–45.
- Bleumer 2015 = Bleumer, Hartmut: *Autor und Metapher. Zum Begriffsproblem in der germanistischen Mediävistik – am Beispiel von Wolframs von Eschenbach Parzival*, in: Susanne Friede/Michael Schwarze (eds.): *Autorschaft und Autorität in den romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Berlin/Boston 2015 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 390), pp. 13–40.

- Borkopp-Restle 2020 = Borkopp-Restle, Birgitt: Plurale Autorschaft. Aufgaben und Anteile von Auftraggebern, Malern und Wirkern in der Gestaltung von Tapisserien, in: Magdalena Bushart/Henrike Haug (eds.): *Geteilte Arbeit. Praktiken künstlerischer Kooperation*, Cologne 2020 (Interdependenzen. Die Künste und ihre Techniken 5), pp. 79–96.
- Breton 1924 = Breton, André: *Manifestes du Surréalisme*, Paris 1924.
- Bürger/Kallweit 2017 = Bürger, Stefan/Kallweit, Ludwig: Bedingte Kunst. Aspekte einer Raumkonzeption jenseits von Typus und Stil am Beispiel der Fürstengrablege im Freiburger Dom (bis 1595), in: Simon Paulus/Klaus Jan Philipp (eds.): 'Um 1600' – Das Neue Lusthaus in Stuttgart und sein architekturgeschichtlicher Kontext, Berlin 2017 (Kultur und Technik 35), pp. 59–73.
- Bumke/Peters 2005 = Bumke, Joachim/Peters, Ursula (eds.): *Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Berlin 2005 (Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 124).
- Burke 1995 = Burke, Seán (ed.): *Authorship. From Plato to the Postmodern. A Reader*, Edinburgh 1995.
- Burrows 2017 = Burrows, John: The Joker in the Pack? Marlowe, Kyd, and the Co-Authorship of Henry V, Part 3, in: Gary Taylor/Gabriel Egan (eds.): *The New Oxford Shakespeare. Authorship Companion*, Oxford 2017, pp. 194–217.
- Bushart/Haug 2020a = Bushart, Magdalena/Haug, Henrike (eds.): *Geteilte Arbeit. Praktiken künstlerischer Kooperation*, Cologne 2020 (Interdependenzen. Die Künste und ihre Techniken 5).
- Bushart/Haug 2020b = Bushart, Magdalena/Haug, Henrike: Vom Mehrwert geteilter Arbeit, in: Bushart, Magdalena/Haug, Henrike (eds.): *Geteilte Arbeit. Praktiken künstlerischer Kooperation*, Cologne 2020 (Interdependenzen. Die Künste und ihre Techniken 5), pp. 7–27.
- Caduff/Wälchli 2008 = Caduff, Corina/Wälchli, Tan (eds.): *Autorschaft in den Künsten. Konzepte – Praktiken – Medien*, Zurich 2008 (Zürcher Jahrbuch der Künste).
- Calella 2014 = Calella, Michele: *Musikalische Autorschaft: Der Komponist zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Kassel/Basel 2014 (Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 20).
- Cast 1981 = Cast, David: *The Calumny of Apelles. A Study in the Humanist Tradition*, New Haven/London 1981 (Yale Publications in the History of Art 28).
- Cheney 2008 = Cheney, Patrick: *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship*, Cambridge, UK 2008.
- Cheney 2018 = Cheney, Patrick: *English Authorship and the Early Modern Sublime*. Spenser, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson, Cambridge, UK et al. 2018.
- Cornet 2016 = Cornet, Christine: *Die Augsburger Kistler des 17. Jahrhunderts. Studien zur Geschichte des Kunsthandwerks*, Petersberg 2016 (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stadt Augsburg 5).
- Coxon 2001 = Coxon, Sebastian: *The Presentation of Authorship in Medieval German Narrative Literature 1220–1290*, Oxford 2001 (Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs).
- Craig 2008 = Craig, Hugh: "Speak, that I may see thee": Shakespeare Characters and Common Words, in: *Shakespeare Survey* 61 (2008), pp. 281–288.
- Craig 2010 = Craig, Hugh: Style, Statistics, and New Models of Authorship, in: *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15.1 (2010), URL: <https://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/15-1/craistyl.htm> (last accessed: 8 November 2024).
- Detering 2002 = Detering, Heinrich (ed.): *Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen*, DFG-Symposion 2001, Stuttgart/Weimar 2002.
- Drout 2012 = Drout, Michael D.C.: "I am large, I contain multitudes." The Medieval Author in Memetic Terms, in: Slavica Ranković (ed.): *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, Toronto 2012 (Papers in Mediaeval Studies 22), pp. 30–51.
- Emmendorffer 2014a = Emmendorffer, Christoph (ed.): *Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Maximilianmuseum Augsburg*, Berlin/Augsburg 2014.

- Emmendorffer 2014b = Emmendorffer, Christoph: Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk und sein "Hainhofer-Code," in: Christoph Emmendorffer (ed.): Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Maximilianmuseum Augsburg, Berlin / Augsburg 2014, pp. 33–57.
- Emmendorffer 2015 = Emmendorffer, Christoph: Cud świata jako model biznesowy. Augsburski handlarz dziełami sztuki i rajca pomorski Filip Hainhofer / Weltwunder als Geschäftsmodell. Der Augsburger Kunstagent und Pommersche Rat Philipp Hainhofer, in: Renata Zdero (ed.): Metafora świata. Filip II jako władca i kolekcjoner. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Stettiner Schloss, vol. 1, Stettin 2015, pp. 52–87.
- Foucault 1969 = Foucault, Michel: Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur, in: Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie Juillet-Septembre (1969), pp. 73–104.
- Fürst et al. 2006 = Fürst, Alfons / Fuhrer, Therese / Siegert, Folker / Walter, Peter: Der apokryphe Briefwechsel zwischen Seneca und Paulus, zusammen mit dem Brief des Mordechai an Alexander und dem Brief des Annaeus Seneca über Hochmut und Götterbilder, introd., trans. and with interpretative essays, Tübingen 2006 (Sapere 11).
- Gavoille 2019 = Gavoille, Élisabeth (ed.): Qu'est-ce qu'un "auctor"? Auteur et autorité, du latin au français, Bordeaux 2019 (Ausonius éditions 17).
- Gebert 2021 = Gebert, Bent: Heterogene Autorschaft und digitale Textanalyse. Ein Experiment zum kompilatorischen Erzählstil Konrads von Würzburg, in: Norbert Kössinger / Astrid Lembke (eds.): Konrad von Würzburg als Erzähler, Oldenburg 2021 (Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung, Themenheft 10), pp. 309–344.
- Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2022 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette / Robert, Jörg: Andere Ästhetik – Akte und Artefakte in der Vormoderne. Zum Forschungsprogramm des SFB 1391, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Jörg Robert / Matthias Bauer / Anna Pawlak (eds.): Andere Ästhetik. Grundlagen – Fragen – Perspektiven, Berlin / Boston 2022 (Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten 1), pp. 3–51.
- Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2025 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette / Robert, Jörg: Different Aesthetics – Premodern Acts and Artifacts. The Program of the Tübingen Collaborative Research Center 1391, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Jörg Robert / Matthias Bauer / Anna Pawlak (eds.): Different Aesthetics. Principles – Questions – Perspectives, Berlin / Boston 2025 (Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten 1E), pp. 3–48.
- Grafton 2011 = Grafton, Anthony: The Culture of Correction in Renaissance Europe, New Haven 2011.
- Gropper 2021 = Gropper, Stefanie: The 'Heteronomous Authorship' of Icelandic Saga Literature. The Example of Sneglu-Halla þátrr, in: Lukas Rösli / Stefanie Gropper (eds.): In Search of the Culpit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship, Berlin / Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1), pp. 75–96.
- Gurr 2009 = Gurr, Andrew: The Shakespearean Stage 1574–1642, Cambridge 2009.
- Guzmán / Martínez 2018 = Guzmán, Antonio / Martínez, Javier: Animo Decipiendi? Rethinking Fakes and Authorship in Classical, Late Antiquity, and Early Christian Works, Groningen 2018.
- Hackel 2005 = Hackel, Heidi Brayman: Reading Material in Early Modern England. Print, Gender, and Literacy, Cambridge, UK 2005.
- Hammami / Pawlak / Rüh 2022 = Hammami, Mariam / Pawlak, Anna / Rüh, Sophie (eds.): (Re-)Inventio. Die Neuauflage als kreative Praxis in der nordalpinen Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit, Berlin / Boston 2022 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 2).
- Haug 1984 = Haug, Walter: Das Gespräch mit dem unvergleichlichen Partner. Der mystische Dialog bei Mechthild von Magdeburg als Paradigma für eine personale Gesprächsstruktur, in: Karlheinz Stierle / Rainer Warning (eds.): Das Gespräch, Munich 1984 (Poetik und Hermeneutik 11), pp. 251–279.
- Haug 1992 = Haug, Walter: Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts, 2nd rev. and exp. ed., Darmstadt 1992.

- Haug/Wachinger 1991 = Haug, Walter / Wachinger, Burghart (eds.): *Autorentypen*, Tübingen 1991 (*Fortuna vitrea* 6).
- Hausmann 1959 = Hausmann, Tjark: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk. Das Problem seines inneren Aufbaus, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1959), pp. 337–352.
- Haynes 2005 = Haynes, Christine: Reassessing ‘Genius’ in *Studies of Authorship. The State of the Discipline*, in: *Book History* 8 (2005), pp. 287–320.
- Herrmann 2002 = Herrmann, Britta: “So könnte dies ja am Ende ohne mein Wissen und Glauben Poesie sein?” Über ‘schwache’ und ‘starke’ Autorschaften, in: Heinrich Detering (ed.): *Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen*. DFG-Symposion 2001, Stuttgart/Weimar 2002 (*Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände* 24), pp. 479–500.
- Hinterkeuser 2014 = Hinterkeuser, Guido: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk in Berlin. Die Stationen bis zum Untergang, in: Christoph Emmendorfer (ed.): *Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Maximilianmuseum Augsburg, Berlin/Augsburg 2014*, pp. 59–73.
- Holland 2014 = Holland, Peter: *Shakespeare’s Collaborative Work*, Cambridge, UK 2014.
- Honig 1995 = Honig, Elizabeth: The Beholder as a Work of Art. A Study in the Location of Value in Seventeenth-Century Flemish Painting, in: Reindert L. Falkenburg (ed.): *Beeld en zelfbeeld in de Nederlandse kunst. 1550–1750*, Zwolle 1995 (*Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 46), pp. 252–297.
- Inge 2001 = Inge, M. Thomas: Collaboration and Concepts of Authorship, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 116.3 (2001), pp. 623–630.
- Ingold/Wunderlich 1992 = Ingold, Felix P./Wunderlich, Werner (eds.): *Fragen nach dem Autor. Positionen und Perspektiven*, Konstanz 1992.
- Janecke 1991 = Janecke, Christian: Viele Köche verderben den Brei: Antwort auf die Frage, warum Kunstwerke einen und nicht mehrere Schöpfer haben. Vorbemerkung, in: *Kunstforum international* 116 (1991), pp. 160–168.
- Jannidis et al. 1999a = Jannidis, Fotis/Lauer, Gerhard/Martínez, Matías/Winko, Simone (eds.): *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, Tübingen 1999.
- Jannidis et al. 1999b = Jannidis, Fotis/Lauer, Gerhard/Martínez, Matías/Winko, Simone: Rede über den Autor an die Gebildeten unter seinen Verächtern. Historische Modelle und systematische Perspektiven, in: Fotis Jannidis/Gerhard Lauer/Matías Martínez/Simone Winko (eds.): *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 1–35.
- Jannidis et al. 2000 = Jannidis, Fotis/Lauer, Gerhard/Martínez, Matías/Winko, Simone (eds.): *Texte zur Theorie der Autorschaft*, Stuttgart 2000.
- Janssen 2019 = Janssen, Martina: Was ist ein Autor? Vorstellungen und (Selbst-) Inszenierungen von Autorschaft in der Antike, in: Jörg Frey/Michael R. Jost/Franz Tóth (eds.): *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten*, Tübingen 2019 (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 426), pp. 49–108.
- Japp 1988 = Japp, Uwe: Der Ort des Autors in der Ordnung des Diskurses, in: Jürgen Fohrmann/Harro Müller (eds.): *Diskurstheorien und Literaturwissenschaft*, Frankfurt a.M. 1988, pp. 223–234.
- Jowett 2013 = Jowett, John: Shakespeare as Collaborator, in: Paul Edmondson/Stamley Wells (eds.): *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt. Evidence, Argument, Controversy*, Cambridge, UK 2013, pp. 88–99.
- Kaminski/De Rentiis 1998 = Kaminski, Nicola/De Rentiis, Dina: *Imitatio*, in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, ed. by Gert Ueding in co-operation with Gregor Kalivoda, 12 vols., Darmstadt 1992–2015, vol. 4: Hu–K, Darmstadt 1998, cols. 235–303.
- Kastan 1999 = Kastan, David Scott: *Shakespeare after Theory*, New York 1999.
- Kellner 2018 = Kellner, Beate: *Spiel der Liebe im Minnesang*, Paderborn 2018.
- Kimmelman 1996 = Kimmelman, Burt: *The Poetics of Authorship in the Later Middle Ages*, New York 1996.

- Kirakosian 2021 = Kirakosian, Racha: *From the Material to the Mystical in Late Medieval Piety. The Vernacular Transmission of Gertrude of Helfta's Visions*, Cambridge, UK et al. 2021.
- Klein 2006 = Klein, Dorothea: *Inspiration und Autorschaft. Ein Beitrag zur mediävistischen Autordebatte*, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 80.1 (2006), pp. 55–96.
- Klein 2008 = Klein, Dorothea: *Zwischen Abhängigkeit und Autonomie: Inszenierungen inspirierter Autorschaft in der Literatur der Vormoderne*, in: Renate Schlesier / Beatrice Trînca (eds.): *Inspiration und Adaptation. Tarnkappen mittelalterlicher Autorschaft*, Hildesheim 2008, pp. 15–39.
- Kleinschmidt 1998 = Kleinschmidt, Erich: *Autorschaft. Konzepte einer Theorie*, Tübingen / Basel 1998.
- Knapp 2005 = Knapp, Jeffrey: *What is a Co-Author?*, in: *Representations* 89.1 (2005), pp. 1–29.
- Knight 2013 = Knight, Jeffrey Todd: *Bound to Read. Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature*, Philadelphia 2013.
- Koller / Rûth 2022 = Koller, Ariane / Rûth, Sophie (eds.): *Maarten van Heemskerck & Co. Welt/Bewegend. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Graphischen Sammlung der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen*, Tübingen 2022.
- Krämer 1998 = Krämer, Gode: *Das Kunstzentrum Augsburg während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Malerei und Zeichnung*, in: Klaus Bußmann / Heinz Schilling (eds.): *1648 – Krieg und Frieden in Europa. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Westfälischen Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Münster, im Kulturgeschichtlichen Museum Osnabrück und in der Kunsthalle Dominikanerkirche Osnabrück*, text vol. 2: *Kunst und Kultur, Münster / Munich 1998 (Kunstaussstellung des Europarats 26.2)*, pp. 227–234.
- Krieger 2007 = Krieger, Verena: *Was ist ein Künstler? Genie – Heilsbringer – Antikünstler. Eine Ideen- und Kunstgeschichte des Schöpferischen*, Cologne 2007.
- Krüger 2001 = Krüger, Klaus: *Das Bild als Schleier des Unsichtbaren. Ästhetische Illusion in der Kunst der frühen Neuzeit in Italien*, Munich 2001.
- Latacz 1997 = Latacz, Joachim: *Homer. Der erste Dichter des Abendlandes*, Zurich 1997.
- Lauer 1999 = Lauer, Gerhard: *Einführung: Autorkonzepte in der Literaturwissenschaft*, in: Fotis Jannidis / Gerhard Lauer / Matías Martínez / Simone Winko (eds.): *Rückkehr des Autors. Zur Erneuerung eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 159–166.
- Lee 2018 = Lee, Hosung: *Autorität und Kooperation. Kooperative Autorschaft und (post-)literarische Öffentlichkeit bei Alexander Kluge*, Würzburg 2018.
- Lessing / Brüning 1905 = Lessing, Julius / Brüning, Adolf: *Der Pommersche Kunstschränk*, Berlin 1905.
- Löhr 2019 = Löhr, Wolf-Dietrich: *Genie*, in: Metzler Lexikon Kunstwissenschaft. *Ideen, Methoden, Begriffe*, ed. by Ulrich Pfisterer, 2nd ed., Stuttgart 2019, pp. 144–150.
- Mader 2012a = Mader, Rachel (ed.): *Kollektive Autorschaft in der Kunst. Alternatives Handeln und Denkmodell*, Bern et al. 2012 (*Kunstgeschichten der Gegenwart* 10).
- Mader 2012b = Mader, Rachel: *Einleitung*, in: Rachel Mader (ed.): *Kollektive Autorschaft in der Kunst. Alternatives Handeln und Denkmodell*, Bern et al. 2012 (*Kunstgeschichte der Gegenwart* 10), pp. 7–19.
- Masse / Seidl 2016 = Masse, Marie Sophie / Seidl, Stephanie (eds.): *‘Texte dritter Stufe.’ Deutschsprachige Antikenromane in ihrem lateinisch-romanischen Kontext*, Berlin / Münster 2016 (*Kultur und Technik* 31).
- Massing 1990 = Massing, Jean Michel: *Du texte à l’image. La calomnie d’Apelle et son iconographie*, Straßburg 1990.
- Masten 1997 = Masten, Jeffrey: *Textual Intercourse. Collaboration, Authorship and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama*, Cambridge, UK 1997.

- Meckelnborg/Schneider 2002 = Meckelnborg, Christina/Schneider, Bernd (eds.): *Odyssea. Responsio Ulixis ad Penelopen*, Leipzig 2002 (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 166).
- Melion 2010 = Melion, Walter S.: *Allegory, Mode, and Authorship in the Study of Northern Art*, in: *Art History* 33 (2010), pp. 534–542.
- Minnis 1988 = Minnis, Alastair J.: *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, 2nd ed., London 1988.
- Mrotzek 2012 = Mrotzek, Marius: Was hat Raffael eigentlich damit zu tun? Das Portrait Julius II im Städel, in: *arthistoricum.net*. Fachinformationsdienst Kunst – Fotografie – Design, 7 February 2012, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/artdok.00001845> (last accessed: 8 November 2024).
- Müller 1995 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Auctor – Actor – Author. Einige Anmerkungen zum Verständnis vom Autor in lateinischen Schriften des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, in: Felix Philipp Ingold/Werner Wunderlich (eds.): *Der Autor im Dialog. Beiträge zu Autorität und Autorschaft*, St. Gallen 1995, pp. 17–31.
- Müller 1999 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Aufführung – Autor – Werk. Zu einigen blinden Stellen gegenwärtiger Diskurse, in: Nigel F. Palmer/Hans-Jochen Schiewer (eds.): *Mittelalterliche Literatur und Kunst im Spannungsfeld von Hof und Kloster. Ergebnisse der Berliner Tagung, 9.–11. Oktober 1997*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 149–166.
- Müller Hofstede/Patz 1999 = Müller Hofstede, Ulrike/Patz, Kristine: Bildkonzepte der Verleumdung des Apelles, in: Wessel Reinink/Jeroen Stumpel (eds.): *Memory & Oblivion. Proceedings of the XXIXth International Congress of the History of Art held in Amsterdam, 1–7 September 1996*, Dordrecht 1999, pp. 239–254.
- Mundt 2008 = Mundt, Barbara: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, in: Georg Laue (ed.): *Möbel für die Kunstkammern Europas. Kabinettschränke und Prunkkassetten/Furniture for European kunstkammer. Collector's Cabinets and Caskets*, Munich 2008, pp. 32–37.
- Mundt 2009 = Mundt, Barbara: *Der Pommersche Kunstschränk des Augsburger Unternehmers Philipp Hainhofer für den gelehrten Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern*, Munich 2009.
- Mundt 2014 = Mundt, Barbara: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, in: Christoph Emmendorfer (ed.): *Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Maximilianmuseum Augsburg*, Berlin/Augsburg 2014, pp. 21–31.
- Mundt 2015 = Mundt, Barbara: Kabinet Pomorski/Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, in: Renata Zdero (ed.): *Metafora świata. Filip II jako władca i kolekcjoner. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Stettiner Schloss*, vol. 1, Stettin 2015, pp. 88–123.
- Murray 1989 = Murray, Penelope: *Genius. The History of an Idea*, Oxford 1989.
- Naeni et al. 2016 = Naeni, Leila M./Craig, Hugh/Berretta, Regina/Moscato, Pablo: A Novel Clustering Methodology Based on Modularity Optimisation for Detecting Authorship Affinities in Shakespearean Era Plays, in: *PLoS ONE* 11.8 (2016), pp. 1–27, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0157988> (last accessed: 8 November 2024).
- Nemes 2010 = Nemes, Balázs: Von der Schrift zum Buch – vom Ich zum Autor. Zur Text- und Autorkonstitution in Überlieferung und Rezeption des *Fließenden Lichts der Gottheit* Mechthilds von Magdeburg, Tübingen 2010.
- Newman/Nijkamp 2021 = Newman, Abigail D./Nijkamp, Lienneke (eds.): *Many Antwerp Hands. Collaborations in Netherlandish Art*, London/Turnhout 2021.
- North 2003 = North, Marcy L.: *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England*, Chicago 2003.
- Osinski 2002 = Osinski, Jutta: Homer-Bilder im 19. Jahrhundert, in: Heinrich Detering (ed.): *Autorschaft, Positionen und Revisionen*, Stuttgart/Weimar 2002, pp. 202–219.

- Pabst/Penke 2022 = Pabst, Stefan/Penke, Niels: Kollektive Autorschaft, in: Michael Wetzel (ed.): Grundthemen der Literaturwissenschaft: Autorschaft, Berlin/Boston 2022 (Grundthemen der Literaturwissenschaft), pp. 411–426.
- Pfisterer 2011 = Pfisterer, Ulrich: Die Erfindung des Nullpunktes. Neuheitskonzepte in den Bildkünsten, 1350–1650, in: Ulrich Pfisterer/Gabriele Wimböck (eds.): Novità. Neuheitskonzepte in den Bildkünsten um 1600, Zurich 2011 (Bilder-Diskurs), pp. 7–85.
- Ranković 2007 = Ranković, Slavica: Who is Speaking in Traditional Texts? On the Distributed Author of the *Sagas of Icelanders* and Serbian Epic Poetry, in: *New Literary History* 38 (2007), pp. 293–307.
- Ranković 2012 = Ranković, Slavica (ed.): Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages, Toronto 2012 (Papers in Mediaeval Studies 22).
- Ranković/Ranković 2012 = Ranković, Slavica/Ranković, Miloš: The Talent of the Distributed Author, in: Slavica Ranković (ed.): Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages, Toronto 2012 (Papers in Mediaeval Studies 22), pp. 52–75.
- Rogalski 2025 = Rogalski, Sara: Co-Creative Communication in George Herbert and John Donne, Berlin/Boston 2025 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 11).
- Rösli/Gropper 2021a = Rösli, Lukas/Gropper, Stefanie (eds.): In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1).
- Rösli/Gropper 2021b = Rösli, Lukas/Gropper, Stefanie: In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship. Introduction, in: Lukas Rösli/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1), pp. 9–16.
- Rudelius-Kamolz 1995 = Rudelius-Kamolz, Marion: Der Augsburger Maler Anton Mozart (1572/73–1625), Diss. Univ. Cologne 1995.
- Sampson 2001 = Sampson, Edward E.: To Think Differently. The Acting Ensemble – A New Unit for Psychological Inquiry, in: *Critical Psychology* 1 (2001), pp. 47–61.
- Sander 2013 = Sander, Jochen (ed.): Raffael und das Porträt Julius' II. Das Bild eines Renaissance-Papstes. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Städel Museum Frankfurt a.M., Petersberg/Frankfurt a.M. 2013.
- Savoy 2014 = Savoy, Bénédicte: 1934: Der Film zum Schrank, in: Christoph Emmendorfer (ed.): *Wunderwelt. Der Pommersche Kunstschränk*. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Maximilianmuseum Augsburg, Berlin/Augsburg 2014, pp. 75–77.
- Schaffrick/Willand 2014 = Schaffrick, Matthias/Willand, Marcus (eds.): Theorien und Praktiken der Autorschaft, Berlin/Boston 2014.
- Schiesser 2008 = Schiesser, Giaco: Autorschaft nach dem Tod des Autors, in: Corina Caduff/Tan Wälchli (eds.): Autorschaft in den Künsten. Konzepte – Praktiken – Medien, Zurich 2008 (Zürcher Jahrbuch der Künste), pp. 20–33.
- Schiewer 1996 = Schiewer, Hans-Jochen: Die Schwarzwälder Predigten. Entstehungs- und Überlieferungsgeschichte der Sonntags- und Heiligenpredigten, mit einer Musteredition, Tübingen 1996 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 105).
- Schmidt 1985 = Schmidt, Jochen: Die Geschichte des Genie-Gedankens in der deutschen Literatur, Philosophie und Politik, 1750–1945, 2 vols., Darmstadt 1985.
- Schmidt 2013 = Schmidt, Jan: Teamarbeit in Vollendung. Zum Werkprozess der Madonna im Blumenkranz von Peter Paul Rubens und Jan Brueghel d.Ä., in: Mirjam Neumeister (ed.): Brueghel. Gemälde von Jan Brueghel d.Ä. Katalog zur Ausstellung in der Alten Pinakothek München, Munich 2013, pp. 109–123.
- Schnell 1998 = Schnell, Rüdiger: 'Autor' und 'Werk' im deutschen Mittelalter. Forschungskritik und Forschungsperspektiven, in: Joachim Heinze/L. Peter Johnson/Gisela Vollmann-Profe (eds.): *Neue Wege der Mittelalter-Philologie. Landshuter Kolloquium 1996*, Berlin 1998 (Wolfram-Studien 15), pp. 12–73.

- Schommers 1994 = Schommers, Annette: Die Übergabe des Kunstschranks an Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern Stettin, in: Reinhold Baumstark (ed.): Silber und Gold. Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst für die Höfe Europas. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Bayerischen Nationalmuseum München, vol. 2, Munich 1994, pp. 602–603, Cat. no. G 4.
- Segarra et al. 2016 = Segarra, Santiago/Eisen, Mark/Egan, Gabriel/Ribeiro, Alejandro: Attributing the Authorship of the Henry VI Plays by Word Adjacency, in: *Shakespeare Quarterly* 67.2 (2016), pp. 232–256.
- Spoerhase 2007 = Spoerhase, Carlos: Autorschaft und Interpretation. Methodische Grundlagen einer philologischen Hermeneutik, Berlin/New York 2007 (*Historia Hermeneutica/Series Studia* 5).
- Stein 1990 = Stein, Elisabeth: Autorbewußtsein in der frühen griechischen Literatur, Tübingen 1990 (*ScriptOralia* 17).
- Stern 2004 = Stern, Tiffany: *Making Shakespeare. From Stage to Page*, London/New York 2004.
- Stillinger 1991 = Stillinger, Jack: *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius*, New York 1991.
- Taylor 2017 = Taylor, Gary: Did Shakespeare Write 'The Spanish Tragedy Additions'?, in: Gary Taylor/Gabriel Egan (eds.): *The New Oxford Shakespeare. Authorship Companion*, Oxford 2017, pp. 246–260.
- Thon 1968 = Thon, Christina (Red.): *Augsburger Barock. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Rathaus und Holbeinhaus Augsburg*, Augsburg 1968.
- Tóth 2019 = Tóth, Franz: Autorschaft und Autorisation, in: Jörg Frey/Michael R. Jost/Franz Tóth (eds.): *Autorschaft und Autorisierungsstrategien in apokalyptischen Texten*, Tübingen 2019 (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 426), pp. 3–47.
- Trîncă 2019 = Trîncă, Beatrice: 'Amor conspirator.' Zur Ästhetik des Verborgenen in der höfischen Literatur, Göttingen 2019 (*Aventiuren* 10).
- Van Es 2013 = Van Es, Bart: *Shakespeare in Company*, Oxford 2013.
- Vickers 2002 = Vickers, Brian: *Shakespeare, Co-Author. A Historical Study of Five Collaborative Plays*, Oxford 2002.
- Wenzel 2020 = Wenzel, Michael: Philipp Hainhofer. Handeln mit Kunst und Politik, Berlin/Munich 2020 (*Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien* 199).
- Wetzel 2020 = Wetzel, Michael: Der Autor-Künstler. Ein europäischer Gründungsmythos vom schöpferischen Individuum, Göttingen 2020 (*Gründungsmythen Europas in Literatur, Musik und Kunst* 15).
- Wetzel 2022 = Wetzel, Michael: Historischer Abriss, in: Michael Wetzel (ed.): *Grundthemen der Literaturwissenschaft: Autorschaft*, Berlin/Boston 2022 (*Grundthemen der Literaturwissenschaft*), pp. 79–197.
- Wittkower/Wittkower 1965 = Wittkower, Rudolf/Wittkower, Margot: *Künstler – Außenseiter der Gesellschaft*, Stuttgart/Berlin 1965.
- Wolf 2002 = Wolf, Gerhard: *Schleier und Spiegel. Traditionen des Christusbildes und die Bildkonzepte der Renaissance*, Munich 2002.
- Wolkenhauer 2016 = Wolkenhauer, Anja: Gefälschte und supplementierte Lyrik. Überlegungen zur Publikations- und Wirkungsgeschichte von Horaz' *carmina* 1,39 und 1,40, in: Martin Korenjak/Simon Zuenelli (eds.): *Supplemente antiker Literatur*, Innsbruck 2016 (*Pontes* 8), pp. 79–96.
- Woodmansee 1994 = Woodmansee, Martha: On the Author Effect: Recovering Collectivity, in: Martha Woodmansee/Peter Jaszi (eds.): *The Construction of Authorship. Textual Appropriation in Law and Literature*, Durham 1994, pp. 15–28.
- Woollett 2006 = Woollett, Anne T.: Two Celebrated Painters. The Collaborative Ventures of Rubens and Brueghel, ca. 1598–1625, in: Anne T. Woollett/Ariane van Suchtelen (eds.): *Rubens and Brueghel. A Working Friendship. Katalog zur Ausstellung im J. Paul Getty Museum Los Angeles und dem Mauritshuis Den Haag*, Los Angeles 2006, pp. 1–41.

- Woollett / van Suchtelen 2006 = Woollett, Anne T. / van Suchtelen, Ariane (eds.): Rubens and Brueghel. A Working Friendship. Katalog zur Ausstellung im J. Paul Getty Museum Los Angeles und dem Mauritshuis Den Haag, Los Angeles 2006.
- Worstbrock 1999 = Worstbrock, Franz Josef: Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen, in: Walter Haug (ed.): Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit. Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze, Tübingen 1999 (Fortuna vitrea 16), pp. 128–142.
- Zirker 2023 = Zirker, Angelika: “Better place no wit can finde”: The Compiler as Author in Early Modern Verse Miscellanies, in: Authorship (2023), pp. 1–11. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21825/authorship.85738> (last accessed: 8 November 2024).

I. Multiple Authorship as Reciprocal Creativity

Multiple Authorship in *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*?

Canonizations – Deconstructions – Aesthetic Structure

Abstract

This chapter examines phenomena of ‘plural authorship’ in *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* (*The Flowing Light of the Godhead*), a text attributed to Mechthild of Magdeburg. In doing so, it is linked to recent scholarship, which has clarified how the transfer of anachronistic canonical concepts of authorship from the 18th and 19th centuries has been misleading in understanding the production of *The Flowing Light*. This article now relates these findings to questions of authorship on both a textual level and (affective) aesthetic aspects on a reception level. The thesis presented is that plural-collaborative processes of genesis and experience are emphasised by the text, in which God, the writers, and audience are bound together in spiritual, medial, and material ways. This approach not only results in a re-evaluation of the traditional inspiration *topos* but also makes it possible for the ‘unstable text’ with a fragmented transmission history to be included in studying the concept of plural authorship.

Keywords

Author, Mechthild of Magdeburg, Mysticism, Middle Ages, Materiality, Mediality, Inspiration

The text *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* (*The Flowing Light of the Godhead*) – associated with the ‘women’s mysticism’ of the 13th century¹ and assumed to originate between 1250 and 1282 – is particularly suitable for demonstrating the heuristic explanatory power of the category of multiple authorship on the levels of production, text, and reception for three reasons.² For one thing, the question of the author of this text and its

* 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 as part of project C3: “The *schoene schîn* in Mysticism” (first funding phase) and “Precarious Appearance: Aesthetic Discourses in Mystical Texts of the Middle Ages” (second funding phase) of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), project no. 405662736.

- 1 See Ruh 1993, pp. 245–292. The study of Peters 1988 rightly pointed out the problematic definitions that were (and are) associated with this term.
- 2 For a detailed account of the scholarly discourse, which was also conducted intensively from especially a medievalist perspective, see Sections 1 and 2 in the introduction to this volume, pp. XVI–XXVII.

transmission has occupied scholarship intensively. Secondly, the question of multiple authorship arises in view of a text that understands itself as divine revelation under precarious premises. And, finally, the question of whether and how multiple authorship finds expression in the aesthetic structure of an artefact should be of particular interest in the case of a textual witness to which an extraordinary poetic and aesthetic charisma has been attested.³ It must thus be clarified whether and in what way *The Flowing Light of the Godhead* can be considered an example of multiple authorship and whether phenomena of collaborative and collective authorship can be discerned as well.

Following the explanations given in the introduction to this volume, I understand ‘plural’ or ‘multiple authorship’ as broad generic terms “for phenomena of the communal production process,”⁴ which can appear both synchronously and diachronically and which mark potentially incomplete processes. By contrast, ‘collective’ and ‘collaborative’ authorship are to be understood as tending toward “temporally defined historical processes that are, in principle, concluded.”⁵ Whereas ‘collective authorship’ serves to denote the synchronous contribution to a production process, in which direct contact between the participants and creative interaction is not absolutely necessary, the term ‘collaborative authorship’ refers to targeted joint action that implies some form of creative exchange in determined interaction. It remains to be seen, however, to what extent a text such as *The Flowing Light* depends not on the separation of the different phenomena but rather on their amalgamation.

The focus here is on the question of how correlations can be recognized between the authorship of the transmitted text, its implicitly presented understanding of authorship, and the aesthetic structure of the text. I begin with the history of scholarship on *The Flowing Light*, in which the anachronistic adaptations resulting from a one-sided concept of the author – mostly borrowed from the 19th century,⁶ and seeking to set aside collaborative processes of production – and the eminent editorial and interpretive effects of these adaptations feature especially clearly.

3 See, among others, Hasebrink 2007, p. 91.

4 See the introduction to this volume, pp. XXVII–XXIX, quote p. XXIX.

5 Introduction to this volume, p. XXIX.

6 For detailed information on the problems of a historically undifferentiated concept of the author, see Section 1 in the introduction to this volume, pp. XVI–XXIII. Kirakosian 2021, p. 27, also focuses very clearly on this in her study on the vernacular translations of Gertrud von Helfta: “In research on medieval authorship, the disparity between historical reality and modern terminology becomes evident as the terms ‘author’ and ‘authorship’ are borrowed from analytical studies on modern texts, while medieval textuality is inherently more intricate due to theoretically different concepts of authority and the complexities of the transmission of texts. Attention has been drawn to the inadequacy of a classical ‘author-work paradigm’ when dealing with premodern textuality.”

1. In Search of the Female Author: On the History of Scholarship

Scholarship assumes a Middle German version with traces of Low German as the starting point for the transmission of *The Flowing Light of the Godhead*, but this version is not extant. It may be assumed that the vernacular transmission only becomes historically tangible via several intermediate stages – partial publications, copies suited to an interested readership and which could also contain “additions” or “some change or another” – when an Alemannic translation emerges in the circle of the so-called ‘Basler Gottesfreunde’ (Basel Friends of God) in the 1440s.⁷ Subsequently follows a further “productive phase”⁸ of attested copies, although in most cases just fragments have survived. The only completely transmitted vernacular manuscript is Codex 277 in the Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek from the second half of the 14th century, which is, however, “already disconnected by several intermediate stages [from the] ‘first transmission.’”⁹ Today’s vernacular editions are based on this manuscript.

Yet who was behind the origin of the text’s genesis? It is this question that has occupied scholars since the beginning of their study of *The Flowing Light*, and which has always led to new answers because no historically verifiable attribution of the author exists. In 2010, Balázs J. Nemes,¹⁰ following the approaches of Sara S. Poor,¹¹ meticulously traced the history of this question – which is at the same time a history of editing and interpretation – in order to separate actual facts from habitual scholarly narratives. In the attempts to apprehend the author of *The Flowing Light*, the history of the discipline itself is reflected in large part. I will briefly sketch the three most important stages of this history, largely following Nemes’ findings and assessments.¹² The focus of this sketch is on presenting the scholarly-historical search for the author not only as a history of transmission and the application of a historically inadequate concept of the author but also as a history of the deconstruction of this transmission.

The story of the manuscript’s discovery at the Benedictine monastery in Einsiedeln begins in 1835, almost two generations after the emergence of an emphatic understanding of authorship in the 18th century. A monk, Father Gall Morel, came across the manuscript and determined that it contained the revelations of a nun.¹³ In fact, the Latin and the German preliminary accounts specify a “beguine” (FL, p. 10,2; FT, p. 35) and a “sister”

7 For a summary of its creation, see Vollmann-Profe 2003, pp. 671–673, quotes p. 672.

8 Vollmann-Profe 2003, p. 673.

9 Vollmann-Profe 2003, p. 673.

10 Nemes 2010, esp. pp. 99–307 and 383 for new perspectives on, among other things, the strand of Latin transmission of *The Flowing Light*.

11 Poor 1999; Poor 2004.

12 Nemes 2010, pp. 2–27.

13 Morel 1840, p. 360.

(FL, p. 12,7; FT, p. 36), respectively, as the author.¹⁴ According to the nascent scholarship, this nun is equated with the *swester Mehtilden* named in Book VI,43 (p. 516,13; FT, p. 267: “Sister Mechthild”) of *The Flowing Light*. The sister mentioned in the preliminary account thus can be named in more detail as well as established as the named author in a wider scholarly context.¹⁵ The reference to the ‘writing’ of an unnamed friar, which the preliminary account likewise mentions (*dis bûch samente und schreib ein brüder*, FL, p. 12,13f.; FT, p. 36), is widely disregarded at first; *samente* is understood and emphasized as the activity of editorial compilation. In this, according to Nemes, “the tendency [...] to minimize the contribution of unfamiliar entities to the genesis of the text”¹⁶ and to hypostasize the singular author shows itself in scholarship from the very beginning. This tendency is underpinned by the emerging biographical “Mechthild narrative”;¹⁷ the addition “von Magdeburg” is already adopted from a marginal Latin gloss in Morel, which refers to a canon mentioned in Chapter VI,3 of *The Flowing Light*.¹⁸ There is also an attempt to identify the Dominican brother mentioned in the preliminary account, which reverts back to the Latin version and which in itself refers to Heinrich von Halle. He is also supposed to be Mechthild’s confessor, mentioned in the vernacular text (*bihter*, FL IV,2, p. 236,33; “confessor,” FT, p. 143).¹⁹ From the parts of the text of *The Flowing Light* assumed to be biographical, a life story is reconstructed with the following stages: noble origins; conversion at the age of twelve; beguine status in Magdeburg at the age of around 20; transfer to the nunnery of Helfta ca. 1270 as a result of hostilities; old age and death at the same location.

Much of this is indeed possible, but little is certain – apart from the writer’s status as a sister and her late residence in the Helfta nunnery.²⁰ Above all, it is crucial to see how, in the scholarship up to the post-war period, the constitution of the author and her biographization go hand in hand, a limited perspective that also determines the further practice of interpretation and editing. *The Flowing Light* is thus understood as a biographical-chronological chronicle of experience in the sense of a diary.²¹ Attempts have been

14 Mechthild von Magdeburg: *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* [= FL]; quoted in German after the edition by Vollmann-Profe (Frankfurt a.M. 2003). English translations of the text are taken from the translation by Frank Tobin (New York 1998) [= FT].

15 It should be noted that the naming in FL VI,43, p. 516,13 (FT, p. 267) is not a self-assertion, i.e. it is not made by the otherwise dominant speaking entity but points to another hand in the sense of an ‘epilogue’ at the end of the sixth book; see Vollmann-Profe 2003, pp. 828f.

16 Nemes 2010, p. 4. Nemes 2010, p. 13, emphasizes the ‘principle of singularity,’ once again through evidencing the consequences for the edition.

17 Emmelius/Nemes 2019a, p. 12.

18 Nemes 2010, p. 3; Emmelius/Nemes 2019a, pp. 11–15.

19 See the critical considerations in Nemes 2010, pp. 99–214.

20 As deduced from the Latin text; for open questions on this point, see Emmelius/Nemes 2019a, pp. 15–20.

21 Nemes 2010, p. 13.

made to reconstruct the development of the religious, spiritual life of the historical person Mechthild, with the editorial aim to create an original typical of the author, also involving essentialist gender specifications; Hans Neumann thus describes *The Flowing Light* as “a very feminine, unsystematic work,”²² which the educated redactor and confessor then structured, divided into books and chapters, and furnished with chapter headings. Authorial constitution, gender specifications, editorial practice, and aesthetic evaluation combine here into a mixture that is as perspicuous as it is precarious.

The critical turn came with Ursula Peters’ foundational study “Religiöse Erfahrung als literarisches Faktum” (Religious Experience as Literary Fact, 1988). The title is a manifesto: Peters strictly rejects the biographical interpretation and argues that the self-attributions and attributions to others encountered in *The Flowing Light* do not provide information about the biographical or historical person; rather, it is a matter of “programmatic stylization,”²³ in the sense of a genre- and role-specific, hagiographically informed representation of the “*sanctitas* of a *mulier religiosa*.”²⁴ Linked to this shift in perspective is a change in the image of female authors and the genesis of a new narrative of the author. Peters now sees a female author who, with knowledge of hagiographic and courtly narrative patterns, proceeds in a manner that shows her literary knowledge;²⁵ who – this should be emphasized – by no means necessarily needs a confessor as a companion in the writing process in order to produce a high-quality text, even if, in *The Flowing Light*, the “tradition of self-expression” still resorts to the topos of the imperative to write coming from the *bihter*.²⁶ In any case, this approach makes conceivable texts “that could also emerge independently of the activities and capacity for influence of the pastors,” as the “Latin works on the spiritual life of the Helfta sisters Mechthild von Hackeborn and Gertrud [show], both of which are obviously the joint work of several sisters.”²⁷ Susanne Bürkle has given even further shape to this line of argumentation by pointing out the monastic practice following which “not only the books of Dominican nuns, but also the revelations of Mechthild of Magdeburg or the corpus of Christine Ebner [can] be less clearly discerned as the products of an indi-

22 Neumann 1954, p. 68.

23 Peters 1988, p. 58; see generally pp. 53–67. See also Peters 1991, pp. 44f.: At the centre stands “a kind of role-figure [...] that says less about the factual emergence of the work of female mystics than about its objectives.”

24 Peters 1988, p. 64. The confessor who commissions the writing is equally part of the hagiographic concept and thus to be understood as a “schematic role figure” (Peters 1988, p. 118). The “mystical authorial roles of women” associated with this concept are explained by Peters 1991, pp. 42–47, quote p. 46.

25 Peters 1988, p. 192.

26 Peters 1988, pp. 116–129, quote pp. 128f. With her thesis, Peters 1988, pp. 125, tackles one of the “myths of scholarship on mysticism.”

27 Peters 1988, p. 125.

vidual author” than as “‘joint projects’ of a collective of authorial personnel, however assembled.”²⁸ Even if uncertainties remain in relation to historical contextualization,²⁹ both references rooted in biography and the notion of a female author who necessarily requires male assistance are rightly relativized here. Accordingly, the claim to literary expertise is established. In terms of the history of research, this represents a decisive reassessment.

The third approach takes the attempt to acknowledge the sovereignty of the respective textual forms one step further but now detaches itself completely from the notion of the author as an originator or an emphatic figure.³⁰ It is not the intangible author or the intangible original by the authors, but in each case the tangible version that now comes into focus; the manuscript becomes a significant entity *sui generis*.³¹ In this context, the text to be reconstructed no longer appears as a “static construct established by the author”;³² instead, it is a matter of the “life of texts in the polarity between the author, the editors, the mediating scribes and printers, and the receiving audience.”³³ One could also say: it is now a question of the text in the polarity of ‘multiple’ authorship, i.e. of an authorship that refers beyond synchronic, collective activities to diachronic, wider processes of reception as part of the genuine textual production. It is this approach that has been highly successful in medieval studies, partly correlated with approaches of New Philology in the field of philological editing. Rather than the single version, there are parallel copies; rather than the one source manuscript, there are several; rather than the single author, there is a collective production team that is now being recognized.

This awareness of the problem is productively reflected in recent scholarship on *The Flowing Light*; for instance, when Gisela Vollmann-Profe acknowledges that clergy probably produced copies from the milieu of the *büches der swester* for various interested parties, where “with each new copy, whether by the author herself or by the scribes,” changes and interventions are to be expected;³⁴ and when Poor emphatically asserts that Mechthild of Magdeburg was “not the only maker of the book as we have received it.”³⁵ The undoubtedly plural nature of its genesis, which led from the scripture to the

28 Bürkle 1994, p. 138. See also Emmelius 2017b. Under the heading “women writing collectively,” Kirakosian 2021, pp. 25–32, explains the “collective writing culture” (p. 27) of the Helfta scriptorium in detail.

29 See Nemes 2010, pp. 26 f., for a critical account. On the idea of an expanded network, see Emmelius / Nemes 2019a, pp. 15–20.

30 See Nemes 2010, pp. 67–97.

31 See Nemes 2010, p. 69. See also Nemes 2010, p. 70: when it comes to editorial work, one is no longer to work on the basis of mere assumptions, but rather to hold to what is factually available.

32 Nemes 2010, p. 71.

33 Grubmüller et al. 1973, p. 171.

34 Vollmann-Profe 2003, p. 672.

35 Poor 2004, p. 49.

book to the Einsiedeln manuscript, has, Nemes claims, also hit home as an incontrovertible fact in scholarship on *The Flowing Light*.³⁶ As Nemes continues, the fact that interpretations, despite this realization, nonetheless cleave to an emphatic concept of the author – for example, when ‘Mechthild scholarship’ is still discussed – shows how difficult it is to establish an alternative to this canonical understanding of the author on a conceptual level, interpretively, and, in mysticism, also editorially.³⁷

Whereas Nemes suggests new editorial approaches from here, I would like to confront the conclusions that he has developed about production aesthetics once more on an interpretive level in relation to the textual findings, above all on the level of the *discours*, i.e. in an autological dimension,³⁸ and examine anew the textual passages repeatedly used for the question of authorship in *The Flowing Light*. If we are to assume that the extant text is the result of multiple authorship, according to the current state of the art, it will be all the more as pertinent to ask in which manner this heterologically conditioned practice of textual and book production is reflected, presented, and negotiated in the surviving text itself.³⁹ Considering synchronic and diachronic aspects, is collective or multiple authorship exhibited or concealed here? How are the roles of the participating actors described? Which characterizations, gradations, and assessments are made in relation to the writing process? And, finally, are collaborative processes of close, creative exchange also relevant here? Only in this way will it be possible to clarify whether collective, synchronic or multiple, diachronic authorship is to be taken into account solely as the result of a contingent history of the genesis and transmission of *The Flowing Light*, or whether a conceptual status is also associated with these approaches. The question accordingly is whether diverse forms of participation in the production of the text are not only to be discussed as a consequence of disparate conditions of production but

36 Nemes 2010, p. 94.

37 See Nemes 2010, pp. 90f.: “Philology on Mechthild has thus far not been especially impressed by the more recent developments in Old German studies as outlined above”; the reason for this is the “marginalization of scribes, confessors, and co-sisters from the milieu of textual genesis and transmission [...] since it concerns entities that traditionally remain subordinate and subsidiary to the author in the discussion about authorship and the status of a text.”

38 On the dimensions ‘autological’ – ‘heterological’, see the introduction to this volume, pp. XXVII f., as well as the research program of the CRC 1391: Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2022, pp. 26–29 (English translation: Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2025). According to the guidelines of the praxeological model developed in the CRC, the term ‘autological’ primarily encompasses the inherent logics of creative media; the term ‘heterological’ is directed at the heterogeneous contextual conditions, such as those of the respective social practices in which the texts are embedded or from which they are designed.

39 Cf. the clear systematization of the different areas of reference for authorship in Klein 2006, pp. 59–62: the author can be understood a) in the traditional sense as an “empirical subject of a lived-in world” (p. 62); b) as a “category of transmission” (p. 62); c) as a “textually internal construction” (p. 60), possibly as an inscribed “concept” with specific “authorial functions” (p. 62).

also prove to be conceptualized on the *immanent* level of the text. Such a concept would be specific to genre and history and would programmatically establish a collaborative claim, i.e. imply a close, necessary, but above all productive exchange.⁴⁰

2. Pluralizations: Actors in the Text

If we first take a closer look at the preliminary account of *The Flowing Light*, which summarizes the circumstances of its origin first in Latin, then almost word-for-word in German (FL, pp. 10,1–10 and 12,5–17; FT, pp. 35 and 36), the following picture emerges: both passages mention that “this book” (*liber iste*, FL, p. 10,1; FT, p. 35; *dis büch*, FL, p. 12,6; FT, p. 36) was revealed to a “beguine” (*begine*, FL, p. 10,2; FT, p. 36) or a “sister” (*swester*, FL, p. 12,7; FT, p. 36) by “the Lord” or “God” (*a domino inspiratus*, FL, p. 10,3; FT, p. 36; *von gotte*, FL, p. 12,7; FT, p. 36). In what follows, the beguine or sister is described in detail relating to her exemplary countenance toward God. Toward the end of the passage, the Latin text states that the book was written down as well by a certain brother “of the Order of Preachers” (*conscriptus autem a quodam fratre predicti ordinis*, FL, p. 10,8f.; FT, p. 35).⁴¹ In the German text, which is structured in the same way, *conscriptus* is divided, as it were, into two processes. It is said here that the book was ‘collected,’ that is, put together and written (down?) by a brother of the aforementioned order (*Aber dis büch samente und schreib ein brüder des selben ordens*, FL, p. 12,13f.; “But a brother of the same order gathered together and wrote this book,” FT, p. 36).

It should hence be noted first that the function of authorship, in the sense of origination, is assigned here only to God. Both sister and brother are introduced through their function of writing down that which God has revealed. The sister’s writing is not specifically described but is clearly taken for granted, while the brother is mentioned as a ‘co’-writer. The role of the brother is further specified in that he appears as the one who also compiled (‘gathered together’) the book and its components. God, sister, and friar are thus assigned various roles; more specifically, they are assigned particular and differently hierarchized functions. The authority and authenticity of authorship are

40 In this respect, the following remarks also represent an attempt to contemplate further the definitions given in the introduction to this volume, pp. XXVII–XXIX. Collective, synchronous authorship can often hardly be distinguished from diachronic, incomplete processes in the practice of manuscript production; creative potential need not be limited to close, direct (collaborative) exchange; from a meta-perspective, multiple authorship can always mean ‘working together,’ etc. It can thus be assumed that the texts are always richer and more complex than all definitions, as they overlap possibilities which are separated on a theoretical plane and thus drive the conceptual sharpening necessary to impel renewed analysis.

41 Vollmann-Profe translates *conscriptus* in the edition used here as “[r]edigiert” (FL, p. 11,10); Tobin has “compiled” (FT, p. 35).

concentrated in God; the sister participates in this authority as the recipient of divine revelation, of which the detailed description wishes to leave no doubt, whereas the friar clearly ranks third in the hierarchy of attributed functions; this is due to his only indirect access to God as well as to his being mentioned secondarily in terms of textual structure. While this is well known, the ambiguous structure should, at the same time, be noted as it applies equally to both sister and friar despite these differences. The fact that sister and friar participate in the authority of revelation and place themselves at its service is an effective argument, in terms of reception aesthetics as much as strategies of legitimation, and is reason enough to outline their function at the beginning of the text. Because authenticity lies solely with God, however, there is no need for authentication through the mention of their personal names.

Freed from the emphatic ‘lens of the author,’ the passages can certainly be read as an account of a multifunctional process of aesthetic production, in which neither the Latin nor the German phrasing is invested in an emphatically understood form of authorship in relation to the sister or friar. If one compares this with the authorial designations of Chrétien, Wolfram, or Gottfried two generations earlier and at the same time takes into account the strategic conception of the preliminary account, one may assess this opening section as a consequence of the overall textual programme.⁴² It is therefore not surprising that this process of aesthetic production of collective and at the same time differentiated functions, designed in a multifunctional way, is reflected throughout the books of *The Flowing Light*, in the same way as the hierarchized positions are upheld there. A few examples may serve to highlight this.

The origination in God of all that is said remains incontrovertible. Numerous passages insistently repeat this throughout all the books of *The Flowing Light*, albeit in different forms (e.g. FL I, p. 18,1–6, 9–11; FT, p. 39; FL II,26, p. 136,17–19; FT, pp. 96f.; FL IV,2, p. 238,2f.; FT, p. 139; FL V,26, p. 386,5–28; FT, pp. 207f.; FL VII,55, p. 638,27–32; FT, pp. 323f.). *The Flowing Light* also distinctively inflects the function of the female speaker as the recip-

42 Wachinger 1991, esp. pp. 5 and 14, shows that the lack of interest in biographical connections, which can be traced particularly in the frequently anonymous transmission of vernacular texts, remained the norm in both vernacular and Latin transmission until the Early Modern period. Even where literary awareness increased, it was not a question of “the determinacy of texts through an authorial individuality” but rather of the “utility value of authorship” shown by the transmission (Wachinger 1991, p. 23). The mention of the *begine* (FL, p. 10,2) or *swester* (FL, p. 12,3) in the preliminary account of *The Flowing Light* is to be understood in this sense; it requires neither a more accurately denoted name nor a location because it concerns only the religiously based legitimization of the text. As with all ‘objects of utility,’ the statement expressed by Müller 1999, p. 157, also applies here: “The product is superordinate to the producer.” This notion is reinforced many times over, however, by the task of communicating God’s revelation. Klein 2006, pp. 64–99, shows that divinely inspired authorship by no means always presupposes anonymity and can certainly accompany authorial self-awareness. See also Palmer 1992, p. 219.

ient, often captured in the metaphor of the vessel (e.g. FL VI,39, p. 512,9f.; FT, p. 265), as a reflector and reproducer (e.g. FL V,7, p. 334,22; FT, p. 186), as a bride (e.g. FL I,22, p. 38,21; FT, p. 49), and as a writer (FL II,26, p. 136,9; FT, p. 97).⁴³ Less pronounced, but still sporadically recurring, are the references made to a male figure: as a confessor (*bihter*, FL IV,2, p. 236,33; FT, p. 143), as an encouraging supporter (FL IV,2, p. 236,34f.; FT, p. 143), as a teacher (FL IV,2, p. 236,33; FT, p. 143), and as a writer (*schriber*, FL II,26, p. 138,8f.; FT, p. 98). The text does not consider it relevant to clarify whether this concerns one and the same person with a real historical connection to the scribe; the names that surface in the text also remain peripheral in relation to the female speaker and the male figure(s). The concrete mention of the name *Mehthilt* (FL V,32, p. 400,1 and FL V,35, p. 408,1; FT, pp. 214 and 217) or *Meh tilt* (FL VI,42 and 43, p. 516,1 and 13; FT, pp. 266f.), for instance, only seems to be worth mentioning in the vernacular text after years of textual production.⁴⁴

The evaluations in the text consistently emerge not on the personal level but rather on the functional level; they apply here, however, in relation to every function, even in connection to ‘mere’ scribal activity. When the speaker asks for mercy for the scribe as a reward for his writing service, the text reads:

Do sprach únsere herre: “Er hat⁴⁵ es [das Buch, A.G.-R.] mit guldinen bûchstaben geschriben, also sônt allû disû wort des bûches an sinem obersten cleide stan eweklich offenbar in minem rîche mit himmelschem lûhtendem golde ob aller sîner gezierde wesen geschriben, wan dû vrie minne mûs ie das hôhste an den menschen wesen.” (FL II,26, p. 138,12–18)

Our Lord said:

“They have written it [the book, A.G.-R.] in gold letters.

All these words shall appear written on their outermost garments, forever visible in my kingdom
In heavenly shining gold above all their adornment,

Because to love freely must always be the highest value for people.” (FT II,26, p. 98)

The material function of writing is elevated in that it is manifested in letters of gold; on the basis of the gold – which guarantees the splendour of divine truth, the mediation of which the writing process serves – the promise is enacted that these very letters will

43 On the motif of writing: Grubmüller 1992, pp. 336–338; on the metaphor of bride and vessel: Egerding 1997, vol. 2, pp. 147f. and 617f.; on the imagery of the mirror: Hasebrink 2000.

44 Five books were probably available around 1265: Vollmann-Profe 2003, p. 671. If one assumes that recordings of the work began around 1250, it takes over ten years before the name is invoked, and this only in its mention in the chapter headings or from a third-person perspective (as well as in the table of contents: FL V, p. 316,27 and 33; Tobin does not have these tables of contents in his edition).

45 Instead of *Er hat* (He has), the E tradition offers *Si hant* (They have). On this passage, see Palmer 1992, p. 225: The text here means “every scribe” who makes himself an instrument of God. On this, see the commentary by Vollmann-Profe 2003, pp. 745f.

become the distinguishing and evidently visible ‘heavenly’ adornment of the garment that already indicates eschatological salvation. The promise of redemption honours the writer in a way that can hardly be surpassed and tends to level out the difference in the value of the work processes by equating his activity with ‘freely chosen love.’

The collective co-operation of different actors in aesthetic production is thus programmatically displayed from the outset. The esteem of this collaboration also includes the final link in the chain of co-operation; indeed, it could not be greater. The emphasis, exhibition, and esteem suggest collective co-operation as an *ideal* concept of authorship. Nevertheless, it must be asked whether the inscribed hierarchies are not counterproductive to this collective concept presented as an ideal. In view of the undisputed and sole authorship of all speech in God, is it possible to arrive at a form of authorship that understands collective action as *interaction*, as creative *exchange* from several angles in a ‘collaborative’ way? Or should we assess this in the opposite manner: does the educated female speaker, who has the largest share of speech in *The Flowing Light*, not simply use the topos of inspiration as a cloak of invisibility⁴⁶ for her own knowledgeable authorship?

3. Disassociations: The Speaker as Medium

Even if one is to assume that the sister involved is a literarily trained, eloquent, and intelligent actor on a real, historical level, the text still creates an image of her that seems ambiguous not only at the beginning but throughout all of the seven books. Seemingly biographical stages of life suggest an autoreferential connection that underlines her status of being elected. The speaker is the recipient of God’s revelation; yet she is not only God’s chosen one but much more: she is a partner in the dialogue with the “incomparable partner”;⁴⁷ a loving partner in the bridal-mystical tradition, addressed by God himself with hyperbolic metaphors;⁴⁸ a sun, beautiful in her own radiance (*schónú sunne an dinem schine*, FL I,18, p. 36,17; FT, p. 48); God’s “deepest longing” and highest honour (*tiefeste gerunge und hóhste ere*, FL I,19, p. 36,24 f.; FT, p. 48⁴⁹); and his “queen” (*kúneginne*, FL II,25, p. 130,19; FT, p. 94). Finally, the recurring self-reference in pronouns such as ‘ich,’ ‘mein,’ ‘mir’ (I, me, mine), etc. equally constitutes a formal dominant that undoubtedly makes her the leading voice.⁵⁰

46 On this figure of thought, but without reference to *The Flowing Light* and using the German word “Tarnkappe,” see Klein 2008, p. 16.

47 Haug 1984.

48 See (with different approaches in each case) Köbele 1993, pp. 71–96; Seelhorst 2003, pp. 85–95; Volfing 2003.

49 Tobin here has “most sublime glory” for “*hóhste ere*.”

50 On the constitution of identity in confrontation with the divine partner in dialogue, see Suerbaum 2003.

At the same time, however, the text works against an impression of personal idealization through several rhetorical strategies. The fact that the autobiographical sections are designed according to hagiographic patterns has been emphasized in various ways.⁵¹ The speaker repeatedly evaluates her own practice of recording what has been revealed to her not as an accolade but as a burden, as a shameful endeavour, because she, the writer, is neither learned nor proficient in German and does not know Latin at all (FL II,3, p. 82,24–27; FT, p. 72), because she is an unworthy person (*unwürdiger mensche*, FL IV,12, pp. 258f.,35/1; FT, p. 153) who has been ‘seduced’ (*verleitet*, FL II,26, p. 136,9; FT, p. 96) into writing. The hyperbolic metaphors are drastically counteracted: she is nothing but a foul pool (*unvletige[r] pfül*, FL II,26, p. 136,26; FT, p. 97⁵²), a “dank prison” (*pfülige[r] kerker*[], FL II,25, p. 130,11; FT, p. 94), eating “the ash cake” of her “own frailty” (*und isse [...] den eschekûchen miner brôdekeit*, FL II,25, p. 130,12–14; FT, p. 94). The metaphor of the dog is used again and again: she is comparable to a useless dog (FL II,3, p. 82,26f.; FT, p. 72). Thus, not only God but also the confessor of the protagonist – a miserable woman (*eim snôden wibe*, FL IV,2, pp. 236f.,37/1; FT, p. 144⁵³), according to her topical self-description – must expressly command her to undertake the recordings (FL IV,2, p. 236,34–36; FT, p. 144).

Yet it is not only these humble self-assertions that work against any sense of self-importance. In the collective writing process, it is also notable that the person of the writer often loses her integral identity, or, rather, when receiving the revelations, she appears as dissociated into individual organs, even as if she were merely consisting of them. The ear and the eye are addressed as inner senses:⁵⁴

Dú grosse zunge der gotheit hat mir zû gesprochen manig creftig wort; dú han ich enpfangen mit wenigen oren miner snôdekeit. Und das allergrôste lieht hat sich ufgetan gegen den ôgen miner sele. (FL II,3, p. 80,4–7)

The great tongue of the Godhead has spoken many a mighty word to me. I took them in with the feeble ears of my lowliness; and the brightest of lights opened up to the eyes of my soul. (FT II,3, p. 70)

The receiving heart is also emphasized in this respect:

Dise schrift, die in disem bûche stat, die ist gevlossen us von der lebenden gotheit in swester Mehtilden herze und ist also getrúwelich hie gesetzet, alse si us von irme herzen gegeben ist von gotte und geschriben mit iren henden. Deo gratias. (FL VI,43, p. 516,12–15)

51 Peters 1988; Linden 2019.

52 Tobin has “filthy ooze” for “*unvletigen pfül*.”

53 Tobin here has “frail woman,” which does not fully correspond to “*eim snôden wibe*.”

54 See Largier 2003.

The writing in this book flowed out of the living Godhead into Sister Mechthild's heart and has been as faithfully set down here as it was given by God, out of her heart and written by her hand. Thanks be to God. (FT VI.43, p. 267)

What appears as a self-assertion in different places is again confirmed here in the voice of the commentator: the origin of that which is written down lies in God, while the heart of the sister is merely the processing location for that which has flowed out of God and which is now to be passed on. In this sense, the hand – which serves as the decisive writing tool for the medial fixing of the flowing revelation and which is always in focus – is also explicitly mentioned. The recognition of the capacity of heart, eye, ear, and hand⁵⁵ for reception certainly does not consist in the profiling contouring of the speaker, but rather, as it says in FL II,26 (FT, pp. 96–98), in the indwelling of God in the foul pool (*unvletigen pfül*, FL II,26, p. 136,26; FT, p. 97): an indwelling through which “a golden house” (*guldin hus*, FL II,26, p. 136,26; FT, p. 97) is erected in that very place, in which not only God but also his mother – “with all creatures, and with [his] heavenly court – settle (FL II,26, p. 136,26–28; FT, p. 97). Exaltation, so it seems, consists in the substitution of the self.

If one looks at these passages – which on the one hand make use of the inspiration topos and on the other follow on from the literature of *vitae* in their attitude of humility – idiosyncratic nuances become clear in their arrangement of the longstanding inspiration topos, which goes beyond the de-emphaticizing of a singular, individual-human form of authorship. The absorption of the outpouring God into writing is most successful in *The Flowing Light* when the location of medial processing – the heart of the recipient, her ear, her eye, but also the hand of the scribe or the compiler – puts itself completely at the service of this realization, i.e. is nothing but a medium.⁵⁶ In this respect, it is not merely the status as medium in itself that is remarkable, because this is in principle always already inherent to the topos of inspiration.⁵⁷ What is remarkable in *The Flowing Light* is rather the exclusivity of this status, which radically gives up any claim to personal action or ability.⁵⁸ All the same, this does not lead to the com-

55 This medial recognition is valid even though – according to FL II,25 – the earthly hand (*irdenschú hant*, FL II,25, p. 134,21) in the fixation of the writing may in some circumstances also be responsible for the difference that separates mere writing from the living voice (*stimme*, FL II,25, p. 134,20) and the fulfilling sound of the heart (*sússe[r] herzeklang*, FL II,25, p. 134,20).

56 The speaker's medial status in *The Flowing Light* has been repeatedly emphasized: among others, Klein 2006, p. 83; for an extensive account, Emmelius 2017a, pp. 383–386.

57 Thus Klein 2006, pp. 17–22; Klein 2008, p. 64; Bamberger/Stellmann/Strohschneider 2018, p. 6.

58 Pertinent in this context is Grubmüller 1992, pp. 339f. Conversely, Klein 2006 and Klein 2008 aim to argue precisely how the topos of inspiration is generally associated with an authorial consciousness of its own – how, under the “cloak of invisibility” of inspired speech, a private “claim to autonomy” can even evolve in a particularly pointed way, ‘subverting’ the concept of inspired authorship defined by “heteronomy” (Klein 2008, pp. 16f. and 38). That *The Flowing Light* ulti-

plete “nihilation” or “self-erasure”⁵⁹ of the speaker. The locations of medial processing appear in a very material way, an aspect which has thus far been given too little attention; they are thoroughly differentiated in their functionality, and it is precisely in that multiple dissociation – mouth, heart, hand as well as command, instruction, writing, writing together, compiling, script, book, etc. – that they receive their own position and value within the transfer of divine truth.⁶⁰ The deconstruction of the author-subject is thus, for one thing, radicalized beyond the topos of *humilitas* in the dissociation of the speaker, but it is exactly here that it tips over into a new valence. What emerges is a plurality of medially necessary and at the same time materially bound functions, which are not equivalent in the authorial hierarchy but which are equally necessary for the event of revelation, since one function is obviously not possible without the others: any one medium needs the other.

Finally, the deconstructions of the self are revealed in a further technique that determines the aesthetic structure of the text as a whole and which, like the dissociations, proves to be ambiguous. Older scholarship – assuming that the positions of the speaker could be referred to as a religious biography of the historical sister Mechthild – had taken as its basis a coherent path of experience that could be historically recovered and read the various books and chapters as a procedural reflection of this path. By contrast, more recent research has been able to sharpen our perception of the discrepancies, disagreements, and vicissitudes of a first-person voice that, through insight into the use of topoi and rhetoric as resources for “textual strategies for creating meaning”⁶¹ in individual textual passages, can be understood as plural. The speaker’s position is thus encountered in the first person but can also become second-person in dialogue with God; she can mutate into a zero-focalized narrator as well as an ecstatic singer; she appears as an instructive sister as well as a dejected soul alienated from herself and as a visionary to Christ’s suffering, as much as the bride of Christ and a worthless dog. The variety of her modes of speech and registers of expression is cor-

mately eludes this dialectic can be seen in Klein 2006, p. 84, contrasting the “self-abasement” of the speaker not with an authorial claim, but with the “auratization of the work” and the “sanctification of the writer” in the sense of religious, rather than creative or literary, exemplarity, as much as in Klein not selecting the mystical text as an example in the 2008 essay. This foregrounds that the esteem shown in *The Flowing Light* is based on a different foundation than the notably very modern juxtaposition of self-abasement and authorial self-awareness would suggest.

59 See the references in the presentation of scholarship in Klein 2008, p. 15.

60 Kirakosian 2021, p. 213, also elaborates on the “correlations between the material and the mystical,” based on the vernacular transmissions of Gertrud’s visions, here especially in relation to “corporeal images” (pp. 133–135) but also in connection with a textual and textile practice of productions and meditation; see esp. pp. 126–147 and 175–210.

61 Linden 2019, p. 196.

respondingly high.⁶² It ranges from real, historical echoes to bridal-mystical exegesis, from biographical allusions to topical patterns, from lamentation to jubilation, from report or instruction to narrative or dialogue, often changing abruptly from one to the other: a voice that speaks of God, that at the same time is able to be addressed by him, or that even becomes his ‘speech.’ If one also takes the interpolations that are added by the chapter headings or that can be read as interwoven commentaries, seemingly by different voices, or if one considers the fact that perspectives can change rapidly even within individual chapters, this results in an extremely heterogenous construct that, in its heterogeneity, cannot ever be assigned a personal, biographical status.⁶³ Burkhard Hasebrink rightly states that *The Flowing Light* assembles “more than 300 different texts.”⁶⁴ Klaus Grubmüller has made transparent the process described: the text shows a “suggestive plurality of speech and experience,” in which “the perspectives [are] interwoven,” a fixed “speaker position is dissolved”⁶⁵ – and this plurality ultimately also determines the level of textual composition, i.e. the aesthetic structure as a whole. In this way, the impression emerges of the “simultaneity of the most diverse forms, content, and speaking postures of a text [...] directed toward synopses and syn-aesthetics,”⁶⁶ which can meet the reader or listener on entirely different levels precisely in the denial of there being one personal path, offering them points of connection for the most diverse emotional states, needs, and experiences.

62 Mohr 1963, p. 380, already emphasizes the “abundance of variants” of the “modes of representation”; see also Köbele 1993, p. 72.

63 Thus also Hasebrink 2007, p. 93; Nemes 2010, pp. 15 f. Older scholarship assessed this differently: Heinzle 1994, p. 82, saw here the “originality of an elementary compulsion to expression”; Mohr 1963, pp. 380–382, understood this as a form of speaking from a personal “attunement,” whose genesis of form could be pursued directly, as it were, in *statu nascendi*; see further examples of the older positions in Köbele 1993, p. 72, note 168. Emmelius 2017a, p. 387, has taken up again the question of the referentialization of “first-person voices” in the literature of *vitae* and revelation in an insightful way with the concise summary, “for the reports of visions in the *vitae* and revelations, the balance seems to be: much ego, little self,” as well as the equally terse and clear suggestion “that not in every text in which a speaker names itself does a speaker also speak of itself.” Rather, it is in the very diversity of ‘first-person voices’ in the literature of *vitae* and revelation, including the dissociations of the self into different aggregate states, that the “speaker’s character as a medium of vision and audition” is exhibited (Emmelius 2017a, p. 387). Emmelius 2017a, pp. 374 f., who also observes the dissociations of the speaker as a process of representation and describes them in relation to Adelheid Langmann’s *Gnadenvita* as the “physical fragmentation of the visionary,” reads these dissociations primarily as metaphors for medial ‘permeability’: the matter becomes “porous,” dissolves. The emphasis I have placed on the material ‘residues,’ however, is indicated in her reference to the speaker in the Mechthild corpus, as a medium of transcendence, is vested “with a voice of her own” (Emmelius 2017a, p. 388).

64 Hasebrink 2007, p. 92.

65 Grubmüller 1992, pp. 343 f.

66 Grubmüller 1992, p. 347.

In fact, it is not a matter of the biographically relevant path, nor is it a matter of the single exemplary one; rather, it is precisely the refusal of the singular personality, as communicated by the aesthetic structure, that demonstrates the kind of detachment from the earthly dependence on the ego and from material captivation that must become a model for anyone who wants to approach the mystical experience. The speaking voice repeatedly casts off, as it were, any concrete, biographical designations, which would bind it to an earthly desire and make it identifiable as a person, in order to become a receiving medium as a figure of the soul, the bride, the bridegroom's beloved, into which not only God but also – and this seems crucial to me at this juncture – the recipient can immerse. The plurality in the aesthetics of production thus opens up to a plurality in the aesthetics of reception. Just as divine revelation can be conveyed only via a multiplicity of medial entities and their interplay, this interplay, as it were, continues in the plurality of possible roles of identification, drawing the recipients into the movement of exchange in which they themselves, even they, are absorbed in conversation with God.

The speech of the self hence loses its self-referentiality through its dissociation into individual medial functions and through the plural unfolding into ever new modes of speech, perspectives, and roles. Through the former, the speaker can mediate divine revelation, as Caroline Emmelius has clearly elaborated,⁶⁷ but the consequences in *The Flowing Light* are to be reflected on in an even more far-reaching manner. In this way, the speaker inscribes herself in God's speech and becomes part of it, and this has effects on the aesthetics of reception, especially in the pluralization of roles. Only when the recipients individually abandon themselves to the speaking entity, and with it to the same inscription, do they become part of that collaborative cycle in which the unrestrained abundance of the divine gift of grace reaches "into all hearts" (*in allú dú herzen*, FL I, p. 18,13; FT, p. 39), and the abundance of which can flow back to God (FL VII,55, p. 638,27–32; p. 323).⁶⁸ It is through this aesthetic structure, extending from the medial and material functionalization of the speaker to the composition of extremely heterogeneous speaking positions, that the recipients can also and precisely inscribe themselves in the event of revelation, in the carrying out of those transgressions that are to be constantly performed.⁶⁹

67 Emmelius 2017a: see the explanation above in note 63.

68 On the motif of abundance, which determines giving and taking, see the wealth of evidence in Egerding 1997, vol. 2, pp. 624–630; and Gerok-Reiter 2022, p. 56.

69 This notion of inscription as a textual goal has been reflected upon from various perspectives: as the result of "monastic techniques of contemplation," meant to lead to the "animation of the 'inner senses'": Largier 2007, quotes pp. 51 und 53; as an exercise of immersion for involved readers: Nemes 2012 and Gerok-Reiter/Leppin 2022, pp. 216f. (English translation: Gerok-Reiter/Leppin 2025); as a "doctrine of spiritual behaviour" that was "consciously promoted in the Dominican Order through the extensive production of *vitae*" and used for didactic purposes: Linden 2019, p. 205.

4. Materializations: God in the Book

And yet the question remains as to whether the recurrence to the one God, who expressly made ‘this book’ (*Ich han es [dis bûch, A.G.-R.] gemachet*, FL I, p. 18,9f.; FT, p. 39), does not supersede those collective and collaborative processes that medially impart the appearance of the divine in the world, if not in their collective plurality, then at least in the collaborative character of an equal, interactive interplay. Hasebrink also observes that, because of the “integration of the seeing, loving speaker into divine [...] secrecy,” as is broached at the very beginning of *The Flowing Light* (FL I, p. 18,6; FT, p. 39), one cannot truly speak of ‘co-production.’⁷⁰ To the extent that speaking radically forms itself “from the Other,” i.e. from God, or – according to my line of argument – that the speaker (or the recipient) is only a medium, the speaker lacks substance of her own, as it were, that could make her into a partner. In Hasebrink’s words, “the ‘speaking from the Other’ turns the female subject of literary speech into a blank space,”⁷¹ a blank space that is, however, doubly coded: “on the one hand by secrecy, the intimate closeness to God, in which the loving soul is elevated to the divine beloved [and is absorbed into the divine beloved, A.G.-R.], on the other hand through that depravity”⁷² that arises through the attachment to the material and the worldly and which, it should be noted, resists that complete absorption. In this way, the difference between mediality and materiality alluded to above is addressed once more on a different level.

It seems, however, that this basic quantum of materiality is precisely what guarantees collaborative authorship in the process of medial self-abrogation and thus fulfils the claim to a direct creative exchange. The scene in which the speaker tells God of her fear that the book could be consumed by fire is revealing in this respect, whereupon the following counter-proposal emerges:

Do offenbarte sich got zehant miner trurigen sele und hielt dis bûch in siner vordern hant und sprach: “Lieb minú, betrûbe dich nit ze verre, die warheit mag nieman verbrennen. Der es mir us miner hant sol nemmen, der sol starker denne ich wesen. Das bûch ist drivaltig und bezeichent alleine mich. Dis bermit, das hie umbe gat, bezeichent min reine, wisse, gerechte menscheit, die dur dich den tot leit. Dú wort bezeichent mine wunderliche gotheit; dú vliessent von stunden ze stunde in dine sele us von minem götlichen munde. Dú stimme der worten bezeichnen minen lebendigen geist und vollebringet mit im selben die rehten warheit. Nu sich in allú disú wort, wie loblich si mine heimlichkeit meldent, und zwivel nit an dir selben!” (FL II,26, p. 136,10–22).

At once God revealed himself to my joyless soul, held this book in his right hand, and said:

“My dear One, do not be overly troubled.

No one can burn the truth.

For someone to take this book out of my hand,

⁷⁰ Hasebrink 2006, p. 398.

⁷¹ Hasebrink 2006, p. 397; cf. Emmelius 2017a, p. 369.

⁷² Hasebrink 2006, p. 397.

He must be mightier than I.
 The book is threefold
 And portrays me alone.
 The parchment that encloses it indicates my pure, white, just humanity
 That for your sake suffered death.
 The words symbolize my marvelous Godhead.
 It flows continuously
 Into your soul from my divine mouth.
 The sound of the words is a sign of my living spirit
 And through it achieves genuine truth.
 Now, examine all these words –
 How admirably do they proclaim my personal secrets!
 So have no doubts about yourself!” (FT II.26, pp. 96f.)

Once again, it is not the “sanctification of the female author,” according to Hasebrink, that is foregrounded but rather “the appeal to an absolute, transcendent authorship.”⁷³ At the same time, however, this claim should be modified to emphasize that the aesthetic materiality of the book is highlighted, particularly in parchment, word, and sound, a materiality in which the trinity of God himself is revealed.⁷⁴ The book as a medium of mediation thus remains bound to a minimum dimension of materiality. In as much as the book that God holds in his hand as his own revelation is at the same time the book that is in the process of being created by the speaking persona, this reciprocal connection is once again entwined. The blank space that the writer as a medium must personally offer, as it were, does not change the material necessity of the parchment for the matter to be written down, and, thus, it should be added, the material necessity of the scribe’s hand, which writes down the matter and uses letters, ink, quill, etc. to do so. This is the paradox that neither the God who reveals himself nor the soul absorbed into the status of the medium can evade.

Even if God alone is assigned the emphatic authorial position in the sense of a creator, his mediation requires those same scribes, hands, compilers; requires the parchment, the word, the voice, and the sound in order to appear;⁷⁵ and requires the aesthetic structure for this to occur suitably. The collaboration of authorship lies in this

73 Hasebrink 2006, p. 394.

74 While this materiality is interpreted allegorically (Palmer 1992, p. 231), what is crucial here is that it nonetheless endures in the literal sense and is even elevated in its dignity through allegorical interpretation.

75 See also Klein 2006, pp. 82–84. Her statement that the “construction of the God-author signifies the death of the (earthly) author” does not pertain, for as a “medium,” the writer nonetheless has a veritable task (p. 83).

reciprocal need in the event of revelation.⁷⁶ This collaboration is at once hierarchical and egalitarian, a manifestation of the reciprocal participation (*gebruchunge*, e.g. FL I,44, p. 60,6–11; FT, p. 59: “enjoyment” for *gebruchunge*) that represents the thematic centre of *The Flowing Light*.⁷⁷ hierarchical, because God is undoubtedly the starting point for the book *The Flowing Light*; egalitarian, because God, as inspiring Creator, needs the earthly medium and the loving desire of the soul for the revelation of himself. The collaboration thus becomes an expression of reciprocal participation (*gebruchunge*), which, as *süsse einunge* (FL II,25, p. 132,28; FT, p. 95: “sweet union”), can lead the plural interplay of all actors in the process of mediation to their goal of the revelation that is being realized in this moment. The forms of collective and collaborative authorship – equally reliant on one another in a way that is at once hierarchical and interactive – that is not only negotiated on a thematic level in *The Flowing Light* but that is also realized in its aesthetic structure, thus proves to be a conceptual design to which an emphatic claim appertains. Against this background, a new light can be shed on the multiple authorship of transmission as the result of an uncertain melange of influences and hands, losses and gains, characterized by contingency and gaps in transmission. If multiple authorship in the sense of a collaborative exchange proves itself to be a necessary condition for the revelation of salvation itself, and if, as a consequence, authorship and mediation are aligned in principle, then subsequent generations – of listeners and readers; adaptors, transcribers, and those who hand down the text; commentators or commissioners – also justifiably have to inscribe themselves into the pronounced open cycle of receiving and giving that is to be constantly updated: because they not only ‘enjoy’ the salvation of the divine author, but also because the revelation of salvation ‘needs’ every single link in the process of its own mediation and makes them co-authors precisely through this process.⁷⁸

76 This is exactly where the God of *The Flowing Light* differs just as essentially from the mythologically exaggerated “Auteur-Dieu” cited by Roland Barthes 1994 [1968], p. 15, as well as from the “fiction of an absolute author” as described by Japp 1988, p. 233.

77 See Zech 2015, pp. 81–144; on the lexeme in Latin and vernacular tradition, p. 25. As a rule, by the term *gebruchunge* in *The Flowing Light* is understood the “state of consumptive enjoyment between God and man.” The aspect of reciprocal need and use, however, is semantically significant: from it results the participation in the other part, which can then be the epitome of religious ‘enjoyment.’

78 The “multi-stage process of communication” emphasized by Emmelius 2017b, pp. 48–54, which is characteristic of “authoritatively secured” revelations as well as “private” ones (quotes p. 49, thus appears in an even more intensified manner. The “mandate for the passing on, multiplication, and publishing of what has been revealed” (Emmelius 2017b, p. 50) also takes on a new dimension through the aspect of the necessity of participation for realizing the event of salvation, going beyond mere mediation. – I owe the inspiration for this idea to the lively discussions, and especially to Lukas Steinacher-Wisioerek, in project C3 of CRC 1391.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has emphasized that authorship, as a historically and culturally variable concept, requires a precise analysis based on the matter under consideration. In the sense of the search for the traces of a ‘different’ aesthetics that questions the canonical specifications inherited from the 18th and 19th centuries, phenomena of multiple authorship have been of particular interest, insofar as their examination can make the canonical pre-eminence of the individual author – with whom notions of creative independence, coherent doctrine, and qualitatively ‘high’ art are often connected – transparent in their implicit specifications and reveal alternative conceptualizations as well as evaluations in the historical field in a particularly succinct manner. The decisive factor here has been, in particular, to start from a concept of the author to which, for one thing, a diachronic and generically varied openness (in the sense of historical semantics) can be attributed;⁷⁹ at the same time, it was vital not to abandon the special claim of ‘emphatic’ authorship – understood as a claim to exclusivity – in the historical field in order not to succumb to one-sided teleological perspectives or to take the edge off the heuristic concept of authorship.⁸⁰ From here, the methodological challenge and the task have been to ask whether, and to what extent, heterologically determined specifications of collective authorship on the level of production can be linked to forms of emphatic authorship, and how the conception of authorship within a text relates to this.

The 13th-century mystical text *The Flowing Light of the Godhead* has proven to be particularly fruitful in this regard, insofar as recent research has already clearly worked out the fatal consequences of an anachronistic transfer of canonical notions of authorship from the 18th and 19th centuries and, in view of the accentuated multiple authorship of the surviving text, has called for the revision of “habits of thinking that have become dear” to us.⁸¹ This endeavour has been pursued by correlating findings from the aesthetics of production with text-internal specifications, forms of expression, and assessments of the question of authorship. Explicit statements within the text had to be taken into account, as well as the aesthetic structure of the text itself. It thereby has become clear how strongly the text announces the mediation of the event of revelation, bound to the authorship of the book, via multiple actors, entities, and medial processes, and how it holds every function of the medial process as a necessary component in the highest esteem – despite the differentiated hierarchization of the actors in relation to their proximity to God. This has been observed above all in the strategy of dissociating the female speaker into diverse sensory functions as a prerequisite for a medial transfer of the divine message that turns out to be as undisturbed and diapha-

79 On this and the sometimes problematically one-sided use of the concept of the author in scholarship, see Section 1 in the introduction to this volume, pp. XVI–XXIII.

80 See the explanations on this aspect in the introduction to this volume, pp. XVIII–XX.

81 Emmelius / Nemes 2019a, p. 10.

nous as possible.⁸² Claims of authorship connected to the subject are therefore not only rejected on the propositional level through formulations of humility but are even more strongly disavowed through the rhetoric of the statements, i. e. through erratic modes of speech and the motifs, metonymies, and metaphors that point to a dissociated ego. Finally, the inclusion of the positions of other actors, as well as the material grounding of the medial transfer, emphasize above all a variety of functions in which all actors have to locate themselves, while thus also making sure that they are necessary and well-esteemed. What is conceptualized here, according to this summary, is not only a collective, synchronic or a plural, diachronic form of authorship in and of itself but also its explicit and positive assessment.⁸³

The rather precarious assertion behind this assessment arises from the fact that the longstanding topos of inspiration in the specific shaping of the text also renegotiates the position of the actual and highest author, God. The function of God as the source, creator, and inaugurator of the 'flowing light' of the message of salvation remains beyond any doubt; indeed, the entity of 'God' is perennially emphasized as the sole source. At the same time, the pictorial rhetoric models and varies a one-side model of inspiration, in that the divine authorship also appears via different processes of representation as part of the cycle of giving and taking, thus inserting itself into this cycle. This occurs not only through the repeatedly used dialogue structure, through ambiguous references to the speaker, and through a complex of themes of emanation and return⁸⁴ – possibly in the Dionysian tradition, due to the metaphor of flowing – but it does so especially through the fact that, in addition to the medial aspects, material aspects gain prominent significance. In this way, the manifestation of the 'flowing light' in book form becomes clear,

82 In this sense, one would follow Spoerhase's summary of Foucault (1969): "Foucault answers the question 'What lies in who speaks?', raised several times in *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?* – also raised in *Les mots et les choses* ('Nietzsche's question: Who speaks?') and *L'archéologie du savoir* ('First question: Who speaks?') – thusly: there is indeed something in who speaks, but it is not the ephemeral individuality of the subject that matters ('It doesn't matter who speaks'), but rather the place within the discourse from which the subject expresses themselves ('It does matter from where he speaks')" (Foucault references in Spoerhase 2007, p. 55). More attention must be given, however, to the fact that the status of the subject thoroughly changes when the subject 'moves into' the respective "place within the discourse"; indeed, the status of the subject can almost dissolve, as in *The Flowing Light*.

83 See Kirakosian 2021, p. 32, in relation to the writing community at Helfta: "In an atmosphere of women writing collectively, even initially single-author projects would turn into communal projects. Editing, writing, copying, and indeed embellishing manuscripts belonged to one greater endeavour, which was to uphold religious knowledge and an awareness of the community's history." For the textual corpus with which she is dealing, she notes: "The notion of collective writing as a communal effort is reflected in the texts produced."

84 Connections can be inferred only indirectly at best, but see Leppin 2007, p. 88; on the circular structure, see, among others, FL VI, 29, pp. 488 and 490.

in accordance with the event of incarnation,⁸⁵ as an encounter and occurrence of intangible transcendence, spiritual aspiration, and material inclusion, here in the sense of the craft of writing and scribal paraphernalia as a prerequisite for the realization of revelation. Collective authorship becomes collaborative not only in connecting the medial process back to the material but also in the highlighted *necessity* of this connection.

Against this background, three aspects of the aesthetic structure of the surviving text can be better understood. While scholarship has resorted to the search for the 'lost author' for decades, the vernacular text transmitted shows no ambition at all to concretize a person beyond hagiographic efforts at authenticity. The text's clear lack of interest in an author⁸⁶ who may be empirically referenced cannot be explained by "the subordinate role" that authorship takes in *The Flowing Light*,⁸⁷ nor on the basis of a double responsibility,⁸⁸ as has been argued thus far. Instead, it is explained by the process of a multiple, collaborative textual genesis in which God, the writer, and other actors are involved together in a spiritual, medial, and material liaison. What is more, the volatility of the speaker's modes does not result from emotional, 'feminine' writing but corresponds to that multiple, collaborative concept from the perspective of the aesthetics of reception. Its pastoral function consists in 'inscribing' the listeners and readers into the cycle of the realization of revelation through ever new figurations of the soul and inviting them to take on a contributing voice of their own in it.⁸⁹ This opens up to the direct audience and readership nothing less than participation in the realization of the revelation of salvation's divine reality. Yet even this does not exhaust the claim of

85 Possibly with a Bernardine background: Leppin 2007, p. 88; Leppin 2015. See FL IV,14, pp. 266–270.

86 This by no means excludes studies on historical 'networks' (Emmelius/Nemes 2019b); rather, the revision conjugated in this contribution also owes much to their approach. We can therefore agree partly with Haynes 2005, p. 316: "In sum, if historians wish to historicize authorship, they must do more than recover the intentions of authors or interpret the contents of texts. [...] [T]hey must combine literary criticism and discourse analysis with bibliographical excavation and historical research, to uncover the shifting representations, institutions, agents, and experiences of authorship in the past. Only thus will they finally be able to exorcise the demon of the 'genius' that has haunted studies of authorship since the 19th century." In addition to the content of the text and its context, however, the expressive power at the level of *discours* must also enter as a third force in order to bring all *valeurs* into play, precisely because historical inscriptions cannot be hidden in the fractures of design. It should have become clear that the emphatic concept of the author is not a matter of a "demon" that needs to be exorcized; it is a matter, in a more sober but probably more far-reaching way, of an appropriate historical classification and demarcation, i.e. one that corresponds to the respective time and genre.

87 Grubmüller 1992, p. 346.

88 The image of "double authorship," which has been used several times, rather disguises the context, and multiple authorship in no way signifies a 'paradox': Haas 1989, p. 213.

89 On this subject, see esp. FL II,25, p. 134,4–21 and Gerok-Reiter/Leppin 2022, pp. 206f.; Gerok-Reiter/Leppin 2025.

multiple authorship because this concept consequently must also include the future readers, mediators, and writers who constitute the – in this case – temporally unlimited ensemble of collaborative authorship, and thus continue the performative realization of revelation in the ‘unfixed text’ of a fragmented history of transmission.⁹⁰ Only in the synopsis of all three aspects does a ‘different’ aesthetics become apparent in premodern texts like *The Flowing Light*, which – functionally bound – reaches a creative complexity on the basis of a multiple authorship whose emphatic claim can hardly be surpassed.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

FL = Mechthild von Magdeburg: Das fließende Licht der Gottheit, ed. by Gisela Vollmann-Profe, Frankfurt a.M. 2003 (Bibliothek des Mittelalters 19).

FT = Mechthild of Magdeburg: The Flowing Light of the Godhead, trans. by Frank J. Tobin, New York 1998.

Secondary Literature

Bamberger / Stellmann / Strohschneider 2018 = Bamberger, Gudrun / Stellmann, Jan / Strohschneider, Moritz: Dichten mit Gott – Schreiben über Gott. Eine Einleitung, in: Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik 48 (2018), pp. 3–17.

Barthes 1994 [1968] = Barthes, Roland: La mort de l’auteur, in: Roland Barthes: Œuvres complètes, ed. by Éric Marty, 3 vols., Paris 1993–1995, vol. 2: 1966–1973, Paris 1994, pp. 491–495 [French original in: Manteia 5 (1968), pp. 12–17].

Bürkle 1994 = Bürkle, Susanne: Weibliche Spiritualität und imaginierte Weiblichkeit. Deutungsmuster und -perspektiven frauenmystischer Literatur im Blick auf die Thesen Caroline Walker Bynums, in: Christoph Cormeau (ed.): Mystik, Berlin 1994 (Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 113), pp. 116–143.

Egerding 1997 = Egerding, Michael: Die Metaphorik der spätmittelalterlichen Mystik, vol. 1: Systematische Untersuchung, vol. 2: Bildspender – Bildempfänger – Kontexte: Dokumentation und Interpretation, Paderborn / Munich / Vienna / Zurich 1997.

90 It would be interesting to factor in the Latin translation *Lux divinitatis*, which was transmitted close to the time of the emergence of *The Flowing Light*. In particular, it would be worth examining whether and how the findings presented here on the medial dissociation and material concretization of the first-person voice are likewise to be encountered in the Latin text, or whether their absence represses the collaborative interplay and thus reveals a completely different realization of authorship despite the historical double-existence of the texts. The considerations of Nemes 2010, pp. 309–380, should be taken into account here.

- Emmelius 2017a = Emmelius, Caroline: Das visionäre Ich. Ich-Stimmen in der Viten- und Offenbarungsliteratur zwischen Selbstthematization und Heterologie, in: Sonja Glauch / Katharina Philipowski (eds.): Von sich selbst erzählen. Historische Dimensionen des Ich-Erzählens, Heidelberg 2017 (Studien zur historischen Poetik 26), pp. 361–388.
- Emmelius 2017b = Emmelius, Caroline: Verborgene Wahrheiten offenbaren. Verschriftlichungsprozesse in frauenmystischen Texten zwischen Subversion und Autorisierung, in: Caroline Emmelius et al. (eds.): Offen und Verborgenen. Vorstellungen und Praktiken des Öffentlichen und Privaten in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Göttingen 2004, pp. 47–65.
- Emmelius / Nemes 2019a = Emmelius, Caroline / Nemes, Balázs J.: Mechthild und das Fließende Licht der Gottheit im Kontext. Einleitende Spurensuchen, in: Caroline Emmelius / Balázs J. Nemes (eds.): Mechthild und das *Fließende Licht der Gottheit* im Kontext. Eine Spurensuche in religiösen Netzwerken und literarischen Diskursen im mitteldeutschen Raum des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 2019 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 17), pp. 9–38.
- Emmelius / Nemes 2019b = Emmelius, Caroline / Nemes, Balázs J. (eds.): Mechthild und das *Fließende Licht der Gottheit* im Kontext. Eine Spurensuche in religiösen Netzwerken und literarischen Diskursen im mitteldeutschen Raum des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 2019 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 17).
- Foucault 1969 = Foucault, Michel: Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur, in: Bulletin de la Société Française de Philosophie 63.3 (1969), pp. 73–104.
- Gerok-Reiter 2022 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette: Söze (er-)zählen im *Fließenden Licht der Gottheit*. Historische Semantik zwischen Annotation, Hermeneutik und Performativität, in: Manuel Braun / Marion Darilek (eds.): Auszählen und Ausdeuten. Quantitative und qualitative Zugänge zum ästhetischen Wortschatz der mittelhochdeutschen Literatur 2022 (Mitteilungen des Deutschen Germanistenverbandes 69.1), pp. 45–64.
- Gerok-Reiter / Leppin 2022 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette / Leppin, Volker: Religiöse Gebrauchstexte als Orte ästhetischer Verhandlungen. Kap. II,25 des *Fließenden Lichts der Gottheit* und Meister Eckharts Predigt 57 im Vergleich, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Jörg Robert / Matthias Bauer / Anna Pawlak (eds.): Andere Ästhetik. Grundlagen – Fragen – Perspektiven, Berlin / Boston 2022 (Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten 1), pp. 189–242.
- Gerok-Reiter / Leppin 2025 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette / Leppin, Volker: Devotional Texts as the Location of Aesthetic Negotiations. A Comparison of Chapter II,25 of *The Flowing Light of the Godhead* and Meister Eckhart's Sermon 57, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Jörg Robert / Matthias Bauer / Anna Pawlak (eds.): Different Aesthetics. Principles – Questions – Perspectives, Berlin / Boston 2025 (Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten 1E), pp. 177–226.
- Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2022 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette / Robert, Jörg: Andere Ästhetik – Akte und Artefakte in der Vormoderne. Zum Forschungsprogramm des SFB 1391, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Jörg Robert / Matthias Bauer / Anna Pawlak (eds.): Andere Ästhetik. Grundlagen – Fragen – Perspektiven, Berlin / Boston 2022 (Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten 1), pp. 3–51.
- Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2025 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette / Robert, Jörg: Different Aesthetics – Premodern Acts and Artifacts. The Program of the Tübingen Collaborative Research Center 1391, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Jörg Robert / Matthias Bauer / Anna Pawlak (eds.): Different Aesthetics. Principles – Questions – Perspectives, Berlin / Boston 2025 (Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten 1E), pp. 3–48.
- Grubmüller 1992 = Grubmüller, Klaus: Sprechen und Schreiben. Das Beispiel Mechthild von Magdeburg, in: Johannes Janota / Frieder Schanze / Paul Sappeler / Benedikt Konrad Vollmann / Hans-Joachim Ziegeler / Gisela Vollmann-Profe (eds.): Festschrift Walter Haug und Burghart Wachinger, vol. 1, Tübingen 1992, pp. 335–348.

- Grubmüller et al. 1973 = Grubmüller, Klaus/Johannek, Peter/Kunze, Konrad/Matzel, Klaus/Ruh, Kurt/Steer, Georg: Spätmittelalterliche Prosaforschung. DFG-Forschergruppe-Programm am Seminar für deutsche Philologie der Universität Würzburg, in: Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik 5 (1973), pp. 156–176.
- Haas 1989 = Haas, Alois M.: Mechthilds von Magdeburg *dichterische heimlichkeit*, in: Rüdiger Schnell (ed.): Gotes und der werlde hulde. Literatur in Mittelalter und Neuzeit. Festschrift für Heinz Rupp zum 70. Geburtstag, Bern/Stuttgart 1989, pp. 206–223.
- Haug 1984 = Haug, Walter: Das Gespräch mit dem unvergleichlichen Partner – Der mystische Dialog bei Mechthild von Magdeburg als Paradigma für eine personale Gesprächsstruktur, in: Karlheinz Stierle/Rainer Warning (eds.): Das Gespräch, Munich 1984 (Poetik und Hermeneutik 11), pp. 251–279.
- Haynes 2005 = Haynes, Christine: Reassessing ‘Genius’ in Studies of Authorship. The State of the Discipline, in: Book History 8 (2005), pp. 287–320.
- Hasebrink 2000 = Hasebrink, Burkhard: Spiegel und Spiegelung im Fließenden Licht der Gottheit, in: Walter Haug/Wolfram Schneider-Lastin (eds.): Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang. Neu erschlossene Texte, neue methodische Ansätze, neue theoretische Konzepte, Tübingen 2000, pp. 157–174.
- Hasebrink 2006 = Hasebrink, Burkhard: Sprechen vom Anderen her. ‘Heterologie’ mystischer Rede als epistemischer Fluchtpunkt mittelalterlicher Literarizität, in: Konrad Ehlich (ed.): Germanistik in und für Europa. Faszination – Wissen, Bielefeld 2006 (Texte des Münchener Germanistentages 2004), pp. 391–399.
- Hasebrink 2007 = Hasebrink, Burkhard: “Ich kann nicht ruhen, ich brenne.” Überlegungen zur Ästhetik der Klage im *Fließenden Licht der Gottheit*, in: Manuel Braun/Christopher Young (eds.): Das fremde Schöne. Dimensionen des Ästhetischen in der Literatur des Mittelalters, Berlin/New York 2007 (Trends in Medieval Philology 12), pp. 91–107.
- Heinze 1994 = Heinze, Joachim: Wandlungen und Neuansätze im 13. Jahrhundert (1220/30–1280/90). Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit, vol. 2: Vom hohen zum späten Mittelalter, Part 2, 2nd ed., Königstein i.Ts. 1994.
- Japp 1988 = Japp, Uwe: Der Ort des Autors in der Ordnung des Diskurses, in: Jürgen Fohrmann/Harro Müller (eds.): Diskurstheorien und Literaturwissenschaft, Frankfurt a.M. 1988, pp. 223–234.
- Kirakosian 2021 = Kirakosian, Racha: From the Material to the Mystical in Late Medieval Piety. The Vernacular Transmission of Gertrude of Helfta’s Visions, Cambridge, UK et al. 2021.
- Klein 2006 = Klein, Dorothea: Inspiration und Autorschaft. Ein Beitrag zur mediävistischen Autordebatte, in: Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 80.1 (2006), pp. 55–96.
- Klein 2008 = Klein, Dorothea: Zwischen Abhängigkeit und Autonomie: Inszenierungen inspirierter Autorschaft in der Literatur der Vormoderne, in: Renate Schlesier/Beatrice Trnca (eds.): Inspiration und Adaptation. Tarnkappen mittelalterlicher Autorschaft, Hildesheim 2008 (Spolia Bero-linensia. Berliner Beiträge zur Geistes- und Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit 29), pp. 15–39.
- Köbele 1993 = Köbele, Susanne: Bilder der unbegriffenen Wahrheit. Zur Struktur mystischer Rede im Spannungsfeld von Latein und Volkssprache, Tübingen/Basel 1993 (Bibliotheca Germanica 30).
- Largier 2003 = Largier, Niklaus: Inner Senses – Outer Senses. The Practice of Emotions in Medieval Mysticism, in: C. Stephen Jaeger/Ingrid Kasten (eds.): Codierung von Emotionen im Mittelalter. Emotions and Sensibilities in the Middle Ages, Berlin/New York 2003 (Trends in Medieval Philology 1), pp. 3–15.

- Largier 2007 = Largier, Niklaus: Die Applikation der Sinne. Mittelalterliche Ästhetik als Phänomenologie rhetorischer Effekte, in: Manuel Braun/Christopher Young (eds.): Das fremde Schöne. Dimensionen des Ästhetischen in der Literatur des Mittelalters, Berlin / New York 2007 (Trends in Medieval Philology 12), pp. 43–60.
- Leppin 2007 = Leppin, Volker: Die christliche Mystik, Munich 2007 (Beck'sche Reihe 2415).
- Leppin 2015 = Leppin, Volker: Mechthild von Magdeburg. Repräsentation Christi im visionären Buch, in: Mariano Delgado / Volker Leppin (eds.): "Dir hat vor den Frauen nicht gegraut." Mystikerinnen und Theologinnen in der Christentumsgeschichte, Fribourg / Stuttgart 2015 (Studien zur christlichen Religions- und Kulturgeschichte 19), pp. 136–156.
- Linden 2019 = Linden, Sandra: *Du solt si erlúhten und leren* (FL VII,8). Zur Wechselwirkung von Alterssignatur und Lehrautorität im siebten Buch des *Fließenden Lichts der Gottheit*, in: Caroline Emmelius / Balázs J. Nemes (eds.): Mechthild und das *Fließende Licht der Gottheit* im Kontext. Eine Spurensuche in religiösen Netzwerken und literarischen Diskursen im mitteldeutschen Raum des 13.–15. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 2019 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 17), pp. 191–210.
- Mohr 1963 = Mohr, Wolfgang: Darbietungsformen der Mystik bei Mechthild von Magdeburg, in: Hugo Kuhn / Kurt Schier (eds.): Märchen, Mythos, Dichtung. Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag Friedrich von der Leyens am 19. August 1963, Munich 1963, pp. 375–399.
- Morel 1840 = Morel, Gall: Die Kloster-Bibliothek in Einsiedeln in der Schweiz, in: *Serapeum* 1 (1840), pp. 348–352, 359–365.
- Müller 1999 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Aufführung – Autor – Werk. Zu einigen blinden Stellen gegenwärtiger Diskussion, in: Nigel F. Palmer / Hans-Jochen Schiewer (eds.): Mittelalterliche Literatur und Kunst im Spannungsfeld von Hof und Kloster. Ergebnisse der Berliner Tagung, 9.–11. Oktober 1997, Tübingen 1999, pp. 149–166.
- Nemes 2010 = Nemes, Balázs J.: Von der Schrift zum Buch – vom Ich zum Autor. Zur Text- und Autorkonstitution in Überlieferung und Rezeption des *Fließenden Lichts der Gottheit* Mechthilds von Magdeburg, Tübingen / Basel 2010 (Bibliotheca Germanica 55).
- Nemes 2012 = Nemes, Balázs J.: Der involvierte Leser. Immersive Lektürepraktiken in der spätmittelalterlichen Mystik-Rezeption, in: *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 42 (2012), pp. 38–62.
- Neumann 1954 = Neumann, Hans: Beiträge zur Textgeschichte des *Fließenden Lichts der Gottheit* und zur Lebensgeschichte Mechthilds von Magdeburg, in: *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 3 (1954), pp. 27–80.
- Palmer 1992 = Palmer, Nigel F.: Das Buch als Bedeutungsträger bei Mechthild von Magdeburg, in: Wolfgang Harms / Klaus Speckenbach (eds.): Bildhafte Rede in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Probleme ihrer Legitimation und ihrer Funktion, Tübingen 1992, pp. 217–235.
- Peters 1988 = Peters, Ursula: Religiöse Erfahrung als literarisches Faktum. Zur Vorgeschichte und Genese frauenmystischer Texte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts, Tübingen 1988.
- Peters 1991 = Peters, Ursula: Hofkleriker – Stadtschreiber – Mystikerin. Zum literaturhistorischen Status dreier Autorentypen, in: Walter Haug / Burghart Wachinger (eds.): Autorentypen, Tübingen 1991 (*Fortuna vitrea* 6), pp. 29–49.
- Poor 1999 = Poor, Sara S.: Gender und Autorität in der Konstruktion einer schriftlichen Tradition, in: Jürgen Fohrmann (ed.): Autorität der/in Sprache, Literatur, Neuen Medien. Vorträge des Bonner Germanistentages 1997, vol. 2, Bielefeld 1999, pp. 532–552.
- Poor 2004 = Poor, Sara S.: Mechthild of Magdeburg and Her Book. Gender and the Making of Textual Authority, Philadelphia 2004.
- Ruh 1993 = Ruh, Kurt: Geschichte der abendländischen Mystik. vol. 2: Frauenmystik und Franziskanische Mystik der Frühzeit, Munich 1993.

- Seelhorst 2003 = Seelhorst, Jörg: Autoreferentialität und Transformation. Zur Funktion mystischen Sprechens bei Mechthild von Magdeburg, Meister Eckhart und Heinrich Seuse, Tübingen/Basel 2003 (Bibliotheca Germanica 46).
- Spoerhase 2007 = Spoerhase, Carlos: Autorschaft und Interpretation. Methodische Grundlagen einer philologischen Hermeneutik, Berlin/New York 2007 (Historia Hermeneutica. Serie Studia 5).
- Suerbaum 2003 = Suerbaum, Almut: Dialogische Identitätskonzeption bei Mechthild von Magdeburg, in: Nikolaus Henkel/Martin H. Jones/Nigel F. Palmer (eds.): Dialoge. Sprachliche Kommunikation in und zwischen Texten im Mittelalter. Hamburger Colloquium 1999, Tübingen 2003, pp. 239–255.
- Volfing 2003 = Volfing, Annette: Dialog und Brautmystik bei Mechthild von Magdeburg, in: Nikolaus Henkel/Martin H. Jones/Nigel F. Palmer (eds.): Dialoge. Sprachliche Kommunikation in und zwischen Texten im Mittelalter (Hamburger Colloquium 1999), Tübingen 2003, pp. 257–266.
- Vollmann-Profe 2003 = Vollmann-Profe, Gisela: Kommentar, in: Mechthild von Magdeburg: Das fließende Licht der Gottheit, ed. by Gisela Vollmann-Profe, Frankfurt a. M. 2003 (Bibliothek des Mittelalters 19), pp. 669–854.
- Wachinger 1991 = Wachinger, Burghart: Autorschaft und Überlieferung, in: Walter Haug/Burghart Wachinger (eds.): Autorentypen, Tübingen 1991 (Fortuna vitrea 6), pp. 1–28.
- Zech 2015 = Zech, Andrea: Spielarten des Gottes-Genusses. Semantiken des Genießens in der europäischen Frauenmystik des 13. Jahrhunderts, Göttingen 2015 (Historische Semantik 15).

Give and Take

Reflections on Collaborative Authorship in Early Modern English Literature

Abstract

The study of literary collaboration has traditionally been driven by the impulse to attribute authorship, resulting in the dismantling of texts by parcelling out fragments to individual contributors. By contrast, we hope to gain insights into the co-creative process by identifying and analysing reflections on multiple authorship in early modern English texts.

We consider four such reflections which are linked by the idea of *giving* (and, by implication, *taking*). In all four instances, *giving* serves as a metaphor which conveys the transcendence of limits and limitations in collaborative aesthetic creation. The prologue to William Shakespeare and John Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* emphasizes the play's indebtedness to Chaucer by transcending a gap in time and establishing diachronic co-authorship. George Herbert's poem *A Wreath* reflects on the possibility of collaborating with God in order to produce a better artefact. Here, the notion of giving expresses the reciprocal and cyclical quality of co-creation which can redress individual defects. Example three, the emblem titled *Mutuum auxilium* from Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblemes*, construes mutual giving as a duty which derives from the diversity of human faculties, while the intermedial character of the emblem itself invites an application of the moral to artistic production. Lastly, we consider how the epilogues to Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* present the gift of applause and the crucially co-creative role of the audience in the realisation of a play in performance.

Keywords

Co-creativity, Collaborative Authorship, Early Modern English Literature, Giving and Taking

1. Introduction

When it comes to previous research on collaborative authorship, the focus is often on authorship attribution¹ and, accordingly, on taking texts apart, e.g. by means of stylom-

* Translated by the authors of this chapter. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by the authors.

1 One of the most prominent recent examples is the New Oxford Shakespeare edition with its volume "Authorship Companion" (Egan/Taylor 2017). Egan 2017 gives an overview of "A History of Shakespearean Authorship Attribution," whereas further chapters focus on general methodology and individual cases of collaborative authorship. See also Juola 2008 on methods of authorship attribution more generally.

etry.² By contrast, our focus will be on the collaboration itself.³ As part of a joint project,⁴ our agenda is twofold: firstly, we wish to identify reflections on collaborative authorship in texts. This is more easily said than done, since explicit reflections of this kind are rare, at least within the realm of early modern English literature. We will therefore include implicit ones as well: self-referential and self-reflexive statements are examined for any information about collaboration; moreover, representations of collaboration in literary texts (by one or several authors) are probed for reflections on the production of literature. This analysis leads up to the second part of our agenda: to find out what those reflections tell us about the nature, functions, gains and losses, etc. of collaborative writing. Since we expressly include indirect and metaphorical reflections, we expect to arrive at notions of co-production in various forms and guises: the poetics of co-authorship will be configured as an aesthetics of co-creativity.⁵

This is an ambitious enterprise, and for the purposes of this paper we will have to focus on specific cases in point. We want to show different kinds of co-creativity and different kinds of reflecting on co-creativity but relate them to each other by a common denominator. Since collaborative authorship as a form of co-creativity is rarely described in abstract terms, we have chosen a telling metaphor that functions as a figure of aesthetic reflection: *giving* (and, by implication, *taking*)⁶ is, so to speak, a metaphor collaboration lives by, as it serves to show how various forms of collaboration may differ but also relate to one another.⁷

- 2 See, e.g., Craig 2009; Craig 2009/2010; Egan et al. 2016. For a critical approach, see Bauer/Zirker 2018.
- 3 Hirschfeld 2001; Hirschfeld 2004; Hirschfeld 2015; and Masten 1997a; Masten 1997b are some of the few examples of scholars who have also explored the gains and the (aesthetic) function of collaboration, albeit with a specific focus on theatrical collaboration.
- 4 The work on this chapter was carried out as part of project C5: “The Aesthetics of Co-Creativity in Early Modern English Literature” of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), project no. 405662736. See <https://uni-tuebingen.de/en/research/core-research/collaborative-research-centers/crc-different-aesthetics/research-projects/project-area-c-concepts/c5-bauer-zirker/> (last accessed: 18 November 2024).
- 5 See, e.g., Bauer/Zirker 2019.
- 6 Conceptualizations of collaboration as forms of giving may thus also be distinguished from other kinds of social transaction, e.g. Greenblatt’s ‘circulation of social energy’; see Greenblatt 1988.
- 7 The analysis of giving as a metaphorical expression of literary collaboration is evocative of Marcel Mauss’ anthropological interpretation of gift exchange, famously laid out in his “Essai sur le don: forme et raison de l’échange dans les sociétés archaïques” (Mauss 1923/1924). Gift exchange, to Mauss, is “a relational scheme” which posits “an obligation to give, to receive and to return a present” (Papilloud 2018, p. 664). Within this scheme, not only is it near impossible to refuse a gift outright and evade its attendant social compulsions, a return gift must also fulfil the conditions set by the original gift (Papilloud 2018, p. 666). Whereas Mauss focuses on giving and accepting (gifts) as a means of establishing and regulating social interaction, we focus on giving and taking

As we hope to show, literary co-production means something different in each of our four examples: *giving* represents four different processes and states of co-creativity, and in each case something is created because the very thing that is being talked about actually happens before the eyes and ears of the reader or audience. The examples of co-creativity selected are synchronous and asynchronous; they rely on dialogue and mutuality as well as mutual necessity, and, last but not least, involve audience collaboration.

2. Diachronic Co-Authorship: William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

The Two Noble Kinsmen, first performed in 1613 and the last completed play by William Shakespeare, is an example of diachronic co-authorship. The play was jointly written by Shakespeare and John Fletcher, but the prologue foregrounds that co-creativity extends beyond their synchronous collaboration:

New plays and maidenheads are near akin:
 Much followed both, for both much money gi'en,
 If they stand sound and well. And a good play,
 Whose modest scenes blush on his marriage day
 And shake to lose his honour, is like her 5
 That after holy tie and first night's stir
 Yet still is modesty, and still retains
 More of the maid, to sight, than husband's pains.
 We pray our play may be so, for I am sure
 It has a noble breeder and a pure, 10
 A learned, and a poet never went
 More famous yet 'twixt Po and silver Trent.
Chaucer, of all admired, the story gives;
There, constant to eternity, it lives.
 If we let fall the nobleness of this, 15
 And the first sound this child hear be a hiss,
 How will it shake the bones of that good man

in co-creative processes and consider social interaction as a means of jointly producing an artefact. The co-creative “giving” primarily happens for what is jointly contributed, whereas the exchange of gifts primarily happens for a social purpose. But see below note 24: We nevertheless regard co-creative giving as a process that is inseparable from the social realms in which it takes place and from the actors it involves. Ingrid Hentschel 2019, p. 10, has suggested the applicability of Mauss’ theory to the study of theatre, reasoning that it stresses intersubjectivity and co-operation, and – like dramatic performance itself – mediates between aesthetic freedom, social co-operation, and obligation; cf. Hentschel 2019, p. 11.

And make him cry from underground 'O, fan
 From me the witless chaff of such a writer
 That blasts my bays and my famed works makes lighter 20
 Than Robin Hood!' This is the fear we bring;
 For, to say truth, it were an endless thing
 And too ambitious, to aspire to him,
 Weak as we are, and, almost breathless, swim
 In this deep water. Do but you hold out 25
 Your helping hands, and we shall tack about
 And something do to save us. You shall hear
 Scenes, though below his art, may yet appear
 Worth two hours' travel. To his bones sweet sleep;
 Content to you. If this play do not keep 30
 A little dull time from us, we perceive
 Our losses fall so thick we must needs leave.

*Flourish. [Exit.]*⁸

“Chaucer the story gives” (l. 13) entails two concepts of asynchronous collaboration with the source text and its author. This ambiguity becomes perceptible once we look at the prosody of the line: If the stress falls on “gives” – Chaucer the story *gives* – this means that he gives the story away, delivers it, but something happens to it that is independent of him as an author: it will most likely be changed (by the company) with no further diachronic interaction. If, however, the emphasis is on “story” – Chaucer *the story* gives – the Prologue still stresses Chaucer’s agency (the story, which remains the same, was given by him, not taken from him) but also implies that the play is more than that. The focus now is on Chaucer as a co-author of the play, and the choice of metaphor configures him thus: he gives the story, and the company gives something else – something that may, actually, make Chaucer turn in his grave (ll. 17f.). This emphasis, at the same time, ignores a number of other sources of the story that reach back to classical literature, both of Greece and Rome: Euripides’ *Suppliants*, Seneca’s adaptations of Euripides, and Statius’ *Thebaid*.⁹

While the first reading, with the stress on “gives,” may explain why the prologue has been read as an apology for the play’s “inferiority to Chaucer,”¹⁰ expressive of

8 Shakespeare/Fletcher: *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Pr. 1–32 (our emphasis: ll. 13 f.).

9 See Bauer/Zirker 2021, p. 218; they refer to Potter 2015, p. 50, who notes that, “[t]hough the Prologue gives no indication that Chaucer was indebted to others for his story, the dramatists would certainly have known the *Thebaid*, if only because of John Lydgate’s ‘Siege of Thebes,’ a retelling of Statius, which was first added to Chaucer’s *Works* in Stowe’s edition of 1561 and reprinted by Speght in his 1598 edition (revised in 1602).” For the classical as well as late medieval sources of Chaucer, including Boccaccio’s *Teseida*, see Potter 2015, pp. 45–47.

10 Mowat et al. 2021.

“a fear not only of physical exposure but also of literary desecration,”¹¹ the second reading, with “the story” in focus, foregrounds the company’s role in the marriage scenario presented by the Prologue, which emphasizes that it takes two in a marriage.¹² In this scenario, the story is given away by Chaucer as the bride’s father,¹³ and the “writer” (l. 18) of the play becomes the husband who is afraid that he and the company, who act as one, will dishonour the maid by their text and performance.¹⁴ Accordingly, the Prologue hopes that the play will remain “more of the maid” (l. 8) in spite of this intervention (“first night’s stir,” l. 6).

The establishment of family relations in the prologue can, in a next step, be linked to the title of the play, which focuses on *Two Noble Kinsmen* (rather than the tale of two knights, as in the original *The Knight’s Tale*), with a foregrounding of the story’s as well as the characters’ nobility; the emphasis on family relations may also be linked to the notion of procreation and thus evoke another poetological metaphor of co-authorship. This notion pertains to both the continuation in time of a “story” in which Chaucer is part of the family genealogy and to the imaginative process itself, in the course of which the story is not only continued but also altered.

Within this constellation, Chaucer specializes in story, but the company may emulate and change as well as add to it. This reading indicates the temporality of the different components (story, dialogue, etc.) in the process of composition. The speaker of George Herbert’s *A Wreath* also reflects on the process of composing a poem co-creatively and on getting a figure of great authority involved, even though – in contrast to the different kinds of co-authorship reflected in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* – the poem itself, much to the speaker’s dismay, is not yet the result of the desired collaboration.

11 Potter 2015, p. 67.

12 See Bauer / Zirker 2021, p. 229, note 54, on the marriage ceremony in the *Book of Common Prayer* (1559, p. 158): “Who geveth this woman to be married unto this man?” One may even read this as a joke going beyond the play itself, as Chaucer, the father of the story, gives it to two husbands at the same time, which may be read as an allusion to Fletcher and his co-author Beaumont, who, according to the early biographer John Aubrey, “lived together on the Bankside, not far from the playhouse, both bachelors; lay together [...]; had one wench in the house between them, which they did so admire; the same clothes and cloak, etc, between them”; Aubrey 1982, p. 37.

13 See also the notion that “[c]ollaboration is ‘like marriage’” (Potter 2015, p. 20).

14 In their contribution on “Shakespeare’s Medieval Co-Authors,” Bauer / Zirker 2021, p. 230, note how the “prologue [...] wavers between family relations of inheritance and the individual genius, an ambiguity inherent to the notion of progeny.” When it comes to the notion of “giving the story,” however, family relations and the link between giving and the act of procreation are to be focused on. See also Teramura 2012 for further reflections on co-creativity in the play.

3. Dialogue / Dialogic Interaction: George Herbert, *A Wreath*

Not only does George Herbert's poem reflect on itself, the "poore wreath" (l. 12), but its speaker also imagines the poem he would preferably give to God, namely, a "crown of praise" (l. 12). *Giving* here serves as a figure of aesthetic reflection because the mutual will to *give* paves the way to a co-created poem superior to *A Wreath*. The speaker wishes for a better poem, one which can only exist if God decides to give him "simplicitie" (l. 9) beforehand. The speaker becomes the one who has to be given something before he can give anything worthwhile himself.

A wreathed garland of deserved praise,
 of praise deserved, unto thee I give,
 I give to thee, who knowest all my wayes,
 My crooked winding wayes, wherein I live,
 Wherein I die, not live: for life is straight, 5
 Straight as a line, and ever tends to thee,
 To thee, who art more farre above deceit,
 Then deceit seems above simplicitie.
 Give me simplicitie, that I may live,
 So live and like, that I may know thy wayes, 10
 Know them and practise them: then shall I give
 For this poore wreath, give thee a crown of praise.¹⁵

In the first three lines, the speaker states that he gives God a "wreathed garland of deserved praise," with the wreath being a token of honour, as in the laurel wreath. At the same time, this is a metapoetical reference to the poem itself since Herbert and his contemporaries frequently used the wreath as a metaphor for poetry.¹⁶ Although the metaphorical meaning of *A Wreath* becomes explicit only at the end of the poem, when the speaker refers to "*this poore wreath*" (l. 12; our emphasis), the speaker indicates the metapoetical meaning of the wreath in the first line of the poem: a "garland" may refer to anthologies.¹⁷ The speaker of the poem, thus, reflects on his attempt to demonstrate his respect and praise God through his poem.

In the ensuing cycle of revising and refining his words,¹⁸ the speaker compares his own ways of life to those of God ("thy wayes," l. 10),¹⁹ and realizes in line 7 that God is

15 A Wreath, in: Herbert: The English Poems, p. 645.

16 John Donne's *La Corona*, Andrew Marvell's *The Coronet*, and Henry Vaughan's *The Wreath* are popular examples.

17 See OED: "garland, *n.*" 4.; Brogan / Gutzwiller 2012, p. 52.

18 For instance, when the speaker's "wayes" (l. 3) become his "crooked winding wayes" one line later or when the phrase "life is straight" (l. 5) is specified in line 6: "Straight as a line."

19 The speaker recognizes that he does not really live because life in his "ways" is death compared to true life, "thereby changing the sense of 'live' from the physical or literal to the spiritual"

not to be deceived; he recognizes that he cannot conceal his “crooked winding wayes” (l. 4) before God, even though deception, being what it is, seems to be better than simplicity (l. 8). After having recognized this error, the speaker changes his approach in the last lines of the poem: his next words are no longer a statement but a plea or even a prayer: “Give me simplicitie” (l. 9). The final words of the poem’s last four lines repeat the final words of the first four lines in reversed order: “live” (ll. 4; 9), “wayes” (ll. 3; 10), “give” (ll. 2; 11), and “praise” (ll. 1; 12). The order of *giving* is now reversed as well. This is an iconic representation of the mutuality the speaker desires. Only if God gives him simplicity first can the speaker truly live in God’s ways (ll. 9–11) and then be able to give God more than just “this poore wreath,” namely “a crown of praise” (l. 12). He does not merely ask God for simplicity in the poetic sense,²⁰ but he seeks a kind of “humility,” “artlessness,” and “[a]bsence of deceitfulness”.²¹ Only God can give him what he needs in order to leave behind his own sinful “wayes,” and “know [...] and practise” (l. 11) God’s ways. What he needs is simplicity in the sense of “straightforward[ness]”²² because, as he realizes, the “line” to God is “straight” (ll. 5 f.).

As *A Wreath* is self-reflective, one could claim that the poem itself is in fact the sought-for “crown of praise” because the speaker could not have undergone the process of recognizing his own deceitfulness had God not given him “simplicitie” in the first place.²³ Herbert, however, chose to call the poem *A Wreath* and clearly distinguishes between “this poore wreath” and “a crown of praise” (l. 12, our emphases). Therefore, this poem merely *reflects* on a concept of co-creativity, yet it is not an example of co-authorship. According to the speaker’s understanding of co-creativity, a mutual offering from both agents and a specific temporality in the process of composition, namely that God needs to be the first giver, can lead to a more valuable poem than the one solely created by the speaker of *A Wreath*. The poem reflects on the inferiority of solitary creation and the superiority of collaborative creation, and it endorses mutual interdependency of both collaborators: receiving from God precedes giving praise to God, and, the other way around, giving the speaker “simplicitie” precedes receiving proper praise from him. The aspired poem, the “crown of praise,” can only come into being if both parties are willing to *give*.²⁴

(Kronenfeld 1981, p. 298). Such a spiritual life is, as he realizes in lines 5 f., “straight, / Straight as a line, and ever tends to [God],” which means that it leads to God.

20 See OED: “simplicity, *n.*” 3.

21 OED: “simplicity, *n.*” 4.

22 OED: “simplicity, *n.*” 1.a.

23 Albrecht 2002, p. 130, e.g., suggests that “[d]esigning an imperfect sonnet allows Herbert to create a perfect wreath [...], which has become a purified offering to God.”

24 We see that Herbert, in *A Wreath*, combines the notion of giving as co-creativity with the exchange of gifts as explored by Mauss 1923/1924: the social interaction is desired to produce a poem, which then in turn becomes a gift to foster the social interaction.

4. Mutual Necessity: Geoffrey Whitney, *Choice of Emblemes* 65: *Mutuuum auxilium*

Whereas our first two examples have emphasized the complex roles of authoritative *giving* in a process of literary collaboration (an actual giving from the past and a hoped-for giving in the future), the Whitney emblem, *Mutuuum auxilium*, from his *Choice of Emblemes* (1586) applies the metaphor of *giving* in a somewhat different manner (Fig. 1). It is not obviously an aesthetic reflection, but that makes it all the more interesting for us, who look for such reflections even where they may not appear at first glance. As the motto indicates, the emblem is about *giving help*, and, since *mutuus* means both ‘borrowed’ / ‘lent’ and ‘mutual,’ it is about mutual support.

The first three stanzas of the epigram are as follows:

The blynde, did beare the lame vppon his backe,
 The burthen, did directe the bearors waies:
 With mutuall helpe, they seru'd eche others lacke,
 And euery one, their frendly league did praise:
 The lame lente eies, the blynde did lend his feete, 5
 And so they safe, did passe both feelde, and streete.

Some lande aboundes, yet hathe the same her wante,
 Some yeeldes her lacke, and wants the others store:
 No man so ritche, but is in some thing scante,
 The greate estate, must not dispise the pore: 10
 Hee works, and toyles, and maks his showlders beare,
 The ritche agayne, giues foode, and clothes, to weare.

So without poore, the ritche are like the lame:
 And without ritche, the poore are like the blynde:
 Let ritche lend eies, the poore his legges wil frame, 15
 Thus should yt bee. For so the Lorde assign'd,
 Whoe at the firste, for mutuall frendship sake,
 Not all gaue one, but did this difference make.

The notion of *giving* first appears in the synonym *lending*: “the lame lente eies, the blynde did lend his feet” (l. 5), interpreted as “gives food” (l. 12) and labour in an application of the allegory to the relationship of the rich and the poor. Moreover, *giving* comes up in the reference to God’s creation, who “Not all gave one, but did this difference make” (l. 18). Our gifts are different so that we can give what we have, “for mutual frendship sake” (l. 17). So far, the emblem is a reflection on social interaction. The purpose of difference is not to foster dissent but, perhaps paradoxically, to make friendship pos-

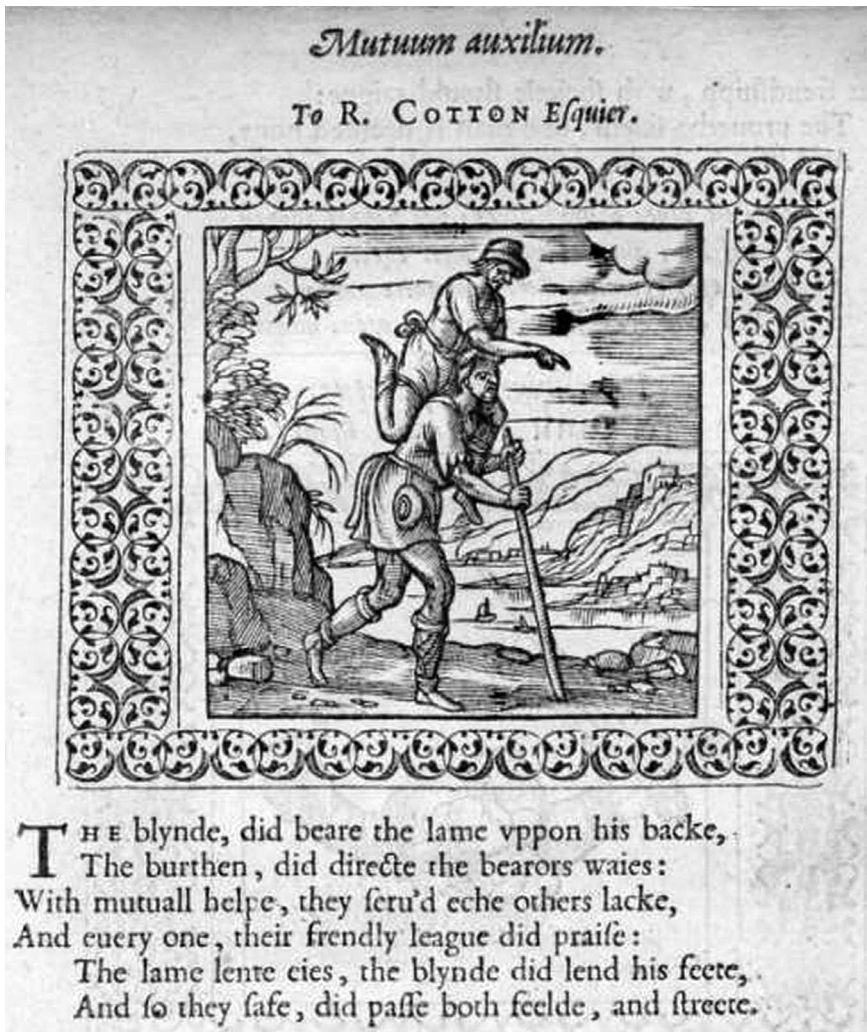


Fig. 1. Geoffrey Whitney: *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586) 65–66: *Mutuum auxilium*. Woodcut by Andrea Alciato. Pennsylvania State University, Special Collections Library, shelfmark: PR2388.W4C5 1586.

sible. What seems an individual weakness turns out to be a strength because it makes collaboration necessary.

This is where aesthetic reflection comes in. The way in which the combination of the seeing and the walking faculty (the lame and the blind) is presented invites being applied to artistic production. Gifts must be combined in order to produce a work. One hint towards such a meaning is given by another synonym of *giving*: *framing*. “The poor his legges will frame” (l. 15). This does not mean that he will put his legs into a frame but that he will contribute his legs, his walking capacity, to a joint construction: “shape, form, direct”²⁵ are synonyms of *framing* in this sense. The collaboration of the blind and the lame is a “ioyntworking”²⁶ in which each participant gives what they have.

The *pictura* confirms our reading of the emblem as a reflection on aesthetic collaboration. In the first place, it does so because it is a given (or rather taken) image, not unlike the story given by Chaucer in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*: Like many other images in Whitney’s emblem book, it was taken from the 1577 edition of Andrea Alciato’s *Emblemata*, i.e. the woodcuts available at Plantin’s Leyden workshop.²⁷ Whitney kept the Latin motto but added a dedication and replaced the Latin epigram in Alciato with his own (plus quotations from Horace and Ausonius). Moreover, the *pictura* itself can be interpreted as a reference to aesthetic collaboration since it is reminiscent of images representing the old saw of dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants²⁸ – modern scholars and writers achieving what they do only because of the classics. Thus a 15th-century German encyclopaedic manuscript includes an illustration that shows a big crowned man with a much smaller figure on his shoulders (Fig. 2).

While the context of the drawing is different from Whitney’s (and Alciato’s) emblem, as it is about the acquisition of knowledge and suggests the humility (and comparative smallness) of adepts in relation to their (past) masters, the gesture of the hand pointing ahead is similar. The later achievement is only possible because of the earlier one, but at the same time, the shoulder-bearing allows the perception of what could not be seen otherwise. This configuration suggests that it is not only the younger person who profits from the relationship but also the older one who improves (in this case) his vantage point by shouldering the burden of teaching.

25 OED: “frame, v.” 5.a.

26 Mornay: A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion, p. 64. The context of de Mornay’s treatise, in which the expression is coined, is a different one, as it focuses on the relation between the three persons of the Trinity. Still, the parallel is striking, as de Mornay’s topic is the collaboration of different faculties (in this case, power, wisdom, and goodness) represented by three persons.

27 See Daly and Raspa’s introductory note in their 1988 edition of Whitney: Daly/Raspa 1988, pp. 83–85.

28 For the origin and context of the comparison, see Merton 1993 and Leuker 1997.

Alciato's and Whitney's emblem gives a new twist to the old concept by presenting two persons of equal height. This stresses equality and simultaneity.²⁹ The mutuality that is only implied in the idea and image of dwarfs on the shoulders of giants becomes explicit here. There is no *giving* in the *pictura* but a sense of movement and direction: the leg bent in walking, the outstretched hand, and pointing finger. This is about *faculties* then: we all have our weaknesses, but if we pool our resources, one completely capable person will be the result. The intermedial form also contributes to reading this emblem as a reflection on aesthetic collaboration. The emblem is a combination of two modalities, the one characterized by seeing (the picture) and the other by moving forward (the text to be read from beginning to end, moving to a proverbial conclusion). The pictorial artist gives their eyes, and the poet their feet, with the pictorial metaphor of the feet re-literalizing the poetological one. *Giving* in this case therefore does not mean, as in our first two examples, that something is given to others who are then able to work on its basis, but it means that each gives what they can to the common project as a complementary delivery of what is needed. In this way, the aesthetic aim (cf. the outstretched hand) will be reached, and the community and the work established.

5. Collaboration with the Audience / Listener: Epilogues and Pleas for Applause in *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

A form of community building is also at stake in our final example: dramatic epilogues, which forge a connection between stage and auditorium and utilize this connection to reflect on the co-creation of plays in performance (actual and imaginary). The Shakespearean epilogues we are concerned with – Puck's coda to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and Prospero's elegiac conclusion to *The Tempest* – open a direct channel of communication between the world of the play and the world beyond the play, and they solicit the audience's acknowledgement of this connection by means of applause. In turn, the applause provided by spectators as a statement of recognition and goodwill is reciprocated by an – equally important – concession from the stage: performers and playwrights attest to the vital importance of the audience to the entire theatrical endeavour. This deliberately staged reciprocity signals that the work itself can only come into being between producers and audience, i.e. when audience members themselves become co-producers of the play-in-performance.

29 The picture is possibly (also) inspired by representations of Aeneas carrying Anchises on his back when leaving Troy. But while both shoulder-bearing images (the young on the shoulders of the old, the old being carried by the young) stress a diachronic relationship, Whitney's emblem stresses simultaneity.

The generic features of the epilogue (as both performative act and textual artefact) that predispose it most to facilitate mediation and collaboration are (1) its structural and temporal positioning, which allows it to serve as an outro to the theatrical experience and to qualify that experience;³⁰ and (2) its communicative orientation, which suggests the possibility of a dialogue on two communicative levels: between audience and performers, and between audience and fictional characters. This twofold nature of the dialogue is made possible by the way in which epilogue speakers step out of their roles but do not entirely leave them behind. Consequently, they speak from a place that bridges the dividing line between fiction and reality as much as that between actors and audience.³¹ The contributions which writers, actors, and spectators are acknowledged to make to the production of a play traverse culturally potent boundaries.³²

The epilogue concluding Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is exemplary in so far as its speaker, the sly hobgoblin Puck, remains partially in character as he breaks the theatrical illusion with his audience address. Part character, part actor ("shadow[]," l. 414), Puck both makes manifest and bridges the divides between the fiction and its

30 Certainly, as Kent Cartwright 1991 argues, the interplay of audience engagement and detachment can be greatly effective at any point in a play; yet epilogues are sites where the effects of this interaction are inherently heightened. As Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann 2004, p. 1, assert for the early modern dramatic prologue, the epilogue, too, is text, actor, and performance simultaneously. Like prologues, epilogues are "boundary-breaking entities that negotiate[...] charged thresholds between and among, variously, playwrights, actors, characters, audience members, playworlds, and the world outside the playhouse" (Bruster/Weimann 2004, p. 2). The liminality of the epilogue is heightened, even compared to that of the prologue, by the common practice of having a character familiar to the audience from the preceding play speak the concluding lines from a position halfway between role and performer. In Weimann's terms, the epilogue epitomizes the interplay between 'locus' and 'platea,' i.e., "between the imaginary world-in-the-play ['locus'] and the playing-in-the-world of early modern London ['platea']" (Weimann 2000, p. 12).

31 This process of boundary crossing may have been supported by the penchant of early modern audiences, on the one hand, to believe strongly in the power of literature, for better or worse, to affect human behaviour off the stage and off the page (i.e. the effects of literature 'cross over' into the world); on the other hand, as Jeremy Lopez 2003, p. 33, suggests, spectators were accustomed to the notion of *theatrum mundi* and attuned to "correspondence between 'world' and 'stage'" beyond uni-directional moral causality.

32 Autrey Nell Wiley 1932, p. 257, argues that the popularity of both prologues and epilogues increased from the mid to late 16th century, to reach its apex in Restoration theatre because at this time "the theatre approached verisimilitude, drawing plays away from the audience" while, at the same time, spectators – as "[d]escendants of the Elizabethan audience" – proved unwilling "to be shut out and left to sit as silent watchers." Prologues and epilogues, thus, in the absence of the soliloquy, grew in importance as mediating formats between stage and auditorium. Wiley 1933 also describes a trend for pleading female prologues and epilogues beginning before the closing of the theatres and gaining in popularity in restoration drama.

performance and between stage and auditorium. In his attempt to shape the audience's attitude towards both play and players, the acknowledgement of reciprocity is essential. Puck encourages generosity in the audience by suggesting they use a trick of the imagination on themselves, which simultaneously draws them back into the world of the play (with its enchanted dreams). He suggests they envision the entire performance as a dream, themselves as dreamers:

If we shadows have offended,
 Think but this, and all is mended –
 That you have but slumbered here
 While these visions did appear.
 And this weak and idle theme, 418
 No more yielding but a dream,
 Gentles, do not reprehend.
 If you pardon, we will mend.
 And, as I am an honest Puck,
 If we have unearnèd luck 423
 Now to 'scape the serpent's tongue,
 We will make amends ere long.
 Else the Puck a liar call.
 So good night unto you all.
 Give me your hands if we be friends, 428
 And Robin shall restore amends.³³

It is a testament to the powerfully reciprocal thrust of the epilogue that it tames even shrewd and changeable Puck into compliance with its conventions. Although Puck, in the service of fairy king Oberon, does create new relationships over the course of the play, he is by no means invested in carrying out his master's instructions to the letter, and, on the whole, he takes significantly more pleasure in causing disruption than harmony. Yet, while, by his own confession, he delights in the foolishness of mortals (cf. 3.2.117), he must defer to the good will of the mortals in the audience. Puck not only asks the audience to adopt a generous frame of mind, he also calls on them to make an active contribution: it is only because they *give* their hands³⁴ (cf. l. 428) – in practice, in the form of applause, symbolically, in friendship and support – that the performance

33 Shakespeare: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 5.1.414–429.

34 As Inge Leimberg 1987 has shown, the phrase 'give me your hand' is prone to change meaning according to context across Shakespeare's oeuvre, hinting at destruction as easily as conciliation. It is notable, therefore, that Puck makes his plea in the context of the epilogue: here, the phrase and its variants traditionally serve the cultivation of an amicable relationship between company and audience.

can be satisfactorily concluded.³⁵ Hands applaud, but, beyond that, they symbolize the status of audience members as co-producers.³⁶

The most famous epilogue in Anglophone theatre history also relies on the motif of *hands* to signify audience involvement – both in constituting and dissolving the fiction. Prospero’s speech, closing Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*, emphasizes that it is only “the help of your good hands” (l. 6), i.e. the spectators’ goodwill expressed by applause (and more), which can adequately ‘release’ the players from their roles. Prospero grants significant power to the audience in relation to the stage production by claiming:

[...] Let me not,
 Since I have my dukedom got
 And pardoned the deceiver, dwell
 In this bare island by your spell,
 But release me from my bands 327
 With the help of your good hands.
 Gentle breath of yours my sails
 Must fill, or else my project fails,
 Which was to please. Now I want
 Spirits to enforce, art to enchant, 332
 And my ending is despair,
 Unless I be relieved by prayer,
 Which pierces so that it assaults
 Mercy itself and frees all faults.
 As you from crimes would pardoned be, 337
 Let your indulgence set me free.³⁷

While Prospero, like a high priest of theatre, suggests that he can transform applause and cheers (“Gentle breath,” l. 329) into a form of efficacious prayer (and the clapping into a lifting up of the hands), cheeky Puck is less grandiose, but both speakers insist

35 The conventional gesture is especially meaningful if, as Lopez 2003, p. 33, suggests, “more than any other drama, early modern drama talks about and openly solicits applause,” both as an expression of the connection between stage and audience and as a means of determining the value of a play; cf. Lopez 2003, p. 34. To bolster his claim, Lopez cites an intriguing passage from William Prynne’s antitheatrical *Histrio-Mastix* in which hands are tainted by their intimate association with the theatre: “if we believe *Tertullian*, these Applauses so pollute men’s hands, that they can neither lift them up to God in prayer, nor yet stretch them out to receive the Sacrament in an holy manner. God requires Christians to lift up holy hands to him in prayer: to bring cleaned, washed, pure hands and hearts unto his sacraments, not tainted with the filth of any sinne. Now Stage-applauses defile mens hands and hearts, making them so polluted, that they can neither lift them up in prayers ... nor yet extend them to embrace Christs’ saved Body and Blood, without defilement” (Lopez 2003, p. 33).

36 See also the prologue to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, as discussed above, which mentions the dependence of playwrights and players on the audience’s “helping hands” (l. 26).

37 Shakespeare: *The Tempest*, 5.1.323–338.

that the audience must make a contribution, that they have to lend a hand (both literally and metaphorically), lest the theatrical project fail. Both Puck and Prospero make mutual dependencies explicit, and they base an aesthetics of mutual giving in the figure of the active hand, clapping, lifted up, and extended towards a partner on stage.³⁸

6. Conclusion

We have tried to show how one figure, *giving*, or *giving-and-taking*, serves to unlock several dimensions of collaborative authorship. *Giving* is a concept and metaphor that arises from the social world, and this social dimension comes with it whenever it is applied. Aesthetic creation is impossible without words, ideas, drafts, manuscripts, money, etc. being *given* and *taken*. Accordingly, co-creativity and collaboration appear as the default rather than the exception, once the production process is considered in terms of *giving*. But *giving*, when used as a figure of aesthetic reflection, does more than that. In each of our exemplary cases, the transcendence of limits and limitations becomes the issue when the figure is adopted. In our first two examples, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and Herbert's poem *A Wreath*, collaboration as *giving* transcends the limitations of time. Chaucer may *give* something to the present work, and Fletcher and Shakespeare, by conceptualizing his role in this way, turn him into an (awesome) partner in the present stage business. *Giving* allows us to regard "source" authors as collaborators. In Herbert's poem, *giving* transcends time by serving to express the problem of origin in poetic production: only by being given something can one give, but, at least for the human speaker, the giving is also the precondition of receiving what one needs. In presenting this defiance of temporality as the exchange of a human speaker with God, Herbert also uses *giving* to bring up the limitation of faculties. The wish to give makes one aware of what one does not have, and the collaborator (who in Herbert's case is also the receiver of the gift) must make up for it. This is what we have seen in the Whitney emblem: the one gives what the other lacks. The mutual *giving* of faculties with a common aim, creating a work, can be noted in the (inter-)medial and formal character of the work itself; both *A Wreath* and the Whitney emblem make thus manifest what they reflect upon. The exchange negotiated by the self-reflexive form of the epilogue also has an important temporal dimension: the gift of the play precedes the gift of audience recognition. Moreover, epilogues engage with the *topos* of transcending limitations. *Giving* here may serve to express yet another limit to be transcended, namely that of the work itself. Both the aesthetic otherness of its fictional representation and its meaning and intended effect are null and void without those for whom it has been made. It cannot

38 On a related note, Alison Findlay 2020 has examined the functions of "the language of inclusivity" in Shakespearean epilogues (ideological interpellation in her estimation).

become a gift without the audience giving in turn. *Giving* thus takes the collaboratively produced aesthetic artefact back to the social world from which it has derived this figure of reflection.³⁹ Our ending is therefore just a beginning, with new questions: what about hierarchy, for example? Does *giving* itself get a different meaning⁴⁰ when used for the collaborative creation of an artefact, and does this meaning reflect back on its social uses? Such obvious questions show how well our metaphor serves to explain an aesthetics of co-creativity that connects the momentum of literary production with its many social functions.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Book of Common Prayer = Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662, ed. by Brian Cummings, Oxford 2011.
- Herbert: The English Poems = Herbert, George: The English Poems of George Herbert, ed. by Helen Wilcox, Cambridge 2007.
- Mornay: A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion = Mornay, Philippe de: A Woorke Concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion, trans. by Sir Philip Sidney and Arthur Golding, London 1587 [Facsimile reprint New York 1976].
- Shakespeare: The Tempest = Shakespeare, William: The Tempest, ed. by Stephen Orgel, Oxford 1987 (The Oxford Shakespeare).
- Shakespeare: A Midsummer Night's Dream = Shakespeare, William: A Midsummer Night's Dream, ed. by Peter Holland, Oxford 1995 (The Oxford Shakespeare).
- Shakespeare/Fletcher: The Two Noble Kinsmen = Shakespeare, William/Fletcher, John: The Two Noble Kinsmen, ed. by Lois Potter, London 2015 (The Arden Shakespeare: Third Series).
- Whitney: A Choice of Emblemes = Whitney, Geffrey: A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises (Leyden: Plantin, 1586), ed. by Peter M. Daly and Anthony Raspa, in: Peter M. Daly/Leslie T. Duer/Anthony Raspa (eds.): The English Emblem Tradition, Toronto/Buffalo/London 1988 (Index Emblematicus 1), pp. 79–338.

39 As the example of *A Wreath* has shown, this social world may even comprise God, who is far above the human speaker and yet familiarly invoked by him as the one who is to give him “simplicitie.” Such hierarchical yet still interdependent collaborative processes are also considered in Herbert’s other poetry, e.g., *Dialogue*.

40 Contrast with the perspective of Mauss 1923/1924.

Secondary Literature

- Albrecht 2002 = Albrecht, Roberta: Herbert's *Deniall*, *Jordan* I and II, and *A Wreath*, in: *The Explicator* 60.3 (2002), pp. 127–131.
- Aubrey 1982 = Aubrey, John: Francis Beaumont 1584–1616, in: Richard Barber (ed.): *Brief Lives*, Woodbridge 1982, pp. 37.
- Bauer / Zirker 2018 = Bauer, Matthias / Zirker, Angelika: Shakespeare and Stylometrics. Character Style Paradox and Unique Parallels, in: Anne-Julia Zwierlein / Jochen Petzold / Katharina Boehm / Martin Decker (eds.): *Anglistentag 2017 Regensburg. Proceedings*, Trier 2018 (Proceedings of the Conference of the German Association for the Study of English 39), pp. 31–38.
- Bauer / Zirker 2019 = Bauer, Matthias / Zirker, Angelika: Autorschaft und Mitschöpfung in der englischen Literatur der frühen Neuzeit. Von George Herbert bis William Shakespeare, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter / Anja Wolkenhauer / Jörg Robert / Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *Ästhetische Reflexionsfiguren in der Vormoderne*, Heidelberg 2019 (*Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift* 88), pp. 419–443.
- Bauer / Zirker 2021 = Bauer, Matthias / Zirker, Angelika: Shakespeare's Medieval Co-Authors, in: Lukas Rösli / Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship*, Berlin / Boston 2021 (*Andere Ästhetik – Studien* 1), pp. 217–238.
- Brogan / Gutzwiller 2012 = Brogan, T. V. F. / Gutzwiller, Kathryn J.: *Anthology. I. Classical*, in: *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*, ed. by Roland Greene and Stephen Cushman, 4th ed., Princeton, NJ 2012, pp. 52–53.
- Bruster / Weimann 2004 = Bruster, Douglas / Weimann, Robert: *Prologues to Shakespeare's Theatre. Performance and Liminality in Early Modern Drama*, London 2004.
- Cartwright 1991 = Cartwright, Kent: *Shakespearean Tragedy and Its Double. The Rhythms of Audience Response*, Pennsylvania, PA 1991.
- Craig 2009 = Craig, Hugh: The 1602 Additions to *The Spanish Tragedy*, in: Hugh Craig / Arthur Kinney (eds.): *Shakespeare, Computers, and the Mystery of Authorship*, New York 2009, pp. 162–180.
- Craig 2009/2010 = Craig, Hugh: *Style, Statistics, and New Models of Authorship*, in: *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15.1 (2009/2010), URL: <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/15-1/craistyl.htm> (last accessed: 18 November 2024).
- Daly / Raspa 1988 = Daly, M. Peter / Raspa, Anthony: *Introductory Note*, in: Geoffrey Whitney: *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devises* (Leyden: Plantin, 1586), ed. by Peter M. Daly and Anthony Raspa, in: Peter M. Daly / Leslie T. Duer / Anthony Raspa (eds.): *The English Emblem Tradition*, Toronto / Buffalo / London 1988 (*Index Emblematicus* 1), pp. 83–85.
- Egan 2017 = Egan, Gabriel: *A History of Shakespearean Authorship Attribution*, in: Gary Taylor / Gabriel Egan (eds.): *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Authorship Companion*, Oxford 2017, pp. 27–47.
- Egan / Taylor 2017 = Egan, Gabriel / Taylor, Gary (eds.): *The New Oxford Shakespeare: Authorship Companion*, Oxford 2017.
- Egan et al. 2016 = Egan, Gabriel / Segarra, Santiago / Eisen, Mark / Riberio, Alejandro: *Attributing the Authorship of the Henry VI Plays by Word Adjacency*, in: *Shakespeare Quarterly* 67.2 (2016), pp. 232–256.
- Findlay 2020 = Findlay, Alison: *Epilogues and Last Words in Shakespeare. Exploring Patterns in a Small Corpus*, in: *Sage Journals* 29.3 (2020), pp. 327–346.
- Greenblatt 1988 = Greenblatt, Stephen: *Shakespearean Negotiations. The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England*, Berkeley / Los Angeles 1988 (*Studies in Cultural Poetics* 84).
- Hentschel 2019 = Hentschel, Ingrid: *Zur Einführung*, in: Ingrid Hentschel (ed.): *Die Kunst der Gabe. Theater zwischen Autonomie und sozialer Praxis*, Bielefeld 2019 (*Theater* 104), pp. 9–26.

- Hirschfeld 2001 = Hirschfeld, Heather Anne: Early Modern Collaboration and Theories of Authorship, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 116.3 (2001), pp. 609–622.
- Hirschfeld 2004 = Hirschfeld, Heather Anne: Joint Enterprises. Collaborative Drama and the Institutionalization of the English Renaissance Theater, Amherst 2004 (*Massachusetts Studies in Early Modern Culture*).
- Hirschfeld 2015 = Hirschfeld, Heather Anne: Playwriting in Shakespeare's Time: Authorship, Collaboration, and Attribution, in: Margaret Jane Kidnie / Sonia Massai (eds.): *Shakespeare and Textual Studies*, Cambridge 2015, pp. 13–26.
- Juola 2008 = Juola, Patrick: Authorship Attribution, in: *Foundations and Trends in Information Retrieval* 1.3 (2008), pp. 233–334.
- Kronenfeld 1981 = Kronenfeld, Judy Z.: Herbert's *A Wreath* and Devotional Aesthetics. Imperfect Efforts Redeemed by Grace, in: *English Literary History* 48.2 (1981), pp. 290–309.
- Leimberg 1987 = Leimberg, Inge: "Give me thy hand." Some Notes on the Phrase in Shakespeare's Comedies and Tragedies, in: Bernhard Fabian / Kurt Tetzeli von Rosador (eds.): *Shakespeare. Text, Language, Criticism. Essays in Honour of Marvin Spevack*, Hildesheim 1987, pp. 118–146.
- Leuker 1997 = Leuker, Tobias: 'Zwerge auf den Schultern von Riesen.' Zur Entstehung des berühmten Vergleichs, in: *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 32.1 (1997), pp. 71–76.
- Lopez 2003 = Lopez, Jeremy: *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama*, Cambridge 2003.
- Masten 1997a = Masten, Jeffrey: Playwrighting. Authorship and Collaboration, in: John D. Cox / David Scott Kastan (eds.): *A New History of Early English Drama*, New York 1997, pp. 357–382.
- Masten 1997b = Masten, Jeffrey: Textual Intercourse. Collaboration, Authorship and Sexualities in Renaissance Drama, Cambridge 1997 (*Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture* 14).
- Mauss 1923/1924 = Mauss, Marcel: Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques, in: *L'Année Sociologique* 1 (1923/24), pp. 30–186.
- Merton 1993 = Merton, Robert K.: *On the Shoulders of Giants: A Shandean Postscript*, Chicago 1993.
- Mowat et al. 2021 = Mowat, Barbara / Werstine, Paul / Poston, Michael / Niles, Rebecca: Synopsis, in: *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Barbara Mowat, Paul Werstine, Michael Poston, and Rebecca Niles, in: *The Folger Shakespeare*, URL: <https://shakespeare.folger.edu/shakespeares-works/thetwo-noble-kinsmen/prologue/> (last accessed: 18 November 2024).
- OED = Oxford English Dictionary Online: The Definitive Record of the English Language, Oxford University Press 2022, URL: www.oed.com (last accessed: 18 November 2024).
- Papilloud 2018 = Papilloud, Christian: Marcel Mauss, the Gift and Relational Sociology, in: François Dépelteau (ed.): *The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology*, Cham 2018, pp. 663–675.
- Potter 2015 = Potter, Lois: Introduction, in: William Shakespeare. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Lois Potter, London 2015 (*The Arden Shakespeare: Third Series*), pp. 1–145.
- Teramura 2012 = Teramura, Misha: The Anxiety of Auctoritas. Chaucer and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, in: *Shakespeare Quarterly* 63.4 (2012), pp. 544–576.
- Weimann 2000 = Weimann, Robert: Author's Pen and Actor's Voice. Playing and Writing in Shakespeare's Theatre, ed. by Helen Higbee and William West, Cambridge 2000 (*Cambridge Studies in Renaissance Literature and Culture* 39).
- Wiley 1932 = Wiley, Autrey Nell: The English Vogue of Prologues and Epilogues, in: *Modern Language Notes* 47.4 (1932), pp. 255–257.
- Wiley 1933 = Wiley, Autrey Nell: Female Prologues and Epilogues in English Plays, in: *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 48.4 (1933), pp. 1060–1079.

II. Explicit References to Multiple Authorship

Frank Bezner

E pluribus unum?

On the Aesthetics of Latin-German Poetry in the *Carmina Burana*

Abstract

After a brief sketch of the literary dynamics of multiple authorship(s) in Medieval (Latin) literatures, the chapter focuses on a prominent, yet atypical phenomenon: the bilingual German-Latin poems among the *Carmina Burana*. These poems, it is argued, function within a principal dynamic of early and flexible transmission (or ‘wandering’) of single German stanzas unbound by individual authorship. As a reading of *Carmen Buranum* 169 (*Hebet sidus*) shows, these Latin poems characterized by their German final stanzas can be understood as learned interventions into the literary matrix of vernacular poetry, or *Minnesang*. Constellating two literary traditions in this way of marked plurality opens aesthetic spaces that are used to investigate from a critical perspective of learned clerical authors the tensions behind the loving subject of early German *Minnesang*.

Keywords

Medieval Latin Lyric, *Carmina Burana*, Walther von der Vogelweide, *Minnesang*, Medieval Authorship, German-Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages, Maccaronic Poetry

1.

At least against the background of modern systems and concepts of the literary, the question of ‘multiple authorship’ prompts a dual bewilderment. It undermines *eo ipso* the notion of there being one single creator of literary works, be he (or she) understood emphatically as an original genius or as in the biographical-historical sense of an author-subject. Where more than ‘the single’ author is recognized in the production of texts, there unfolds a multi-perspective dialectic that negates authorial claims to sole representation and that may transform them into a coexistence of authorizing entities – regardless of how these are conceived, and therefore especially when, as part of a broader concept of authorship, redactors, compilers, editors, and not least readers are

* Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson.

(able to be) thought of as productive (co-)creators.¹ Multiple authorship thus refers to an intertwining, to something playful, to hierarchies in the production of literary texts, which dynamizes the status and the temporality of textuality and which opens up space for modes of aesthetics in which ruptures, boundaries, and relations are inscribed.

Yet this *a priori* deconstruction via pluralization of the author – of whom one has possibly taken leave for good but who nevertheless has been constantly mourned and whose resurrection has partly been achieved – represents only one side of the coin. This is because the question of multiple authorship also undermines precisely those positions through which the notion or myth of a single author with a claim to sole representation is usually called into question. If approaches such as those of Roland Barthes or Michel Foucault have dismissed the author in favour of the reception of a textual fabric or understood the author as an instance of exclusionary discursive mechanisms, the question of multiple authorship, in the sense of a conceptual rebound, gives rise to a dialectic dynamic, because the authorial individual is deprived as *prima causa* and as the origin of textuality and legitimacy on the one hand, but on the other is re-established as a necessary correlate of this deconstruction. After all, the question is a matter not only of deconstructive pluralization, but also of *authorship*, of the specific, distinct entities of production and legitimacy. The construction of diverse *auctores*, roles, and originators, which can hardly be thought of as indistinct, anonymous dimensions or factors, thus becomes an aspect of the dispersal into plural play. Crucial to the question of the conceptualization and the literary dynamics of multiple authorship is therefore not only the pluralization of the single author but also a dialectic between authorizing entities, the collective, and disempowerment on the one hand, and production, authorization, and legitimacy on the other. The aesthetics connected to multiple authorship – or rather, specifically established through it – thus derives its ‘different’ potential from its referentiality to this constitutive dialectic of the phenomenon.

2.

In the field of medieval Latin literature – the subject of these considerations – this dialectic, the play of entities, does not constitute an unknown entity.² In the literary

1 For general scholarship on the subject of ‘multiple authorship,’ refer to the introduction to this volume, especially section 2. On the topic of authorship in general, see e.g. the important edited collections by Henkes/Saller/Richter 2000; Detering 2002.

2 The question of authors and authorship was developed in the field of medieval studies especially in the context of vernacular philologies; see. e.g. the medievalist contributions in Haug/Wachinger 1992; Andersen et al. 1998; Fohrmann/Kasten/Neuland 1999; Meier/Wagner-Egelhaaf 2011; Meier/Wagner-Egelhaaf 2014. From the field of Romance studies, see Hult 1989 (Chrétien de Troyes) or Ascoli 2008 (Dante). Contributions firmly on Middle Latin are rather thin on the

culture of the Latin Middle Ages in particular, forms and modes of multiple authorship were admittedly not the rule, but nor were they a disruptive exception, as they were a consequence and correlate of the specific material, institutional, and also partly political implications of medieval Latin literature(s). First to be mentioned is the scope for post-authorial intervention generated in almost every respect by the manuscript culture of the Middle Ages, which rarely resulted in the *variance* celebrated at times in scholarship but which nonetheless opens up a theoretical potential for retextualization and thus a fundamental cultural matrix for collective, collaborative, plural, and often playfully fractured forms of authorship, of which the Latin Middle Ages was itself also aware.³ Numerous genres – such as hagiography and also sacred lyric poetry – are considerably influenced by this pluralization; this is in turn linked causally to religious, political, and institutional change. The *vita* of the saint is rewritten – however (un-)fractured or (un-)marked – to accommodate his spiritual radicalism, to establish religious norms, or to (de-)legitimize institutional and political claims in the sense of an agenda negotiated on the auratic subject; in a comparable way, sacred texts, such as the liturgical sequence, are rearranged, expanded, or abbreviated to address liturgical change or to mark religious identity.

As an institutional correlate of this ubiquitous practice, there can also be determined the production process in the medieval scriptorium,⁴ in which several entities contributed to the manufacturing of a text: a fundamentally collaborative practice that time and again goes beyond the simple collective, material fabrication of a manuscript. Thus the works of Hildegard von Bingen or Mechthild of Magdeburg,⁵ for example, in which central (male) figures from the sphere of the monastery and the church were significantly involved, show that dimensions of content and questions of authority and legitimacy were also affected in this respect.⁶

Partly connected to this, it can be seen time and again in the context of the staging of authorship by individual authors – be it Rupert von Deutz, Hildegard von Bingen, or Mechthild of Magdeburg – that they specifically do not regard or construct themselves as monadic author-subjects but situate themselves in relation to other entities – writers,

ground; central are the works of Alastair Minnis on the theory of authorship (see Minnis 1984 and Minnis / Scott 2003), as well as the works of Christel Meier-Staubach alongside the important considerations of Müller 1995, who contextualize the specific roles of authors; see e.g. Meier-Staubach 2000; Meier-Staubach 2015; and, in a broader sense, Bezner 2001.

3 See, for instance, Müller 1995, p. 27 (with reference to Bonaventura's theory): "The author is not the creator *ex nihilo*; they participate in a discourse that began much earlier and merely place their own accents by adding more or less of their 'own' material.

4 See e.g. Cohen-Mushlin 1994.

5 On Mechthild of Magdeburg, see also the contribution by Annette Gerok-Reiter in this volume, pp. 3–29.

6 See e.g. Poor 2004.

confidants, and not least God and the Holy Spirit, a practice that correlates with the theory of the sacral text developed in many biblical commentaries and which is associated, in the context of a Christian culture, with special forms of legitimacy and authorization.⁷ It is thus hardly surprising that, last but not least, a large number of relevant medieval writer reflecting on notions of the author and authorship devote themselves precisely to the problem of there being several productive entities in the process of developing and manufacturing literary texts. Against the background of scholastically transformed Aristotelian epistemes, Thomas Aquinas and Alexander of Hales, Bonaventure, Aegidius Romanus, and Henry of Ghent discuss how the relationship of plural entities – from God, to the human author, to the scribe, the compiler, and the parchment – can be thought of specifically as a complex of causes and authorizations.⁸ They thus open up a contemporary background for reflection in which the intertwining of different authorizing entities became conceivable, even the norm.

All this is not to say that there was not also, for instance, a clear awareness of the differentiation of authorizing dimensions, and also of authorship(s), in this field of discourse. Yet the conceptual and aesthetic aspects of this pervasive, fundamental matrix of multiple authorship, located in the broader field of ecclesiastical Latin literature, have not been systematically explored or described, either generally or with a view to individual authors or phenomena. In general terms, this would surely concern a ‘different’ poetics and aesthetics of multiple authorship, differentiated institutionally, historically, and with regard to the dynamics of transmission, in which the question of a new dimensioning of authorship within the framework of a dialectic of individual and collective, as well as of individual manufacture and supra-individual legitimacy, should be in the foreground – and this always against the background that in the Latin Middle Ages, concepts of non-plural, individual authorization and authorship also seemed to develop within the dialectical field, within the field of tension with collective practice and a collective construction of legitimacy.⁹ On the whole, multiple authorship therefore already proves itself *prima facie* to be a materially rich and conceptually productive field – indeed, not *eo ipso* as a disruptive mode, but as a fundamental one. One may say, pointedly, that the precarious status of plural production inherent in the modern discourse of author and authorship collapses in the Middle Ages.

7 On this topic, see especially the works of Meier-Staubach 2000; Meier-Staubach 2015.

8 Relevant here are Minnis / Scott 2003, especially pp. 165–276, as well as Minnis 1984, pp. 73–117; see also Ascoli 2008.

9 On this subject, see e.g. Ascoli 2008.

3.

For this very reason, the following contribution is dedicated to an area in which the pluralization of authorship in many ways poses a challenge and even an irritation with aesthetic potential, especially against the background of the medieval dimension. The focus of the following elaboration is on the secular, or rather the non-spiritual, lyric poetry of the Latin Middle Ages, more precisely on Middle Latin love poetry, and thus on a genre in which there is a not insignificant number of texts but for which there are hardly any authors.¹⁰ Unlike in the vernacular correlates of the genre, biographical author-subjects or authorial roles do not emerge here either in the texts themselves or in transmission through processes of attribution. No Walther von der Vogelweide or Heinrich von Morungen; no Jaufre Rudel; no Dante; and likewise no *accessus ad auctores*, *vidas*, or other author-centred collections. Even those generic author-subjects known as ‘archpoets’ or ‘goliaths’ from other genres of non-spiritual Latin poetry, i.e. from moral-satirical poetry and from goliardic poetry, are completely absent here (with a few insignificant exceptions). Where authors must have produced texts, yet are not marked as authors – be that intratextually or outside the literary text – the question of multiple authorship becomes precarious and, it seems, cannot be posed at all with regard to the entire genre, except in the sense of the possible retexualization and *variance* that can also be fruitfully discussed in Middle Latin love poetry.

Of course, no rule exists without exception, and it is precisely this exception that generates the potential to cause irritation, which makes the dialectical question of multiple authorship and aesthetics so conceptually interesting, both as regards modern and medieval forms and concepts of lyrical authorship. The phenomenon in question can be illustrated by taking a closer look at fol. 68^r of the *Codex Buranus* (Fig. 1), the most important collection of secular poetry of the Latin Middle Ages.¹¹

The poem illustrated here has an opening stanza distinguished by a large initial (“H”) and by alternately rubricated uppercase letters (“E-B-E-T”), followed by three further Latin stanzas – henceforth marked with smaller *litterae notabiliores* (I[n] – T[empus] – T[abet]) – before the poem ends with a final stanza now composed in Middle High German (*Roter munt*). The extremely meticulous scribes and redactors of the manuscript clearly expressed the notion that we are dealing here with *one* poem by not separating or differentiating the German stanza, which stems from a poem by Walther von der Vogelweide, from the preceding stanzas through the layout, despite its somewhat

10 On the genre, see Dronke 1968; Dronke 1975; Bezner 2021b.

11 On the *Codex Buranus*, see *Carmina Burana* (eds. Hilka/Schumann), II, 1, pp. 1*–98* and Klemm 1998. A list of the rich literature on the *Carmina Burana* will not be provided here; readers are referred to the introduction and bibliography in *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann), pp. 897–923, 1391–1408, and the study by Cardelle de Hartmann 2014, pp. 5–16.

larger initial.¹² This correlates with the stanza following the German one on the next, unillustrated page clearly being marked as the beginning of a new poem by the large initial and a paratext (*Item aliud unde supra*).

This plural construct is no exception in the *Codex Buranus*. Among the 131 love poems, i.e. in the largest of the three thematic sections of the collection,¹³ there are 45 poems that present an additional stanza in German – and these are distributed across various subgroups in the section.¹⁴ A third of the love poems in the most important codex of non-spiritual lyric poetry in the Latin Middle Ages are thus hybrid constructs, whose multiple authorship or supra-individual structure inevitably becomes a textual moment through this linguistic rupture.

Among the German stanzas, we find authors such as Walther von der Vogelweide and Neidhart, although these are the exception: only a small number of the additional stanzas are transmitted in parallel. Primarily without a known author, they indicate – as Franz-Josef Worstbrock, in particular, has pointed out – early, otherwise “hidden layers” of German *Minnesang*, which are to be located less in the paradigm of high *Minne*, but rather bear decidedly sensual traits referring to nature, and which are, as a rule, characterized thematically by a triad of spring, joy (especially dance), and community.¹⁵

This is a peculiar case of double authorship, in which two literary traditions or modes of authorization not only act and are intertwined with one another intertextually, but are also assembled and marked as two distinct linguistic and literary complexes, i.e. are displayed in their multiplicity. How does this phenomenon occur? What forms of multiple authorship are at stake here? Which aesthetic dimensions result in this interpenetration?

Since the beginning of the study of the *Codex Buranus*, scholarship has debated this phenomenon – and, notwithstanding further studies, four positions and conceptual clusters, which need not be further nuanced in the context of this contribution, can be distinguished:

1. ‘The struggle for the origin’

The phenomenon of the bilingual poems attracted great interest immediately after the discovery of the *Codex Buranus* in 1803 by Christoph Freiherr von Aretin. It is hardly surprising that philology in the 19th and early 20th centuries focused mostly on questions of priority and origin, which it attempted to answer especially through formal analysis of metre and rhyme schemes. The voices

12 See Sayce 1992, p. 235.

13 On the materiality and structure of the *Codex Buranus*, see *Carmina Burana* (eds. Hilka/Schumann), II, 1, pp. 1*–68*; Wachinger 2011a; *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann), pp. 905–914; Cardelle de Hartmann 2014, pp. 7–16; Bezner 2021a, especially pp. 91–95.

14 For an account of this phenomenon, see Schumann 1926 as well as Edwards 2000. For the subgroups, see e.g. Wachinger 2011a.

15 See Worstbrock 2001.

arguing for the priority of the German stanzas predominated; incidentally, an interpretive debate is found only in this paradigm.¹⁶ The debate continues *mutatis mutandis* into the more recent present.¹⁷

2. 'Learned irony'

Ulrich Müller's stimulating work, in particular, argues for a radical paradigm shift. In this respect, he attempted to show that the transition from Latin to German offered untapped potential for the interpretation of the poems and was connected particularly with irony and irritation.¹⁸

3. 'Learned play – considered collecting'

The most fundamental contribution to the problem was written as a reaction to the thesis of ironic refraction and comes from Burghart Wachinger.¹⁹ He was able to demonstrate that the 19th-century question of the codex's origins could not be solved concretely, as it is probable that there are borrowings in both directions. Moreover, he proved that while the argument in favour of irony could potentially not be ruled out for certain poems, it was implausible in many cases. Without interpreting individual poems, he subsequently concentrated on the by-then-current literary-historical interpretation of the overall phenomenon, for which he took into account two factors: the plan of the editors of the *Codex Buranus* to collect diverse examples, which led to the integration of the German *Minnesang* into the Latin material that otherwise originated in France; and the learned pleasure of a circle of clerics who were in principle acquainted with the two languages and literary traditions and who could appreciate them as part of a sophisticated culture of entertainment. The function of the German stanzas was thus essentially formal; it concerned the indication of the melody. According to Wachinger, semantic dynamics are not to be excluded but are ultimately not essential.

4. *Accessus ad auctores* – other

Finally, a Latinist perspective was adopted on the basis of Wachinger's studies by Ulrich Kühne, who understood the Latin stanzas in analogy to the *accessus ad auctores*, where he took up the old observation that many of the conclusive German stanzas had generally been transmitted as the opening stanzas of German poems, or that this at least appeared to be the case. In this understanding, the Latin stanzas introduced a learned circle of *clerici* who were not especially familiar with the vernacular to the vernacular tradition.²⁰

Following on from these studies, but at the same time complementing them, the rudiments of a different approach²¹ that gives more attention to the *interpretation* of the plural constructs, and which is connected to two premises that differ from previous scholarship, will be presented in the course of, and as a consequence of the issues posed in, this contribution. Firstly, scholarship to date has too strongly assumed an author-centred

16 See e.g. the studies by Martin 1876; Schreiber 1894; Ehrenthal 1891; Wallensköld 1893; Lundius 1907; and then Beatie 1967 and Janota 2000 (Refrain).

17 See e.g. Sayce 1992; Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2000; and Hope 2020, pp. 383–385, for summarization and elaboration, as well as now especially Stolz 2020.

18 See Müller 1980; Müller 1981; Müller 1988. Also relevant is Heinen 1974 (though this is qualified in Heinen 1999).

19 Wachinger 2011a and Wachinger 2011b.

20 See Kühne 2000.

21 A deeper engagement with this subject than is possible in this context will follow in a different publication.

view of the transmission of German texts, which has only recently begun to be corrected.²² Regardless of complex questions and processes of attribution, and without putting into question the existence of author-subjects like Walther von der Vogelweide, contemporary transmission is *de facto* open to the extent that the German poems, in particular, did not possess a fixed number or order of stanzas, and thus display a textual variance that should be central to the modern understanding of the genre of *Minnesang*.²³ This can be illustrated, for example, by Walther von der Vogelweide's so-called *Mailed* (May Song; L 51,13: "Muget ir schouwen"),²⁴ one stanza of which is found in the bilingual poem presented in Fig. 1 above. Apart from this presence in the *Codex Buranus*, six stanzas in the sequence I – II – III – IV – V – VI survive in the famous Manesse manuscript of songs²⁵ (manuscript C), under Walther's name; four stanzas in the order II – I – III – VI in manuscript A, under the name Leuthold von Seven; and only a single one (V) in manuscript S. The consequence of this fact – this reality of what represented 'one' poem – is rarely drawn out. In their respective versions, the poems can be understood as 'works' on a theme, as diverse answers to a problem area; texts become a shared space of possibility. The matter has thus less to do with *variance* in the deconstructivist sense, but rather with circulation as a space and index of a semantic spectrum in the broadest sense. A poem like *Carmen Buranum* 169, which ends with stanza I of the *Mailed*, can be allocated to this (play-)space, representing a manifestation – albeit a special one – of the *variance* that is also visible in the area of purely Middle High German transmission.

Secondly, earlier scholarship on the *Codex Buranus* has overvalued the taxonomic-distributive dimension and considered it too much in isolation. It is to be taken for granted that the redactors were interested in a well-organized arrangement. Thus Paul Lehmann and Bernhard Bischoff already referred to the moral dimensioning of the often transgressive material through poetry and thus defined a semantic level in the sense of one or even several macrostructures. Carmen Cardelle de Hartmann deepened their complexity by pointing out comprehensively constructed textual echoes, parallels, and contrasts, and postulated a general dialectic of morality and immorality as a central semantic interest.²⁶ In addition, it turns out that this semantic level is not only to be seen in relation to the moral problem of poems that are thematically precarious in essence but can also be grasped as a moment of an overarching logic of dialectical negotiation.²⁷ There were a number of means at the disposal of the redactors to enrich the

22 Pivotal here – also with a view to this chapter's subject – is the study by Kellner 2018.

23 See Kellner 2018, especially pp. 18–31.

24 Walther von der Vogelweide: Ton 28, pp. 190–192 [cited in the following as Song 28]. See the commentary by Kasten 1995; for interpretation, e.g. Bauschke-Hartung 2011; for a general introduction to Walther, e.g. Brunner / Neureiter-Lackner 1996.

25 Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (Codex Manesse); on this subject, see e.g. Kuhn 1980.

26 See Cardelle de Hartmann 2014, pp. 68–70.

27 On this topic and the following, see Bezner 2021a.

conceptual dimension of the individual poems and to produce overarching themes and dynamics. Through the tactical placement of key poems, deliberate rewriting, and specific sequencing and rhythmization within individual series, they therefore developed a practice of establishing constellations that generated complex semantic dynamics and was thus not just distributively oriented. Put simply, poems were arranged in the *Codex Buranus* in order to enrich dialectically the discussion of the themes and questions posed by individual poems.

The idea that it could be useful to read the rare phenomenon of bilingual poems not only formally, but also in the context of a principally open matrix of transmission, both in relation to interpretive and aesthetic issues and as an aspect of an overarching material semantics of the codex, will be demonstrated using an example – the aforementioned *Carmen Buranum* 169.

4.

4.1. *Carmen Buranum* 169

Carmen Buranum (CB) 169, with the incipit ‘*Hebet sidus*,’²⁸ is part of a group of four poems in all – though they are not transmitted together in the codex – which have always been regarded as belonging together,²⁹ and which are closely incorporated into the thematic and motivic logic of the respective subgroups of the codex.³⁰ Like the other representatives of the group, CB 169 is also considered idiosyncratic; as Otto Schumann writes, “stylistically, the songs [...] have in common a propensity toward rare words; unusual, partly sought-after, not always entirely comprehensible idioms; and peculiar images.”³¹ As can be seen from the beginning of CB 169, this undeniable linguistic idiosyncrasy evidently also conceals ingenuity and intellectual complexity:³²

28 *Carmen Buranum* 169 is edited in (a) *Carmina Burana* (eds. Hilka/Schumann), I, 2, pp. 285 f.; (b) *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann), pp. 554–556 (text) as well as pp. 1177–1180 (commentary); and (c) online under M Namenl/68r 1, in: *Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters*, URL: <http://www.ldm-digital.de/show.php?lid=636&mode=0x600> (last accessed: 3 December 2024). See also the edition (building on Vollmann) with a modern German translation and important notes by Heinen 1999, pp. 9–15. Besides the commentaries mentioned above, interpretations and discussions can be found in Dronke 1968, pp. 313–318; Heinen 1999, pp. 9–15; and now also Hope 2020, esp. pp. 378–391.

29 See *Carmina Burana* (eds. Hilka/Schumann), I, 2, pp. 256 f. This concerns the poems CB 151, 165, 168, and 169. A study of the group is in preparation.

30 On this subject, see especially Hope 2020, pp. 385–391.

31 See *Carmina Burana* (eds. Hilka/Schumann), I, 2, pp. 256.

32 The text – with variations marked in the following – is cited following the edition *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann). Unless otherwise noted, translations from Latin correspond to the author’s trans-

Hebet Sydus leti uisus
 cordis nubilo,
 tepet oris mei risus.
 carens iubilo
 iure mereo:
 occultatur nam propinqua,
 cordis virgo floret in qua
 totus hereo.³³

In Amoris hec chorea
 cunctis prenitet,
 cuius nomen a Phebea
 luce renitet
 et pro speculo
 seruit solo; illam uolo,
 eam colo nutu solo
 in hoc seculo.

The star of once-cheerful eyes fades
 through clouds in my heart,
 the smile of my mouth, tired
 without rejoicing;
 I am sad, and rightly so:
 she hides herself, my heart's
 confidant, the girl, the flower,
 to whom I am entirely attached.

In Cupid's round dance
 she outshines them all – she
 on whose names it shines
 from Phoebus' light,
 and who serves as a mirror
 to the earth.³⁴ Yes, I want her,
 I adore her, at the slightest nod,
 here in this world.

lations in the German original of this chapter. Walsh's edition and translation of *Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana* has been consulted.

- 33 The following is a variation from the edition used, *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann): *7 cordis vigor floret in qua* B, Vollmann; emendation F.B.
- 34 The formulation *et pro speculo / seruit solo* could also be rendered as 'and solely serves as a mirror,' perhaps a deliberate ambiguity that could become evident in the context of the subtle disempowerment of the statement (see also the following explanations of this poem in this chapter).

Unlike most of the love poems, CB 169 does not begin with the typical opening triad of spring, joy, and community, but with its opposite: a kind of 'depression' for the lover. Thus, for example, the word *tepere*, used in the poem, is described in the Ovidian catalogue of love as the opposing emotional state to love (*amor*): *seu tepet, sive amat*, as it says in the *Amores*.³⁵ The absence of rejoicing – *carens iubilo* – also evokes a poetological note via the word *iubilus*; at the beginning of the section of love poems, this very word (*jubilus*) is used as a generic term for love poetry.³⁶ The muted tone of the dominant vowels *e*, *u*, and *o* accords with this. The initial image of the 'fading star of once-cheerful eyes,' explained by Schumann as an idiosyncrasy, may in turn merge two intertextual horizons (which have thus far been overlooked): the fading of the star of Venus (!) in Lucan,³⁷ and Plato's theory of sight, according to which the light of day coalesces with the faculty of vision to generate the images that we see, while the all-darkening night leads to the fading of the visual function to produce the images of dreams.³⁸ In the poem, the absence of the beloved is thus associated with the absence of light, with darkness. A star associated with Venus fades; the gaze becomes blurred.

This level of imagery is carried forward in a contrastive manner in stanza II, where the memory of the beloved in the round dance is conceived as the outshining of other girls, while her name is associated with a mirror and compared with the shining of the sun onto the earth. The comparison comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where it is related to the radiant eyes of the nymph Salmacis.³⁹ Not atypical for the staging of speakers in Latin love poetry, there is created through this intertext a contrastive dimension overlaying the text. As the only one of the naiads who is specifically not asexual, but rather vain and indulgent, Salmacis, with her clinging desire, drags the innocent Hermaphroditus into the abyss by merging with him so that they become a hermaphrodite.⁴⁰ Following this subtext, anyone who 'wants' this beloved as insistently as the speaker is doomed. Upon the speaker's

illam uolo,
eam colo nutu solo
in hoc seculo.

35 See Ovid: *Amores* II,2, 53 f.

36 For a discussion of this consideration, see Carmina Burana (ed. Vollmann), pp. 1000 f.

37 See Lucan: *Bellum Ciuile* I,661 f.: [...] *Venerisque salubre / sidus hebet* [...].

38 See Plato: *Timaeus* 45 D (trans. Calcidius): [...] *qui visus vocatur* [...] *hebet* [...].

39 See Ovid: *Metamorphoses* IVa 347 ff. (Salmacis): [...] *lumina nymphae / non aliter quam cum puro nitidissimus orbe / Opposita speculi referitur imagine Phoebus*.

40 See Ovid: *Metamorphoses* 4,285–388. The relationship to Heloise, suggested by Dronke 1968, pp. 313–318, on the basis of this passage, is not very persuasive; for proof of this, see the commentary to Carmina Burana (ed. Vollmann), p. 1178.

Yes, I want *her*,
 I adore *her*, at the slightest nod,
 here in this world.

thus falls a shadow that is inherent in the negatively connoted *totus hereo* of stanza I. His perception of his beloved evidently has another side, which is articulated in the intertextual unconsciousness of his speech.

This ambivalence continues imperceptibly in the third stanza, in which the speaker laments the time of his daily loneliness:

Tempus queror iam diurne
 solitudinis,
 qui furabar ui nocturne
 aptitudinis
 oris basia,
 a quo stillat cynamomum
 et rimatur cordis domum
 dulcis cassia.⁴¹

Now, I complain of the daily
 loneliness,
 from which, in the violence
 of a suitable night,
 I stole kisses from her mouth,
 from which cinnamon drips,
 and the sweet smell of cassia
 covers the house of my heart.

The contrast of day and night is again central here, although this articulation of desire also becomes more multilayered on closer reading. In this verse, a clerical lover ostensibly laments, with echoes of the Song of Songs,⁴² the lost time of a now-blurred day in which no sexual union occurred. But why the use of the imperfect in *furabar*? Does it express the temporal duration of the encounter or just the attempt, the volition? The seemingly prosaic phrase *vi nocturne aptitudinis*, whose connotations are difficult to express in translation, is also astonishing. Thus, the term *aptitudo* ('fit') can refer to a 'physical connection,' to a 'concord,' to a 'suitable opportunity,' or to 'aptitude.' Yet the *locus classicus* for the word – rare in itself, and especially in the register of (Latin) lyrical language – is Boethius' commentary on Aristotle's *Analytica posteriora* (752 D), where the

41 The philological discussion of the reading *quo* of *Codex Buranus* (see *Carmina Burana* [Vollmann], p. 1179) cannot be outlined here.

42 See Song of Solomon 6:9 with Vollmann 1987, p. 1181.

fit (*aptitudo*) invoked in the poem is contrasted with a connection, marked by the word *vis*, by means of coercion and violence.⁴³ In the poem, however, *aptitudo* and *vis* are not set against each other, but rather merged into the strange juncture *vi nocturne aptitudinis*. How does the word *vis*, with its undertones of coercion and violence, comport with the supposed fit and affection of the situation? Did the speaker want to seize kisses by force (as is commonly thematized in comparable poems)? Does he yearn for nocturnal dominance, cloaked by the redundant praise for the sweetness of a cinnamon-scented mouth?

In his account, however, the beloved also ‘melts away’ – as the beginning of stanza IV reads – without any hope of comforting release; the lament over the fading of her youth thereby reinforces the latent aggressive dimension of the formulation (*tabere*: ‘to melt away, flow away’). For the speaker, in any case, it is subsequently a matter of removing the distance to his beloved:

[...]
 tanti spatii
 intercisio
 annulletur, ut *secura*
 adiunctiuis prestet iura
 hec diuisio!

 May a large spatial
 separation
 be annulled, so that
 this partition
 grant legal security to those
 to be united!

The language is prosaic, technical, judicial. The doubled negation of an ‘annulment of separation,’ along with the terms *intercisio* and *divisio*, produces, against the tenor of what has been said, a continuous mood of separation, with the *secura iura* as its healing, probably referring to the emergence of marriage;⁴⁴ previously (only) a relative of the heart (*propinqua cordis*), the beloved is now apparently supposed to become a wife. The

43 See Boethius: *Commentarium in Analytica Posteriora*, in: *Patrologia Latina* 64, 752D: *necessitas autem est duplex, haec quidem secundum naturam et aptitudinem, haec vero violenta et contra aptitudinem* (‘Necessity thus exists in a twofold way; the one side is natural and suitable, the other violent and unsuitable.’ Not attested in the *Carmina Burana* [ed. Vollmann]).

44 The reference to the “private legal” problem of “loss of pertinence,” which has been raised over and over since Vollmann’s commentary (see *Carmina Burana* [ed. Vollmann], p. 1179) and which presupposes or asserts a homology of the terms “*adiunctivis*,” “*adiunctis*,” and “*adiacentibus*,” cannot be truly persuasive in view of the layer of meaning for *adiunctivis* that has been ignored; see on this subject Heinen 1999, pp. 12f.

formulation expressing the security gained in this way in double negation, through the abolition of a distance, generates the linguistic dominance of the very separation that is to be abolished: a renewed subtext that counteracts what is said, hoped for, and desired by the speaker, or at least makes it more complex than is expressed in the apodictic formulation. The final German verse then follows this wish (Fig. 1):

Roter munt, wie du dich swachest!
 la din lachin sin!
 scheme dich, swenne du so lachest
 nach deme schaden din!
 dest niht wolgetan.
 owi so verlornere stunde,
 sol von minnelichen munde
 solich unminne ergan!

After the partly reflective, partly downcast tone of the previous stanzas, there now follows a direct address, which is linked to humiliation and criticism. The beloved, whose radiant beauty was previously praised, now no longer simply ‘hides herself’ (cf. stanza I, l. 6: *occultatur*), but is perceived as derisive and derogatory; the reference to the ‘red mouth’ (*roter munt*) connects the perceived insult to her sexual attractiveness (which evidently does not lead to the speaker’s gratification). The insult then develops into a threat that oscillates between moralizing pressure (*scheme dich*; ‘shame on you’) and violence (*nach deme schaden din*; ‘to your detriment’). By the end, it becomes a complaint shimmering between self-pity and despair concerning the *unminne* of the beloved in lost time. Through the change of language, there undoubtedly emerges a rupture, whose connection to the Latin poetry becomes clear through reading the other stanzas of the *Mailed* not transmitted here.

By contrast, the version passed down under the name Leuthold von Seven contains only four stanzas (II – I – III – VI). While ‘the tenor’ of this version is aimed in a similar direction, “the song, however, [omits] those stanzas that address the lady’s irritating laughter and its effect on the singer. As a result, a crucial point of the song by Walther is dropped, and the song becomes superficial in contrast to the version in C.”⁴⁵ One could say pointedly that this version writes the fracture between the affect and the inner attitude of the singer and the lady out of the poem, in favour of a more topical, flirtatiously wooing subjectivity on the part of the speaker, and thus transforms the poem: a neutralizing transformation that appears over and over in the transmission of medieval lyric poetry, a semantic ‘labour’ on a difficulty underlying the whole spectrum of the poem.

The version in the *Codex Buranus* can thereby be considered the third version. It is conspicuous that the Latin and German texts (in C) are already linked in several

45 Kellner 2018, p. 335.

68
 bilis uenit amoris, dea me tibi subias auxilio egens
 mo iam cales q. pereos mea. **C**ollaudate meam pudicam
 delectabilem amabilem amo frequenter eam p. quam
 melius uigero z gaudio. illam pre cunctis diligo z uene-
 ro ut deam. **N**u gryniet aucter diu heide mit gröneme
 iobe stat der wart der wider chalt twanchli fere beide diu
 zit hat sich uerwandelot ein senedi not. mant nach an
 der gütten von der ih ungerne schade. **Vnde supra.**

HEBET. Sydus lei uisus cordis nubis repet
 oris mei rufus carens iubilo iure mereo occultat
 nam p. in qua cordis uigor floret in qua totus heres.
In amoris hec chorea cunctis premitur cuius nomen hec choreaphi
 bea luce tenet z p. speculo feruit solo illam colo eam uolo mi-
 ni solo in hoc seculo. **T**empus querit tam diuine solitudinis
 quo furabar in nocturne apertudinis oris basia aquo stillat
 cynamomum z rimatur cordis domum dulcis castia. **T**abet
 illa tamen caret spet solaci. iuuenilis flos exaret tanta spaci.
 interitio annullatur ut secura ad iunctiui prester iura pec-
 diuisio. **R**oter munt wie du dich schwachest. la dir lachmün
 scheme dich swenne du so lachest. nach deme schaden dir.
 dest nih wolgetan ovi so verloerener stunde sol von minne
 chlichen munde solich unminne ergan. **Item At.**

Fig. 1. Carmen Buranum 169. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm 4660 ('Codex Buranus'), fol. 68r.

respects.⁴⁶ For instance, two specific details or formulations from the Latin text and the stanza transmitted in the *Codex Buranus*, which are not to be understood generically, refer to each other:

1. The comparatively idiosyncratic Latin expression *tepet oris mei risus* refers to the core statement of Walther's *Roter munt, wie du dich swachest! / la di lachen sin!*, but now in reference to the speaker: it almost seems as if the speaker's smile were the formulated consequence of 'nach dem schaden min.' The lover's mouth is also addressed in stanza III, ll. 5–8.
2. A second connection results from the respective complaints about temporality: Walther's *ow so verlornen stunde* corresponds to the formulation *Tempus queror iam diurne / solitudinis* (stanza III, ll. 1–2). The lament of the learned speaker about the apparently subsequent period of loneliness in stanza III does not seem like a translation but rather like a concretization of the statement of the German speaker in the *Mailed*.

References of this kind are also found in other bilingual poems. They clearly point to a drive to interlock, to an effort to bind together these texts with multiple authors, and thus represent the textual correlate to the material unity of the layout. In order to answer the central question arising from this of how this alternative evocation of the inner world of the *Mailed*'s speaker could be understood, it is necessary to take a brief look at Song 28.

4.2. Walther von der Vogelweide, Song 28 (*Mailed*)⁴⁷

Interestingly, stanza I (following C) of the famous song⁴⁸ explicitly addresses itself to 'priests and layfolk' (*pfaffen unde leien*), thus already including a clerical audience. With the continuation in stanzas II and III, the marvels and delights of May in particular are sketched out: its pervasive potency; the rejuvenating magical power emanating from it; the joy elicited in dance and play; the harmony that it implies. Even the rivalry of the flowers 'on the meadow' (*uf dem anger*, stanza III) proceeds in a friendly, rather than hostile, agon; separateness does not lead to hatred.⁴⁹ The deictic language of the repeated evocations of spring is connected with the idea of an affective collective, from

46 On this subject (although they are diametrically opposed in their assessment), see Vollmann's commentary in *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann), p. 1180, and Heinen 1999, pp. 10–15.

47 A complete bibliography on Walther's poem is not provided here. Important for this context are the studies by Heinen 1974 and Heinen 1999, as well as Kellner 2018, pp. 331–337.

48 Song 28, stanza I: *Muget ir schouwen, waz dem meien / wonders ist beschert? / seht an pfaffen, seht an leien, / wie daz allez vert. / Grôz ist sîn gewalt, / in weiz, ob er zouber kunne: / swar er vert in sîner wunne, / dân ist nieman alt.*

49 E.g. Song 28, stanza III, ll. 1–4: *Wol dir, meie, wie dû scheidest / allez âne haz! / wie wol dû die bluomen kleidest / und die heide baz!*

which no one could wish to leave at the cost of losing their cheerfulness.⁵⁰ In characteristic manner, the gaze is directed in the fourth stanza through the apostrophe (transmitted in the *Carmen Buranum*) to the mouth of the young woman, who here (as elsewhere) is addressed as ‘lady’ (*frouwe*), and who thus tends to be elevated or flattered with regard to the social context of the evoked community. The pointedly urging questions and reproaches exert clear pressure on the lady, who, following the implication, refuses to partake in the pleasures offered by May: ‘Where do you get this nerve? [...] If you treat me ungraciously, then you are not good!’⁵¹ ‘Release me,’ as the speaker says – again in a flirtatious tone – from my troubles [...] Can you look around you? All the world rejoices together. Might a very little speck of joy come to pass for me?’⁵² In a manner characteristic of Walther, the end of the poem thus culminates in pressure being exerted on the lady by the male speaker, ultimately half-playful and half-urging, that she defer to a norm of love,⁵³ one naturalized in Song 28 via the evocation of nature and theorized elsewhere.

That echoes and parallels can be perceived between the German stanza at the end of *Carmen Buranum* 169 and the Latin stanzas has already been explained. Weaker, but certainly to be noted, are the echoes between the Latin stanzas and the other stanzas of the *Mailed* not preserved in the *Codex Buranus*: each poetic complex thematizes (the absence of) rejoicing, uses the motif of separation or detachment, and deals with the matter of age and youth, though not in a contrastive way.⁵⁴

Yet how are these parallels and echoes to be understood? It has been repeatedly pointed out by previous scholarship that the connection between the German stanza and the Latin portion appears to be rather contrastive or loose.⁵⁵ Also not to be dismissed out of hand, however, are the unity of the text established through its layout, the parallels and echoes that are hardly to be understood only generically, or the insight that ‘differ-

50 Song 28, stanza II, ll. 5–8: *Wê, wer wære unfrô? / sîr diu vogellîn alsô schône / singent in ir besten dône, / tuon wir ouch alsô!*

51 Song 28, stanza V, ll. 5–8: *Wâ nemt ir den muot? / ir sît doch genâden rîche: / tuot ir mir ungenædekliche, / sô sint ir niht quot.*

52 Song 28, stanza VI: *Scheident, frowe, mich von sorgen, / liebet mir die zît! / oder ich muoz an frôiden borgen. / daz ir sælic sît! / Muget ir umbe sehen? / sich frôit al diu welt gemeine. / möhte mir ein vil kleine / frôidelîn geschehen?*

53 That the brief and concise presentation given above does not even come close to doing justice to the poem should be noted here for safeguarding; see in particular the Germanistic studies quoted above.

54 See Song 28, stanza II, ll. 5–8 with CB 169, stanza I, l. 4: *carens iubilo*; Song 28, stanza III, ll. 1–2 with CB 169, stanza IV, ll. 5–8: *intercisio / divisio*; and, last but not least, Song 28, stanza I, l. 8 with CB 169, stanza IV, l. 3: *iuvenilis flos exaret*.

55 See *Carmina Burana* (ed. Vollmann), p. 1180: “The tendency of the stanza has nothing in common with the Latin song, but individual traits can be compared *ex opposito*.” For a more open approach with a view to research still to be undertaken, see Kellner 2018, p. 335.

ent' conceptions of rupture and textual cohesion can be discerned as part of a 'different aesthetic' in the Middle Ages and in the context of an overt culture of transmission. The necessary methodological consequence of these two poles – which has hardly been realized in scholarship thus far – is that in the interpretation of these plural constructs, it is precisely this kind of connection – the textual as well as linguistic rupture, perhaps also indicated by the larger *littera notabilior*; the dialectic 'breach-in-the-interlocking'; the staged difference – that has to be part of every reading – at least if one does not evade the interpretations offered by these texts by reference to technicalities or by speculative, supra-textual considerations about the circle of recipients, however plausible the latter may also be.

One of the rare forays made in this direction⁵⁶ interprets the shift between languages in the poem (which in this reading, however, can also be thought of in principle as having been written in a single language) as a consciously staged shock, through which the audience realizes that the reasons for the separation of the lovers are not to be located in social disapproval, as may be expected, but in the arrogance of the girl. It is precisely the crude, unlearned medium of German (in the eyes of the interpreter) in contrast to the elegance of Latin that thereby deepens the emotional agitation behind the speaker's grievance – a highly interesting reading, but one that overestimates the elegance of the Latin and appears to lose sight of the contrastive character of the references between the Latin and German stanzas. The following reflections therefore attempt to develop a different interpretation.

4.3. *Carmen Buranum* 169 and Song 28⁵⁷

Not unlike the versions of the German manuscripts, the bilingual manuscript can also be understood as a 'version' of the song – albeit a categorially special one – as an attempt to work through the problems, staging, and aesthetics laid out by the poem. The Latin stanzas thus develop what may be termed an 'alternative genealogy' of *Roter munt*, the decisive apostrophe of stanza IV. Whereas the speaker of the German poem pressures the *frouwe* in a flirtatious manner through the naturalizing evocation of established *topoi* and the entreaty to a collective *habitus*, an alternative interpretation, a 'different' subjectivity, is developed here behind the apostrophe to the lady. In the process, both the song and the modelling of the speaker are changed. The speaker, who is coyly exerting pressure in Walther, is now clerically 'corrected'; he becomes a fundamentally enmeshed subject, a speaker staged with an eye towards a clerical appreciation (perhaps his own), but who is also scrutinized over it. He is ostensibly a sorrowful lover who

⁵⁶ Heinen 1999, especially pp. 13–15.

⁵⁷ An examination of *Carmen Buranum* 151, which contains stanza III of Song 28, is not possible here and will be undertaken elsewhere.

seems to suffer during the day from being separated from the beloved whom he visits at night and to whom he is attached with his whole person; yet on closer inspection, he is an addict who perceives his girl in the Ovidian matrix of vanity and destruction, who imagines the nocturnal encounter or even compels it by force. The final German stanza, in particular, makes it clear that the *divisio* / *intercisio*, which from the point of view of the speaker is to be surmounted through 'legal' coercion, is probably based on the girl not (or even never) having directed herself toward him, but rather having turned her back on him. Where the speaker in the German poem had proclaimed dallyingly that 'no one grows old in this place,' here the clerical speaker threatens the inexorable wilting of the blossom of youth. The speaker, who sees himself subjected to the lady's faded smile when he wants to be reflected in it, becomes ambiguous, exerting personal pressure in order to overcome a slight. In particular, the disruption between the languages takes on an important dimension, albeit one that is probably not to be understood ironically and which is not merely 'shocking'; nonetheless, it underscores the central intrinsic difference, the rupture within a clerical subject that was previously present only in a connotative sense. Through the disconnect between the apostrophe and the preceding material, it thus becomes clear once and for all that it is not a playfully superior speaker articulated here, but rather a broken subject whose desire is also linked to desperation, humiliation, and aggression. It is precisely because moments from Walther's poem have been taken up in a transformative manner that, through the difference marked as a rupture, the layer of another perspective emerges, perhaps even one of a commentarial, critical view of the vernacular setting; a perspective that may well be closely connected with the semantic logic of the *Codex Buranus*, which is thus necessary to discuss as a last point.

5.

The authors of the Latin stanzas, behind whom the redactors or writers associated with the conception of the codex may conceal themselves,⁵⁸ could undoubtedly also have translated the final – German – stanza, or transformed it into the language and the discursive world of Latin love poetry; and the Latin stanzas would constitute a coherent lyrical construct on their own merits, even without the German ending. Yet the concluding stanza was appended and not translated – with the consequence of the poem becoming a plural construct. If we follow the interpretation developed above, the resulting multi-layeredness concerns a literary intervention into the vernacular discourse. Through the

58 See also Hope's important, though not very urgent, observation that the poems of the Hebet-Sidus group fit very well in thematic and motivic terms into the respective subgroups of the codex (Hope 2020, pp. 385f.).

simultaneous entanglement and confrontation of two literary traditions and modes, the redactors of the codex make it possible to rethink completely a generic apostrophe (*Rotermunt*) as the consequence of a different consciousness, which simultaneously opens up the view into a distinct, clerical world with its own values and modes of perception. It is precisely through this staged disruption, the constellation of German and Latin stanzas, that a tension is created. Through the loose, contrastive parallelism and interlocking of the stanzas – which is not easy to grasp, or even unobvious in itself, because of its conventionality – as well as through the background spectrum of the German versions, there emerges a dynamic of relationalization which opens up space for an alternative version of the poem's basic situation and which can be read as a commentary precisely because of the cultural difference marked in this way. In the largely authorless genre of Latin love poetry, there emerges through this assemblage a construct that is plural in itself, whose aesthetics generate a dynamic of comparison, of establishing relationships between things. The condition for the possibility of this plurality is, in general terms, the unfinished conversation of the texts of medieval lyric poetry – including and especially *Minnesang* – which is not only sustained through a fundamental *mouvance*, but probably also intended among the *auctores*.⁵⁹ In specific terms, however, this pluralization can be understood especially as an element of an all-encompassing practice of reconfiguration in the codex, through which the redactors seek to cast new light on familiar texts and problems. Through such reconfiguration, according to Theodor Adorno, it is possible

[to bring] the singular and dispersed elements [...] into various groupings long enough for them to close together in a figure out of which the solution springs forth, [...] to bring its elements [...] into changing constellations or [...] into changing trial combinations until they fall into a figure which can be read as an answer [...].⁶⁰

In this sense, the Latin-German poems seem to be experimental arrangements through which there is articulated a sceptical tone – one that deconstructs, criticizes, and problematizes the loving speakers of the genre – that permeates the codex. Such a tone does not require diverse authors, but it does require an aesthetics of plurality impossible without marked disruption.

59 On this subject, see the study by Kellner 2018. I would also like to thank Annette Gerok-Reiter for her suggestion that this point be emphasized.

60 Adorno 1977, p. 127; cf. Adorno 1990, p. 335: “[...] singuläre und versprengte Elemente so lange in verschiedene Anordnungen [zu bringen], bis sie zur Figur zusammenschießen, aus der die Lösung hervorspringt, [...], Elemente [...] so lange in wechselnde Konstellationen oder [...] Versuchsanordnungen zu bringen, bis sie zur Figur werden, die als Antwort lesbar wird [...].” The background of the concept and the connections between Adorno and Walter Benjamin cannot be expanded on here. This dimension, hinted at here only in a rudimentary manner (see Bezner 2021a), is to be developed in further work.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Carmina Burana (eds. Hilka / Schumann) = Carmina Burana. Die Lieder der Benediktbeurer Handschrift. Bilingual edition. Complete edition of the original text after the critical edition (completed by B. Bischoff) by Alfons Hilka and Otto Schumann, Heidelberg 1930–1970. Translation of the Latin texts by Carl Fischer, of the Middle High German texts by Hugo Kuhn. Annotations and epilogue by Günter Bernt, Munich 1979.
- Carmina Burana (ed. Vollmann) = Carmina Burana. Texte und Übersetzungen. With miniatures from the manuscript and an essay by Peter and Dorothee Diemer, ed. by Benedikt Konrad Vollmann, Frankfurt a.M. 1987 (Bibliothek des Mittelalters 13).
- Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (Codex Manesse) = Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift (Codex Manesse). Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 848 (Zurich, c. 1300–1340), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/diglit.2222> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana = Love Lyrics from the Carmina Burana, ed. and trans. with a commentary by P.G. Walsh, Chapel Hill 1993.
- M Namenl/68r 1 = M Namenl/68r 1, ed. by Manuel Braun and Sophie Marshall, in: Lyrik des deutschen Mittelalters, ed. online by Manuel Braun, Sonja Glauch, and Florian Kragl. Published since 25 February 2016; Version dated 26 May 2020, URL: <http://www.ldm-digital.de/show.php?lid=636&mode=0x600> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Walther von der Vogelweide: Ton 28 [= Song 28] = Walther von der Vogelweide: Ton 28, in: Leich, Lieder, Sangsprüche. 15th, modified and exp. edition of Karl Lachmann's edition. Based on the 14th ed., ed. by Christoph Cormeau, newly published with indexing aids and text-critical commentaries by Thomas Bein, Berlin 2013 (De Gruyter Texte), pp. 190–192, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110295580> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).

Secondary Literature

- Adorno 1977 = Adorno, Theodor W.: The Actuality of Philosophy, in: Telos 31 (1977), pp. 120–133.
- Adorno 1990 = Adorno, Theodor W.: Die Aktualität der Philosophie, in: Theodor W. Adorno: Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 1, ed. by Rolf Tiedemann, Frankfurt a.M. 1990.
- Andersen et al. 1998 = Andersen, Elizabeth / Haustein, Jens / Simon, Anne / Stohschneider, Peter (eds.): Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter. Kolloquium Meißen 1995, Tübingen 1998 (Anglo-Deutsches Colloquium zur Deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 14).
- Ascoli 2008 = Ascoli, Albert R.: Dante and the Making of a Modern Author, Cambridge, UK 2008.
- Bauschke-Hartung 2011 = Bauschke-Hartung, Ricarda: Kommentar, in: Walther von der Vogelweide: Werke. Gesamtausgabe, vol. 2: Liedlyrik. Mhd./Nhd., ed., trans. and comm. by Günther Schweikle. 2nd, improv. and exp. ed., ed. by Ricarda Bauschke-Hartung, Stuttgart 2011, pp. 535–828.
- Beatie 1967 = Beatie, Bruce Alan: Strophic Form in Medieval Lyric. A Formal-Comparative Study of the German Strophes of the *Carmina Burana*, Diss., Cambridge, MA 1967.
- Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2000 = Bertelsmeier-Kierst, Christa: “Muget ir schouwen, waz dem meien ...”. Zur frühen Rezeption von Walthers Liedern, in: Mark Chinca / Joachim Heinze / Christopher Young (eds.): Blütezeit. Festschrift für L. Peter Johnson zum 70. Geburtstag, Tübingen 2000, pp. 87–99.
- Bezner 2001 = Bezner, Frank: ‘Ich’ als Kalkül. Abaelards *Historia Calamitatum* diesseits des Autobiographischen, in: Dag Nikolaus Hasse (ed.): Abaelards *Historia calamitatum*. Text, Übersetzung, literaturwissenschaftliche Modellanalysen, Berlin 2001 (De Gruyter Texte), pp. 140–177.

- Bezner 2021a = Bezner, Frank: Devianz tradieren. Überlegungen zur materialen Semantik der Vagantendichtung des lateinischen Mittelalters, in: Philip Reich/Karolin Toledo Flores/Dirk Werle (eds.): Tradition und Traditionsverhalten. Literaturwissenschaftliche Zugänge und kulturhistorische Perspektiven, Heidelberg 2021 (Kulturelles Erbe: Materialität – Text – Edition 1), pp. 87–106.
- Bezner 2021b = Bezner, Frank: Lateinische Liebesdichtung des Mittelalters, in: Beate Kellner/Susanne Reichlin/Alexander Rudolph (eds.): Handbuch Minnesang, Berlin/Boston 2021, pp. 125–155, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110351859-008> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Brunner/Neureiter-Lackner 1996 = Brunner, Horst/Neureiter-Lackner, Sigrid: Walther von der Vogelweide. Epoche – Werk – Wirkung, Munich 1996 (Arbeitsbücher zur Literaturgeschichte).
- Cardelle de Hartmann 2014 = Cardelle de Hartmann, Carmen: Parodie in den *Carmina Burana*, Zurich 2014 (Mediävistische Perspektiven 4).
- Cohen-Mushlin 1994 = Cohen-Mushlin, Aliza: The Division of Labour in the Production of a Twelfth-century Manuscript, in: Peter Rück (ed.): Rationalisierung der Buchherstellung im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Ergebnisse eines Buchgeschichtlichen Seminars, Wolfenbüttel, 12.–14. November 1990, Marburg a. d. L. 1994 (Elementa Diplomatica 2), pp. 51–68.
- Detering 2002 = Detering, Heinrich (ed.): Autorschaft. Positionen und Revisionen. DFG-Symposium 2001, Stuttgart/Weimar 2002 (Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände 24).
- Dronke 1968 = Dronke, Peter: Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric. Vol. 1: Problems and Interpretations, 2nd ed., Oxford 1968.
- Dronke 1975 = Dronke, Peter: Poetic Meaning in the *Carmina Burana*, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch. Internationale Zeitschrift für Mediävistik und Humanismusforschung 10 (1975), pp. 116–137.
- Edwards 2000 = Edwards, Cyril: German Texts in the Codex Buranus, in: Martin H. Jones (ed.): The *Carmina Burana*. Four Essays, London 2000, pp. 41–70.
- Ehrenthal 1891 = Ehrenthal, Ludwig: Studien zu den Liedern der Vaganten, in: Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht. Königliches Gymnasium in Bromberg 1891, pp. 1–12.
- Fohrmann/Kasten/Neuland 1999 = Fohrmann, Jürgen/Kasten, Ingrid/Neuland, Eva (eds.): Autorität der/in Sprache, Literatur, Neuen Medien. Vorträge des Bonner Germanistentags 1997, 2 vols., Bielefeld 1999.
- Haug/Wachinger 1992 = Haug, Walther/Wachinger, Burghart (eds.): Autorentypen, Tübingen 1991 (Fortuna vitrea 6).
- Heinen 1974 = Heinen, Hubert: Walthers Mailied (L 51,13). Vortragsbedingter Aufbau und gesellschaftlicher Rahmen, in: Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik 6 (1974), pp. 167–182.
- Heinen 1999 = Heinen, Hubert: German Singers, Latin Songs: CB 151 and 169, in: Sibylle Jefferis (ed.): New Texts, Methodologies, and Interpretations in Medieval German Literature (Kalamazoo Papers 1992–1995), Göttingen 1999 (Göttinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 670), pp. 1–18.
- Henkes/Saller/Richter 2000 = Henkes, Christiane/Saller, Harald/Richter, Thomas (eds.): Text und Autor. Beiträge aus dem Venedig-Symposium 1998 des Graduiertenkollegs “Textkritik” München, Tübingen 2000 (Beihefte zu Editio 15).
- Hope 2020 = Hope, Henry: Compilation, Contrafacture, Composition. Revisiting the German Texts of the Codex Buranus, in: Henry Hope/Tristan E. Franklins (eds.): Revisiting the Codex Buranus, Woodbridge 2020 (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 21), pp. 351–392, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781787446274.014> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Hult 1989 = Hult, David: Author/Narrator/Speaker. The Voice of Authority in Chrétien’s *Charrete*, in: Kevin Brownlee/Walter Stephens (eds.): Discourses of Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, Hanover, NH 1989 (Dartmouth Colloquium on Medieval and Early Modern Romance Literatures 5), pp. 76–96.

- Janota 2000 = Janota, Johannes: Zum Refrain in den lateinisch-deutschen Liebesliedern des Codex Buranus, in: Dorothea Klein/Elisabeth Lienert/Johannes Rettelbach (eds.): Vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Festschrift für Horst Brunner, Wiesbaden 2000, pp. 211–226.
- Kasten 1995 = Kasten, Ingrid: Kommentar, in: Ingrid Kasten (ed.): Deutsche Lyrik des frühen und hohen Mittelalters. Edition der Texte und Kommentare von Ingrid Kasten. Übersetzungen von Margherita Kuhn, Frankfurt a.M. 1995 (Bibliothek des Mittelalters 3), pp. 551–1095.
- Kellner 2018 = Kellner, Beate: Spiel der Liebe im Minnesang, Paderborn 2018.
- Klemm 1998 = Klemm, Elisabeth: Die illuminierten Handschriften des 13. Jahrhunderts deutscher Herkunft in der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Text- und Tafelband, Wiesbaden 1998.
- Kühne 2000 = Kühne, Udo: Deutsch und Latein als Sprachen der Lyrik in den Carmina Burana, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur 122 (2000), pp. 57–73, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/bgsl.2000.122.1.57> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Kuhn 1980 = Kuhn, Hugo: Die Voraussetzungen für die Entstehung der Manesseschen Handschrift und ihre überlieferungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung, in: Hugo Kuhn: Kleine Schriften, vol. 3: Liebe und Gesellschaft, ed. by Wolfgang Walliczek, Stuttgart 1980, pp. 80–105.
- Lundius 1907 = Lundius, Bernhard: Deutsche Vagantenlieder in den Carmina Burana, Diss., Halle a.d.S. 1907. URN: urn:nbn:de:gbv:8:2-5402954.
- Martin 1876 = Martin, Ernst: Die Carmina Burana und die Anfänge des deutschen Minnesangs, in: Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur N.F. 8 = 20 (1876), pp. 46–69, URL: https://resolver.sub.uni-goettingen.de/purl?PPN345204123_0020 (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Meier/Wagner-Egelhaaf 2011 = Meier, Christel/Wagner-Egelhaaf, Martina (eds.): Autorschaft. Ikonen – Stile – Institutionen, Berlin 2011.
- Meier/Wagner-Egelhaaf 2014 = Meier, Christel/Wagner-Egelhaaf, Martina (eds.): Prophetie und Autorschaft. Charisma, Heilsversprechen und Gefährdung, Berlin 2014.
- Meier-Staubach 2000 = Meier-Staubach, Christel: Ruperts von Deutz literarische Sendung. Der Durchbruch eines neuen Autorbewußtseins im 12. Jahrhundert, in: Wolfgang Haubrichs/Eckart C. Lutz/Gisela Vollmann-Profe (eds.): Aspekte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Freisinger Kolloquium 1998, Berlin 2000 (Wolfram-Studien 16), pp. 29–52.
- Meier-Staubach 2015 = Meier-Staubach, Christel: Prophetische Inauguration und kirchliches Amt. Zur Funktion informeller Autorisierungen in der mittelalterlichen Kirche. Hildegard von Bingen – Rupert von Deutz – Wilhelm von Saint-Thierry, in: Helene Basu/Gerd Althoff (eds.): Rituale der Amtseinsetzung. Inaugurationen in verschiedenen Epochen, Kulturen, politischen Systemen und Religionen, Würzburg 2015 (Religion und Politik 11), pp. 95–127.
- Minnis 1984 = Minnis, Alastair J.: Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages, London 1984.
- Minnis/Scott 2003 = Minnis, Alastair J./Scott, Alexander Brian: Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism: c. 1100–c. 1375. The Commentary-Tradition, rev. ed., Oxford 2003.
- Müller 1995 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Auctor – Actor – Author. Einige Anmerkungen zum Verständnis vom Autor in lateinischen Schriften des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, in: Felix Philipp Ingold/Werner Wunderlich (ed.): Der Autor im Dialog. Beiträge zu Autorität und Autorschaft, St. Gallen 1995, pp. 17–31.
- Müller 1980 = Müller, Ulrich: Beobachtungen zu den *Carmina Burana*: 1. Eine Melodie zur Vaganten-Strophe – 2. Walthers *Palästina-Lied* in 'versoffenem' Kontext: Eine Parodie, in: Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch 15 (1980), pp. 104–111.
- Müller 1981 = Müller, Ulrich: Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachmischung als poetische Technik. Barbarolexis in den *Carmina Burana*, in: Wolfgang Pöckl (ed.): Europäische Mehrsprachigkeit. Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag von Mario Wandruszka, Tübingen 1981, pp. 83–104.

- Müller 1988 = Müller, Ulrich: *Carmina Burana* – Carmini Popolari? Zu den mittelalterlichen 'Originalmelodien' und den modernen Aufführungsversuchen. Mit zwei Postscripta zu den deutschen Strophen der *Carmina Burana* und zur Melodie der *Vagantanstrophe*, in: Udo Kindermann/Wolfgang Maaz/Fritz Wagner (eds.): Festschrift für Paul Klopsch, Göttingen 1988 (Göttinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 492), pp. 359–369.
- Poor 2004 = Poor, Sara S.: *Mechthild of Magdeburg and Her Book. Gender and the Making of Textual Authority*, Philadelphia 2004 (The Middle Ages).
- Sayce 1992 = Sayce, Olive: Plurilingualism in the *Carmina Burana*. A Study of the Linguistic and Literary Influences on the Codex, Göttingen 1992 (Göttinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 556).
- Schreiber 1894 = Schreiber, Jakob: Die Vaganten-Strophe der mittellateinischen Dichtung und das Verhältnis derselben zu mittelhochdeutschen Strophenformen. Ein Beitrag zur Carmina-Burana-Frage, Diss., Strasbourg 1894.
- Schumann 1926 = Schumann, Otto: Die deutschen Strophen der *Carmina Burana*, in: Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift 14 (1926), pp. 418–437.
- Stolz 2020 = Stolz, Michael: Plurilingualism in the Codex Buranus: An Intercultural Reconsideration, in: Henry Hope/Tristan E. Franklins (eds.): *Revisiting the Codex Buranus*, Woodbridge 2020 (Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music 21), pp. 317–350, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781787446274.013> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Wachinger 2011a = Wachinger, Burghart: Deutsche und Lateinische Liebeslieder. Zu den deutschen Strophen der *Carmina Burana*, in: Burghart Wachinger: *Lieder und Liederbücher. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Berlin 2011, pp. 97–123.
- Wachinger 2011b = Wachinger, Burghart: Natur und Eros im mittelalterlichen Lied, in: Burghart Wachinger: *Lieder und Liederbücher. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur mittelhochdeutschen Lyrik*, Berlin/New York 2011, pp. 67–95.
- Wallensköld 1893 = Wallensköld, Axel: Das Verhältnis zwischen den deutschen und den entsprechenden lateinischen Liedern in den *Carmina Burana*, in: *Mémoires de la Société Néo-Philologique de Helsinki* 1 (1893), pp. 73–109.
- Worstbrock 2001 = Worstbrock, Franz Josef: Verdeckte Schichten und Typen im deutschen Minnesang um 1210–1230, in: Franz Josef Worstbrock: *Ausgewählte Schriften*. vol. 1: *Schriften zur Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. by Susanne Köbele and Andreas Kraß, Stuttgart 2004.

Multiple Authorship in 17th-Century German Lyric Poetry – the Example of Constantin Christian Dedekind’s *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* (1657)

Abstract

Using Constantin Christian Dedekind’s *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* (1657) as a case study, this chapter demonstrates how specific forms of plural authorship play a role and are enacted in 17th-century lyric poetry, which was widely understood as song poetry. Numerous constellations and aspects of plural authorship can be identified in *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*. One may assume that Dedekind, the organizing and coordinating author, plays with these constellations and aspects self-consciously, that the multiplication of constellations and aspects of plural authorship is an essential part of his aesthetic conception. Poetry emerges here essentially as an effect of plural authorship: many actors are involved in its creation; originality and profundity are not relevant categories here; instead, conceptual simplicity, witty imitation and emulation, creative linking to predecessors, a poetics of sociability, and musicality form aesthetic guidelines.

Keywords

Constantin Christian Dedekind, *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, 17th Century, Lyric Poetry, Song Poetry, Gottfried Finckelthaus, Paul Fleming

1.

17th-century German literature is characterized by multiple authorship with regard to at least three levels. *Books* are not produced by their authors alone but are also products of strategic programmes by the printer-publishers that manufacture the books. Moreover, through their paratexts – dedicatory poems, dedicatory addresses, frontispieces – the books are often marked as products of multiple authorship. *Works* are often not original products but rather translations or elaborations related to translations, adaptations of earlier texts, or products of the processes of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*, as well as the result of revisiting and recomposing existing works and texts. *Texts*, however, are often components of a network of other texts to which they are genuinely related. In the following chapter, I would like to present an example of this multi-dimensioned form of multiple

* Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson.

authorship, and to investigate its literary-historical as well as aesthetic implications and consequences.

The example is a book, a work, and a text that appeared in 1657 under the title *Aelbanische Musen-Lust*.¹ The print is still preserved in the libraries of Wolfenbüttel, Leipzig, and Dresden; according to the bookplate, the Dresden copy was the property of Luise Adelgunde Gottsched.² A copy of the second edition from 1665 can be found in the Badische Landesbibliothek and comes from the holdings of the library of Josef von Laßberg, the famous collector of books and manuscripts.³ The full title of the work, as found on the title page, provides information about its content and conception: *Aelbianische Musen-Lust / in unterschiedlicher berühmter Poeten auserlesenen / ahnmuhtigen Melodeien beseelten / Lust- Ehren- Zucht und Tugend-Liedern / bestehende* (The Elbian Passion for the Muses, Consisting in Exquisite, Graceful Melodies Inspired by Pleasure, Honor, and Virtue of Various Famous Poets; Fig. 1).

We are thus dealing with a selection and collection of poetry to be sung that has been furnished with musical scores. The name of the author is not given on the title page; the only names that appear here are those of the printers in whose Dresden print shop the book was developed: Wolfgang Seyffert and Antonius Meißner. According to Christoph Reske's reference work "Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet," Wolfgang Seyffert's Dresden print shop existed from 1630 to 1653;⁴ the printing of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* shows that it was active for at least four more years. As per Reske, Seyffert was the son-in-law of Gimel Bergen II and had, through him, become a member of a widely branching network of printers, largely connected by familial relationships, who were integrally involved in cultural life in Dresden and beyond in the middle of the 17th century. On the subject of Antonius Meißner, no

- 1 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991]. For a description and characterization of the work, see Harper 2003, pp. 190–196. – The present chapter draws on suggestions from the discussion held at the conference *Ästhetik pluraler Autorschaft* (Aesthetics of Multiple Authorship, November 2020) at the conclusion of the presentation delivered there. I would like to thank all participants for their comments and Sandra-Madeleine Wetzl for the instructive transcript of the discussion.
- 2 [Dedekind:] *Musen-Lust* 1657. See the copy in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek / Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden 14: Mus.1805.K.1, and the information following its note of provenance in the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (VD17 14:635857F), URL: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/id177644681X> (last accessed: 28 November 2024).
- 3 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1665. See the copy in the Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe 31: 100 B 76044 RH, and the information following its note of provenance in the *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Catalogue of 17th century prints published in the German-speaking world; VD17 31:749985P), URL: <https://digital.blb-karlsruhe.de/id/6053306> (last accessed: 24 November 2024).
- 4 Reske 2015, pp. 179f.



Fig. 1. [Constantin Christian Dedekind:] *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* / in unterschiedlicher berühmter Poeten auserlesenen / mit ahnmuhtigen Melodeien beseelten / Lust- Ehren- Zucht und Tugend- Liedern / bestehende (The Aelbian Passion for the Muses in Various Famous Poets, Consisting in Exquisite, Graceful Melodies Inspired by Pleasure, Honor, and Virtue), Dresden: Wolfgang Seyffert [1657], title page [unpaginated].

further information is to be found in Reske's work, and the index of 17th-century prints published in the German-speaking world also gives only a few bibliographical references to books published by Meißner in addition to the *Musen-Lust*; these were all published well after the printing of 1657. With regard to the question of multiple authorship, the following can be determined when considering the title page: if one assumes that the entity marked on the title page as responsible for the production of the book is actually the author, then among the authors of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* are the two printers, but no writer of any kind whatsoever. Yet it is in any case unclear who the writer could possibly be if one relies on the information given on the title page, since we are dealing with a collection of poems by "famous poets" not yet mentioned by name. Following the title page in the printed book is a dedication of the work not to a single addressee but to

ten.⁵ The multiplication of the dedicatees is instructive with regard to the question of multiple authorship, since this is after all a case of multiple ‘addressee-ship’, and thus in some measure the inverse of multiple authorship. The dedication to ten addressees is followed by a “response” that apostrophizes those very dedicatees and which is signed “The Elbian muses.”⁶ Here, the muses accordingly appear as authors who pledge the work to the dedicatees.

Placed before the title page is an artfully constructed frontispiece (Fig. 2). It shows a landscape modelled in an idealized manner after the Elbe Sandstone Mountains, with their precipitously towering sandstone cliffs and the Elbe flowing between them. Pegasus, the steed of poets, hovers over the scenery; he is surrounded by a scroll on which the title of the work can be read. To the left and right in the foreground of the frontispiece, two mountains can be seen that are populated with figures. The left mountain is recognizably a Saxon Helicon, on which Apollo sits at the very top and below him the nine muses – possibly the ‘Elbian muses’ already mentioned – furnished with different instruments. The mountain located to the right of the picture is, in a sense, the mirror image of the muses’ mountain, upon which sits Martin Opitz – the German master-poet presented as equal to Apollo and, like him, depicted with a lyre – and, analogously to the nine muses, nine German poets equipped with corresponding instruments whose songs are included in the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* alongside those of Opitz.⁷ As a reader’s preface, the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* contains a “preliminary account to explain the title of the copperplate, from which the organization of the entire work is likewise obtained,” also signed by the Elbian muses.⁸ From this, it becomes apparent why Paul Fleming and the Saxon song-poet Gottfried Finckelthaus come to be seated directly below Opitz on the mountain of poets, on its “highest echelons.” The poets who have already died are positioned at the very top in “memory of [their] honour”; below them follow the authors still alive in 1657.⁹ A number of authors are depicted on the frontispiece who have not received a place on the Saxon Helicon of poets but who rove about in the Elbe meadows, including Enoch Gläser, who is portrayed as a shepherd with his flock and is therefore suggestive of the bucolic dimension of the song-poetry offered in the *Musen-Lust*. In this illustration, realistic and idealizing images interact with one another. On the one hand, the representation of the Elbe landscape and the mesas of Saxon Switzerland is appropriately ‘true-to-life’,

5 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], dedications [unpaginated].

6 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], response [unpaginated].

7 On Dedekind’s frontispiece in the context of contemporary stagings of Opitz, see Aurnhammer 2015; on the development of an intermedial program on Dedekind’s frontispiece and in the ‘preliminary account’, see Dröse 2017, pp. 269–274.

8 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol.)(1r.

9 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol.)(1vf.



Fig. 2. Peter Troschel: copperplate engraving on title page, in: Constantin Christian Dedekind: *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* / in Ein hundert und Fünf und Siebenzig unterschiedlicher berühmter Poeten auserlesenen / mit ahnmuhtigen Melodeien beseelten / Lust- Ehren- Zucht und Tugend-Liedern / bestehende (The Aelbian Passion for the Muses in One Hundred and Seventy-Five Different Famous Poets, Consisting in the Exquisite, Graceful Melodies Inspired by Pleasure, Honor, and Virtue), Dresden/Leipzig: George Heinrich Fromann, 1657, SLUB Dresden, shelfmark Mus.1805.K.1.

as anyone who has ever travelled in this landscape can confirm. On the other hand, the Elbe meadows with the shepherds grazing their flocks stand for a utopian landscape, a counterworld to reality.

The Opitzian school of poets is presented on the frontispiece, and especially on the Helicon of poets, primarily in its Saxon variety but also comprising its immediate context, including Johann Rist of Hamburg and Simon Dach of Königsberg. The frontispiece thus stages German poetry as an orchestra and therefore as a hierarchically organized group context. By portraying those poets who are included with their poems in the collection of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, and also naming them concretely through explanatory titles, the frontispiece construes the poets as the result and staging

of multiple authorship.¹⁰ The representational coordination of muses and poets alone is nothing unusual in the early modern period, but the positioning of events in the landscape of the Elbe Sandstone Mountains attests to a poetic self-awareness constructed on a group basis and aiming at the constitution of a poetic tradition.

The concept of authorship staged here is that of the poet as singer, yet not as soloist and rather as part of a coordinated musical ensemble. Analogous to Clio – the muse of history, who plays the organ at the base of the mountain of muses – at the base of the Helicon of poets sits Constantin Christian Dedekind at the organ. The decision to furnish the poet Dedekind with the organ is explained in more detail in the “preliminary account to explain the title of the copperplate”:

Was lätslich unsern Dedekinden belanget / und das solchem das Positiv geeignet worden / geschiehet nicht dahrum / als wänn er für einen Organisten geachtet sein wolle / sondern / weil wihr ihn seine Lieder / niemahls / oder doch gar sälten / anders / als in das Clavier singen hören / und er hierüber der Grund und Werkmeister ist welcher diese AElbianische MusenLust befördert.¹¹

Finally, concerning our Dedekind and that the positive organ has been assigned to him, this is not because he wants to be esteemed as an organist, but rather because we never, or but very rarely, hear him sing his songs other than into the piano, and above this, he is the agent and artificer who raises up this *AElbianische Musen-Lust*.

Up to this point, nowhere in the paratexts of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* has the entity that functions as the work’s ‘main author’ been named.¹² The Optizian poets, the Elbian muses, and the printers have been mentioned as authors, but it is only at this juncture in the “preliminary account” that Dedekind’s name is foregrounded as the one who is the ‘base and artificer’ (“Grund und Werkmeister”) of the whole and who has ‘promoted’ (“befördert”) the work. *Augere* is the Latin word for ‘increase’ or ‘promote’, and from it is derived the Latin *auctor*, which one could translate in the 17th century as ‘artificer’ – the literal translation into Latin would be *artifex*. Dedekind is thus portrayed on the frontispiece as the organist, because he is the one who organized the entire work; as the organizing author, he coordinates the chorus of muses and of poets as well as acts as an intermediary between the world of the work and the world of the book by conveying to the printers what the work should eventually look like. Dedekind takes up the position on the mountain of poets that Clio occupies on the muses’ mountain. As the artificer of the collection of lyrics, he ensures that the poets collected within are not forgotten; as

10 See also Werle 2019, pp. 107–109.

11 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol.)(2^r.

12 This only applies, however, to the first edition of the work from 1657. In the second edition, Dedekind’s name is included on the title page as the author, which tends to reduce the form of multiple authorship analyzed here for the first edition as a result. See Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1665, title page [unpaginated].

an author, he accordingly fulfils the longstanding function of securing the fame of those who appear in his work.¹³ At the bottom left, the frontispiece inconspicuously includes the signature “P. Troschel Scul[psit]”; it was hence engraved by one P. Troschel. Behind this is concealed the copperplate engraver Peter Troschel of Nuremberg, who was also active in Breslau for some while.¹⁴ He is thus another author among those mentioned in the text, namely the author of the frontispiece, who is not identical with any of the authorial entities previously mentioned.¹⁵

Another reader’s preface, with the corresponding title “Nach-Erinnerung. Neidische Jungfer Mißgunst / und stichelhafter gEsell Tadelgern!” (Subsequent reminder. Envious maiden Resentment and insulting CriticAsster!), follows the “preliminary account” that explains the frontispiece.¹⁶ This “subsequent reminder” addresses resentful readers – as the “preliminary account” addresses benevolent readers – and is again signed by the Elbian muses, who thus appear here once again as authors.

Dedekind is mentioned explicitly and decidedly as the author of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* for the first time in the following paratext, an “expert opinion” on the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* by the Saxon electoral chapel master Heinrich Schütz, who attests of Dedekind that he “wrote down the work at hand and prefixed it with a title.”¹⁷ As an author, Dedekind is also addressed in the “poems of honour and praise” following Schütz’ evaluation, which were in part penned by the very poets whose poems can be found anthologized in the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, namely by Johann Rist, who had also crowned Dedekind a poet, and by Justus Sieber.¹⁸

2.

Evidently, the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* is staged in its paratexts as a product of multiple authorship in various senses. Numerous author figures come to light: Apollo and the muses, the Opitzian poets, the printers, the engraver, and finally Constantin Christian Dedekind. Accordingly, different author concepts are invoked in the paratexts:

13 For biographical and bibliographical information on Dedekind’s life and work, see Eggebrecht / Braun 2008; Scheitler 2020; and the earlier work of Stege 1925/1926.

14 Troschel is mentioned in passing on various occasions, but not treated in detail in Tacke 2001.

15 At the time, copper engravings were often engraved following different illustrations, paintings, other engravings, or even woodcuts. In such cases, there was another form of multiple authorship in the way that one engraver cited the other or simply reused them. As far as we know, however, this does not apply to the present engraving, which seems to have been entirely individual in its time. In recent times, it has been reproduced on various occasions, probably because of its illustrative power; see, for example, Braun 2004, p. 271; Aurnhammer / Detering / Martin 2013, p. 39.

16 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol.)(1^rf. /

17 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol.)(02^r.

18 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol.)(0(1^r-)000(2^v.

the concept of authorship as inspiration through the Muses, the concept of collective authorship of a group or school, the concept of technical-material authorship, the concept of authorship as the co-operation of different arts, and finally the concept of the author as organizer and anthologist. If it becomes clear, on the whole, that Dedekind plays a preeminent role in this concert as conceptional author, this is because he is represented as the coordinating entity of the overall enterprise. In the dedicatory poems, he appears as the individual who secures the fame of the dead poets through his achievement in collecting and organizing their work:

Dedekind erwäckt / durch Lieder /
die verstorbnen Dichter wieder.¹⁹

Dedekind awakens / through songs /
the deceased poets once again.

In this way, he also procures fame for himself:

Er muß unsterblich sein weil dieses sein beginnen
die Todten lebend macht / und auff die Himmels-Zinnen
die Lebenden versätzt. [...] ²⁰

He must be immortal, because his beginning of this
makes the dead alive, / and on the pinnacles of Heaven
places the living. [...]

With his work, Dedekind is depicted as the one who opens up access to the muses and to the works of the poets:

hier ist der Musen Schar und der Poeten Kohr;
zu diesen öffnet uns mein Dedekind das Tohr.²¹

here is the throng of muses and the choir of poets;
For us, my Dedekind opens the gate to these.

- 19 Christoff Bernhardt: An Seinen geträuesten und brüderlichen Freund/Herrn Dedekinden, in: Dedekind: Musen-Lust 1657 [1991], fol.)(0(3^v-)00(4^v.
- 20 Justus Sieber: Über Herrn Constantin Christian Dedekinds/Kaiserl. Ristischen Poetens und Kuhrfürstl. Sächsischen Kunstreichen Hof-Musici/Wohlgesezte Aelbianische Musen-Lust, in: Dedekind: Musen-Lust 1657 [1991], fol.)(0(1^r-)00(2^v.
- 21 Justus Sieber: Über Herrn Constantin Christian Dedekinds/Kaiserl. Ristischen Poetens und Kuhrfürstl. Sächsischen Kunstreichen Hof-Musici/Wohlgesezte Aelbianische Musen-Lust, in: Dedekind: Musen-Lust 1657 [1991], fol.)(0(1^r-)00(2^v.

As the conceptional author of the collection, Dedekind is more than an editor or a compiler. Above all, however, the staging of the author is different; this staging situates itself in the context of a new self-awareness of German poetry after Opitz, here presented programmatically as an anthology. In addition, as conceptional author, Dedekind distinguishes himself by striving for a certain degree of faithfulness in representation of the text; that is, he does not take free rein with the earlier texts as it pleases him, as was indeed customary at the time in the context of other genres and other literary practices. Instead, a proto-philological ethos can in some measure be discerned in his anthological activity. The extent to which Dedekind shapes the anthology as an organizing and coordinating entity is evident when one looks at its structure more closely: it embeds the compiled poems in a multi-dimensioned order. The collection consists of four books, the first three parts of which each contain four groups of ten poems: invariably three groups of ten poems by a particular author – in the first part, for instance, ten ‘Opitzian’, ten ‘Finckelthausian’, and ten ‘Flemingian’ – in each case followed by a group of ten ‘mixed’ (“vermängelt”) poems, i.e. poems by different poets. Each ‘ten’ is concluded by a “content-song” from the pen of the conceptional author Dedekind, which, according to Gary C. Thomas – the editor of the facsimile reprint of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, published in 1991 – summarizes “the facts of the respective group in a programmatic way,”²² and in doing so takes up the epigraph-shaped titles of the respective ten songs, which also originate with Dedekind. The sequence of groups of ten based on poets that thus emerges in the first three books contains, in this order, the names of Opitz, Finckelthaus, Fleming, Rist, Andreas Tscherning, Simon Dach, David Schirmer, Justus Sieber, and Heinrich Held. Thomas has put forward a plausible suggestion as to why Dedekind selected these very authors and arranged them in precisely this configuration.²³

The first book includes representatives of the first Opitzian generation of poets, the second book those of the second, and the third book contains those of the third. Moreover, the first book begins with Opitz as the Silesian progenitor of the new German lyric poetry, followed by Finckelthaus and Fleming as his two preeminent Saxon adepts. The third book is arranged exactly in a mirror image, beginning with the two Saxons Schirmer and Sieber and ending with the Silesian Held. These two books, as part of a ring composition, enclose the second book, which accommodates another Silesian at its centre with Tscherning, flanked by Rist of Hamburg and Dach of Königsberg, and therefore by representatives of the other important centres besides Saxony, in which the movement of the new German lyric poetry originating from Silesia spread. The first three books of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* are thus symmetrically constructed with regard to the origins of the poets presented there. The fourth part, which follows the first to third parts, contains twenty songs from the pen of Dedekind and a series of

22 Thomas 1991, p. 21*.

23 See Thomas 1991, pp. 22*–27*.

‘blended’ canzonettas. Dedekind thus concludes the collection as a poet of songs. The individual groups of ten in the collection are, as Thomas has pointed out, cyclically structured, meaning that this is not merely a matter of unordered collections of poems by the authors in question, but that the texts are arranged in such a way that they relate to each other in thematic variation and sometimes even in narrative succession. Here, too, Dedekind emerges as the mastermind, as the organizing meta-author of the collection; he does so, firstly, in that he provides all the poems with their own titles that each consists of rhymed couplets, and that he, secondly, concludes each group of ten with the “content-song,” which again emphasizes the connection between the ten respective poems in a synoptic verse.

What is stressed relatively little in the collection’s paratexts, but which immediately catches the eye in a more thorough analysis of the same sections, is a further point that makes evident Dedekind’s status as the main author in the framework of multiple authorship which structures the collection of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*. The *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* is a book of songs; the poems of the anthologized authors are presented as being made for musical performance. The melodic notations that are underpinned with basso continuo and for which the poems serve as lyrics originate, however, with Dedekind. He thus emerges as the composer of the collection in two ways: as a conceptual composer who composes the anthology of poems by Opitzian lyric poets, and as a musical composer who, as the one setting the musical notes, furnishes the poetic texts with musical notation and therefore makes it possible to perform them.²⁴ That the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* is a songbook, which was designed for performance, i.e. musical recital, is visible in the format: the staves with the stanzas placed underneath are presented in a landscape format, which can be easily placed on a music stand and which makes it possible to turn the pages less frequently during the musical performance.

3.

For a number of texts contained in the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* yet another aspect of multiple authorship is important: they are not infrequently parodies or contrafactures of texts by other authors. This is the case, for example, with some of the poems of the ‘Finckelthausian ten’. The final one of these poems bears the characteristic title given by Dedekind: “Der hat für der Lieb ein Grauen / will nuhn nach den Büchern schauen” (Who is in horror of love, / now wishes to look to his books). The first stanza of the text reads as follows:

24 See Werle 2019, p. 63. See also Thomas 1991, p. 21*. From a musical-historical perspective on Dedekind’s *Musen-Lust*, see Braun 2004, *passim*, but esp. pp. 271–274. Braun also goes into Dedekind’s musical-conceptual reference to Rist.

Ich empfinde fast ein Grauen /
 daß ich / Liebe / für und für /
 bin gewesen eigen Dühr /
 Es ist zeit einmahl zuschauen /
 was doch meine Bücher machen /
 die ich lange nicht gesehn:
 Alles soll bei Seite gehn /
 von den süßen LiebesSachen.²⁵

I almost feel a horror
 that I, Love, forever and ever
 have been your own.
 It is time now to see
 what my books are doing
 which I have not seen for long.
 Everything shall fall aside
 of love's sweet stuff.

This is recognizably a parody of Martin Opitz's model ode *Ich empfinde fast ein Grauen*, which he invokes in the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* as an example of a *lyricum*, an ode, a poem that "one can use especially for music."²⁶ Finckelthaus reverses the message of Opitz's poem with his parody: where the speaker in Opitz states that he has sat over books long enough and now wants to enjoy the pleasures of life instead, the speaker in Finckelthaus articulates that he has grappled with matters of love long enough and now wants to return to his preoccupation with books.²⁷ Finckelthaus' parody is contained in the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, but Opitz's earlier text is not. As the earlier text shines through the parody, as it were, Finckelthaus' text also invokes Opitz as a kind of second author.

It is a similar case for the Finckelthaus poem that is titled by Dedekind with the following verses:

Beides ist ihm einerlei
 ob es nicht sei oder sei.
 Ihr Damen lasst das wählen /
 nach wählen kömmt das Kwählen.

25 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol. H1^vf.

26 Opitz: *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, pp. 33 f. The Finckelthaus poem was printed first in the anonymously published prose eclogue [Finckelthaus:] *Floridans Lob- und Liebes-Gedichte*, fol. D3^rf., and later in the collection *Finckelthaus: Deutsche Gesänge*, fol. F1^r-F2^r.

27 On the Finckelthaus parody, see Werle 2019, pp. 39-51; in the context of other contemporary parodies, see also Otto 1990 and Haberland 2003.

To him, it's all the same
 whether it be not or be.
 You ladies let it be chosen;
 anguish follows choice.

The first stanza of the poem reads as follows:

Will sie nicht so mag sies lassen /
 Lisilis das stolze Tier /
 was frag ich denn viel nach ihr!
 Liebt sie oder will sie hassen /
 ich gesteh es rund und frei /
 beides ist mihr einerlei.²⁸

If she won't want it, let her leave it,
 Lisilis the proud beast;
 why then should I so care for her!
 Whether she loves or wants to hate –
 fully and freely, I confess –
 it's all the same to me.

In this poem, a speaker enters the scene who claims to be unaffected by the lack of affection of his beloved woman. This statement is proffered in such a way that the reader may initially doubt whether this is not a matter of a self-serving declaration on the part of the speaker. In the further course of the poem, however, it becomes clear that, in matters of love, the speaker is someone who does not really give thought to failed romantic relationships but who is in any case polyamorous in orientation and who, if one lover turns him down, can console himself with many others. The example is a parody of Paul Fleming's ode *Will sie nicht / so mag sies lassen*.²⁹ An identical opening situation is described there: a speaker has been rebuffed by his beloved and now claims not to care. Fleming's speaker is a deeply faithful and monogamous personality, and his consolation consists in the neo-stoic striving for freedom from troubling feelings. In his parody, Finckelthaus sets the Flemingian persona – who is characterized by loyalty in *eroticis*, and who consoles himself over rejection by his beloved by rejoicing that he must no longer grapple emotionally with matters of love – against a persona who, in consolation for the rejection by his beloved, throws himself into his love life all the more and who deems the virtue of fidelity as non-binding for himself. Finckelthaus was a personal friend of Fleming; various lyrical configurations exist in which the two authors stage

28 Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991], fol. G2^vf.

29 Fleming: *Teütsche Poemata*, pp. 496f. As far as I can tell, the first printing of the Finckelthaus parody appears in [Finckelthaus:] *Lustige Lieder*, leaves C3^vf.

themselves as figures differently disposed in matters of love, the lusty, polyamorous Finckelthaus set against the monogamous, faithful Fleming.³⁰ Through Dedekind recording this poem by Finckelthaus in his collection and within the relevant group of ten, the author Fleming, as it were, shines through the text by the author Finckelthaus in this case as well. This is all the more remarkable as the earlier text behind Finckelthaus' poem is not contained in the preceding group of ten poems by Fleming.

4.

As we can see, numerous configurations and aspects of multiple authorship may be identified in the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*. It is possible to speculate that Dedekind, the organizing and coordinating author, plays precisely with these configurations and aspects in a self-confident manner, that the multiplication of configurations and aspects of multiple authorship represents an essential component of his aesthetic conception. The various configurations and aspects of multiple authorship mentioned here are not entirely individual peculiarities of Dedekind's collection; they are frequently found in songbooks, in lyric poetry, and in 17th-century German literature.³¹ What is exceptional about the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, however, is the accumulation and variety of configurations and aspects of multiple authorship that come to bear on the collection. To take up the terminology proposed in the introduction to this volume, this concerns collaborative or collective authorship only in certain respects, as the realization of the collection is not achieved through the actual collaboration of several authors.³² Instead, multiple authorship is present in a broader, but no less significant, sense, not least because the *de facto* interaction of producers of cultural artifacts – poets, musicians, visual artists, printers, anthologists – appears to be accompanied by a staging of different levels and facets of authorship: the interplay of muses and poets, the notion of a group or school of poets, the staging of an intertextual network of authors. Perhaps one can go yet even further

30 For example, two related sonnets penned by the two authors, which stage the two different author personae in this sense, are found in Finckelthaus: *Deutsche Gesänge*, leaves G6^v–G7^v. Adam Olearius, as editor of Fleming's posthumously published German poems, later also recorded the pair of sonnets in this collection: Fleming: *Teütsche Poemata*, pp. 597f.

31 These are an integral part of what Max von Waldberg, with a view to 17th-century lyric poetry, described comprehensively (albeit with a pejorative intention) as "literary communism." See Waldberg 1888, p. 205.

32 Stockhorst 2016 describes such a form of concrete collaboration, in the sense of proto-philological co-operation, for the projects of the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* (Fruitbearing Society). For the concept of collaborative authorship in general, see Spoerhase/Thomalla 2020. For the contexts reconstructed here, Gamper 2001 is less useful as regards terminology.

and speak of relational authorship because the authorial roles and concepts that surface in the text are placed in a coordinated relational framework.³³

Dedekind emerges as the coordinating author and is also staged as such. It is noteworthy that he is not named on the title page as an author; the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* here appears to be without an author. The frontispiece, however, portrays him as the organist who organizes and orchestrates the entire undertaking, and he is also staged as such in the dedicatory poems. By contrast, it is striking that he appears less markedly as the composer who creates the music for all the texts in the collection but almost exclusively as the one who deems himself responsible for the enterprise as its conceptional author and coordinating entity.

This concept of the coordinating author can be elucidated more precisely from different perspectives, first of all with a view to the collection's poetics. A coordinating author, as the anthologist and organizer of a work, always comes forward when a literary work possesses the character of a collection. The coordinating author is then responsible for the selection and arrangement of the various texts and voices and is thus seen as the chief authorial entity, perhaps a little more during the early modern period than in later periods. Two aspects are important in this context with a view toward questions of transmission and canonization. The function of the coordinating author is particularly vital with regard to collections of lyric poetry, because poems, as objects 'corded' in a specific way in terms of form and content, are on the one hand transportable to a special degree and can migrate from mouth to mouth, but also from text to text or from work to work. As a rule, however, they are not received as individual texts but rather jointly with other poems as parts of collections in the form of books.³⁴ Collections of various kinds are thus assigned a central role in the history of the transmission and canonization of lyric poetry; if a text is not handed down in collections of any kind, then its continued existence is at risk. Accordingly, it is no wonder that the coordinating author Dedekind is dignified in the dedicatory poems as the one who ensures the fame of the deceased and the still living poets, and who in doing so becomes famous himself. This dual function of praising has been a recurring aspect in European literary history since antiquity of the reflection on fame, the semantic unit on the basis of which the significance of literary history has been conceptualized as a process of canonization, the complex conditions of reception, and the diverse manner of transmission.³⁵

33 For another case study along similar lines on a later collection of poetry, the *Singende Muse an der Pleiße* (Singing Muse on the Pleiße, first published in 1736), see Werle 2020.

34 On the example of Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Nachtigallenlied* (Nightingale Song), see Werle 2017. For the description of poems as 'corded' ("verschnürte") structures, see Eibl 1992, p. 173.

35 On this topic, see Werle 2014, esp. pp. 27–31.

In his 1981 book “Autorschaft ist Werkherrschaft: Über die Entstehung des Urheberrechts aus dem Geist der Goethezeit” (Authorship is Sovereignty over the Work: On the Emergence of Copyright Law from the Spirit of Goethe’s Time), Heinrich Bosse developed the thesis that the development of copyright law at the end of the 18th century established modern authorship as dominion over the work as one’s economic and intellectual property.³⁶ Perhaps, in the case of Dedekind as the coordinating author of the *Aelbianische Musen-Lust*, one can also speak of dominion over the work, albeit not in the tangible sense referred to by Bosse. Within a framework of playing with notions of multiple authorship, Dedekind stages himself as the main author of the work as he has command over the work, specifically as the coordinator of the multiple roles and functions of authorship. Multiple authorship appears in Dedekind’s *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* not as a provocation or an annoyance but rather as a concept that is affirmatively asserted, that is emphatically staged and celebrated.

Focusing on the example of Dedekind’s *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* reveals the close interaction of (multiple) authorship and (different) aesthetics. The ‘aesthetics’ of Germanophone lyric poetry in the 17th century is not based on the notion that the poem comes into being through the autonomous creation of individual poetic geniuses, as is the aesthetics of modern lyric poetry since the end of the 18th century, but rather on ideas of social interaction,³⁷ network-based production and a “literary communism”³⁸ of “referring and borrowing,”³⁹ the notion of a poetic network of themes and ways of speaking in which all speak with one voice. Poetry thus emerges essentially as an effect of multiple authorship: many actors are involved in its genesis, and originality and profundity are not relevant categories here; instead, conceptual simplicity, witty imitation and attempts to outdo others, creative connections to one’s predecessors, and a poetics of sociability and musicality provide the aesthetic guidelines. In this context, the multifaceted interaction of especially the arts of poetry and music, and not least the playful staging of multiple authorship, play a role, as presented on various levels in Dedekind’s work.

36 Bosse 2014 [1981].

37 On this subject, see generally Adam et al. 1997; Bremer/Voigt-Goy/Werle 2021.

38 Waldberg 1888, p. 205.

39 “Referring and Borrowing” is the title to the last chapter of the pioneering book by Waldberg 1888.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- [Dedekind:] *Musen-Lust* 1657 = [Dedekind, Constantin Christian:] *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* / in unterschiedlicher berühmter Poeten auserlesenen / mit ahnmuhtigen Melodeien beseelten / Lust-Ehren- Zucht und Tugend-Liedern / bestehende, Dresden: Wolfgang Seyffert [1657] (VD17 14:635857F).
- Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1665 = Dedekind, Constantin Christian: *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* / in Ein hundert und Fünf und Siebenzig unterschiedlicher berühmter Poeten auserlesenen / mit ahnmutigen Melodeien beseelten / Lust- Ehren- Zucht und Tugend-Liedern / bestehende, Dresden/Leipzig: Georg Heinrich Fromann, 1665 (VD17 31:749985P).
- Dedekind: *Musen-Lust* 1657 [1991] = Dedekind, Constantin Christian: *Die Aelbianische Musen-Lust*. Faksimiledruck der Ausgabe von 1657, ed. and introd. by Gary C. Thomas, Bern et al. 1991 (Nachdrucke deutscher Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts 47).
- [Finckelthaus:] *Floridans Lob- und Liebes-Gedichte* = [Finckelthaus, Gottfried:] *Floridans Lob- und Liebes-Gedichte* / Bey Besprächung Seiner beyden Wolbekanten Am Ersten Tag gesungen / Und nachmals zu Pappir gebracht, Leipzig: Henning Grosse, 1635.
- Finckelthaus: *Deutsche Gesänge* = Finckelthaus, Gottfried: *Deutsche Gesänge*, Hamburg: Tobias Gundermann [1640].
- [Finckelthaus:] *Lustige Lieder* = G.F. [Gottfried Finckelthaus]: *Lustige Lieder*, Lübeck: Lorenz Jauch, 1648 [first 1645].
- Fleming: *Teütsche Poemata* = Fleming, Paul: *Teütsche Poemata*. Reprografischer Nachdruck der Ausgabe Lübeck [1642] [recte: 1646], Hildesheim 1969.
- Opitz: *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* = Opitz, Martin: *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624). Study edition, ed. by Herbert Jaumann, Stuttgart 2002.

Secondary Literature

- Adam et al. 1997 = Adam, Wolfgang/Kiesant, Knut/Schulze, Winfried/Strosetzki, Christoph (eds.): *Geselligkeit und Gesellschaft im Barockzeitalter*, 2 vols., Wiesbaden 1997 (Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung).
- Aurnhammer 2015 = Aurnhammer, Achim: *Dichterbilder mit Martin Opitz*, in: Achim Hölter / Monika Schmitz-Emans (eds.): *Literaturgeschichte und Bildmedien*, Heidelberg 2015 (Hermeia 14), pp. 55–76.
- Aurnhammer/Detering/Martin 2013 = Aurnhammer, Achim/Detering, Nicolas/Martin, Dieter: *Einführung*, in: Ernst Christoph Homburg: *Schimpff- und Ernsthafft Clio*. Historisch-kritische Edition nach den Drucken von 1638 und 1642, ed. and annotated by Achim Aurnhammer, Nicolas Detering and Dieter Martin. Kommentarband, Stuttgart 2013 (Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart 346), pp. 1–49.
- Bosse 2014 [1981] = Bosse, Heinrich: *Autorschaft ist Werkherrschaft. Über die Entstehung des Urheberrechts aus dem Geist der Goethezeit*. With an epilogue by Wulf D. von Lucius, Paderborn 2014 [1981].
- Braun 2004 = Braun, Werner: *Thöne und Melodeyen, Arien und Canzonetten*. Zur Musik des deutschen Barockliedes, Tübingen 2004 (Frühe Neuzeit 100).
- Bremer/Voigt-Goy/Werle 2021 = Bremer, Kai/Voigt-Goy, Christopher/Werle, Dirk (eds.): *Formen der Geselligkeit und ihr historischer Wandel als Herausforderung der frühneuzeitlichen Kulturgeschichte*. Das Beispiel Leipzig, in: *Daphnis* 49 (2021), pp. 1–263.

- Dröse 2017 = Dröse, Astrid: Paragonale Relationen? Das Verhältnis von Musik, Bild und Text in Titelpupfern barocker Liedersammlungen, in: Jörg Robert (ed.): Intermedialität in der Frühen Neuzeit. Formen, Funktionen, Konzepte, Berlin/Boston 2017 (Frühe Neuzeit 209), pp. 260–284.
- Eggebrecht/Braun 2008 = Eggebrecht, Hans Heinrich/Braun, Werner: Dedekind, Constantin Christian, in: Killy Literaturlexikon. Autoren und Werke des deutschen Kulturraumes, ed. by Wilhelm Kühlmann et al., vol. 2: Boa – Den, 2nd, completely rev. ed., Berlin/New York 2008, pp. 570–571.
- Eibl 1992 = Eibl, Karl: Sind Interpretationen falsifizierbar? In: Lutz Danneberg/Friedrich Vollhardt/Hartmut Böhme/Jörg Schönert (eds.): Vom Umgang mit Literatur und Literaturgeschichte. Positionen und Perspektiven nach der ‘Theoriedebatte,’ Stuttgart 1992, pp. 169–183.
- Gamper 2001 = Gamper, Michael: Kollektive Autorschaft/Kollektive Intelligenz 1800–2000, in: Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft 45 (2001), pp. 380–403.
- Haberland 2003 = Haberland, Detlef: Opitz’ Ode *Ich empfinde fast ein grawen* zwischen Pierre Ronsard und Siegmund von Birken, in: Mirosława Czarnecka/Knut Kiesant/Andreas Solbach/Jolanta Szafarz (eds.): *Memoriae Silesiae*. Leben und Tod, Kriegserlebnis und Friedenssehnsucht in der literarischen Kultur des Barock. Zum Gedenken an Marian Szyrocki (1928–1992), Breslau 2003, pp. 309–325.
- Harper 2003 = Harper, Anthony J.: German Secular Song-Books of the Mid-Seventeenth Century. An Examination of the Texts in Collections of Songs Published in the German-Language Area Between 1624 and 1660, Aldershot/Burlington 2003.
- Otto 1990 = Otto, Karl F. Jr.: Parodies of an Opitz Poem, in: Barbara Becker-Cantarino/Jörg-Ulrich Fechner (eds.): Opitz und seine Welt. Festschrift für George Schulz-Behrend zum 12. Februar 1988, Amsterdam/Atlanta 1990 (Chloe 10), pp. 391–398.
- Reske 2015 = Reske, Christoph: Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet. Auf der Grundlage des gleichnamigen Werkes von Josef Benzing, 2nd, rev. and exp. ed., Wiesbaden 2015 (Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen 51).
- Scheitler 2020 = Scheitler, Irmgard: Dedekind, Constantin Christian, in: Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1620–1720. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon, ed. by Stefanie Arend et al., vol. 2: Bucelin, Gabriel – Feustking, Friedrich Christian, Berlin/Boston 2020, cols. 490–506.
- Spoerhase/Thomalla 2020 = Spoerhase, Carlos/Thomalla, Erika: Werke in Netzwerken. Kollaborative Autorschaft und literarische Kooperation im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 139.2 (2020), pp. 145–163.
- Stege 1925/1926 = Stege, Fritz: Constantin Christian Dedekind, in: Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft 8 (1925/1926), pp. 476–481.
- Stockhorst 2016 = Stockhorst, Stefanie: Zur Archäologie der philologischen Zusammenarbeit am Beispiel der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft: Programm, Projekte und Praxis, in: Stefanie Stockhorst/Marcel Lepper/Vinzenz Hoppe (eds.): Symphilologie. Formen der Kooperation in den Geisteswissenschaften, Göttingen 2016, pp. 143–165.
- Tacke 2001 = Tacke, Andreas (Hg.): “Der Mahler Ordnung und Gebräuch in Nürnberg.” Die Nürnberger Maler(zunft)bücher ergänzt durch weitere Quellen, Genealogien und Viten des 16., 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, Munich/Berlin 2001.
- Thomas 1991 = Thomas, Gary C.: Einleitung, in: Constantin Christian Dedekind: Die Aelbianische Musen-Lust. Faksimiledruck der Ausgabe von 1657, ed. and introd. by Gary C. Thomas, Bern et al. 1991 (Nachdrucke deutscher Literatur des 17. Jahrhunderts 47), pp. 9*–133*.
- Waldberg 1888 = Waldberg, Max von: Die Deutsche Renaissance-Lyrik, Berlin 1888.
- Werle 2014 = Werle, Dirk: Ruhm und Moderne. Eine Ideengeschichte (1750–1930), Frankfurt a.M. 2014 (Das Abendland N.F. 38).
- Werle 2017 = Werle, Dirk: Grimmelshausens Gedichte als “Kleinere Schriften.” Am Beispiel des Nachtigallenlieds, in: Simpliciana 39 (2017), pp. 285–301.

Werle 2019 = Werle, Dirk: 'Barocke' Lyrik lesen, Frankfurt a. M. 2019 (Klostermann Rote Reihe 112).

Werle 2020 = Werle, Dirk: Kollaborative Autorschaft in Lyriksammlungen. Sperontes' *Singende Muse an der Pleiße* (1736) im gattungsgeschichtlichen Kontext, ausgehend von dem Lied "Brüder, stellt das Jauchzen ein", in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 139.2 (2020), pp. 187–201.

Mara R. Wade

Martin Opitz signs a *Stammbuch*

Multiple Authorship and a ‘Different Aesthetics’ in the Emblematic *album amicorum*

Abstract

In the early 16th century, two new kinds of books appeared: the printed emblem book and the manuscript friendship album, or *album amicorum*. The two volumes intersected at an early stage. Printed emblem books were interleaved with blank pages for use as friendship albums, mainly for young men to use on their study tours. (Women also engaged in this practice, but far less frequently.) The case study presented here treats the entry by Martin Opitz into the album of Christian Weigel, who repurposed a copy of Achille Bocchi’s *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm* (1574) as his album. The focus of my interpretation is on the dialogue between Bocchi’s printed emblem and Opitz’s manuscript entry and how the two texts are used to explore both poetics and male friendship. The epigraphic form of Opitz’s entry as well as the expression of homoerotic inclinations are also discussed here. Multiple authorship and the complex material representation of the content shaped this particular emblem construct to produce new meanings, suggesting that a different aesthetic can indicate an aesthetic of difference.

Keywords

Emblem, *album amicorum*, Achille Bocchi, Print in Manuscript, Homosociality, Book History, Queer Studies, Customized Book, Critical Reading

1. Emblem Books as Albums

In the 16th century, two new kinds of books simultaneously arose in Europe: the emblem book and the *Stammbuch*, or *album amicorum*.¹ At an early stage, these two genres – emblem and album – merged in learned practices of scholarly exchange when

* Translated by Mara R. Wade. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wade.

1 Several colleagues offered helpful comments at various stages of this research: Michael Bath, Glasgow University; Jill Bepler, Wolfenbüttel; Rachel Masters Carlisle, Florida State University; Tamar Cholman, University of Tel Aviv; Justyna Kiliańczyk-Zięba, Jagiellonian University, Kraków; Simon McKeown, Malborough College; Walter Melion, Emory University; Karl Otto, University of Pennsylvania; and Ralph Rosen, University of Pennsylvania. Last, but certainly not least, I thank Anja Wolkenhauer, University of Tübingen, for her insights pertaining to the Horation ode.

the printed emblem book became used as a manuscript friendship album.² This was an especially popular practice in the 16th century,³ when emblem books were interleaved with blank pages for use as an album, thus inviting a serial form of plural authorship.⁴

Andrea Alciato's *Emblematum Liber*, published in Augsburg in 1531,⁵ is generally acknowledged as the first emblem book, while the *Stammbuch* belonging to the student Claude de Senarclens, which he began in Wittenberg in 1545, is the oldest known *album amicorum*.⁶ Both genres emanated from learned circles around men who had travelled to study at various European universities. Both kinds of books cultivate erudition and demonstrate knowledge of classical and biblical sources across shared networks of learning. Both engage learned practices of text and image presentation, such as can be found in other printed genres of the period, for example, genealogies and heraldry, medal and coin books, and portrait books.⁷ While the *Stammbuch* did not necessarily require illustrations, these albums were often illustrated and thus participated in text-image strategies of communication similar to those of emblem books, such as textual citations, mottos with loci communes, and visual topoi.⁸ In their ideal tripartite construct, emblems require an image, and the *picturæ* were most frequently integrated into the published book as woodcuts or engravings. Occasionally there were so-called *emblemata nuda*, in which the *picturæ* were described in a form of ekphrasis.

2 Nickson 1970, p. 11f., was the first to notice the close connection between emblems and albums. See also the informative online essay by Barker 2002.

3 Klose 1988, pp. XII–XIV.

4 The emblematic album offers a unique perspective on multiple authorship as it was diachronic and not synchronic and thus reflects neither collective nor collaborative authorship as defined by the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 1391 which assumes that authorship by more than one person occurred at roughly the same time, by two or more persons.

5 Emblematica Online provides 29 editions of Alciato freely available on the web, including the first edition from 28 February 1531, courtesy of Glasgow University, <http://emblematica.library.illinois.edu/detail/book/A31a> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).

6 Klose 1988, p. XVII. It is held in the University Library, Geneva; Klose 1988, p. 3.

7 The various editions of Nicolaus Reusner's *Icones* were popular books from which to create a *Stammbuch*. See, for example, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 225 Blankenburg, a copy from the 1587 printing used by Johann Sustermann, or Cod. Guelf. 42 Noviss. 12°, a copy of the 1590 edition used by Konrad von Rösch. Klose 1988, p. 363 lists eleven copies of Reusner's various works used as *Stammbücher*.

8 Schnabel 2003 provides the most comprehensive overview of the *Stammbuch*.

2. Multiple Authorship of Emblems and the Practice of Emblem Dedications

As a genre, an emblem book had multiple authors, and the production of a volume was the work of an ensemble. While emblem books were not always associated with early modern friendship practices, individual emblems were often dedicated to specific friends and patrons.⁹ Two 16th-century emblem books demonstrate the dedication practices in exemplary fashion. Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm* dedicates each of its 151 emblems to a specific person,¹⁰ while Joannes Sambucus' *Emblemata* provide 87 of the 223 emblems in his work with a dedication.¹¹ Conversely, single emblems were often entered into *Stammbücher*, as evidenced by the personal emblem, "Et Ivvante Et Conservante Deo," of the Danish artist Melchior Lorck, which he entered into the album of Abraham Ortelius.¹² The dedication practices revealed intellectual networks and contributed to plural authorship: the dedicatees can be said to have shaped the emblems when their author personally addressed a named figure with a specific emblem. The practice of dedicating emblems suggests the natural overlap with the album from a very early stage. By personalizing emblems, the authors anticipated the customization of the emblem book as an album.

3. The Individual and the Collective in the *album amicorum*

The emblem book as friendship album, that is, as *album amicorum* or *Stammbuch*, is a particular instance of the asynchronic intersection of the individual and collective in early modern book production, whereby an individual – usually, but not exclusively, a young man on a study tour – had a printed book of emblems interleaved with blank pages for the purpose of providing space for manuscript entries by the people he met. In the case of the *Stammbuch*, the collective represents the persons who serially signed the individual's album in different geographical locations at various times. This collective generally consisted of like-minded persons who shared mutual aspirations of cosmopolitanism, humanistic values, and learning. While contributing a brief record of personal encounters as written memories, the persons who signed the album themselves participated in a social web at whose centre was the album owner. While the album signatories did not necessarily know one another, at one point in time they all encountered the

9 Schnabel 1998.

10 See Emblematica Online: There are three copies of the 1574 edition held at the libraries of the Getty Research Institute, Duke University, and University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign in Emblematica Online, the latter fully indexed. See also Rolet 2015.

11 See also Visser 2005, especially Chapter 4: "The Use of Dedications," pp. 111–132, and Appendix 2.

12 See Lorck's entry on scan page 47 of Abraham Ortelius' *album amicorum*.

album owner.¹³ In a sense, the persona of an album holder was shaped by those he met and could even be considered a product of collective authorship.

Keeping an album was an act of self-fashioning whereby the owner situated himself and his learned networks amid the ethical tenets and classical knowledge articulated in the emblems. When the emblem book was used as an album, the authorship multiplied and became more complex, even polyvalent. A new aesthetic developed around the printed emblem through the addition of the manuscript entries.

4. Gender in the Emblematic Album

The world of early modern learning was homosocial; schools and universities were not open to women, and very few women knew Latin, the language of international scholarly communication.¹⁴ Thus, it is unsurprising that both emblems and albums strongly code masculine. Owning a printed emblem book appears to have been customary, or at least desirable, among early modern intellectuals and elites, particularly among men.¹⁵ The database for *Stammbücher*, the *Repertorium Alborvm Amicorum* (RAA), lists 285 printed emblem books used as *alba*, only four of which were owned by women.¹⁶ For men as well as the few women who had emblematic albums, the intersection of the two genres reveals social practices of friendship and learning, and religious and dynastic affiliation in an exemplary fashion. Gender played a clear role in the constitution of emblematic *Stammbücher*, whereby a woman's album often affirmed her connections of family and friendship based on a book of devotional emblems.¹⁷ Intense expressions of homosocial friendship, as seen in the case study presented below, were also articulated in the emblem book as *Stammbuch*.

13 When an album had two owners, for example, and was used by a father and a son, or two brothers, the complexity grew exponentially. See Schnabel 2003, p. 166.

14 Skaft Jensen 2004, p. 38.

15 Klose 1988, p. XIV, note 34, mentions the apparent desirability of owning such customized emblem books in the 16th century.

16 See RAA: The women are Anna Catharina of Brandenburg (Queen of Denmark, wife of Christian IV), Magdalena Sibylle of Brandenburg (Electress of Saxony, wife of Johann Georg I; listed twice, once under each dynasty), both of whom used Montenay's *Emblemata christiana* in the 1584 Zurich edition. Dorothea von Anhalt (Duchess of Brunswick Lüneburg, wife of August the Younger) used Friedrich's *Emblemata Nova* in the 1617 German edition. Dorothea's second *Stammbuch* (catalogued under her son Rudolf August in RAA) was Montenay's *Stamm Buch / Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel*. The fourth woman was Elizabeth Reid, who used Pieter Hooft's *Emblemata Amatoria* as an album. This work was first published in 1611; the dates of Reid's use are unclear. Emblematica Online offers three copies of Hooft's work.

17 Wade 2017; Wade 2018; Wade 2020.

5. The Emblem Book Becomes an Album

By creating a manuscript album between the pages of a printed emblem book, the album owner invited signatories to enter into the book in a very literal way. As learned practices among educated elites became bound together in a single book, the emblem book and the *Stammbuch* converged to create a new aesthetic. Sometimes the author of an album entry in an emblem book initiated a dialogue with a specific emblem, expanding it as a form of extended plural authorship.

The emblem book was often especially prepared when it was made into an album. In addition to interleaving the printed book with blank pages before binding,¹⁸ some emblem books as albums also received a special binding that customized the cover with *supralibros* that could include the owner's initials, the year, a heraldic device, or decorations stamped into the leather. The year marked the date when the volume was made into a *Stammbuch*, and its customization established the important milestone for this personal monument to friendship, community, networked knowledge, and shared aspirations.

Christian Weigel's *Stammbuch*, now held at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, has a customized binding.¹⁹ He created his album within a copy of Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm* (1574).²⁰ The initials on the cover, "C.W.C.S.," indicate his name and origins, "Christian Weigel Carnoviensis Silesius," that is, from Jägerndorf in Silesia (Fig. 1).²¹ The cover also bears the date 1613, when he acquired the book for use as an album and had it interleaved with blank pages and bound to accompany him on his student journeys. The book has 18 entries from Liegnitz, Münsterberg, Breslau, and Prague.²²

The layout of the customized book is consistent throughout. Each of Bocchi's emblems begins as an opening, that is, motto and *pictura* on the left-hand side and *subscriptio* on the right, the latter in some cases continuing on further pages (Fig. 2). The basic emblem unit is the opening, left and right.²³ By making Bocchi's volume into a *Stammbuch*, Weigel quite literally opened the emblems for new authorial interventions by placing the interleaved pages between the two sides of the emblem opening, inviting signatories to sign within a specific emblem.

18 Brendecke 2005.

19 *Stammbuch* of Christian Weigel.

20 Bocchi: *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm de universo genere*; see *Emblematica Online*. In addition to Martin Opitz's entry, discussed here, I have also written about the entry into Weigel's *Stammbuch* by Valentin Ludovicus, fol. 228, at *Symbolum CVIII*, that is Emblem 108; see Wade 2023.

21 Schulz-Behrend 1978, Opitz: *Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse*, pp. 163 and 216; Opitz: *Lateinische Werke*, pp. 2f. and pp. 275–277 (commentary).

22 As registered in the description of the book by Giermann 1992, p. 176.

23 There is a striking exception at *Symbola CXLIX* (Emblem 149) which has individual pages in this order: a Greek *subscriptio*, the *pictura*, and then a Latin *subscriptio* – all as a single emblem construct. See *Stammbuch* of Christian Weigel, fol. 346–348.



Fig. 1. Front cover, album of Christian Weigel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 225 Noviss. 8°.

6. Martin Opitz Signs the *Stammbuch* of Christian Weigel

That a signatory often put a great deal of thought and consideration into his choice of emblem is attested by entries into Christian Weigel's album. (Weigel's dates are unknown; presumably he was a student when he used his album and thus about the same age as Martin Opitz.) The entry by the German poet Martin Opitz (1597–1639) demonstrates how he created a dialogue with the printed emblem in his manuscript poetry. Opitz's text exploited the emblem to signal his hopes for his future as a poet, while he effusively praised Weigel. This particular emblem-album construct exemplifies the workings of this hybrid emblematic album and confirms how multiple authorship created a new aesthetic for scholarly communication.

There is a definite social hierarchy in the *album amicorum*, and signatories had a clear sense of their own social rank and knew where to make their entries along a social spectrum from the highest ranking through the social orders to the end of the album. As appropriate to his social standing as a young student, a peer, and social equal of the book's owner, Martin Opitz signed Weigel's album near the end of the book, well behind famous teachers and others of higher rank.²⁴ Opitz was only 17 years old when he signed the album, and not yet the great poet he would become. However, his *Stammbuch* entry next to the emblem of the crowning of a poet clearly confirms the ambitious trajectory he had set for himself.

Opitz created his entry next to Bocchi's *symbola* CXLV (145) "Philologia Symbolica" with the text "Magnam hisce habendam gratiam laboribus" ('That great grace is to be had by these labors'; Fig. 3).²⁵ The emblem depicts Andreas Bocchi himself receiving the poet's crown of laurels from the hand of Felsina, the personification of Bologna. Modern editions of Opitz's works with their transcriptions and translations have described the emblem but not interpreted it.²⁶ They focus on Opitz's manuscript entry. Without interpreting the reciprocal relationship between the emblem and the album entry in any detail, only Georg Schulz-Behrend suggested that Opitz consciously chose this specific emblem for his entry, "that Opitz had carefully chosen this particular spot for his entry and had considered Symbola 145 as a whole."²⁷ The new emblematic construct created by his entry must be read as a compound emblem, not only as the vehicle for an Opitz autograph.

24 *Stammbuch* of Christian Weigel, fol. 336 between the opening of Symbola 145. It is worth noting that Opitz chose even more carefully than Schulz-Behrend suggests.

25 For a detailed analysis of Symbola 145 and translation into French, see Rolet 2015, vol. 2, pp. 830–833. Rolet translates the motto as: "Grande Reconnaissance est requise pour ces travaux."

26 Schulz-Behrend 1978. See also Opitz: Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse, pp. 212–216. See also the text with a German translation in Opitz: Lateinische Werke, pp. 2–4, with commentary pp. 275–277. The comment "not in Dünnhaupt" is spurious, since Dünnhaupt's magisterial bibliography includes printed works only.

27 Schulz-Behrend 1978, p. 91. His remark was repeated by later scholars; see Opitz: Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse, pp. 212–216, and Opitz 2009b, pp. 275–277.

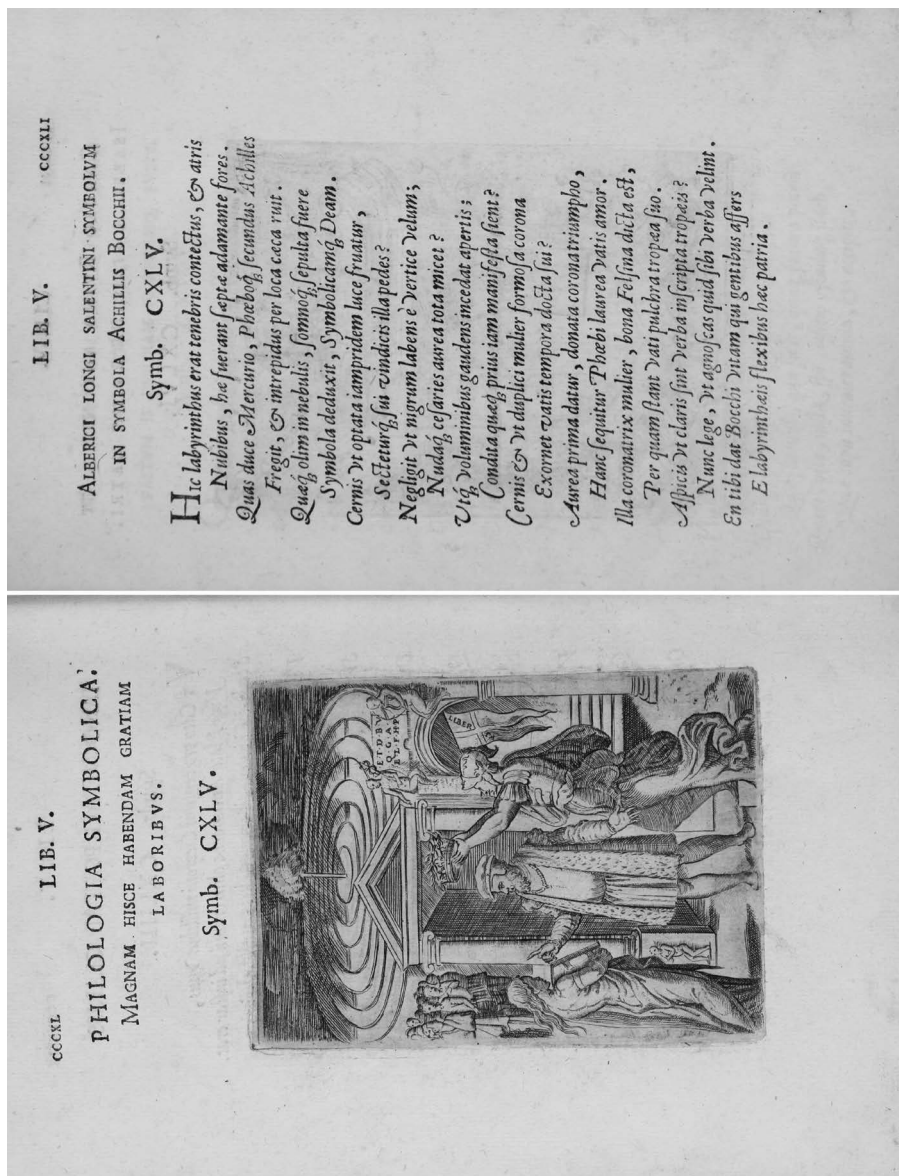


Fig. 2. Achille Bocchi: Symbola 145, Symbolicarum quaestionum, Bologna 1574, Urbana-Champaign, Illinois University Library.

7. The Poetry of the Printed Emblem

In the following, the printed emblem is studied first, followed by Opitz's manuscript entry and the interpretation of his intervention. The printed emblem provides the following text:

Philologia Symbolica

Magnam hisce habendam gratiam
Laboribus

Alberici longi salentini symbolum
in symbola Achillis Bocchi.
Symb. CXLV.

Hic labyrinthus erat tenebris contextus, et atris
Nubibus, hae fuerant saeptae adamate fores.

Quas duce Mercurio, Phoeboque secundus Achilles
Fregit, et intrepidus per loca caeca ruit.

Quaeque olim in nebulis, somnoque sepulta fuere
Symbola deduxit, Symbolicamque Deam.

Cernis ut optata iampridem luce fruatur,
Secteturque sui uindictis illa pedes?

Negligit ut nigrum labens e vertice velum;
Nudaque cesaries aurea tota micet?

Utque voluminibus gaudens incedat apertis;
Condita quaeque prius iam manifesta sient?

Cernis et ut duplici mulier formosa corona
Exornet vatis tempora docta sui?

Aurea prima datur, donata corona triumpho,
Hanc sequitur Phoebe laurea vatis amor.

Illa coronatrix mulier, bona Felsina dicta est,
Per quam stant vati pulchra tropaea suo.

Aspicias ut claris sint verba inscripta tropaeis?
Nunc lege, ut agnoscas quid sibi verba velint.

En tibi dat Bocchi vitam qui gentibus affers
E labyrinthaeis flexibus haec patria.

Symbolic Philology

That great grace is to be had by these labours.

A symbol of Alberigo Longo of Salento
among the symbols of Achille Bocchius.

Symbol 145

This labyrinthus was covered over in shadows and with murky clouds; these doors had been enclosed by iron.

With Mercury and Phoebus [Apollo] at the lead, the second Achilles [Achille Bocchi, M.R.W.], following, broke them down, and rushed undaunted through the pathless realms.

He carried forth each and every symbol that was at one time buried in clouds and sleep, and he wed the goddess of the symbol.

Do you see how she enjoys the long desired light and how she follows after the feet of her deliverer?

Does he overlook how, with the dark veil falling from her head and her golden locks laid bare, she shines completely?

And how she gladly advances with open pages, and how everything that was once hidden is now made manifest?

Do you also see how the comely woman adorns the learned temples of her poet with a double crown?

A golden one is given first, a crown bestowed by triumph; this one is followed by a laurel one, the love of the poet Phoebus.

The woman who crowns is called 'good Felsina': through her, the beautiful trophies for her own poet are standing.

Do you notice that words have been inscribed on the illustrious trophies? Now read, so that you may understand what the words intend.

Behold, Bocchius, the fatherland gives you life: you who bring these things to the nations from the windings of the labyrinth.

An abbreviation on the temple connects the emblem *pictura* and motto to the page with the *subscriptio*. The first letters of each word of the final Latin distich – E. T. D. B. V. Q. G. A. E. L. F. H. P. – are inscribed on the right-hand arch between the two upper figures. Longo calls attention to the letters and also to the book the poet is reading: “Aspicias ut claris sint verba inscripta tropaeis? Nunc lege, ut agnoscas quid sibi verba velint.” (‘Do you notice that words have been inscribed on the illustrious trophies? Now read, so that you may understand what the words intend.’) The abbreviation directly relates the emblem *pictura* to the poetry and emphasizes the particular praise for Bocchi for opening the labyrinth.

As the note at the top of the emblem indicates, this is an emblem by Alberico Longo in honour of Bocchi, “a symbol of Alberigo Longo of Salento among the symbols of Achille Bocchius.”²⁸ Including an emblem from another author in one’s own emblem book is relatively rare and illuminates the complicated practices of dedicating emblems.²⁹ The printed *subscriptio* interprets the image and explains its iconography.³⁰ Depicted as an elegant Renaissance figure in a fur-trimmed coat and cap, Bocchi is praised for having burst the gates to the labyrinth of Philologia and opened them to Symbola, that is, to emblems and the symbolic logic that is the title of his printed work. He gestures with his finger to an open book, while Felsina offers him both a crown and laurels.

This image of poetic greatness appealed to the aspiring German poet who placed his signature on the interleaved page separating the *pictura* and *subscriptio* of Symbola 145. In this manner, Opitz created a dialogue between the emblem and his own entry. He signaled his lofty aspirations by choosing the emblem where Achille Bocchi, the author of the *Symbolicarum Quaestiones*, is praised for having discovered the hidden labyrinth of Philology and emblems. In a complex act of self-promotion involving visual and written associations within the emblem, Opitz positioned himself as a poet to be reckoned with in the future. Just as Bocchi freed Italian for symbols, Opitz liberated German verse.

28 Longo, a member of Bocchi’s academy, was murdered in 1555, the year of the publication of Bocchi’s epigrams. See Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 2005; Weston 1993, p. 62; Rolet 2015, vol. 2, pp. 830–833.

29 The crane emblem from Johannes Sambucus, “In labore fructus” (Sambucus: Emblemata, p. 200) and Emblem 21 “Eruditionis décor Concordia merces Gloria” (Junius: Emblemata, p. 27) can serve here as examples. Junius had an emblem similar to that of Sambucus, for which the printer Christophe Plantin used the same *pictura*, while the epigrams are different. Sambucus dedicated his Emblem “Neglecta virescunt” to Junius; see Sambucus: Emblemata, p. 140. See also Visser 2005, p. 62–69.

30 There it is entitled “Alberic Longi Salentini Symbolum in Symbola Achillis Bocchii” (The symbol of Alberico Longo from Lecce in the symbology of Achille Bocchi).

8. Martin Opitz's Manuscript Entry

PHILOLOGIA SYMBOLICA

Magnam hisce habendam gratiam laboribus
Symb. CXLV

In Philologiam sue Crisin.

Per classicam gentem volasse quid prodest
Quum nec polus petatur hisce nec terra?

Ad auctorem libri.

Musaeis, Weigeli, diis adamate, Poetae

In te qui iuuenis sit amor penna indice nosce:

Ardore in tantum te diligit admirando

Vt quaecunque potest, quanquam sint paucula, voto,

Dico ex mente animi, calido in transdere malit,

Quam centum ingratis cassum prodesse cuculis.

Insanit verum qui a sese spernit amicum.

Εσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλά διδάξεαι. —

_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _

Mart. Opicius Silesius.

Fecit inuocatus

Fratri coniurato et

Quasi – vero

VII. Quintilis Anno MDCXV.

SYMBOLIC PHILOLOGY³¹

That great grace is to be had by these labours.
Symbol 145.

To Philology or Decision.

What good is it to have flown through the preeminent people, when neither heaven nor earth may
be sought through them?

To the author of the book.

Weigel, beloved of the divine Muses, know

what love – that of the young poet – is in you by the mark of a pen:

it cherishes you with so ardent an admiration

That it prefers, by its fervent prayer, to render whatever it can,

though they be small things (I am speaking from the seat of my soul),

Than to benefit in vain a hundred thankless fools.

Whoever spurns a true friend is raving mad.

For you shall learn noble things from noble people.

_ AND LET US YIELD _

Martin Opitz of Silesia
made [this], having been called upon,
For his sworn and,
As it were, his true brother.
The 7th of July of the year 1615.

31 My thanks are due to Dr. Jeremy Thompson, Bonn, who translated the Latin of both Bocchi's emblem and Opitz's manuscript entry into English.

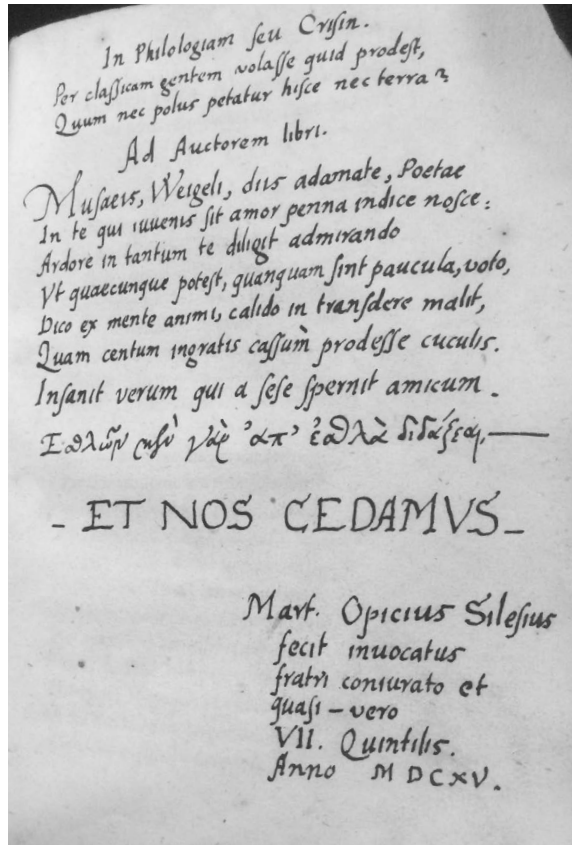


Fig. 4. Martin Opitz's entry in Christian Weigel's album, following the picture of Symbola 145, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 225 Noviss. 8°.

With his handwritten texts, Opitz created a new textual environment for this *pictura* of poetic laureation, whereby the two sets of emblem paratexts must be read together.

The motto alludes to several layers of complexities with respect to the new emblem construct. Readers can situate his motto “In Philologiam seu Crisin” (‘To Philology or Decision’) above the image of a poet being crowned and read his new texts as the emblem *subscriptio* (Fig. 4). In a common emblematic practice, Opitz employed the emblem *pictura* for an entirely new statement, that is, to criticize his contemporaries and position himself as a future great poet. It has been speculated the word “Crisin” in the motto might refer to an illness at its crisis point while simultaneously playing on the word “critici,” that is, the great philologists Scaliger and Salmasius.³² Reading “Crisin” as the inflection point of a decision aligns well both with Opitz’s aspirations to ‘remedy’ German poetry and with his passionate praise of Weigel. Opitz’s emblem-

32 Opitz: Lateinische Werke, p. 277 (commentary).

atic *subscriptio* consists of two parts: the opening distich criticizing contemporary poets and the second poem where Opitz personally addresses Weigel. Opitz made the decision to move beyond abstract poetics to personal poetry. Positioned in the middle of the printed emblem, Opitz's entry interrupts the printed opening to create this new meaning. His distich reads:

Per classicam gentem volasse quid prodest
Quum nec polus petatur hisce nec terra?

What good is it to have flown through the preeminent people [poets], when neither heaven nor earth may be sought through them?

These lines must be understood as a reference to Horace's poetological Ode 2.20, where the poet, in the form of a swan, soars over the landscape: "non usitata nec tenui ferar / pinna biformis per liquidum aethera" ('I will be borne, a two-formed poet, not by a slight or common wing through the liquid airs').³³ Horace is concerned here with the eternal fame of the poet, whose work, based on his poetic accomplishments and his metaphors, persists after his death. His ways of working and his poetic processes are so unusual and expressive, as he illustrates with the metamorphosis into a swan. A general criticism of poetry is inscribed in his self-awareness as a poet: Horace's poetics are not the usual ones ("non usitata [...] pinna"), not the methods employed by others. Opitz takes this blend of criticism and pride and articulates his own dissatisfaction with contemporary poetry, expressing his hunger for new forms and content. The poetological refocusing of Horace's ideas reflects typical emblematic strategies to set new emphases. In this particular case, it illuminates Opitz's forward-facing intention to renew German poetry and poetics, which he accomplished in the following decade.³⁴

Opitz makes tangible the Horatian metaphor of flight that illustrates how literary fame is borne into the world, one might say, in the manner in which he treats the book as an object. The Latin "volasse" is reminiscent of the German 'fliegen, überfliegen' (fly, fly over). The allusion resonates with "durchblättern," that is, to 'leaf through,' and connects the abstract meaning with the material fact of the book. Opitz's interposed manuscript leaf flies through the two pages of Symbola 145. With his entry interpolated into the volume on a blank page, Opitz literally "flies through" or "between" the famous poets ("preeminent people"). His album entry is positioned on a leaf between "heaven and earth."³⁵ Metaphorically, he aspires to soar above the others.

33 Horaz: Odes and Epodes, 2,20.

34 My thanks are due to Professor Dr. Anja Wolkenhauer, Tübingen, for her careful reading and comments on my work. This paper has profited from her insights.

35 Schulz-Behrend 1978, p. 91, interprets the distich as criticizing the contemporary superficiality of poetry that neglects Christian virtues (*polus*) and has no practical relevance (*terra*).

In a pivot from poets and poetry in general, Opitz then turns to address his friend Christian Weigel, a pivot from the emblem to the album. The shift occurs when he directly addresses Weigel as the author of the album: “ad auctorem libri.”³⁶ This change is accentuated by the position of the phrase in isolation on the page. Casting Weigel as the author of the emblematic album has significant implications for this combined genre as a work of multiple authors. In the very small poetic space of *Symbola* 145, there are four authors: Achille Bocchi as the author of the emblem book; Alberigo Longo as the author of this particular emblem; Christian Weigel as the author of the album; and Martin Opitz as the author of this entry. By inserting blank pages into Bocchi’s emblem book, Weigel has created the space for more poetry; by inviting people he has met to sign his album, he has created a document of his own academic networks and authored his own intellectual persona.

Following his declaration of Weigel as author, Opitz’s Latin hexameters proclaim Weigel to be a great poet. His language is unambiguously erotic: *adamate* (adored, beloved), *poetae iuvenis amor* ([erotic] love of a young poet), *diligit* (love, often in erotic contexts), *ardore* (heat, often used erotically), and *voto...calido* (referring to a fervent promise or vow). Opitz states his “ardent admiration” and “fervent prayer” “from the seat of his soul.” He prefers to render “small things” to this one friend rather “than to benefit a thousand thankless fools.” While exuberant professions of eternal friendship are standard in the *album amicorum*, Opitz’s entry is strikingly effusive in its praise for the otherwise unknown Weigel.³⁷ Opitz employs aphorisms attesting to strong ties of friendship: the Latin professes loyalty and true friendship, while the Greek serves to underscore friendship and nobility of spirit. Both demonstrate Opitz’s own classical knowledge:

Insanit verum qui a sese spernit amicum.

Ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἅπ’ ἐσθλὰ διδάξεαι. —³⁸

Whoever spurns a true friend is raving mad.

For you shall learn noble things from noble people.

36 While Opitz commentators assume that Weigel gave his poetry to Opitz, one could interpret Weigel as the *auctor* of this *liber amicorum*, see Schulz-Behrend 1978, p. 91.

37 Opitz’s *Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse* register album entries by Opitz from this very early period, but only one predates the entry into the Weigel *Stammbuch*, namely Opitz’s entry into the album of Andreas Lucae on 8 December 1614 (pp. 205f.). There he also enthusiastically encourages the owner of the album to write poetry: “Aut Homo aut Poeta” (Either man or poet), although the expressions of friendship are much less intense. There are more album entries by Opitz before 1620, dating from 1617 (p. 229), 1618 (pp. 232 and 234), and 1619 (p. 242).

38 Schulz-Behrend 1978, p. 91, and those following him identify the Greek passage as a segment of a longer quotation from Theognis that he renders in Latin as “Honesta enim ab honestis discas.” Plato and Xenophon, among others, also employed this citation. Part of Theognis’ known poetry focuses on verses to his *eromenos* Cynus.

The last line of the Opitz poem is from Virgil (*Eclogues* 10, 69) and deserves particular attention here:

_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _
_ AND LET US YIELD _

This particular text would have been completed in the minds of all readers:

[Omnia vincit amor,] _ ET NOS CEDAMUS _ [Amori]
[Love conquers all things,] so we too shall yield [to love].

By carving out “_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _” Opitz forces our attention on that segment of the line, “and we too shall yield.” The plural “we” encompasses both Opitz and Weigel. In a strategic act of hiding and revealing common to emblems, Opitz omitted both the first half-line and the final word of the well-known verse, both of which refer to love. His reference would have been widely understood because his citation practice exploits the well-stocked minds of the readers of emblems and albums who would recognize the quotation from Virgil, noting its missing elements. These aphorisms and citations make a somewhat disjointed impression, yet behind them they comprise a web of learned allusions. In a typical emblematic strategy, Opitz’s *scriptio* does not overtly provide the interpretation of his new emblem construct; instead he directs the learned reader to its subtler meanings. Readers are left to assemble the missing puzzle themselves.

The earliest scholar to have written about this Opitz autograph, Georg Schulz-Behrend, felt compelled to comment on Opitz’s excessive praise of Weigel’s poetic abilities, and these observations have been repeated in successive scholarship.³⁹ Opitz’s praise for Weigel was so effusive that Schulz-Behrend imagined that Weigel presented Opitz with a collection of youthful poems, which elicited Opitz’s disproportionate admiration. The great Opitz scholar Schulz-Behrend dismisses these imagined schoolboy verses by Weigel as amateurish. However, the scenario Schulz-Behrend offers is a fictitious projection attempting to account for such extravagant praise. As far as is known, this Christian Weigel never wrote any poetry, and he never published any work at all, in any genre.⁴⁰ Both the words that are and are not uttered offer compelling clues on how to interpret the intense friendship between these two young men.

39 Schulz-Behrend 1978, p. 91, speculates that Weigel must have given Opitz his schoolboy poems: “Opitz takes this booklet (liber) as an opportunity to speak in effusive praise of a poet (fratri conurato et quasi vero) ‘related’ to him.” This reading is echoed in Opitz: Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse, p. 215 f. and Opitz: Lateinische Werke, p. 277.

40 See Seidel, p. 271. Schulz-Behrend 1978, p. 91, writes: “Weigel likely presented the seventeen-year-old Opitz with a collection of handwritten Latin poems,” which has been frequently reiterated in subsequent research.

9. The Aesthetic of Difference

Past scholars' discomfort with the excessive praise for Weigel indicates that we should examine the text more closely. The inability to account for Opitz's admiration of the otherwise unknown Weigel suggests that traditional interpretive strategies are inadequate. Sarah Ahmed's premise concerning the disorientation necessary for new queer readings of the past provides a useful tool for the analysis of Opitz's *Stammbuch* entry.⁴¹ A queer reading does not necessarily mean an attempt to determine if a historical figure actually engaged in homosexual behaviours, whereas this new hermeneutical approach embraces a range of gender attitudes and opens texts to fresh readings. The alternative reading proposed here draws on three key points: 1) acknowledging the erotically charged language; 2) completing a fragmented, well-known text; and 3) reading the architectural organization of the entry on the interpolated page to direct the interpretation of its contents. Points 1 and 2 have been addressed above; point 3 is addressed below.

Signatories of albums generally display a range of penmanship from execrable to exquisite. Self-conscious signatories often prepared their entries carefully and considered not only their words but also the different aesthetic impact of their handwriting in terms of layout and design. Opitz's album entry was not spontaneous but deliberate. How Opitz penned his powerful attestation of affection structures our reading of his album entry as a poem at the intersection of classical poetry and homosociality. The use of majuscules, flowing script, Italic hand, different alphabets, changes in scale, and their placement on the manuscript page all create a striking impression of the text as a monument. The design and format of this manuscript page are meaningful and carry more than decorative signification. Opitz reflected not only on the content of his words but also on their visual impact, striving for maximum possible effect.

Opitz's intervention into Bocchi's emblem reflects his desire to position himself among classical humanists with his use of majuscules, scale, and page format. He suggests a form of paper epigraphy. The motto is centred on the page, followed by a distich centred below it. The pivot in addressing Weigel ("Ad auctorem libri") is also centred and double spaced, emphasizing the shift in topic and elevating Weigel to the role of co-author with Bocchi. His prominence is confirmed by the large font for "Musaei, Weigel," which is followed by the smaller scale for Opitz's longer poem, whose conclusion in a fair Greek hand is emphatically marked by a dash. Most striking is the "_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _" in majuscule. It is justified right, which suggests the longer omission of the first half of the Virgilian line "Omnia vincit amor" and with the shorter space at the end of the line for the single absent word "Amori." The visual focus is on the words "_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _" which are set off by dashes. The added punctuation not only empha-

41 See Ahmed 2006.

sizes the large font of the words, it emphatically gestures to the omitted parts of the Virgilian text. “_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _” (‘so we too shall yield,’ or, ‘let us yield’) leaps off the page at readers much like an ancient inscription on a monument or a contemporary headline.⁴² It demands to be read, completed, and understood in the complex message of poetic innovation and male bonding. Citations of classical texts in early modern poetry, particularly in an emblematic context, often reveal more by what is not said than what is said. Readers must complete the absent words and think about the meaning of love left unspoken, about why this love has no voice. By omitting “omnia vincit amor” and “amori,” Opitz draws more attention to the missing words than if they had been written out in majuscule.

The placement of the majuscule inscription “_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _” also bears further scrutiny. It is as if written in stone. Instead of being at the top of the page or monument, it is the last line before Opitz’s signature and thus closely links yielding to love with his own person, “Martin Opitz of Silesia,” and that of the dedicatee Christian Weigel. His name is the line directly beneath the majuscule inscription, stating Martin Opitz “made [this inscription], having been called upon” by his “sworn” and almost “true brother.” Opitz and Weigel are intimately connected in the concluding text. The placement of “_ ET NOS CEDAMUS _” – of yielding to love – at the bottom of the page represents it as the culmination of the poem that directly addresses Weigel. The position of the love that conquers all suggests that it is also situated in a different place, ‘disoriented,’ directed “as it were” at an almost “true brother.” Through the employment of fragmented classical citations and deliberate material layout and page design of his entry, Opitz signaled his intense, even passionate, feelings for Christian Weigel. The organization of the page supports this interpretation and involves text-image strategies for a fresh approach that embraces a spectrum of attitudes toward homosocial friendship and love. The colloquial employment of verse fragments was a common practice in early modern language usage and a majority of album entries used fragments often and even exclusively. Opitz’s intense praise for Weigel has been remarked upon by all commentators in the wake of Georg Schulz-Behrend.⁴³

As Minna Skaft Jensen has observed, the new social order of early modern intellectual elites often removed the young man from traditional family and kinship networks and instead emphasized bonds between men, the ability to choose one’s own “family,” and a new kind of friendship that is “self-established and secular.”⁴⁴ The importance of male friendship increased markedly, took on new significance, and found effusive

42 Cholcman 2018.

43 See Schulz-Behrend 1998, p. 91; Opitz: Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse and Opitz: Lateinische Werke.

44 Skaft Jensen 2004, p. 55.

expression among contemporary poets. Not only did Opitz imagine a new poetics, he imagined a new way of being in the world, which found expression in the emblematic *Stammbuch*.

10. Martin Opitz, the Poet Laureate

The young Martin Opitz was extraordinarily bold in claiming the emblem of a poetic laureation and in his articulation of love for his friend. Opening the German language for new forms of expression is precisely what Opitz did when he published his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624) and his *Acht Bücher Deutscher Poematum* (1625). In the former he offered a theory of German metrics and in the latter examples of the new German verse.⁴⁵ Opitz himself burst the confines of earlier German poetic forms and, with a single stroke, brought elegance to German poetry, elevating it to new heights, rendering German every bit as aesthetically beautiful as poetry in other vernacular languages. In 1625, Emperor Ferdinand II (1578–1637) personally laureated Martin Opitz, the only poet whom that emperor had so elevated.⁴⁶ In 1629, Opitz was admitted into the German language society, the *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, under the societal name “der Gekrönte” (the crowned man). His societal emblem depicts in a pavilion in a landscape both a laurel tree and a crown of laurels on a table, echoing the emblem motto “Mitt diesem” (‘With this’ [laurel, crown]). The eight lines of verse beneath the motto and *pictura* attest to the public recognition of Opitz’s poetic abilities and confirm the confident projection of his self-assuredness: “Ich selbstn krönte mich” (‘I crowned myself’).⁴⁷ Matthias Bernegger called Opitz the “German Virgil.”⁴⁸

Martin Opitz, unmarried, died of the plague in Danzig ten years later in 1639. There is no further information about the owner of the *Stammbuch*, Christian Weigel.

11. The Different Aesthetic, or The Aesthetic of Difference

The opportunities for interpersonal communication expanded exponentially when the two genres of emblem book and *Stammbuch* coincided. The possibility of reciprocal enrichment of manuscripts in print was often fully exploited. In this particular case, the meaning of the printed emblem was extended by handwritten personal sentiments, allowing the signatory to customize the emblem to reflect both his own aspirations and

45 Dünnhaupt 1991, pp. 3026f.

46 Flood 2006, pp. 1450–1452.

47 Martin Opitz: “Mitt Diesem,” “Der Gekrönte,” Mitglied 200, 1629. See Ludwig: Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Nahmen/Vorhaben/Gemählde und Wörter, sig. Eeeij.

48 Flood 2006, p. 1252.

his relationship to the person who kept the book. A dialogue evolved from the interplay of texts and images, print and manuscript. The hybrid volume became a vehicle for additional layers of meaning in the context of social networks and friendship. The space for interpretative elaboration became multiplied and created new pathways for emblematic reading strategies, which are *de facto* non-linear.⁴⁹

Given the homosocial world of intellectual elites and the prominent role of friendship in humanistic circles, the tone of much early modern European Neo-Latin poetry strikes modern readers as excessive, although it was not at all unusual.⁵⁰ Martin Opitz's strong homosocial bond with Weigel can be traced in his intervention into the 'disoriented' emblem. Combined with the opportunity for the creation of personal identity and *memoria*, the emblematic *Stammbuch* involving plural authors invites alternate, recursive readings. The plural authorship and complex material representation of this particular emblem construct evoke the authority of classical epigraphy. It also confirms that a 'different aesthetics' can be interpreted as an aesthetics of difference.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Bocchi: *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm de universo genere* = Bocchi, Achille: *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm de universo genere, quas serio ludebat libri quinque*, Bologna: Nova Academia Bocchiana 1574 [first 1555].
- Friedrich: *Emblemata Nova* = Friedrich, Andreas: *Emblemata Nova; das ist / New Bilderbuch: Darinnen durch sonderliche Figuren der jetzigen Welt Lauff und Wesen verdeckter Weise abgemahlet / und mit zugehörigen Reymen erkläret wirt [...]*, Frankfurt a. M.: Iennis, 1617, URL: <http://emblematica.library.illinois.edu/detail/book/664984339> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).
- Hooft: *Emblemata Amatoria* = Hooft, Pieter: *Emblemata Amatoria. Afbeeldinghen van minne. Emblemes d' amour*, Amsterdam: Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1611.
- Horace: *Odes and Epodes* = Horace: *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and trans. by Niall Rudd, Cambridge, MA 2004 (Loeb Classic Library 33).
- Junius: *Emblemata* = Junius, Hadrianus: *Emblemata. ad D. Arnoldum Cobelium. Aenigmatum Libellus*, Antwerp: Plantin, 1565.

49 These observations can be taken further when one takes into consideration both the act of reading and the positioning of the individual entry within the social hierarchy of the album. Because there was only a narrow band breadth in the social organization of the album, however, such considerations have built-in limits. For example, persons of great social standing signed at the front of the album and then down through the social hierarchies. Thus, Opitz, as a young student who had not yet established himself as a poet, signed at the end of the album.

50 Skaftø Jensen 2004.

- Ludwig: Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Nahmen/Vorhaben/Gemählde und Wörter = Ludwig, Fürst von Anhalt: Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Nahmen/Vorhaben/Gemählde und Wörter [...], Frankfurt a.M.: Mattheo Merian, 1646.
- Montenay: *Emblemata christiana* = Montenay, Georgette de: *Emblemata christiana. Cent emblemes chrestiennes*, Zurich: Christoph Froschauer, 1584.
- Montenay: Stamm Buch/Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel = Montenay, Georgette de: Stamm Buch/Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel/Einhundert außerlesener Emblemata [...], Frankfurt a.M.: Johann Karl Unckel, 1619.
- Opitz: Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse = Opitz, Martin: Briefwechsel und Lebenszeugnisse. Vol. 1: Kritische Edition mit Übersetzung, ed. by Klaus Conermann with the assistance of Harald Bollbuck, Berlin/New York 2009.
- Opitz: Lateinische Werke = Opitz, Martin: Lateinische Werke. Vol. 1: 1614–1624, ed., trans. and comment. by Veronika Marschall and Robert Seidel, Berlin/New York 2009 (Ausgaben deutscher Literatur des XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhunderts).
- Reusner: *Icones 1587* = Reusner, Nicolaus: *Icones sive Imagines Virorum Literis Illustrium, Quorum Fide Et Doctrina religionis & bonarum literarum studia, nostra patrumque memoria, in Germania prae-sertim, in integrum sunt restituta*, [Strasbourg:] Argentoratum: Iobinus, 1587 (VD16 R 1427).
- Reusner: *Icones 1590* = Reusner, Nicolaus: *Icones sive imagines virorum literis illustrium. Additis eorundem elogiis diversorum auctorum. Ex secunda recognitione*, Strasbourg: Bernard Jobin, 1590.
- Sambucus: *Emblemata* = Sambucus, Joannes: *Emblemata*, Antwerp: Plantin, 1564.

Secondary Literature

- Ahmed 2006 = Ahmed, Sara: *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Others*, Durham, NC 2006.
- Barker 2002 = Barker, William: *Alciato's Emblems and the Album Amicorum: A Brief Note on Examples in London, Moscow, and Oxford* [December 2002], URL: <https://www.mun.ca/alciato/album.html> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).
- Brendecke 2005 = Brendecke, Arndt: *Durchschossene Exemplare. Über eine Schnittstelle zwischen Handschrift und Druck*, in: *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 59 (2005), pp. 50–64.
- Cholcman 2018 = Cholcman, Tamar: *Three Parts Divided. The Construction, Reconstruction, and Deconstruction of Festival Emblems*, in: *Emblematica. Essays in Word and Image* 2 (2018), pp. 153–183.
- Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani 2005 = *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani: Alberigo Longo* (2005), URL: [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberigo-longo_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alberigo-longo_(Dizionario-Biografico)/) (last accessed: 26 November 2024).
- Dünnhaupt 1991 = Dünnhaupt, Gerhard: Opitz, Martin, in: *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock*, vol. 4, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 3005–3074.
- Emblematica Online = Emblematica Online, URL: <http://emblematica.grainger.illinois.edu/> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).
- Flood 2006 = Flood, John: *Poets Laureate in the Holy Roman Empire. A Bio-bibliographical Handbook*, Berlin/New York 2006.
- Giermann 1992 = Giermann, Renate: *Die neueren Handschriften der Gruppe Novissimi*, Frankfurt a.M. 1992 (Kataloge der Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel 20).
- Klose 1988 = Klose, Wolfgang: *Corpus Album Amicorum: CAAC. Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Stammbücher des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1988 (Hiersemanns bibliographische Handbücher 8).
- Nickson 1970 = Nickson, Margaret Annie Eugenie: *Early Autograph Albums in the British Museum*, London 1970.

- RAA = Repertorium Alborum Amicorum. Internationales Verzeichnis von Stammbüchern und Stammbuchfragmenten in öffentlichen und privaten Sammlungen, URL: <https://raa.gf-franken.de/de/startseite.html> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).
- Rolet 2015 = Rolet, Anne: Les questions symboliques d'Achille Bocchi: Symbolicae quaestiones, 1555, 2 vols., vol. 1: Introduction et édition critique du texte latin, vol. 2: Traduction, annotation et commentaire, Tours/Rennes 2015.
- Schnabel 1998 = Schnabel, Werner Wilhelm: Über das Dedizieren von Emblemen. Binnenzueignungen in Emblematiken des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, in: Ferdinand van Ingen/Christian Juranek (eds.): *Ars et amicitia*. Beiträge zum Thema Freundschaft in Geschichte, Kunst und Literatur. Festschrift für Martin Bircher zum 60. Geburtstag am 3. Juni 1998, Amsterdam 1998 (Chloe 28), pp. 115–166.
- Schnabel 2003 = Schnabel, Werner Wilhelm: Das Stammbuch. Konstitution und Geschichte einer textsortenbezogenen Sammelform bis ins erste Drittel des 18. Jahrhunderts, Tübingen 2003 (Frühe Neuzeit 78).
- Schulz-Behrend 1978 = Schulz-Behrend, George: Zwei Opitz-Autographen, in: Wolfenbütteler Beiträge 3 (1978), pp. 89–96.
- Skaftø Jensen 2004 = Skaftø Jensen, Minna: Humanist Friendship in Sixteenth-Century Denmark, in: Marianne Pade/Karen Skovgaard-Petersen/Peter Zeeberg (eds.): *Friendship and Poetry. Studies in Danish Neo-Latin Literature*, Copenhagen 2004 (Renæssancestudier 12), pp. 37–58.
- Visser 2005 = Visser, Arnoud S.Q.: *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image. The Use of the Emblem in Late Renaissance Humanism*, Leiden 2005 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 128).
- Wade 2017 = Wade, Mara R.: Women's Networks of Knowledge: The *Emblem Book* as *Stammbuch*, in: *Daphnis* 45.3–4 (2017), pp. 492–509, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/18796583-04503008> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).
- Wade 2018 = Wade, Mara R.: Dorothea of Anhalt, Fürstin von Braunschweig-Lüneburg. The Emblem Book as *Stammbuch*, in: Volker Bauer/Elizabeth Harding/Mara R. Wade/Gerhild Scholz Williams (eds.): *Frauen – Bücher – Höfe: Wissen und Sammeln vor 1800 / Women – Books – Courts. Knowledge and Collecting before 1800. Essays in Honor of Jill Bepler*, Wiesbaden 2018 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 151), pp. 297–312.
- Wade 2020 = Wade, Mara R.: Emblematic Strategies in the Devotions and Dynasty of Dorothea, Princess of Anhalt, in: Victoria Christman/Marjorie Elizabeth Plummer (eds.): *Cultural Shifts and Ritual Transformations in Medieval and Reformation Europe. Essays in Honor of Susan C. Karant-Nunn*, Leiden/Boston 2020 (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 223), pp. 210–229.
- Wade 2023 = Wade, Mara R.: Customizing an Emblem Book as an *album amicorum*: Valentin Ludovicus' Entry in the *Stammbuch* of Christian Weigel, in: Christopher Fletcher/Walter Melion (eds.): *Customised Books in Early Modern Europe and the Americas, 1400–1700*, Leiden 2023 (Intersections 86), pp. 402–423.
- Weston 1993 = Weston, Elizabeth See: *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, Cambridge, UK 1993.

Manuscripts

Cambridge, University Library

Album Amicorum of Abraham Ortelius (MS LC.2.113). URL: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-LC-00002-00113/1> (last accessed: 26 November 2024).

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek

Stammbuch of Anna Katharina von Brandenburg, later Queen of Denmark; Cod. Durlach 10 (see Montenay: *Emblemata christiana*).

Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek

Stammbuch of Magdalena Sibylle von Brandenburg, later Electress of Saxony; Cod. hist. 8 ° 303 (see Montenay: *Emblemata christiana*).

Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek

Stammbuch of Christian Weigel; Cod. Guelf. 225 Noviss. 8 ° (see Bocchi: *Symbolicarvm quaestionvm de universo genere*).

Stammbuch of Dorothea von Anhalt, later Duchess of Brunswick Lüneburg; Cod. Guelf. 231 Noviss. 8 ° (see Friedrich: *Emblemata Nova*).

Stammbuch of Dorothea von Anhalt, later Duchess of Brunswick Lüneburg [catalogued as Stammbuch of Rudolf August and Ludwig Rudolf, Dukes of Brunswick]; Cod. Guelf. 224 Blank (see Montenay: *Stamm Buch / Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel*).

Stammbuch of Johann Sustermann; Cod. Guelf. 225 Blankenburg (see Reusner: *Icones* 1587).

Stammbuch of Konrad von Rösch; Cod. Guelf. 42 Noviss. 12o (see Reusner: *Icones* 1590).

Multiple Authorship and Diachronic Hybridity

The Seven-branched Candelabrum of Brunswick Cathedral and Its Historical Reconfiguration

Abstract

This chapter is a case study on the seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral from 1170/1180, one of the largest surviving medieval bronze objects. This famous artefact, however, is of a hybrid nature: it owes significant parts to a 19th-century restoration and thus reflects, as is demonstrated here, the artistic ideas and (political) intentions of both medieval and modern actors. In the 12th century, the candelabrum linked the church allegorically to the Tabernacle and the Templum Salomonis. It lent splendour to the liturgy of high feast days and to the memoria of Duke Henry the Lion (d. 1195), at whose tomb it was originally placed. After the candelabrum had been dismantled and removed in 1728, it was put back up in the 19th century, when it came to be regarded as a monument to the (national) past. In 1895, the lost parts of its base were recreated by Friedrich Küsthardt, while the church interior was refashioned in a neo-Romanesque style. The analysis of both the candelabrum's stages on equal terms reveals how the concept of multiple authorship (both synchronic and diachronic) can lead to a more profound understanding of hybrid artefacts within their respective artistic and historical contexts.

Keywords

Seven-branched Candelabrum, Henry the Lion, Historism, Friedrich Küsthardt, European Restoration, House of Guelph, Medievalism, Neo-Romanesque

The Romanesque candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral (Braunschweiger Dom), formerly the collegiate church of St Blaise and St John the Baptist, is one of the largest and most artistically impressive seven-branched candelabra of the Middle Ages. From its present elevated position in the choir, it dominates the church interior, now largely bare after the 'purifications' of the 20th century (Figs. 1, 16).

- * Translated by Alexander Wilson in co-operation with Eleanor Goerss. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by them. – The work for this chapter was carried out within the framework of project A6: "Seven-branched Candelabra in Churches: Semantics – Contexts – Practices" of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), project no. 405662736. The project is dedicated to the study of a corpus of monumental seven-branched candelabra, both preserved and attested by sources.



Fig. 1. Brunswick Cathedral (former collegiate church of St Blaise and St John the Baptist), seven-branched candelabrum, c. 1170/1180 (before 1196).

Until recently, the Brunswick candelabrum has attracted scholarly interest primarily due to its presumed donation by Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony.¹ As a *mixtum compositum*, however, the candelabrum has hardly been addressed. This is despite the fact that elements of the lampstand's base are products of a 19th-century restoration replacing the lost 12th-century originals. The diachronically shifting spatial contexts and their role in the semantics and aesthetics of the candelabrum have also received little attention. On the one hand, the candelabrum's monumentality and its light had, and still have, an effect on the interior of the church. On the other hand, this interior forms the candelabrum's aesthetic and performative space. The neo-Romanesque additions to the candelabrum function aesthetically only in the context of the church's late 19th-century restoration. This becomes comprehensible, in turn, against the backdrop of the restorationist policy of the Dukes of Brunswick.

This chapter focuses on an object characterized by its diachronic hybridity. It will be shown that the production of the candelabrum in the 12th century and its restoration and completion in the 19th century were in equal measure the outcome of complex processes and the result of multiple authorship. The contribution will then address not only how the design of the artefact, but also how its contexts realize a 'different aesthetics.'

1. Form and Structure

The seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral is cast from bronze. It is 4.80 m high and has a span of 4.30 m. Including the elements produced in the 19th century, it consists of 74 individual parts. Most of these parts were made using the lost wax casting method before being fit together.² The shaft, partitioned by six nodes, rises from a base supported by lions and dragons. Each node is ringed by a wreath of leaves (Fig. 2). The lowest node is decorated with four rock crystals. The next two are set with figurative and ornamental *champlevé* enamels. The top three, like the lowest node, are each furnished with four rock crystals. Above the third, fourth, and fifth nodes, the arms of the candelabrum branch off in pairs in the form of inverted ogee arches. Like the shaft, the width of the arms tapers toward the top. Each arm is also divided by nodes adorned with leaves. Suggesting organic growth, this detail adds an arboreal quality to the candelabrum. While serving an aesthetic purpose, the nodes also function to disguise the junctures between the separately cast elements. It is above all the tapering of the stem and arms that creates a dynamic effect. Despite

1 The most important articles on the Brunswick candelabrum: Neumann 1891; Pfeifer 1898; Graeven 1902; Swarzenski 1932, p. 250; Brandt 1985; Koch 1995.

2 Koch 1995, p. 195.



Fig. 2. Seven-branched candelabrum, evangelist (champlevé), c. 1170/1180, and ornamental enamels, c. 1895 (champlevé).

its monumentality, the candelabrum thus retains an elegant and slender aesthetic. The sweeping arms, moreover, do not end at the same height. Rather than forming a horizontal bar, the top of the candelabra slopes gently from the centre outwards. The candle trays supported by each arm are designed as eight-petalled chalices. Together, these features evoke a tree of light.

Four lions, seated and sphinx-like, form the base of the candelabrum (Fig. 3). Each lion carries a bowl on its back. Four dragons rest their front paws and heads on the bowls. With their bodies striving upwards with long, upturned tails, the dragons seem to support the lowest node of the shaft. There is something contrived about the combination of creatures.³ The dragons' heads are narrow, long-eared, and dog-like, their mouths open. Their curved necks merge into swan-like bodies. Feathered wings grow directly out of their forelegs. Tapering toward the shaft of the candelabrum, their tails twist into spiralling tendrils. A small dragon animates one of these tendrils; another tendril is inhabited by a bird-headed creature. Spandrels with ornamental openwork occupy the space between the four dragons. These are 19th-century additions that will be discussed in more detail later. Nothing is known about the original design of these spandrels. Other 19th-century additions include most of the enamels on the trunk's nodes. The only medieval enamels are those with the enthroned evangelists. The diamond-shaped enamels and most of the ornamental plates are historicising replacements for missing parts. Nevertheless, the bronze surface is characterized by the flawlessness

3 There is only one other case with similar forms, namely a lampstand that followed the model of the Brunswick candelabrum. Melted down in the 18th century, only drawings survive. Formerly in the church St Michael in Lüneburg, this candelabrum probably dates from around 1300; see Bloch 1961, pp. 149f., Fig. 83, p. 287.

of the cast and the warm sheen of the material. These qualities, together with the play of light, accentuate the plasticity of the individual shapes. The Historicist ornamental spandrels, as well as the enamels on the shaft, fit in seamlessly with the candelabrum's medieval appearance – both in material and artistic terms.

2. Semantics and Actors in the 12th Century

In form and meaning, the Christian seven-branched candelabrum follows from the Jewish Menorah. According to the Book of Exodus, the Menorah was produced on God's directive as part of the ritual objects for the Tabernacle. Like the Ark of the Covenant, the Table for the Showbread, and the Altar of Incense, the Menorah also became part of the furnishings of the Solomonic Temple in Jerusalem.⁴ Due to their detailed descriptions in the Bible, the objects of the Tabernacle and Solomon's Temple played a prominent role in Christian exegesis. God stipulates the making of the Temple furnishings as a condition for his residing with his people: *Facientque mihi sanctuarium, et habitabo in medio eorum: juxta omnem similitudinem tabernaculi quod ostendam tibi, et omnium vasorum in cultum ejus* ("And let them make me a sanctuary, that I may dwell in their midst. According to all that I show you concerning the pattern of the tabernacle, and of all its furniture, so you shall make it"; Ex 25:8–9).⁵ Then God proceeds to give precise specifications, referencing a model quite literally shown to Moses (*fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est* ['make [it] according to the model shown to you on the mountain']; Ex 25:40; see also 26:30). God thus directly instigated the production of the Menorah and other objects in the Temple.⁶

4 The relevant biblical passages are Ex 25:17–24 and 31–38, and 1 Kgs 7:49. – On the Menorah and its history, see Voß 1993; Hakhilili 2001; Fine 2016; Di Castro/Leone/Nesselrath 2017. A very readable account of its historical development and the interpretive contexts is provided in Bloch 1961, pp. 55–88.

5 Latin quotations of the Bible follow the edition: *Biblia sacra*, ed. by Berger; English translations: Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible. Unless otherwise noted, translations from other Latin sources correspond to the author's translations in the German original of this chapter.

6 The passage on the candelabrum reads: *Facies et candelabrum ductile de auro mundissimo, hastile ejus, et calamos, scyphos, et sphærolas, ac lilia ex ipso procedentia. Sex calami egredientur de lateribus, tres ex uno latere, et tres ex altero. Tres scyphi quasi in nucis modum per calamos singulos, sphærolaque simul, et lilium: et tres similiter scyphi instar nucis in calamo altero, sphærolaque simul et lilium. Hoc erit opus sex calamorum, qui producendi sunt de hastili: in ipso autem candelabro erunt quatuor scyphi in nucis modum, sphærolæque per singulos, et lilia. Sphærolæ sub duobus calamis per tria loca, qui simul sex fiunt procedentes de hastili uno. Et sphærolæ igitur et calami ex ipso erunt, universa ductilia de auro purissimo. Facies et lucernas septem, et pones eas super candelabrum, ut luceant ex adverso. Emunctoria quoque, et ubi quæ emuncta sunt extinguantur, fiant de auro purissimo. Omne pondus candelabri cum universis vasis suis habebit talentum auri purissimi. Inspice, et fac secundum exemplar, quod tibi in monte monstratum est* ("And you shall make a lampstand of pure gold. The base and the shaft of the lampstand shall be



Fig. 3. Seven-branched candelabrum, base, lion and dragon, c. 1170/1180.

The number of candles was decisive for the Christian allegory. Early on, exegetes associated the Menorah's seven candles with the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. The prophecy recounted in the book of Isaiah, the *radix Jesse* prophecy ('the Tree of Jesse'; Isa 11:1–3), lists seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.⁷ The motif in this prophecy of the new shoot, which likewise refers to the Messiah, probably also inspired the candelabrum's occasionally

made of hammered work; its cups, its capitals, and its flowers shall be of one piece with it; and there shall be six branches going out of its sides, three branches of the lampstand out of one side of it and three branches of the lampstand out of the other side of it; three cups made like almonds, each with capital and flower, on one branch, and three cups made like almonds, each with capital and flower, on the other branch – so for the six branches going out of the lampstand; and on the lampstand itself four cups made like almonds, with their capitals and flowers, and a capital of one piece with it under each pair of the six branches going out from the lampstand. Their capitals and their branches shall be of one piece with it, the whole of it one piece of hammered work of pure gold. And you shall make the seven lamps for it; and the lamps shall be set up so as to give light upon the space in front of it. Its snuffers and their trays shall be of pure gold. Of a talent of pure gold shall it be made, with all these utensils"; Ex 25:31–39).

7 *Et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet. Et requiescet super eum spiritus Domini spiritus sapientiae et intellectus spiritus consilii et fortitudinis spiritus scientiae et pietatis et replebit eum spiritus timoris Domini* ("There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and the fear of the Lord. And his delight shall be in the fear of the Lord"; Isa 11:1–3).



Fig. 4. Monument of Henry the Lion, square between Brunswick Cathedral and Dankwarderode Castle, 1164/1181.

tree-like design.⁸ In the case of the Brunswick candelabrum, its shape also lends pictorial clarity to its Christological interpretation as the ‘arbor Jesse.’

Created in association with Henry the Lion’s (c. 1129/1130–1195) building campaign, the Brunswick candelabrum is a spectacular artefact.⁹ Henry ranked among the most powerful nobleman in the Empire. Duke of Saxony since 1142, Henry also became Duke of Bavaria in 1156. According to the *Chronica Slavorum*, this is when he received his famous epithet: *Et creatum est ei nomen novum: Heinricus Leo, dux Bavariae et Saxoniae*.¹⁰ He created his residence, Dankwarderode Castle in Brunswick, to reflect his ambitions. The lion he had installed on the plaza between the palace and the collegiate church, a novel freestanding monumental bronze, also served as a symbol of his ducal power (Fig. 4).¹¹

8 It would be interesting to know the appearance of the lost 12th-century candelabrum attested by sources to have stood in the choir of the abbey church of Saint Augustine in Canterbury: *Candelabrum magnum in choro aureum, quod ‘Jesse’ vocatur* (‘a large golden candelabrum in the choir, named ‘Jesse’); see Lehmann-Brockhaus: *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland*, pp. 197f., nos. 720f.; Bloch 1961, p. 125.

9 For more detailed information on Henry the Lion’s endowments: Swarzenski 1932, pp. 241–397; Oexle 1995; Westermann-Angerhausen 2003.

10 Cited from Bosau: *Chronica Slavorum*, p. 300 (‘And a new name was created for him: Henry the Lion, Duke of Bavaria and Saxony’).

11 Statements on the precise dating of the lion monument vary; the range lies between 1164 and 1181. See Seiler 2003.

In 1168, Henry married Matilda Plantagenet, the daughter of the King of England. Between January 1172 and January 1173, he undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Upon his return, he had the old collegiate church of St Blaise demolished and instigated the construction of a more sophisticated, three-aisled church with a raised choir. Henry's fall in 1180 resulted in the loss of his imperial fiefdoms and ultimately in his exile in England (1182–1185 and 1188–1189). While these circumstances may have led to interruptions, the construction and furnishing of St Blaise seem to have advanced swiftly.¹² In 1188, the altar of the Virgin Mary was consecrated. Resting on five bronze columns, the altar was located in the choir. Henry moreover commissioned a luxurious Gospel book for the altar from the scriptorium in Helmarshausen.¹³ The chronicler Gerhard von Steterburg (d. 1209) reported other artefacts donated by Henry. In his *Annales Steterburgenses*,¹⁴ Gerhard mentions a group of triumphal crosses,¹⁵ a golden crucifix for the altar of the cross, and stained glass windows.¹⁶ When Matilda died in 1189, she was buried 'in medio ecclesiae' – in the central aisle of the collegiate church – as was customary for high-ranking benefactors. Upon Henry's death in 1195, he was interred at her side. The couple's son, Otto IV, who died in 1218, was also laid to rest in the central aisle of the church.¹⁷ The seven-branched candelabrum stood between the ducal couple's tomb and the altar of the Cross (Kreuzaltar) in front of the Choir screen. The first attestation to the candelabrum and its placement appears in a document recording the donation of wax in 1196.¹⁸ The *Braunschweiger Rheimchronik* (Brunswick verse chronicle)

12 Koch 1985; Niehr 1995.

13 On the altar of Mary: Luckhardt/Niehoff 1995, pp. 192–195, Cat. no. D 26 (Franz Niehoff); on the Gospel book of Henry the Lion: Luckhardt/Niehoff 1995, pp. 206–210, Cat. no. D 31 (Joachim M. Plotzek).

14 *Videns senior dux imperatorem flecti non posse ad benevolentiam, coelesti Regi placere desiderans, cultum domus Dei ampliare intendit [...] ymaginem domini nostri Ihesu Chrisit crucifixi cum aliis ymaginibus miro et decenti opere in medio monasterii summo studio collocari fecit, pavimento et fenestris ipsum monasterium laudabiliter ornavit, crucem auream opere fabрили fieri instituit, cuius pretium in auro et gemmis ad mille quingentas marcas argenti computabatur* ('When the old duke saw that the emperor could not be diverted to goodwill, he wished to please the heavenly King, and intended to increase the splendor of the House of God. [...] He had the image of our crucified Lord Jesus Christ installed with great diligence in the middle of the cathedral with other images of wondrous and decorous craftsmanship, decorated the same cathedral with a stone floor and windows in a praiseworthy manner, and had made a golden cross of wrought-iron work, the value of which in gold and precious stones was estimated at 1500 marks of silver'; *Annales Steterburgenses*, p. 230).

15 On the destroyed triumphal cross group, see Bethmann: *Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen*, pp. 549–552; Beer 2005, p. 247.

16 On the surviving fragments: Luckhardt/Niehoff 1995, pp. 281 f., Cat. no. D 37 (Monika Böning).

17 Ehlers 2009.

18 See note 26.

from the later 13th century reports that Henry was *unden dhem candelar geleyht an dhes munsteres mitten* ('laid to rest below the candelabrum in the middle of the cathedral').¹⁹

The candelabrum, according to Ursula Mende, was cast locally. This was also the case for the lion monument and the bronze columns for the altar of the Virgin Mary.²⁰ It is thus assumed that specialists were brought to Brunswick for the modelling and casting.²¹ The enamels on the nodes of the candelabrum, however, were produced not by artists working in the region but rather in Cologne, the leading centre for the production of high-quality champlevé enamels in the Empire.²²

Regarding iconography, the Brunswick candelabrum is the first known seven-branched candelabrum with lions as supporting figures.²³ Like the stylistically similar bronze lion in the front of Dankewarderobe Castle, these lions were likely conceived as a reference to Henry the Lion as the churches benefactor. In addition, the candelabrum was semantically linked to the other church furnishings. As scholarship has long recognized, this linkage blended the collegiate church with the Templum Salomonis in Jerusalem.²⁴ On either side of the main altar in the apex of the choir, two (no longer preserved) freestanding columns were placed in memory of Jachin and Boaz, the two pillars of Solomon's Temple (1 Kgs 7:21). The form of the altar of the Virgin Mary, a stone slab supported by five bronze columns, alluded to the Table for the Showbread. The seven-branched candelabrum acted as an effigy of the biblical Menorah. Insofar as the Templum Salomonis was superimposed on the church interior of St Blaise, its builder, Henry the Lion, was made to appear as a 'novus David' or 'novus Solomon' in the tradition of the biblical kings.²⁵

Because of its position at the tomb of the ducal couple, the seven-branched candelabrum also played an important commemorative role. In 1196, one year after Henry's

19 Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 2: Sächsische Weltchronik, p. 496.

20 Mende 1995.

21 Mende 1995, p. 427: 'One would like also to imagine the commission of Henry the Lion, who consolidated various forces at his court for the shaping of the sculpture and for its casting – surely the best that were available – in the same way [as Abbot Suger's commission for the bronze doors of St Denis, A. W.]'

22 Hildesheim had likewise mastered the production of champlevé enamel, albeit not at the high artistic level of the Cologne workshops. The Cologne origins of the enamels on the candelabrum are suggested by the colour and style of the enamels: Kemper 2020, pp. 30 and 102 ('one of the most impressive large-scale commissions [...] in Brunswick Cathedral, [which] was without question awarded to a more distant, Rhenish workshop').

23 In the late Middle Ages, lions as supports for seven-branched candelabra occur especially in the North Sea and Baltic regions (e.g. Kolberg, Stockholm, and Fürstenwalde); see Bloch 1961, pp. 165–170, Figs. 101–103.

24 Koch 1985; Niehr 1995, pp. 274–277.

25 Niehr 1995, p. 247.

death, Ludolf von Volkmarode, a Guelph ministry official and canon of St Blaise, endowed the altar of the Cross with a fief. The income was to finance wax for the candles on the altar and the seven-branched candelabrum.²⁶ The candelabrum, it is presumed, was lit for high festivals and memorial services for the founders.²⁷ Sources published by Irmgard Haas provide information about wax donations for the candelabrum's candles for other feasts, such as those of St Anne, St Euphemia, St Vincent, the Translation of St Blaise, St Bartholomew, St Michael, and others. From the late Middle Ages onwards, this also included the feast of Corpus Christi.²⁸ Only in its function within the liturgy did the candelabrum assume its full aesthetic splendour. Its light shone onto the altar of the Cross and into the nave of the church. With the glow of the candles, the burnished bronze surface and rock crystals came alive.

The production of the candelabrum, therefore, involved an interplay of various actors. Of these actors, only Henry the Lion, as the commissioner of the collegiate church's construction and furnishing, is known by name. The candelabrum, moreover, served a range of functions. On the one hand, it served to connect the church building to the Tabernacle and the Temple of Solomon in a semantic superimposition as it were. On the other hand, the candelabrum, together with the altar of the Cross, marked the liturgical centre of the church. Its light lent splendor to important feast days. And in its place near the tomb, it commemorated its benefactor, Henry the Lion, safeguarding the memory of him and his family.

3. Dislocation and Elimination

For more than four centuries, the candelabrum remained in its place between the tomb and the altar. And it continued to serve the range of functions associated with this placement. It was only with the Reformation that the liturgical and spatial contexts changed in Brunswick Cathedral. While the reformers gained a foothold in the city, St Blaise remained at the disposal of the dukes as their personal church (*Eigenkirche*). It was Julius, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg and Prince of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who first opened the duchy to the Reformation in 1568.²⁹ The decisive architectural changes

26 *Lumina provideantur supra candelabrum coram iam sepe dicto altari* ('The candles for the candelabrum in front of the often-mentioned altar are to be provided'). Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Abteilung Wolfenbüttel, Hauptabteilung Urkunden, Abt. 7, Urk 2 (1196); see Bethmann: *Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen*, p. 553; Döll 1967, p. 174. This document has sometimes been dated incorrectly to 1223.

27 Kroos 1984; on the medieval use of light, see, in general, Henkelmann 2019; on the use of light in the context of commemorating the dead, see Schilp 2011.

28 Haas 2011, pp. 122, 256–258, and 356; on the lighting of the collegiate church, see pp. 256–259.

29 Beste 1889, pp. 1f. and 7–73; Schwarz 2012, esp. pp. 105f.

to St Blaise did not take place until a century later, when the Guelph court moved its seat back to Brunswick (again) from Wolfenbüttel in 1671. Once again serving as a court chapel, St Blaise was adapted to the needs of a reformed congregation. Its renovation and redesign reflected the style current under Dukes Rudolf August and Anton Ulrich. The numerous side altars, as well as the altar of the Cross, the high altar in the choir, and the canons' choir stalls, were removed. The 13th-century wall murals were white-washed.³⁰ The medieval barrier separating the choir from the nave and transept arms of the church was dismantled. At the base of the choir, a new staircase and a monumental pulpit altar (Kanzelaltar) (in place of the altar of the cross) were erected. In order that it not be concealed, the seven-branched candelabrum was "expensively burnished and placed in the choir in 1709".³¹ In 1728, the late baroque reredos for the high altar were completed by Anton Detlef Jenner. The candelabrum stood in the way. This time, it was entirely dismantled, broken down into its constituent parts, and stowed away in crates in the sacristy. Other victims of the late baroque remodelling of the cathedral in the 18th century included the medieval stained-glass windows and the group of triumphal crosses donated by Henry the Lion. These were turned into kindling and used to heat the sacristy, as Philipp Christian Ribbentrop indignantly reported in 1789.³² After that, as Ribbentrop noted, there was "little in the way of curiosities and antiquities" to be found in the church anymore. It would "therefore be desirable for the friends of German antiquities and the history of art [...] that the candelabrum, placed back in the church by Duke Anton Ulrich in 1709 and subsequently removed, might now find its place in the church again."³³

4. Restoration and Reconfiguration in the 19th Century

At the beginning of the 19th century, political events began to arrive in quick succession. In 1807, the new Kingdom of Westphalia was created at Napoleon's behest. This included the territories of the Electorates of Hessen and Hanover, as well as that of the Principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. In 1810, the cathedral chapter of St Blaise was abolished and its property confiscated.³⁴ After the end of Napoleonic reign in 1813, Duke

30 On the medieval altars and the furnishing of the choir: Koch 1995, p. 501 and Fig. 17 (floor plan of the church before the Reformation); Haas 2011, pp. 251–255.

31 Rethmeyer: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclytae Urbis Brunsvigae*, vol. 1, p. 88 ('In front of the altar, Duke Henry the Lion had the great brass candelabrum [...] placed, which is supposed to be a model of the golden candelabrum in the abbey's lodge') and Rethmeyer: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclytae Urbis Brunsvigae*, vol. 5, p. 32.

32 Ribbentrop: *Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig*, p. 173.

33 Both quotations come from Ribbentrop: *Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig*, p. 183.

34 Neumann 1891, p. 24.

Friedrich Wilhelm was restored to power. The Duchy of Brunswick was re-established with the former borders of the Principality of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. It was under these circumstances that Friedrich Görge, who worked as a cantor at the cathedral and collegiate church of St Blaise, wrote a description of the church in 1815. Dedicating his work to the “most illustrious and venerable prince” of Brunswick-Lüneburg, he foregrounded the church’s function as the burial place of the Guelphs.³⁵ With an audibly anti-Napoleonic tone, Görge spoke out emphatically in favour of re-erecting the candelabrum, which was still dismantled at the time:

Because this candelabrum, considered a work of art and an antiquity, is of such outstanding value, it is impossible to quell the desire that it be displayed publicly one more. [...] Even in the most hard-pressed of recent times, the goods received by the princely monastery through the benevolence of its sovereign have remained its property. So shall the weakling from Corsica be entitled to boast of having annihilated for all eternity what Duke Henry the Lion created and his noble successors preserved!

It will immortalize the day of its new foundation beyond any doubt through a memorial of sorts, which, just as history records the names of those who have preserved it, will also record the beloved name of its maker for posterity. What could be more appropriate here than this ancient work of art, which we owe to the great progenitor of our illustrious princely house.³⁶

Furthermore, Görge gives a detailed account of his inspection of the individual parts. He took them out of the crates, laid them out on the floor of the sacristy, and counted and measured them.³⁷ The four spandrels between the dragons of the candelabrum’s base were already missing at this time. It is not known whether they had been sold off, melted down, or stolen. In any case, the candelabrum was reinstalled in the choir in 1830 (Fig. 5).³⁸

35 Plans to restore the abbey failed, however. In 1832, the abbey’s estate was finally allocated to the ducal treasury. See Neumann 1891, p. 24; Schwarz 2012, p. 107.

36 Görge: *Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig*, pp. 31 f. (“Da dieser Armleuchter, als Kunstwerk und Alterthum betrachtet, einen so ausgezeichneten Werth hat, so kann man den Wunsch unmöglich unterdrücken, daß er wieder öffentlich aufgestellt werden möge. [...] Auch in den bedrängtesten neueren Zeiten verblieben dem Fürstlichen Stifte seine ihm durch Landesväterliche Huld gewordenen Güter. Sollte daher der Schwächling aus Corsica sich rühmen dürfen, auf ewige Zeiten vernichtet zu haben, was Herzog Heinrich der Löwe schuf und seine hehren Nachfolger erhielten! Es wird ohne Zweifel den Tag seiner neuen Gründung durch irgendein Denkmal verewigen, welches, wie die Geschichte die Namen der Erhalter, auch der Nachwelt den geliebten Namen des Herstellers nennt; welches könnte hier zweckmäßiger sein, als dies uralte Kunstwerk, das wir dem großen Ahnherrn unsers erlauchten Fürstenhauses verdanken.”).

37 Görge: *Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig*, pp. 27–32.

38 The steel engraving by Johannes Poppel follows a sketch by Emil Schulz and was published in: Heinemann: *Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig*, vol. 3, table 15.

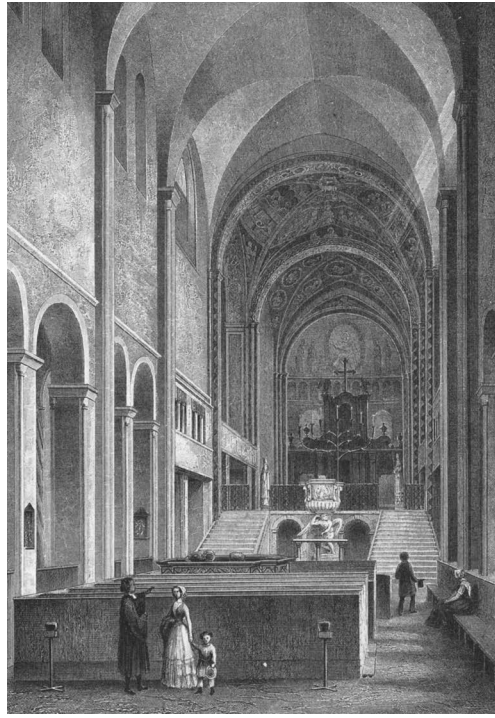


Fig. 5. Johannes Poppel: Brunswick Cathedral (steel engraving after a drawing by Emil Schulz), in: Heinemann: *Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig* (The Kingdom of Hannover and the Duchy of Brunswick), vol. 3, plate 15.

The Brunswick bell founder Johann Heinrich Wicke replaced the lost medieval parts with bronze spandrels. He designed these parts according to the taste of the period, with symmetrically interlaced spirals of tendrils and Grecian palmette motifs (Fig. 6).³⁹

In the second half of the 19th century, a series of publications were dedicated to the collegiate church in its capacity as the Guelph court chapel. These publications, some illustrated, appreciated the candelabrum as a donation from Henry the Lion.⁴⁰ Cantor Friedrich Grube offered the most detailed account in his 1886 guide to the cathedral. Remarkably enough, the additions of 1830 were not recognizable to him as such. He wrote that the candelabrum showed “interesting ornaments of Byzantine style, especially at the base”.⁴¹ Others, however, recognized the spandrels as an aesthetic depar-

39 Neumann 1891, p. 16.

40 Görge: *Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig*, pp. 31 f.; Schiller: *Die mittelalterliche Architectur Braunschweigs*, pp. 23 f.; Bethmann: *Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen*, pp. 553–555 and 559; Schmid: *Der christliche Altar und sein Schmuck*, p. 226; Grube: *Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig*, pp. 23–26.

41 Grube: *Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig*, p. 23 (“namentlich am Fuße interessante Ornamente byzantinischen Styls”).

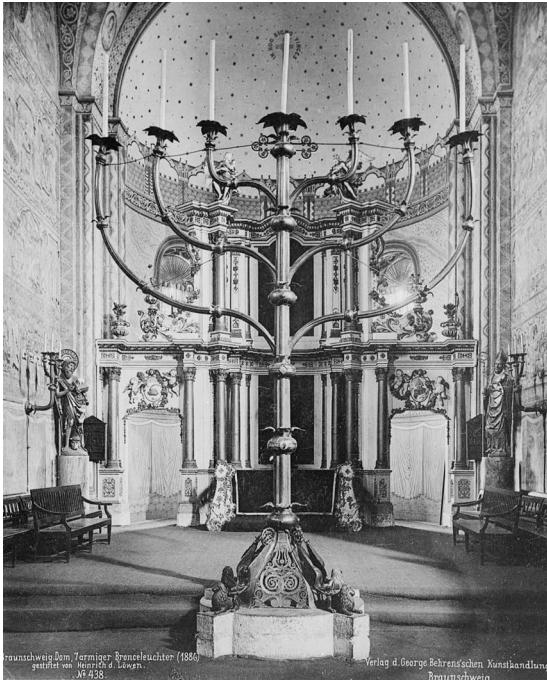


Fig. 6. Seven-branched candelabrum after its re-installation (with additions by Johann Heinrich Wicke, 1830; photograph 1886).

ture from the medieval elements. In 1891, Wilhelm Anton Neumann produced his foundational publication on the reliquary treasure of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg (Welfenschatz). He depicted the candelabrum without the classicist restorations, noting that the additions, “insofar as they are not in the correct style, should be replaced by new ones” (Fig. 7).⁴²

4.1. Actors

In 1893, the sculptor Friedrich Küsthardt (1830–1900) was commissioned to restore the candelabrum to its medieval state.⁴³ Known primarily for his portraits, monuments,

42 Neumann 1891, p. 16 (“soweit sie nicht stylgerecht, durch neue ersetzt werden sollen”). Neumann’s illustration, however, also omits the upper parts of the arms which he apparently regarded as additions.

43 Friedrich Küsthardt had initially worked in Frankfurt with Eduard Schmidt von der Launitz, who also taught art history at the Städel institute. In 1857, he began studies at the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Munich and travelled to Italy. From 1859, he taught at the newly founded school of architecture and engineering in Hildesheim. Küsthardt died in Hildesheim one year after his retirement in 1899. For Küsthardt’s life and work, see Emons 2000; Gronau 2019. I was unable to access Emons 1998.

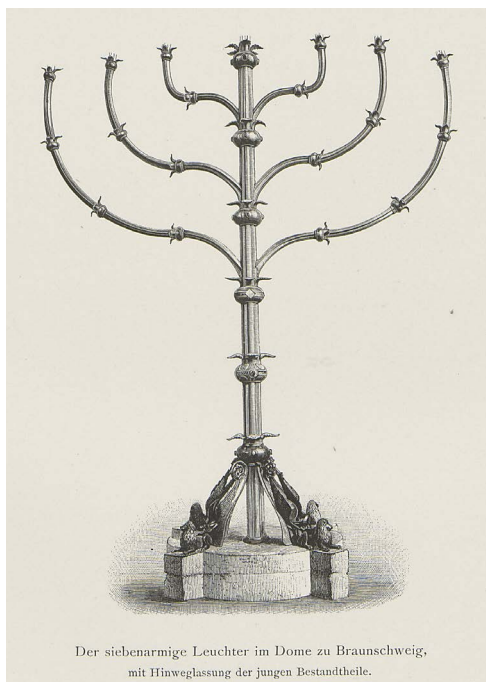


Fig. 7. Seven-branched candelabrum (without additions), in: Neumann 1891, p. 55.

and tombs, Küsthardt also made a name for himself with his restorations, copies, and recreations of medieval works. In 1868, he made a copy of the Hildesheim Hezilo chandelier for the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) in London.⁴⁴ In 1899, he was asked by the Hildesheim Cathedral chapter for an expert opinion on the restoration of the famous Hezilo chandelier, which formed the basis for the restoration carried out after his death.⁴⁵

In 1871, Küsthardt created a new capital for the Ottonian Bernward Column.⁴⁶ For the Historicist refurbishment of Brunswick Cathedral in 1880, he produced a monumental crown chandelier (modelled on the Hezilo chandelier), commissioned by Wilhelm August Ludwig Maximilian Friedrich (1806–1884), Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of his reign. The chandelier was hung in the

44 Giersbeck 2015, pp. 362–365.

45 Küsthardt's sons carried out the restoration of the wheel chandelier from 1901 to 1902, a progressive undertaking by the standards of the time. After meticulous cleaning and maintenance, they reused the preserved parts and reconstructed missing elements according to the original program. The conservators carefully marked their additions to make them permanently distinguishable: Knapp 2000, p. 68; Knapp/Kruse 2015, pp. 333f.

46 Wiecker 1874, pp. 4f.; on Küsthardt's activities in Hildesheim: Rödling 2000, esp. pp. 151f.; Schädler-Saub 2001, pp. 317f.

central nave of the cathedral on 23 April 1881 (Fig. 14).⁴⁷ Furthermore, Küsthardt created a triumphal cross as a replacement for the one donated by Henry the Lion in 1194, destroyed in the 18th century. Küsthardt's studies of the 13th-century triumphal crosses in Halberstadt, Freiberg, and Wechselburg reveal how intensively he prepared himself for the recreation of the Brunswick triumphal cross.⁴⁸ Küsthardt was thus ideally qualified for the restoration of the candelabrum. He had, moreover, already worked for the Guelphs in Brunswick.

The Historistic restoration of the seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick Cathedral is an exemplary case of multiple authorship. Among the actors involved were Prince Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Albrecht of Prussia (1837–1906), who ruled the Duchy of Brunswick from 1885 until his death; the architect Friedrich Maria Krahe and his successor Ernst Wiehe, who were responsible for managing the site and the execution of all the work in the cathedral; and Friedrich Küsthardt, who designed the reliefs and produced the models cast by the renowned Lauchhammer art foundry in Lusatia. Meanwhile, the smith and enameller for the imperial court, Gabriel Hermeling (1833–1904) in Cologne, was commissioned to reproduce the enamels missing from the candelabrum. Hermeling's goldsmith workshop, leading in the restoration of medieval works, was known throughout the empire for its high artisanal quality.⁴⁹ Finally, the learned Cologne collector and cathedral canon Alexander Schnütgen (1843–1918) acted as an advisor for the iconographic programme of the candelabrum.⁵⁰ It is not possible, however, to determine more precisely which decisions were made by the prince or Küsthardt, or which ideas for the pictorial programme came from Schnütgen. What is clear, however, is that the prominence of the actors involved reflects the significance attached to the restoration of the candelabrum.

4.2. *Divina quaternitas*. The Iconographic Programme of the Candelabrum's Base

The candelabrum's surviving 12th-century elements served as the starting point for the restorations and additions. This included the four enamels with the depictions of the four Evangelists (on the second node) and the four lions and dragons. Replacements for the missing enamels of the third node and the ornamental plates on the second node were commissioned from Gabriel Hermeling's goldsmith workshop in Cologne. The workshop based the colours and forms of the replaced elements on Romanesque *champlevé* enamels from the Rhineland. This is true to the candelabrum's medieval

47 Grube: *Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig*, pp. 9f.

48 Küsthardt: *Apostelbalken und Triumphkreuz*.

49 Hermeling 1889; Hermeling: 1891; Clasen 1974.

50 Pfeifer 1898, col. 50.



Fig. 8. Seven-branched candelabrum, base (with additions by Friedrich Küsthard, 1895).

enamels, which had, indeed, been produced in the Rhineland.⁵¹ The theme chosen for the diamond-shaped plates was personifications of the four winds. Also representing the cardinal directions, the four winds also symbolize the world in its entirety.⁵² In medieval visual art, wind personifications frequently occur in the context of programmes based on the 'divina quaternitas'.⁵³ The theme is thus consonant with the medieval aspects of the candelabrum.

Küsthardt designed the spandrels between the dragons in the base as triangles. Curved slightly outward, the spandrels' lower rim is formed of two arcs joined at a protruding notch in the centre (Fig. 8). Arabesques fill the surfaces of the spandrels. Various figures are integrated into the plant-like arabesques. In the centre of each of the four spandrels appear male personifications of the rivers of Paradise (the Euphrates, Tigris, Pishon, and Gihon; Figs. 9, 11), enthroned. Each river of Paradise is flanked by two female personifications of virtue, somewhat smaller in scale. Representing the cardinal virtues (Fortitudo, Temperantia, Prudentia, and Justitia), the personifications

51 See note 22.

52 See, foundationally, Raff 1978/1979.

53 Esmeijer 1978; see also Meyer / Suntrup 1987.



Fig. 9. Seven-branched candelabrum, base, Ezekiel, Euphrates, personifications of Justice.



Fig. 10. Hildesheim Cathedral, baptismal font, c. 1220/1230, Luke, Jeremiah, personification of Temperance, river of Paradise.

involve two female figures riding dragons or griffins. Sitting on the lower rim of the spandrel, the bodies of the dragons or griffins serve to harmonize the composition. Their tails taper into the tendrils that form the arabesques. First framing the personifications of the rivers, the tendrils divide again to enclose the busts of the four great prophets (Daniel, Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Isaiah). Finally, they converge in a lily motif. Latin inscriptions identifying all the figures are inscribed either on the haloes (in the case of the prophets) or on the lower framing elements and the tendrils (in the case of the rivers of Paradise and the virtues).

Küsthardt, as with his restorations for the aforementioned triumphal cross, orientated himself toward historically and artistically plausible prototypes. He chose as a model, namely, an object that was appropriate in terms of both geography and material: the 13th-century bronze baptismal font in Hildesheim Cathedral.⁵⁴ There, the rivers of Paradise function as supporting figures. Their positions correspond to the four axes marked by pillars on the sides of the basin. Standing above medallions with the busts of

54 On the Hildesheim baptismal font, see recently Höhl 2009 (with reference to older literature).



Fig. 11. Seven-branched candelabrum, base, Jeremiah, Gihon, personifications of Temperance.

the cardinal virtues, the pillars support, in turn, medallions with the busts of the four great prophets. Symbols of the Evangelists appear above the prophets (Fig. 10).⁵⁵

While adopting aspects of the composition from the Hildesheim baptismal font, Küsthardt doubled the number of personifications. The following groupings, accompanied by the depictions of the four prophets and the four winds, appear on the base of the candelabrum:

- Gihon, Temperantia (mixing vessels / dove), Jeremiah
- Tigrid, Fortitudo (sword and shield / lion), Daniel
- Euphrates, Justitia (sword and wreath / scales), Ezekiel
- Pishon, Prudentia (compass and square / serpent), Isaiah

55 An inscription on the upper rim of the basin makes the connection manifest: *QuATuor irroDAnT pArADisJ fluMinA MunDuM + virTuTes q(ue) rigAnT ToDiDeM cor criMini MunDuM + orA propHeTArUm que vATicJnATA fuerunT + Hec rATA scripTores evAngelii cecinerunT* ('The four rivers of Paradise irrigate the world, and as many virtues water the heart that is pure of sin. What the mouth of the prophets foretold, the Evangelists have proclaimed as legitimate'; inscription cited following Deutsche Inschriften Online, no. 67).



Fig. 12. Milan Cathedral, Trivulzio candelabrum, second quarter 13th century, base, river of Paradise.

In doubling the personifications, Küsthardt deviated from the medieval pictorial tradition. But this allowed him to adhere to a canonical feature of the four cardinal virtues:⁵⁶ their multiple, contrasting facets. Of the two women embodying *Justitia*, for example, one wields a sword and a wreath. The other holds a set of scales (Fig. 9). Turned towards each other as if in dialogue, it seems as if the *Justitia* with the scales is raising her hand placatingly to soothe the *Justitia* with the sword. This can be read as a reference to the relationship between ‘*justitia commutativa*’ (commutative justice) and ‘*justitia distributiva*’ (distributive justice).⁵⁷ Of the two personifications of *Temperantia*, one holds two mixing vessels referencing the balance of the bodily fluids (corresponding to humoral pathology). The other caresses a dove, implying that a moderate character, gentleness, and humility are aspects of temperance (Fig. 11).

While personifications of the virtues riding on griffins or dragons are not common in the medieval pictorial tradition, Küsthardt’s use of the motif is thematically convincing. Virtues riding monstrous creatures can be understood as the virtues overcom-

56 See Evans 1972 for a foundational overview; on the four cardinal virtues, see also Bejczy 2011.

57 In the visual arts, the differentiation between ‘*justitia distributiva*’ and ‘*justitia commutativa*’ occurs only exceptionally, as in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena; see, for example, Norman 1995.



Fig. 13. Brunswick, seven-branched candelabrum, base, personification of Prudence with compass and straightedge, signature by Friedrich Küsthardt, 1895.

ing vices – a medieval motif. Not simply adaptations of medieval models, Küsthardt's reliefs are thoroughly original recreations. Taking art historically correct iconography, he combined these elements with new content to form a coherent programme. The historically heterogenous parts of the candelabrum form, conceptually and formally, an aesthetically convincing whole.

A comparative look at the base of the bronze candelabrum in Milan Cathedral, from the first third of the 13th century, is instructive.⁵⁸ The long tails of the four dragons supporting the candelabrum's base also taper into tendrils that twist into spirals. Seated within them are personifications of the rivers of Paradise. Animated and muscular figures, they have a sensual presence (Fig. 12). As personifications of nature borrowed from the classical pictorial tradition, the rivers of Paradise were usually depicted in medieval art as unclothed (usually with their genitals covered by leaves), or at least with a naked upper body. Küsthardt's Historicist recreations, however, wear long tunics –

⁵⁸ Homburger 1949; Angelucci et al. 2000.

an expression of a prudish relationship to the body and corporeality (Figs. 9, 11, 13). Küsthardt, moreover, worked with a symmetry that he applied to both figures and tendrils. This design is stricter and flatter than medieval works. But Küsthardt's conceit has its own creative merit. The water from the vessels of the river personifications, for instance, pours into the lower frame, solidifying into swirling ornament. This is, perhaps, a self-referential allusion to the use of bronze as a material, to its flow into the form during casting.

The quality of the additions lies in their seamless integration with the original. To make his contribution visible, Friedrich Küsthardt signed and dated it – “1895 von Fr. Küsthardt in Hildesheim modellirt” (‘modeled by Friedrich Küsthardt in Hildesheim in 1895’; Fig. 13). Thus, he confidently inscribed himself onto the medieval artefact as a participating author. By including compass and square with his signature, placed under *Prudentia*, Küsthardt associated his work with the wisdom of measurement and design.

4.3. Contexts

The restoration of the seven-branched candelabrum by Friedrich Küsthardt was part of an extensive campaign to refurbish Brunswick Cathedral. The catalyst for this renovation was the discovery in 1845 of the medieval wall paintings in the choir and transept. Uncovered and restored, the murals were also painted anew.⁵⁹ Later, between 1881 and 1884, the nave (which was unpainted in the Middle Ages) was also decorated with neo-Romanesque murals by August von Essenwein and Adolf Quensen (Fig. 14).⁶⁰

In addition, new furnishings were produced to emulate objects that were attested to at the time of Henry the Lion such as the triumphal cross but no longer existed or others that were created anew, such as the wheel chandelier donated by Duke Wilhelm on the occasion of the anniversary of his reign. The intention was to restore the collegiate church to its supposed medieval state. To understand better the aims of the actors involved, it is instructive to touch on the political circumstances of these additions.

In April 1830, during the reign of Duke Karl Friedrich August Wilhelm (1804–1873, r. 1815–1830), the candelabrum was reinstalled in the cathedral at the instigation of cathedral cantor Friedrich Görge and court architect Peter Joseph Krahe. A few months later, there was a popular uprising against the duke, who had antagonized the populace with his absolutist style of governance.⁶¹ Wilhelm August Ludwig Maximilian Friedrich, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, took over the regency in place of his brother. The restoration of the medieval wall murals, the painting of the nave according to August von Essenwein's drafts, and the donation of the crown chandelier took place during

⁵⁹ Springer 2014a, p. 245.

⁶⁰ Koch 1985, p. 496; Springer 2014a, pp. 262 f.

⁶¹ Schildt 2000, p. 759.



Fig. 14. Brunswick Cathedral, in: Uhde 1892, plate 10.

Wilhelm Friedrich's reign (Fig. 14). In the conflict between Austria and Prussia, the Guelphic Duchy of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel strove for good relations with Prussia, while the Guelphic Kingdom of Hanover entered the war with Austria against Prussia in 1866. After Prussia's victory, the Kingdom of Hanover was annexed and incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia as the Province of Hanover. After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the 'New House of Brunswick' became defunct in 1884 with the death of Duke Wilhelm.⁶² Under pressure from Bismarck, the control of the duchy was transferred in 1885 to the Prussian Prince Field Marshal General Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Albrecht. Bismarck wanted to prevent claims by the Hanoverian Guelphic line. Not only did Prince Albrecht continue the furnishing campaign in Cathedral initiated by his predecessor, however, but he also employed the municipal architect Ludwig Winter to reconstruct the Dankwarderode Castle from its ruins. This restoration occurred from 1887 to 1906.⁶³ Erecting "a castle in honor of Henry the Lion" enabled Prince Albrecht to fashion himself as a Guelphic duke. This grand gesture, moreover, kept the Guelphic opposition in its place.⁶⁴ These renovations were entirely financed by the ducal treasury. One of the most expensive items, at 5000 marks, was the restoration of the candelabrum.⁶⁵ Thus, the campaign to reinstall Henry the Lion's medieval complex was not least a political understanding.⁶⁶ Just as the (re)creation of the triumphal cross and the wheel chandelier, the renovation of the candelabrum was part of Prince Albrecht's political agenda.

Excursus: 'A Consecration Site of the Nation' – the Ethnic Purification of the Cathedral

Barely more than a decade after its completion, the Historicist furnishing of Brunswick Cathedral was destroyed. In 1935, excavations in the church supposedly unearthed the remains of Henry the Lion and Matilda.⁶⁷ In the following years, the cathedral was reconfigured into a place of worship of the Nation ("Weihestätte der Nation"). Werner Flechsig, responsible for the propagandistic orchestration of these measures, castigated

62 See Zimmermann 1898.

63 Winter 1883; Königfeld 1978; Königfeld/Roseneck 1995, there esp. Herrenberger 1995.

64 See Herrenberger 1995, p. 66.

65 Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv, Abteilung Wolfenbüttel, Akte des Braunschweigischen Staatsministeriums 12 Neu 5 no. 6442 (Aufstellung der Kosten; which is also available in 76 Neu Fb. 2 no. 2776), as well as a report by the directors of the construction to the ducal treasury, Direktion der Domänen, dated 07.02.1895. My sincere thanks go to Jürgen Diehl for the information on the archive's holdings.

66 Springer 2014b; see also Böhringer/Zerbst 2009, there esp. Springer 2009.

67 Lorentzen 2005, esp. pp. 14–23 (pp. 15f. on the excavations in Brunswick); Fuhrmeister 2009.

(in a manner typical of his time) the “19th-century ingredients in our old cathedrals as an inartistic cacophony resorting to the weak imitation of older forms due to their inability to create their own style.” (“Zutaten des 19. Jahrhunderts in unseren alten Domen als unkünstlerischen Mißklang, die aus dem Unvermögen eigener Stilgestaltung heraus zur schwächlichen Nachahmung älterer Formen griffen.”) He saw in them “no longer any actual life, but rather ossification” (“nicht mehr wirkliches Leben, sondern Erstarrung”), and demanded a renewal in line with National Socialist ideology:

The high purpose of Brunswick Cathedral as a site of national worship requires corresponding pictorial content. [...] The consecration site of Henry the Lion had to be adorned with depictions of the work that made this man immortal, his colonization of the East. [...] Thanks and reverence for a man who paved the way for our people into a great present and an even greater future over three quarters of a millennium ago. [...] What until now was only an expression of half-fulfilled desire is today becoming reality under the leadership of Adolf Hitler.⁶⁸

The National Socialist remodelling of Brunswick Cathedral destroyed the Historicist murals, the main altar completed in 1897, the wheel chandelier, and the triumphal cross. The early modern epitaphs were also removed from the walls. Heinrich Wilhelm Dohme created a cycle of paintings for the space over the arcades in the central nave celebrating Henry the Lion as a pioneer of the colonization of the East (that had been continued by Adolf Hitler).⁶⁹ Only the tomb of Henry and Matilda, now embedded in a granite slab, remained visible. From then on it served as the centrepiece of the bare, empty nave. The candelabrum and bronze altar were hidden behind a curtain. Separating the apse from the interior, this curtain also served to display a monumental imperial eagle with a swastika (Fig. 15).

In 1949, efforts were made to erase all traces of the National Socialist decor. The incriminating cycle of paintings was removed from the walls of the nave.⁷⁰ The crypt completed in 1938, dedicated to Henry and Matilda's remains with its granite tombs survived (only the swastika was removed). Both the crypt and the cathedral's bare nave,

68 Quotations from Flehsig: *Sinnbilder der Geschichte*, pp. 86 and 88 (“Die hohe Bestimmung des Braunschweiger Doms als völkische Weihstätte verlangt einen entsprechenden Bildinhalt. [...] Die Weihstätte Heinrichs des Löwen mußte mit Darstellungen jenes Werkes geschmückt werden, durch das dieser Mann unsterblich ist, der Ostkolonisation. [...] Dank und Verehrung für einen Mann, der unserem Volke vor drei viertel Jahrtausenden Wegbereiter war in eine große Gegenwart und noch größere Zukunft. [...] Was vordem nur Ausdruck halberfüllter Sehnsucht war, heute wird es unter der Führung Adolf Hitlers Wirklichkeit.”).

69 See Koch 1985, p. 496; Lorentzen 2005, pp. 21–23, Figs. 10–14.

70 Lorentzen 2005, pp. 25 f., speaks aptly here of “ideological purification,” and notes just as aptly that the criticism of the remaining elements (such as the floor covering or the granite tomb) in art historical scholarship has, until the very recent past, been limited primarily to aesthetic arguments.

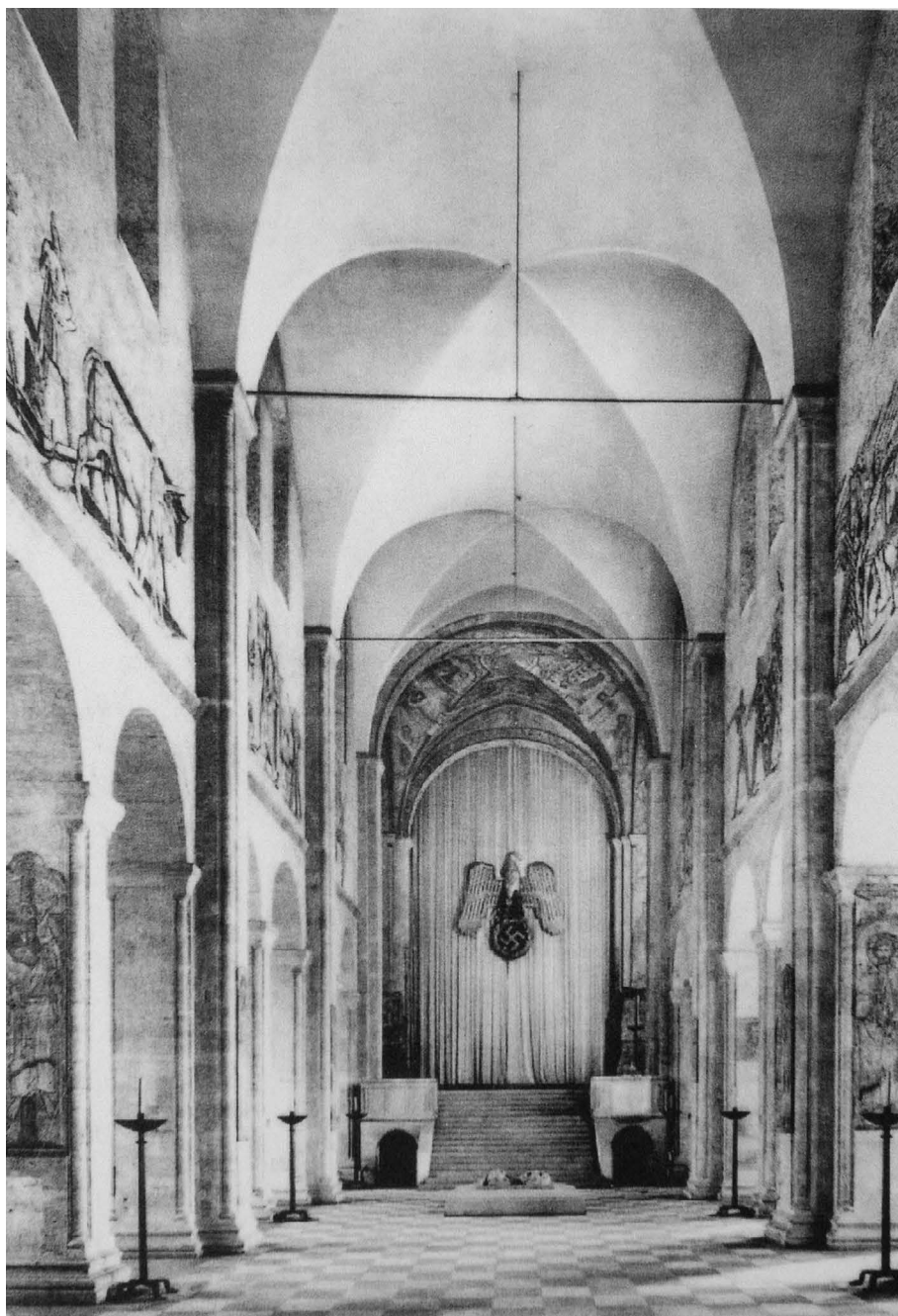


Fig. 15. Brunswick Cathedral, view towards east
(after the Nazi redesign of the interior, photograph c. 1940).



Fig. 16. Brunswick Cathedral, view towards east (photograph 1982).

stripped of all objects and adornment, bear witness to the fascist appropriation of Henry the Lion. Since then, the “purified” church interior has provided the aesthetic ambience for the seven-branched candelabrum. Isolated and decontextualized, the candelabrum dominates the space (Fig. 16).

5. Conclusion: Multiple Authorship – Diachronic Hybridity

In both synchronic and diachronic perspective, the seven-branched candelabrum in Brunswick is the product of multiple authorship. For the art of the Middle Ages and early modern period, multiple authorship is the norm rather than the exception. For one, commissioners and donors played a central role.⁷¹ Artists, moreover, usually operated within the contexts of workshops and studios. This meant they were integrated into production processes characterized by a division of labour.⁷² In the case of the Brunswick candelabrum, the modellers and casters were evidently brought to Brunswick for the bronze work. The enamels on the candelabrum, on the other hand, were commissioned from the leading workshops based in Cologne. Thus emerged an artefact that met the highest standards. Integrated into complex semantic and praxeological contexts, moreover, the candelabrum served to commemorate its benefactor.

After the candelabrum lost its liturgical function in the baroque period, it was removed. In the 19th century, it was erected once more, under different auspices. Now an object of historical interest, it stood as a monument to a national past. Its reinstatement and Historicist additions reveal a changed view of the medieval artefact. The high esteem for the candelabrum is reflected in the renowned artists and experts chosen for the restoration: Friedrich Küsthardt, the Lauchhammer art foundry in Lusatia, and Gabriel Hermeling’s enamel studio in Cologne, as well as Alexander Schnütgen as the expert appraiser.

From today’s perspective, the later changes and reconfigurations of artefacts can be analysed as phenomena of multiple authorship. Processes of remodelling, reconfiguration, or the migration of artefacts into new contexts occurred frequently in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. In recent years, these processes have attracted the attention of art historians as instances of ‘reframing’ or ‘hybridity.’⁷³ Art historians, however, still seem to have reservations about the 19th century. These qualms are – still – due to today’s notions of artistic originality. Our current concept of art stipulates personal or original style as a *conditio sine qua non*. From this perspective, Historicist interventions can only compromise the medieval artefact.

71 From the many studies, the following should be singled out: Bergmann 1985; Kessler 2019, pp. 61–68.

72 These processes are explicitly addressed by, for example, Borkopp-Restle 2020.

73 Seeberg/Wittekind 2017; Elston/Rislow 2022.

Friedrich Küsthardt's additions substantially determine the Brunswick candelabrum's present-day aesthetic. An antiquarian aspiration to a holistic aesthetic resulted in artistic inventions that strove for a restoration of the artefacts' completeness. The candelabrum, in its autological and heterological dimensions, is the result of multi-layered historical processes. It reflects the intentions of both Henry the Lion in the 12th century and of the House of Guelph in the 19th century. And finally, it stands as the only remaining relic of Brunswick Cathedral's once grand Historistic interior.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Biblia sacra = Biblia sacra. Iuxta Vulgatam versionem. Recensuit et brevi apparatu critico instruxit Robertus Weber (durchgesehen und mit einem kritischen Apparat erläutert von Robert Weber), 5th, rev. ed., ed. by Roger Gryson, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart 2007.
- Annales Steterburgenses = Annales Steterburgenses, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historia, Scriptores*, vol. 16, Hannover 1859, pp. 197–231.
- Bethmann: Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen = Bethmann, Ludwig Konrad: Die Gründung Braunschweigs und der Dom Heinrichs des Löwen, in: *Westermanns illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte* 10 (1861), pp. 525–559.
- Bosau: *Chronica Slavorum* = Bosau, Helmold von (ed.): *Chronica Slavorum*. Neu übertragen und erläutert von Heinz Stob, in: *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1963 (*Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe 19).
- Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 2: Sächsische Weltchronik = Deutsche Chroniken und andere Geschichtsbücher des Mittelalters 2: Sächsische Weltchronik. Eberhards Reimchronik von Gandersheim. Braunschweigische Reimchronik. Chronik des Stiftes S. Simon und Judas zu Goslar. Holsteinische Reimchronik, ed. by Ludwig Weiland, Hannover 1877, pp. 430–587.
- Deutsche Inschriften Online = Deutsche Inschriften Online (www.inschriften.net). DI 58: Stadt Hildesheim, Nr. 67 (Christine Wulf), URL: <https://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0238-di058g010k0006702> (last accessed: 11 December 2024).
- Flehsig: Sinnbilder der Geschichte = Flehsig, Werner: Sinnbilder der Geschichte. Zu Wilhelm Dohmes Wandbildern im Braunschweiger Dom, in: *Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich* 4.3 (März 1940), ed. by the Beauftragter des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung und Erziehung der NSDAP, pp. 86–93.
- Görges: Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig = Görges, Friedrich: Der von Heinrich dem Löwen, Herzog von Sachsen und Bayern erbaute Sanct Blasius Dom zu Braunschweig und seine Merkwürdigkeiten wie auch die Erbbegräbnisse der Fürsten des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg zu Braunschweig und Wolfenbüttel, Brunswick 1815.

- Grube: Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig = Grube, Friedrich: Kurzer Führer durch den Dom St. Blasii zu Braunschweig, Brunswick 1886.
- Heinemann: Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig = Heinemann, Otto von: Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig dargestellt in malerischen Original-Ansichten ihrer interessantesten Gegenden [...] von verschiedenen Künstlern. Historisch und topographisch beschrieben, 3 vols.: vols. 1–2 (Textbde.), vol. 3 (Tafelbd.), Darmstadt 1857–1858 [Reprint Hildesheim / New York 1977].
- Küsthardt: Apostelbalken und Triumphkreuz = Küsthardt, Friedrich: Apostelbalken und Triumphkreuz, in: *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 23 (1888), pp. 322–328.
- Lehmann-Brockhaus: Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland = Lehmann-Brockhaus, Otto (ed.): Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307, vol. 1, Munich 1955 (Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München 1).
- Rethmeyer: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclyatae Urbis Brunsvigae*, vol. 1 = Rethmeyer, Philipp Julius: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclyatae Urbis Brunsvigae*, Ode: Der berühmten Stadt Braunschweig Kirchen-Historie [...], vol. 1, Brunswick 1707.
- Rethmeyer: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclyatae Urbis Brunsvigae*, vol. 5 = Rethmeyer, Philipp Julius: *Antiquitates Ecclesiasticae Inclyatae Urbis Brunsvigae*, Ode: Der berühmten Stadt Braunschweig Kirchen-Historie [...], vol. 5, Brunswick 1709 (Supplements).
- Ribbentrop: Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig = Ribbentrop, Philipp Christian: Beschreibung der Stadt Braunschweig, vol. 1, Brunswick 1789.
- Schiller: Die mittelalterliche Architectur Braunschweigs = Schiller, Carl: Die mittelalterliche Architectur Braunschweigs und seiner nächsten Umgebung, Brunswick 1852.
- Schmid: Der christliche Altar und sein Schmuck = Schmid, Andreas: Der christliche Altar und sein Schmuck archäologisch-liturgisch dargestellt, Regensburg 1871.
- Winkelmann, Eduard (trans.): Die Chronik von Stedeburg, ed. by Wilhelm Wattenbach (Geschichtsschreiber 12. Jahrhundert 14), 2nd ed., Leipzig 1895.

Secondary Literature

- Angelucci et al. 2000 = Angelucci, Sergio et al. (eds.): *Il candelabro Trivulzio nel Duomo di Milano*, Milan 2000.
- Beer 2005 = Beer, Manuela: *Triumphkreuze des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag zu Typus und Genese im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, mit einem Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler, Regensburg 2005.
- Bejczy 2011 = Bejczy, István: *The Cardinal Virtues in the Middle Ages. A Study in Moral Thought from the Fourth to the Fourteenth Century*, Leiden / Boston 2011 (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 202).
- Bergmann 1985 = Bergmann, Ulrike: Prior Omnibus Autor. An höchster Stelle aber steht der Stifter, in: Anton Legner (ed.): *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler in der Romanik in Köln. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Schnütgen Museum und der Joseph-Haubrich-Kunsthalle Köln*, 3 vols., Köln 1985, vol. 1, pp. 117–170.
- Beste 1889 = Beste, Johannes: *Geschichte der Braunschweigischen Landeskirche von der Reformation bis auf unsere Tage*, Wolfenbüttel 1889.
- Bloch 1961 = Bloch, Peter: *Siebenarmige Leuchter in christlichen Kirchen*, in: *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 23 (1961), pp. 55–190.
- Böhringer / Zerbst 2009 = Böhringer, Hannes / Zerbst, Arne (eds.): *Die tätowierte Wand. Über Historismus in Königs-Lutter*, Munich 2009 (Schriften der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts 1).

- Borkopp-Restle 2020 = Borkopp-Restle, Birgitt: Plurale Autorschaft. Aufgaben und Anteile von Auftraggebern, Malern und Wirkern in der Gestaltung von Tapisserien, in: Magdalena Bushart/Henrike Haug (eds.): *Geteilte Arbeit. Praktiken künstlerischer Kooperation*, Vienna/Cologne/Weimar 2020 (Interdependenzen 5), pp. 79–95.
- Brandt 1985 = Brandt, Michael: Siebenarmiger Leuchter, in: Cord Meckseper (ed.): *Stadt im Wandel. Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150–1650*. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Braunschweigischen Landesmuseum, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum und Dom St. Blasii Braunschweig, 4 vols., Stuttgart 1985, vol. 2, pp. 1154–1155, Cat. No. 1015.
- Clasen 1974 = Clasen, Carl-Wilhelm: Die Kölner Goldschmiede Hermeling, in: Günter Bandmann/Herbert Rode/Hans Erich Kubach (eds.): *Beiträge zur rheinischen Kunstgeschichte und Denkmalpflege 2*. Festschrift für Albert Verbeek zum 65. Geburtstag, Düsseldorf 1974 (Die Kunstdenkmäler des Rheinlandes 20), pp. 263–278.
- Di Castro/Leone/Nesselrath 2017 = Di Castro, Alessandra/Leone, Francesco/Nesselrath, Arnold (eds.): *La Menorà. Culto, storia e mito*. Catalogue of the Exhibition at the Musei Vaticani and the Museo Ebraico Rom, Milan 2017.
- Döll 1967 = Döll, Ernst: Die Kollegiatsstifte St. Blasius und St. Cyriacus zu Braunschweig, Brunswick 1967 (Braunschweiger Werkstücke 36).
- Ehlers 2009 = Ehlers, Caspar: Die Bestattung Ottos IV. in der Braunschweiger Stiftskirche St. Blasius im Kontext der deutschen Königsgrablegen. Tradition oder Innovation?, in: Bernd Ulrich Hucker/Stefanie Hahn/Hans-Jürgen Derda (eds.): *Otto IV. Traum vom welfischen Kaisertum*. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Braunschweigischen Landesmuseum, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum und Dom St. Blasii Braunschweig, Petersberg 2009, pp. 289–298.
- Elston/Rislow 2022 = Elston, Ashley/Rislow, Madeline (eds.): *Hybridity in Early Modern Art*, New York 2022 (Visual Culture in Early Modernity).
- Emons 1998 = Emons, Marina: Der Künstler-Restaurator Friedrich Küsthardt. Ein Beitrag zur Hildesheimer Restaurierungsgeschichte. Unpublished thesis for the Vordiplom in the subject Kunstgeschichtliche Grundlagen der Restaurierung, Fachhochschule Hildesheim, 1998.
- Emons 2000 = Emons, Marina: Der Hildesheimer Künstler-Restaurator Friedrich Küsthardt. Ein Beitrag zur lokalen Kunst- und Restaurierungsgeschichte, in: *Hildesheimer Heimat-Kalender. Jahrbuch für Kunst und Wissenschaft im Hildesheimer Land* (2000), pp. 100–109.
- Esmeijer 1978 = Esmeijer, Anna C.: *Divina Quaternitas. A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis*, Assen 1978.
- Evans 1972 = Evans, Michael: Tugenden, in: *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, founded by Engelbert Kirschbaum, ed. by Wolfgang Braunfels, 8 vols., Freiburg i.Br. et al. 1968–1976, vol. 4, Freiburg i.Br. 1972, cols. 368–380.
- Fine 2016 = Fine, Steven: *The Menorah. From the Bible to Modern Israel*, Cambridge, MA/London 2016.
- Fuhrmeister 2009 = Fuhrmeister, Christian: Purifizierung, Moderne, Ideologie. Zur Umgestaltung des Braunschweiger Doms im Nationalsozialismus, in: Dieter Rammler/Michael Strauß (eds.): *Kirchenbau im Nationalsozialismus. Beispiele aus der braunschweigischen Landeskirche*, Wolfenbüttel 2009, pp. 87–101.
- Giersbeck 2015 = Giersbeck, Andrea: Der Heziloleuchter und seine Nachfolge im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, in: Karl Bernhard Kruse (ed.): *Der Hezilo-Leuchter im Hildesheimer Dom*, Regensburg/Hildesheim 2015, pp. 357–377.
- Graeven 1902 = Graeven, Hans: Heinrichs des Löwen siebenarmiger Leuchter, in: *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen* (1902), pp. 449–479.
- Gronau 2019 = Gronau, Veronika: Friedrich Küsthardt in Hildesheim (1859–1900), in: *Hildesheimer Kalender. Jahrbuch für Geschichte und Kultur* (2019), pp. 201–221.

- Haas 2011 = Haas, Irmgard: Leben im Kollegiatstift St. Blasii in Braunschweig. Die liturgischen Stiftungen und ihre Bedeutung für Gottesdienst und Wirtschaft, Brunswick 2011 (Braunschweiger Werkstücke A 54).
- Hakhlili 2001 = Hakhlili, Rahel: The Menorah, the Ancient Seven-armed Candelabrum. Origin, Form and Significance, Leiden/Boston/Köln 2001 (Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplements 68).
- Henkelmann 2019 = Henkelmann, Vera: Künstliches Licht im Kontext mittelalterlicher Gebetspraxis, in: Das Mittelalter 24.2 (2019), pp. 431–457.
- Hermeling, Gabriel: Ueber die Behandlung alter reparaturbedürftiger Edelmetallgefäße, in: Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst 2 (1889), cols. 93–102.
- Hermeling, Gabriel: Zwei silbervergoldete gotische Monstranzen, in: Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst 4 (1891), cols. 141–148.
- Herrenberger 1995 = Herrenberger, Helga: Ludwig Winters Rekonstruktion, in: Peter Königfeld/Reinhard Roseneck (eds.): Burg Dankwarderode. Ein Denkmal Heinrichs des Löwen, Bremen 1995, pp. 63–80.
- Höhl 2009 = Höhl, Claudia: Das Taufbecken des Wilbernus, Regensburg 2009 (Schätze aus dem Dom zu Hildesheim 2).
- Homburger 1949 = Homburger, Otto: Der Trivulzio-Kandelaber. Ein Meisterwerk frühgotischer Plastik, Zurich/Freiburg i.Br. 1949 (Atlantis-Museum 4).
- Kemper 2020 = Kemper, Dorothee: Die Hildesheimer Emailarbeiten des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts. Mit einer kommentierten Edition der Inschriften von Clemens M.M. Bayer, Regensburg/Hildesheim 2020 (Objekte und Eliten in Hildesheim 1130 bis 1250 4).
- Kessler 2019 = Kessler, Herbert L.: Experiencing Medieval Art, Toronto 2019.
- Knapp 2000 = Knapp, Ulrich: Restauratio Ecclesiae. Die Erneuerung einer Kirchenlandschaft, in: Ulrich Knapp (ed.): Restauratio Ecclesiae. Das Bistum Hildesheim im 19. Jahrhundert. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Dommuseum Hildesheim, Hildesheim 2000 (Dommuseum Hildesheim 4), pp. 27–70.
- Knapp/Kruse 2015 = Knapp, Ulrich/Kruse, Karl Bernhard: Zur Rekonstruktion des Heziloleuchters im Laufe der Zeit, in: Karl Bernhard Kruse (ed.): Der Hezilo-Leuchter im Hildesheimer Dom, Regensburg/Hildesheim 2015, pp. 329–338.
- Koch 1985 = Koch, Norbert: Der Innenraum des Braunschweiger Domes (ehemalige Stiftskirche St. Blasii), in: Cord Meckseper (ed.): Stadt im Wandel. Kunst und Kultur des Bürgertums in Norddeutschland 1150–1650. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Braunschweigischen Landesmuseum, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum und Dom St. Blasii Braunschweig, 4 vols., Stuttgart 1985, vol. 4, pp. 485–513.
- Koch 1995 = Koch, Norbert: Siebenarmiger Leuchter, in: Jochen Luckhardt/Franz Niehoff (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 3 vols., Munich 1995, vol. 1, pp. 195–200, Cat. No. D 27.
- Königfeld 1978 = Königfeld, Peter: Burg Dankwarderode in Braunschweig und Stiftskirche zu Königs-lutter. Raumgestaltungen des 19. Jahrhunderts in Niedersachsen und ihre Restaurierung, in: Deutsche Kunst und Denkmalpflege 36 (1978), pp. 69–86.
- Königfeld/Roseneck 1995 = Königfeld, Peter/Roseneck, Reinhard (eds.): Burg Dankwarderode. Ein Denkmal Heinrichs des Löwen, Bremen 1995.
- Kroos 1984 = Kroos, Renate: Grabbräuche, Grabbilder, in: Karl Schmid/Joachim Wollasch (eds.): Memoria. Der geschichtliche Zeugniswert des liturgischen Gedenkens im Mittelalter, Munich 1984 (Societas et Fraternitas; Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 48), pp. 285–353.
- Lorentzen 2005 = Lorentzen, Tim: Ideologische Usurpation. Die nationalsozialistische Umgestaltung der Stiftskirchen zu Braunschweig und Quedlinburg als Zeichenhandlung, Wolfenbüttel 2005 (Quellen und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Landeskirche in Braunschweig 15).

- Luckhardt/Nierhoff 1995 = Luckhardt, Jochen/Nierhoff, Franz (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 3 vols., vol. 1, Munich 1995.
- Mende 1995 = Mende, Ursula: Zur Topographie sächsischer Bronzeworkstätten im welfischen Einflussbereich, in: Jochen Luckhardt/Franz Nierhoff (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 3 vols., Munich 1995, vol. 2, pp. 427–439.
- Meyer/Suntrup 1987 = Meyer, Heinz/Suntrup, Rudolf: Zur Allegorese der Vielzahl, in: Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutung, ed. by Heinz Meyer and Rudolf Suntrup, Munich 1987 (Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 56), cols. 332–334.
- Neumann 1891 = Neumann, Wilhelm Anton: Der Reliquienschatz des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg, Vienna 1891.
- Niehr 1995 = Niehr, Klaus: "Sehen und Erkennen." Anspruch, Ästhetik und Historizität der Ausstattung der Stiftskirche St. Blasius zu Braunschweig, in: Jochen Luckhardt/Franz Nierhoff (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 3 vols., Munich 1995, vol. 2, pp. 272–282.
- Norman 1995 = Norman, Diana: "Love Justice, You Who Judge the Earth." The Paintings of the Sala dei Nove in the Palazzo Pubblico, Siena, in: Diana Norman (ed.): Siena, Florence and Padua. Art, Society and Religion 1280–1400, vol. 2, New Haven/London 1995, pp. 145–167.
- Oexle 1995 = Oexle, Otto Gerhard: Fama et Memoria. Legitimation fürstlicher Herrschaft im 12. Jahrhundert, in: Jochen Luckhardt/Franz Nierhoff (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig, 3 vols., Munich 1995, vol. 2, pp. 62–68.
- Pfeifer 1898 = Pfeifer, Hans: Der siebenarmige Leuchter im Dome zu Braunschweig, in: Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst 11 (1898), cols. 33–50.
- Raff 1978/1979 = Raff, Thomas: Die Ikonographie der mittelalterlichen Windpersonifikationen, in: Aachener Kunstblätter 48 (1978/1979), pp. 71–218.
- Rödling 2000 = Rödling, Christine: Die museale Inszenierung der Hildesheimer Chorschranke, in: Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums (2000), pp. 145–157.
- Schädler-Saub 2001 = Schädler-Saub, Ursula: "Die Kunstdenkmäler grauer Vorzeit als heilige Schätze zu bewahren und zu pflegen." Hildesheim und die Wiederentdeckung der Kunst des Mittelalters im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Michael Brandt (ed.): Abglanz des Himmels. Romanik in Hildesheim. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Dommuseum Hildesheim, Regensburg 2001, pp. 302–321.
- Schildt 2000 = Schildt, Gerhard: Von der Restauration zur Reichsgründung, in: Horst-Rüdiger Jarck/Gerhard Schildt (eds.): Die Braunschweigische Landesgeschichte. Jahrtausendrückblick einer Region, Brunswick 2000, pp. 751–786.
- Schilp 2011 = Schilp, Thomas: Memoria in der Dunkelheit der Nacht. Lichtinszenierung mittelalterlicher Kirchen zum Totengedenken, in: Rolf de Weijert/Kim Ragetli/Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld/Jeanette van Arentsals (eds.): Living Memoria. Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Memorial Culture in Honour of Truus van Bueren, Hilversum 2011 (Middelleeuwse Studies en Bronnen 137), pp. 221–233.
- Schwarz 2012 = Schwarz, Ulrich: Braunschweig – Kollegiatstift St. Blasius, in: Josef Dolle (ed.): Niedersächsisches Klosterbuch. Verzeichnis der Klöster, Stifte, Kommenden und Beginenhäuser in Niedersachsen und Bremen von den Anfängen bis 1810, 4 vols., Bielefeld 2012 (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Historische Landesforschung der Universität Göttingen 56), vol. 1, pp. 102–123.
- Seeborg/Wittekind 2017 = Seeborg, Stefanie/Wittekind, Susanne (eds.): Themenschwerpunkt: 'Reframing' in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, in: Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 80.2 (2017).

- Seiler 2003 = Seiler, Peter: Richterlicher oder kriegerischer Furor? Untersuchungen zur Bestimmung der primären Bedeutung des Braunschweiger Burglöwen, in: Johannes Fried/Otto Gerhard Oexle (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe. Herrschaft und Repräsentation, Ostfildern 2003 (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen 57), pp. 135–197.
- Springer 2009 = Springer, Peter: Essenwein und Königsutter im Kontext, in: Hannes Böhringer/Arne Zerbst (eds.): Die tätowierte Wand. Über Historismus in Königsutter, Munich 2009 (Schriften der Deutschen Gesellschaft für die Erforschung des 19. Jahrhunderts 1), pp. 69–108.
- Springer 2014a = Springer, Peter: Restauriert, 'restauriert' und 'zurückrestauriert.' Wandmalereien des Braunschweiger Doms im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert, in: Harald Wolter von dem Knesebeck/Joachim Hempel (eds.): Die Wandmalereien im Braunschweiger Dom St. Blasii, Regensburg 2014, pp. 243–275.
- Springer 2014b = Springer, Peter: Zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne. August Essenwein als Architekt, Bauhistoriker, Denkmalpfleger und Museumsman, Brunswick 2014.
- Swarzenski 1932 = Swarzenski, Georg: Aus dem Kunstkreis Heinrichs des Löwen, in: Städel-Jahrbuch 7/8 (1932), pp. 241–397.
- Uhde 1892 = Uhde, Constantin: Braunschweigs Bau-Denkmäler. Kurze Erläuterungen zu den photographischen Aufnahmen, Brunswick 1892.
- Voß 1993 = Voß, Jens: Die Menora. Gestalt und Funktion des Leuchters im Tempel zu Jerusalem, Freiburg (Schweiz)/Göttingen 1993 (Orbis biblicus et orientalis 128).
- Westermann-Angerhausen 2003 = Westermann-Angerhausen, Hiltrud: Heinrich der Löwe – ein Mäzen?, in: Johannes Fried/Otto Gerhard Oexle (eds.): Heinrich der Löwe. Herrschaft und Repräsentation, Ostfildern 2003 (Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte, Vorträge und Forschungen 57), pp. 1–26.
- Wiecker 1874 = Wiecker, Ernst Otto: Die Christus- oder Bernwardsäule auf dem großen Domhofe zu Hildesheim. Eine archäologische Abhandlung, Hildesheim 1874.
- Winter 1883 = Winter, Ludwig: Die Burg Dankwarderode zu Braunschweig. Ergebnisse der im Auftrage des Stadtmagistrats angestellten baugeschichtlichen Untersuchungen, Brunswick 1883.
- Zimmermann 1898 = Zimmermann, Paul: Wilhelm (Herzog von Braunschweig-Lüneburg, 1806 bis 1884), in: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 43 (1898), pp. 4–13.

III. Multiple Authorship in the Interaction of Production and Perception

The Torah as Multi-Authorial Literature of Discussion

The History, Aesthetics, and Hermeneutics of a Product of Collaborative Writing

Abstract

The Torah is traditionally ascribed to Moses as its author, but it is in fact an anonymous work of scribes who produced it as a written text between the 9th and the 4th centuries BCE. Its oral traditions even reach back into the 2nd millennium BCE. The complex result of this long composition history is an often contradictory yet readable text, as its long reception history, foremost in Judaism and Christianity, demonstrates. If read closely, the Torah reveals an interesting set of checks and balances between its theological positions. It seems that its authors were not concerned primarily with narrative consistence in the first place, but with creating a literary universe that includes a variety of theological perspectives.

Keywords

Torah, Bible, Scribal Culture, Historical Hermeneutics, Redaction History

1. Introduction

The Torah – the first five books of the Hebrew Bible, also known as the Pentateuch – is one of the best known and most widely distributed texts in world literature.¹ At the same time, it is an excellent example of a textual corpus that emerged as a collaborative scribal enterprise. Like almost all biblical literature, the Torah developed from anonymous or pseudonymous scribal traditions.² It grew over several centuries and was composed by a considerable number of scribes, who had no interest in divulging their identities or their names. Rather, they endeavoured to preserve and update the traditions that were available to them. Aleida and Jan Assmann describe this process as an integrated approach of “tending to text” and “tending to meaning,”³ which means that the authors responsible for the Torah did not limit themselves to passing on the text but also con-

* Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson.

1 See Schmid/Schröter 2020.

2 See Schmid 2011a; Schmid/Schröter 2020; Schmid 2021.

3 See Assmann/Assmann 1987, pp. 12 f.

cerned themselves with its significance, which involved constant updating, revision, and expansion. The result of this authorial activity was, of course, a very complex text, which in its final form contains different perspectives and positions on a variety of issues, is very difficult to read, and has yielded an abundance of hermeneutical approaches to the Bible, which are documented today in the rich history of its reception.⁴

In the following considerations, the basic features of how current scholarship understands the composition of the Torah will be outlined first. Knowledge of the Torah's scribal development is important for appreciating its specific character as an agglutinative, perpetuated work of literature. In the second step, the discussion will focus, with the aid of two examples, on how a complex text such as the Torah could have been read from the perspective of the authors who wrote it. The Torah never explicitly states how readers should understand its text. It is therefore only possible to deduce implicitly from historical reconstructions of its literary accretion what kinds of reading processes the authors of the Torah had in mind for their audience. On the one hand, a small-scale, commentarial continuation (Gen 18:6) will be presented as a first example; it shows how certain attempts at compromise are undertaken within a multi-authorial and multi-perspectival text like the Torah. On the other hand, as a second example the juxtaposition of two divergent creation narratives in Gen 1–3, which date back to different contexts of origin, is interrogated with regard to its hermeneutical logic. Of course, this approach can only offer two exemplary highlights to address the question of the Torah's historical hermeneutics; these would also have to be cross-checked with reference to early reception, such as in the Book of Jubilees or the 4QRevised texts of the Pentateuch.⁵

2. Who Wrote the Torah?⁶

Against the backdrop of over two hundred years of critical scholarship and ongoing debate on this question,⁷ the answer still remains: we do not know. Tradition claims that it was Moses, but the Torah itself says otherwise. Only small sections of the Torah, not even close to its entire body of texts, are attributed to him: Ex 17:14 (the battle against Amalek); 24:4 (Book of the Covenant); 34:28 (Ten Commandments); Num 33:2 (the itinerary of the Israelites); Deut 31:9 (Deuteronomistic Law); and 31:22 (Song of Moses). In spite of the disagreement in current research, the situation of Pentateuch scholarship – to use the term more commonly employed in scholarship, instead of 'Torah' – is by no means

4 On this subject, see the *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, published by De Gruyter since 2009.

5 See Zahn 2011; Kugel 2012.

6 See Schmid 2022 for more details.

7 See, for example, Römer 2013a; Römer 2013b, pp. 120–168; Gertz et al. 2016; Kratz 2016; Dozeman 2017.

hopeless, however, and it is indeed possible to make some basic statements about the origin of the Torah.

2.1. The Pentateuch's Body of Texts

What is the textual basis for the Pentateuch?⁸ Which of its manuscripts remain extant? At this juncture, the so-called Codex Leningradensis or B 19A should be mentioned first.⁹ This manuscript of the Hebrew Bible dates from the year 1008 CE, and is thus a medieval text, but it is at the same time the oldest complete textual witness for the Pentateuch. This appears to put researchers in a very awkward position: we are dealing with a text that supposedly goes back 2500 years, but its earliest textual attestation is only 1000 years old. Yet the situation is not hopeless.

First, there are ancient translations that clearly came into existence before Codex B 19A. The earliest ones are the major codices of the translation of the Hebrew Bible into Greek, the oldest of which is Codex Sinaiticus.¹⁰ Admittedly, this text is no original, but it is a good witness to the Hebrew text on which it is based, as it dates from the 4th century CE. The Greek text of the Pentateuch occasionally differs from the Hebrew text, especially in Ex 35–40. Julius Popper, the first scholar to deal extensively and specifically with very late additions to the Pentateuch, noted this problem as early as in 1862.¹¹

Second, there are older surviving parts of the Pentateuch in Hebrew. Before 1947, the oldest surviving fragment of a biblical text was the so-called Nash Papyrus, which probably dates from around 100 BCE and contains both the Decalogue and the beginning of 'Shema Israel' from Deuteronomy 6.¹² Much more important, however, were the textual finds from the Dead Sea near Qumran, which began in 1947.¹³ The remnants of around 900 scrolls were discovered, with many biblical texts among them. These date mainly from the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. Most of the texts are fragmentary; many of them are no larger than a few square centimetres. All the biblical fragments are accessible in the book "The Biblical Qumran Scrolls" by Eugene Ulrich.¹⁴

What do these Qumran texts reveal about the Pentateuch in the early post-biblical period? The most enlightening aspect is the remarkable proximity of these fragments, insofar as they have survived, to Codex B 19A. In the case of Gen 1:1–5 in 4QGen^b, for example, there are no differences at all in the consonantal text.¹⁵ Nevertheless, the

8 See Lange 2016.

9 See Tov 2012, pp. 23–74.

10 See Parker 2010.

11 Popper 1862; see also Wade 2003; Lo Sardo 2020.

12 See Tov 2012, p. 111. This text, however, is more 'liturgical' in nature than 'biblical.'

13 See Lange 2009; Xeravits/Porzig 2015, pp. 23–47.

14 Ulrich 2010, with the sections on the Pentateuch on pp. 1–246.

15 See Ulrich 2010, pp. 1f.

various scrolls seem to reveal affiliations with the traditionally known textual families of the Pentateuch that emerged after 70 CE. Armin Lange provides the following estimate:¹⁶

Proto-Masoretic: 37.5 %

Proto-Samaritan: 5.0 %

Proto-Septuagint: 5.0 %

Independent: 52.5 %

A certain preponderance of the proto-Masoretic strand is conspicuous in these figures, although there is a considerable number of independent readings. Sometimes the differences are indeed relevant, as the readings of Elohim instead of Yhwh in Gen 22:14¹⁷ or of Mount Gerizim instead of Mount Ebal in Deut 27:4 indicate (the latter fragment, however, could be a forgery).¹⁸ As concerns the majority of the proto-Masoretic texts, Emanuel Tov asserts:

The differences between these texts [the proto-Masoretic texts, K.S.] and L [Codex Leningradensis, K.S.] are negligible; in fact, they do resemble the internal differences between the medieval manuscripts themselves.¹⁹

The findings from Qumran thus represent an important starting point for the exegesis of the Pentateuch and underpin the legitimacy of the critical use of the Masoretic text in Pentateuch scholarship. On the one hand, it is justified to place significant trust in the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch as it is attested in the medieval manuscript of Codex B 19A, which forms the textual basis for most modern editions of the Bible. On the other hand, there was evidently at that time no stable text of the Pentateuch in which every single letter or word was fixed as part of an entirely canonized Bible – as the differences between the scrolls show.²⁰ Concerning the composition of the Pentateuch, it can also be deduced from Qumran that the Pentateuch was fundamentally completed at the latest in the 2nd century BCE. Some of its texts are certainly much older, but probably none of them is younger.

One epigraphic witness should be expressly mentioned in connection with the textual attestation of the Pentateuch. There exists a quasi-biblical text from the biblical period in the shape of the silver amulets of Ketef Hinnom, which offer a text that comes

16 Lange 2009, p. 155.

17 See Römer 2012.

18 See Kreuzer 2015, pp. 151–154.

19 Tov 2003.

20 See Grabbe 2006.

close to Num 6:24–26 and which can be dated somewhere between the 7th and 2nd centuries BCE. Because of its textual peculiarities and deviations, however, this is not to be considered a witness to a ‘biblical’ text.²¹

2.2. Sociohistorical Conditions for the Creation of the Pentateuch

How should we imagine the cultural and historical background to the emergence of the Pentateuch?²² Who could read and write in the first place? There are various estimates for the ancient world, but they agree that probably no more than five to ten percent of the population were skilled in reading and writing to the extent that they could understand and produce texts of some length. Literacy was presumably an elite phenomenon, and texts were distributed only in the circles surrounding the palace and the temple.²³ In the biblical period, the production of literature was mainly the preserve of professional scribes, and the reading of literature was generally restricted to the same circles.

Israel Finkelstein and others have made the proposition that the Lachish Ostraca – some of which, including at least six different manuscripts, can be traced back to a military outpost – indicate that literacy was more widespread, even among soldiers in the early 6th century BCE.²⁴ This reading of the evidence, however, remains controversial.

Othmar Keel, Matthieu Richelle, and others have argued for a continuous literary tradition in Jerusalem from the Bronze Age city-state to the early Iron Age.²⁵ Even though this view is probably not entirely incorrect, it should not be overstated. Abdi-Hepa’s Jerusalem was rather different from the Jerusalem of David or Solomon, and there was evidently a cultural rupture between the Jerusalem of the late Bronze Age and that of the early Iron Age. One example of this is the Ophel inscription from Jerusalem, which evidences a rather rudimentary level of linguistic education.²⁶

A second question is: How did people write? Most of the inscriptions available to us today are on pots or stones, and these are the only objects to have survived. For obvious reasons, texts on stone or clay endure much longer than texts on papyrus or leather, so we cannot simply conclude that people only wrote on what archaeologists have found. (In fact, there is only one papyrus sheet left from the period of the monarchy, Mur. 17.)²⁷

21 See Berlejung 2008a; Berlejung 2008b.

22 See Tappy / McCarter 2008; Rollston 2010; Richelle 2016; Blum 2016a; Grund-Wittenberg 2017; Blum 2019; Finkelstein 2020.

23 See, for example, Hezser 2001; Carr 2005, pp. 70f., 165f., 172f., 187–191; Rollston 2010, pp. 127–133; Carr 2011, pp. 128f. Alexander 2003 presupposes widespread reading and writing competence in the community of Qumran.

24 Finkelstein 2020; see also Faigenbaum-Golovin et al. 2016.

25 Keel 2007, pp. 101–132; Richelle 2016.

26 See Lehmann / Zernecke 2013.

27 Published in *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 2, pp. 93–100.

In addition, an impressive number of sigils and seals from Jerusalem, on which remains of papyrus can be found, survive from the time of the First Temple, a sure indication that papyrus was a common writing medium. Some of the seals bear names such as *Gemaryahu ben Shafan*, who is mentioned in Jer 36:10, or *Yehuchal ben Shelemyahu* and *Gedaliah ben Pashchur*, who are known from Jer 38:1.²⁸

The writing material for texts such as the Torah was most likely papyrus or leather; longer books had to be written on leather because papyrus leaves quickly became brittle. The ink consisted of soot and metal. It is generally assumed that a professional scribe needed six months to write a book the length of Genesis or Isaiah. If we add to this the value of the sheepskins, it becomes clear how costly the production of such a scroll – which, in the case of Isaiah, was over eight meters long – must have been.

During the biblical period, probably only very few copies of biblical books existed. For the 2nd century BCE, 2 Macc 2:13–15 provides evidence that the Jewish community in Alexandria, which was probably one of the largest diaspora groups, did not possess a copy of every book of the Bible. In this text, a letter from the Jerusalemites to the Jews in Alexandria is quoted, in which they are invited to borrow from Jerusalem a copy of those biblical books that are not in their possession:

Nehemiah [...] founded a library and collected the books about the kings and prophets, and the writings of David [...]. In the same way Judas also collected all the books that had been lost on account of the war which had come upon us, and they are in our possession. So if you have need of them, send people to get them for you. (2 Macc 2:13–15)²⁹

Historical knowledge about scribes and scribal schools in ancient Israel is very limited. Both biblical testimonies and preserved sigils (and sigil impressions)³⁰ from the pre-exilic period amply attest the existence of professional scribes (see, for example, 2 Sam 8:17; 1 Kgs 4:3; Jer 32; 36; 43; 45 [Baruch the scribe]; Ez 7:6:12–26 [“Ezra the scribe of the law of God in Heaven”]; Neh 13:12–13; Sir 38–39; Mark 11:27–33; Matt 23). In the course of history, their function shifted towards scriptural scholarship, which was not only in charge of the recording of texts (though this remained necessary due to the limited durability of textual means), but also of the expansionist interpretation of the texts they passed down (see Jer 36:32).

In the light of comparable cultural and historical analogies, we may envisage scribes who were trained at schools in the temple or in the palace. Such schools are hardly ever mentioned in the Bible (only in Sir 51:23; Acts 19:9), so that they must instead

28 See the discussion in Richelle 2016.

29 Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this contribution are derived from the Revised Standard Version (RSV) of the Bible.

30 See Richelle 2016.

be deduced from analogous situations, which does not necessarily speak against this hypothesis. There was also no strict separation between the schools of the temple and the palace. The temple was not an autonomous institution but rather depended on the royal court.

The Talmudic tradition knows of 480 schools in Jerusalem (y. Meg. 73b), although this figure is possibly exaggerated. In any case, there were presumably a considerable number of schools, especially in Jerusalem, beginning in the Hellenistic period. We should not necessarily think of these schools as separate buildings of their own; more central was the relationship between teacher and pupil (1 Chr 25:8; Prov 5:12–14; Ps 119:99). The instruction of pupils could take place in the rooms of the temple or in the private homes of the teachers. It may be assumed that there were private libraries in the priestly families which played a role in the transfer of scriptural knowledge within the family.

Occasionally, scholars characterize the lack of evidence for schools in ancient Israel as typical and instead attribute the training of scribes to the transmission of knowledge that tended to take place within the ‘families’ of the scribes. The two hypotheses should probably be combined with one another and not played off against each other.³¹

Regarding the question of how the Torah was understood at the time of its emergence, it remains to be said that it was written down, commented on and transmitted in comparatively small circles of literati. Its literary production and reception can be characterized as an in-group phenomenon, even if one cannot imagine a homogenous group of scribes who would have moved in a uniform intellectual sphere because of the variety of theological positions represented in the text. The diversity of the content of the Torah, however, may be due especially to the different traditional backgrounds of its material. In any case, the scribes recede entirely behind their texts.³²

2.3. The Dating of the Torah

When was the Torah written? Because it originated as a communal undertaking by scribes, it is not possible to provide an exact date but only a span of time in which the texts emerged. For the *terminus a quo*, an important clarification is needed: only the beginnings of the earliest written versions of a text can be determined. In other words, the oral prehistory of the text is left out in the cold. Many texts in the Bible, especially in the Pentateuch, go back to oral traditions that may be much older than their written counterparts. The *terminus a quo* thus determines merely the beginning of the written

31 See, for example, the Jerusalem scribal family of the Shaphanids, who were close to both the royal court and the temple (2 Kgs 22:3; Jer 36).

32 See Schmid 2019.

transmission of a text that, for its part, may already have been known as an oral narrative or comparable form.³³

In contrast to many prophetic texts, no dates of origin are mentioned in the Pentateuch. We must therefore search for internal and external indicators to determine the date of its composition. There is one crucial finding that is significant when it comes to determining the beginnings of the Pentateuch's literary emergence. In the 9th and 8th centuries BCE, a historical caesura in the cultural development of Israel and Judah can be established with certitude. At this point in time, a certain degree of statehood and literacy had been achieved, and these two elements belong together, in the sense that the further developed a state is, the more bureaucracy and education are required – especially in the area of writing.

If one looks at the number of inscriptions found in ancient Israel and in Judah, a clear increase can be noted in the 8th century, which should presumably be interpreted as an indication of cultural development in ancient Israel and in Judah. This assumption can be substantiated by the texts found that can be dated to the 10th century BCE, such as the Gezer calendar,³⁴ the clay sherd from Jerusalem,³⁵ the Baal inscription from Beth Shemesh,³⁶ the abecedarium of Tel Zayit,³⁷ and the ostrakon of Khirbet Qeiyafa.³⁸ These all date from the 10th century BCE or from the period immediately before or afterwards. The simplicity of the content and writing style is not difficult to detect.

A century later, in the 9th century BCE, a very different picture of a strongly developing written culture emerges, even if some of this evidence is written in Aramaic and not Hebrew. The first monumental stele from the region is the Mesha Stele, on which can be found written testimonies in Moabite and which includes the first documented reference to Yhwh and Israel as we know them.³⁹ Another monumental text is the Tel Dan Stele in Aramaic, which is known especially for its mention of *Beth David*.⁴⁰

An impressive written testimony is also found on the 8th-century Aramaic wall inscription from Tell Deir 'Alla⁴¹ which mentions the prophet Balaam who appears in Num 22–24. The story of Balaam in the inscription differs greatly from the narrative about him in the Bible, but it is still one of the earliest instances of a literary text in the immediate vicinity of ancient Israel. Erhard Blum, alongside others, has convincingly argued that the site of Tell Deir 'Alla should be interpreted as a school, namely

33 See Steck 1999, pp. 63–75; see also Wahl 1997.

34 See, for example, Pardee 1997; Sivan 1998.

35 See Lehmann/Zerneck 2013.

36 See McCarter/Bunimovitz/Lederman 2011.

37 See Tappy/McCarter 2008.

38 See Schroer/Münger 2017.

39 See Dearman 1989.

40 See Athas 2005; Blum 2016b.

41 See Weippert/Weippert 1982; Blum 2008a; Blum 2008b.

on the basis of a late Hellenistic parallel to the architecture of Trimithis in Egypt (ca. 4th century CE).⁴² This interpretation as a school could also pertain to Kuntillet Ajrud, where wall inscriptions can similarly be found.⁴³

Another important development corresponds to the paradigm shift expressed through the large number and new quality of written texts in ancient Israel and in Judah in the 9th and 8th centuries BCE. At this time, Israel begins to be perceived as a state by its neighbours. That Israel and Judah had reached a level of cultural development in the 9th to 8th centuries BCE that made the production of literary texts possible is indicated not only by internal changes in the development of writing, but also by external, contemporary perceptions. A good example of this can be found in the Assyrian inscriptions from the middle of the 9th century BCE in which Jehu, the man of Bit-Humri, i.e. Jehu of the House of Omri, is mentioned. The Black Obelisk, which includes pictorial representations and texts about the reign of Salmanassar III, even shows an image of Jehu (bowing before the Assyrian king) and is thus the oldest surviving image of an Israelite.⁴⁴

On the basis of these observations about the development of a scribal culture in ancient Israel, we can assume that the earliest texts of the Pentateuch as a literary work date back to the 9th and 8th centuries BCE.

When was the Pentateuch completed? With regard to this question, three points of reference can be taken into account. First, there is the translation into Greek, the so-called Septuagint, which can be dated to the middle of the 2nd century BCE.⁴⁵ Although it contains some divergences, especially in the second account of the Tabernacle in Ex 35–40,⁴⁶ the Septuagint is basically indicative of a complete Pentateuch. Second, the books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, which probably date back to the 4th century BCE, refer to a textual corpus named either the Torah of YHWH or the Torah of Moses. It is unclear whether this indicates an already completed Pentateuch, but it at least points in that direction.⁴⁷ Third, there is no distinct allusion in the Pentateuch to the fall of the Persian Empire in the course of Alexander the Great's conquests.⁴⁸ The Persian Empire existed from 539–333 BCE, a period perceived in ancient Israel as politically stable – and, in some texts, even as the end of history. The loss of this political order was accompanied by numerous questions. In prophetic literature, above all, this event was interpreted as cosmic judgement. In the Pentateuch, however, no text

42 Blum 2019.

43 See Meshel 2012.

44 See Keel/Uehlinger 1994.

45 See, for example, Siegert 2001, pp. 42f. The oldest manuscript of the Greek Pentateuch is the Rylands Papyrus 458, which dates back to the middle of the 2nd century BCE; see Wevers 1977; Troyer 2008, p. 277.

46 See, for example, Wevers 1993.

47 See García López 1995, esp. pp. 627–630; Steins 1996.

48 See Schmid 2016a.

clearly alludes directly or indirectly to this event. The Pentateuch thus seems to be, in essence, a pre-Hellenistic text, dating from the time before Alexander the Great and the Hellenization of the East.

There are, however, a few exceptions that speak against an entirely pre-Hellenistic origin of the Pentateuch. The best candidate for a post-Persian, Hellenistic text in the Pentateuch seems to be the little 'apocalypse' in Num 24:14–24, which mentions the victory of the ships of Kittim over Ashur and Eber in v. 24. According to the opinion of some exegetes, this text most probably alludes to the battles between Alexander and the Persians.⁴⁹ Other post-Persian elements could be the specific numbers in the genealogies of Gen 5 and 11.⁵⁰ These numbers shape the overall chronology of the Pentateuch and vary considerably between the different versions. Yet these exceptions are insignificant: the substance of the Pentateuch seems to be pre-Hellenistic.

There thus remains a historical span between the 9th or 8th century and the 4th century BCE for the composition of the Torah. Of course, many of its texts trace back to earlier oral traditions, but, as written texts, they did not emerge before the first millennium BCE.

In more recent scholarship, the Torah thus presents itself as a text that has grown to its present form over several centuries. The processes behind this can no longer be elucidated in full, but it can be established that the text grew continuously through numerous updates and also through combinations of formerly independent pieces of text. Some of these literary activities have rather small-scale horizons that extend no farther than a verse or a pericope; others encompass larger textual units up to entire books or the entire Torah.

3. How Can the Torah Be Read?

How are the texts of the Torah, which were created by many hands over long periods of time, to be read and understood? To answer this question, one must reconstruct a comprehensive historical hermeneutics of the Torah.⁵¹ The determination of different literary strata in the Torah is a science that has only emerged since the early modern period. That said, earlier interpreters of the Torah also had to come to grips with its complexity and developed a plethora of approaches concerning the question of how it should be read.⁵² It is impossible to deal with the subject of a historical hermeneutics of the Torah in a satisfactory manner here, even if only in broad outline. Instead, this

49 See Rouillard 1985, p. 467; Crüsemann 1992, p. 403; Schmitt 1994, p. 185.

50 See Hughes 1990; see the objections of Hendel 2012 against dating the figures in MT to the 2nd century BCE.

51 See, for example, Spieckermann 2012.

52 See, for example, Dohmen/Stemberger 1996; Brettler 2007; Kugel 2008.

contribution must limit itself to two examples that illustrate at least some very basic aspects of the problem as to how a multi-layered text that was written by several scribes over a considerable period of time is to be understood.

3.1. Gen 18:6 as an Editorially Expanded Text

A brief and useful example of an editorially expanded text is Gen 18:6, which may shed light on how the texts of the Torah were potentially supposed to have been read.⁵³ Gen 18:1–16 tells the story of Abraham and Sarah; they are visited by three men who ultimately turn out to be God himself. We are dealing here with a traditional story of theoxeny. Probably the best-known text of this genre is Ovid's *Philemon and Baucis*: gods visit a pious married couple and are generously entertained; the couple is consequently presented with a divine gift. In the case of Gen 18, God appears in the form of three men – often interpreted in the Christian tradition as *vestigium trinitatis*.⁵⁴ Abraham and Sarah prepare an opulent meal for them, and at its conclusion, they receive the divine promise that they will finally have a son. The preparation of the flatbreads served to the three visitors is described as follows:

And Abraham hastened into the tent to Sarah, and said, "Make ready quickly three measures of flour (*qæmah*), fine flour (*solæt*), knead it, and make cakes." (Gen 18:6)

It is notable that the flour to be used for the flatbread is described in two ways: it is first called *qæmah*, i.e. normal flour, but this is immediately followed by *solæt*, which signifies something else, namely a particularly fine flour. These choices of expression – *flour* (*qæmah*), *fine flour* (*solæt*) – are striking, even if it is indeed grammatically possible.⁵⁵ What should Sarah use after all, flour or fine flour? One answer could be provided by the observation that the specific term *fine flour* (*solæt*) is found in the description of the grain offerings to God in the Book of Leviticus. Here, the regulation demands that such offerings consist of fine flour (*solæt*):

When any one brings a cereal offering as an offering to Yhwh, his offering shall be of fine flour (*solæt*). (Lev 2:1)

The simplest explanation for the sequence *flour* (*qæmah*), *fine flour* (*solæt*) in Gen 18:6 is hence the assumption that a later redactor reading the story in Gen 18:1–16 was of the opinion that Abraham and Sarah's food for the divine visitors should comply with the

⁵³ See Ska 2009.

⁵⁴ See, for example, Schwöbel 2009.

⁵⁵ Waltke / O'Connor 1990, pp. 229–232.

prescription in Lev 2:1:⁵⁶ the flatbread must be produced with the correct ingredients that are necessary for sacrificial offerings. He thus added *fine flour* (*solæt*) after *flour* (*qæmah*) to emphasize Abraham's unconscious adherence to the Torah, which would only later be passed on to Israel under Moses. At the same time, this redactor apparently decided not simply to replace *flour* (*qæmah*) with *fine flour* (*solæt*). The text in its available form already possessed a certain authority, such that the editor did not want to, and perhaps was not able to, reformulate it – he could merely add to it.⁵⁷

What does this mean with regard to the intended reader of such a story? Gen 18:6 is evidently intended for a reader who is well-versed in the Torah. In order to recognize Abraham's unconscious observance of the prescription in Lev 2:1, such a reader must have knowledge of the intertextual connection between Gen 18:6 and Lev 2:1. Reading Gen 18 thus requires considerable ability to recognize allusions to other texts of the Torah, which confirms that, in the case of the writers and readers of the Torah in the biblical period, we are probably dealing with the same group.

3.2. Gen 1–3 as a Narrative Sequence

The second example comes from the beginning of the Torah in Gen 1–3.⁵⁸ It is one of the oldest, and still relevant, observations of biblical criticism that Gen 1–3 contains two formerly independent creation narratives:⁵⁹ one in Gen 1:1–2:4a, which tells of God's creation of the world in six days and his rest on the seventh day; and the other in Gen 2:4b–3:24, which reports the creation of the first humans in the Garden of Eden and their expulsion. Not only is God named differently in both accounts – Elohim in Gen 1:1–2:4a, and Yhwh Elohim in Gen 2:4b–3:24⁶⁰ – but the two stories also contradict each other in essentials. First, the order in which plants and humans are created is different. In the first account, plants are created on the third day and humans on the sixth day, while the second account informs its readers at the very beginning:

When no plant of the field was yet in the earth and no herb of the field had yet sprung up [...] and there was no man to till the ground [...] then Yhwh Elohim formed man of dust from the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living being. (Gen 2:5–7)

56 Gen 18 is a comparatively old – in any case, pre-Priestly – text, which does not yet presuppose Lev 2; see Schmid 2019, p. 163.

57 For elisions in the process of the Hebrew Bible's creation, see Pakkala 2019.

58 See Schmid 2019, pp. 10–14.

59 See Bühner 2014, pp. 275–375; Gertz 2018, pp. 29–146. See also Schmid 2012.

60 See, for example, [Astruc] 1753.

Here, man is created prior to the plants. From the reader's perspective, the question arises as to which is the correct order. A clear answer does not emerge from the textual context of Gen 1–3. The depiction is more a matter of ensuring the integrity of both accounts,⁶¹ rather than providing a coherent portrayal of the chronology of events in the two accounts summarized in Gen 1–3. At the seam of Gen 1:1–2:3 and 2:5–3:24, however, in Gen 2:4, there is a recognizable attempt on the editorial level to harmonize this problem of the connection between the two narratives:⁶²

These are the generations of the heaven and the earth when they were created. In the day [/ at the time] (*b'yōm*) that Yhwh Elohim made the earth and the heaven [...]. (Gen 2:4)

The formulation *b'yōm*, which is literally translated as 'in the day,' can also be understood more generally as 'at the time' (for this usage, see Ex 6:28; Num 3:1; Isa 11:16; Ez 28:13). *Yōm* ('day') picks up on the seven days of Gen 1:1–2:3, but, at the same time, the phrasing suggests to the reader that *yōm* ('day') is to be understood more fluidly: it is not a typical day but rather denotes a more flexible span of time. Seen in this way, the contradiction between the creation of plants on the third day (Gen 1:11–13) and humans on the sixth day (Gen 1:26–30), on the one hand, and the converse order in Gen 2:5–7, on the other hand, is not resolved, but is, in a certain manner, alleviated. The strict daily structure of Gen 1:1–2:3 is qualified by the singular use of *b'yōm* ('in the day' / 'at the time') in Gen 2:4 as an introduction to Gen 2:5–3:24, and the creation in seven days is condensed into one event, which is interpreted overall as a 'day.'

Second, both creation accounts explain why man is similar to God in some specific respects.⁶³ In the first creation narrative, God created man in his own image, on his own free initiative:

So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. (Gen 1:27)

The second narrative also ends with God describing humans as similar to himself:

Then Yhwh Elohim said, "Behold, the man has become like one of us, knowing good and evil." (Gen 3:22)

61 Presumably, the story originally only used the name *YHWH*, and *Elohim* was added to make it clear to readers that *YHWH* in Gen 2:4b–3:24 is not a different deity than *Elohim* in Gen 1:1–2:4a. See Gertz 2018, pp. 96 f.

62 On their literary-historical relationship, see Bühner 2014; Bühner 2015.

63 See Stordalen 1992.

Yet this is not the result of God's plan but of human disobedience: the humans ate from the forbidden tree (Gen 3:6), which made it possible for them to become like God, just as the serpent promised (Gen 3:5).

If we read Gen 1–3 as a single piece, the question thus arises for all readers: man is like God, but how did this come about? Did God himself bring about man's likeness to God (Gen 1:27), or did mankind capture it from him against his will (Gen 3:6–7)? On a compositional level, Gen 1–3 offers no clear indications of how this equivocation is to be understood. It seems that, for the authors of the Torah, this was not a matter of strict narrative coherence.⁶⁴ It was apparently more important to them to present their readers with the different traditions known to them, in accordance with the guiding principle *audiatur et altera pars* ('the other side should also be heard').⁶⁵ The text survived as a complex interweaving; it obviously undertook a clear and complex attempt to preserve various traditional perspectives. One may assume, however, that from the point of view of the composers of Gen 1–3, there was a certain precedence given to the perspective of Gen 1:27 in comparison with that of Gen 3:6: it comes first in the reading sequence. Moreover, one can frequently observe in the editorial history not only of the Torah but also of the Hebrew Bible as a whole that hermeneutical texts were placed before the passages they interpreted to ensure a corresponding editorial perspective on them.⁶⁶

3.3. The Ambiguities of the Torah and the Requirement of 'Stereometric Reading'⁶⁷

In his book "Die Kultur der Ambiguität" (The Culture of Ambiguity), Thomas Bauer describes a specific intellectual approach to the problem of ambiguity in premodern Islam.⁶⁸ In his view, ancient cultures did not necessarily endeavour to disambiguate every intellectual, social, or political ambiguity in order to be able to live with it. Instead, they tried to balance out ambiguities in order to maintain different, sometimes even contradictory, but nevertheless legitimate perspectives alongside one another. Only through the process of the 'Islamization of Islam' was this culture of ambiguity called into question and, in certain parts of the Islamic tradition, eventually lost. Modern readers are interested in clarifying the text for their own reading, but perhaps ancient authors, when composing their texts, wanted to retain various philosophical and theological dimensions of the text, in Bauer's sense, and this occurred at the expense of overall coherence.

64 See Bühner 2014, pp. 341–351 for details.

65 See Teeter/Tooman 2020.

66 See Knauf 1998.

67 See Steck 1999, pp. 76–97.

68 The following ideas were developed together with Prof. Hindy Najman (Oxford).

The Torah can be read with the help of a creative hermeneutic that weaves the potential meanings of existing narratives – in the case of the example used here, Gen 1 and Gen 2–3 – into a new whole. Gen 1–3 is a text that remains open to the interpretation of its readers in a very fundamental way; to put it another way, the combination creates the need for commentary.⁶⁹

A particular reading practice is required in order to understand these texts. In the end, it cannot be a matter of disassembling the narrative of Gen 1–3 into its constituent parts and interpreting them as separate units. Rather, one should respect the fact that inconsistencies or contradictions have survived primarily for reasons of tradition. Collectors and editors evidently did not attach great importance to producing the smoothest or most seamless integration possible. The principal guideline of the Torah's compilers was not to create a coherent, streamlined narrative but rather to integrate as much as possible from the existing traditions.

The particular way in which the Torah was written requires readers to participate in the hermeneutics embedded in the text. The Torah is a composite text, but the task of scholarship goes beyond the mere reconstruction of the various layers in the Torah's literary development. There is also a need for a hermeneutical approach to develop a reading of the Pentateuch that takes into consideration, respects, and adheres to the ambiguities that its authors and redactors produced and which are responsible for the dynamic character of both the text itself and its reception history.⁷⁰

The Torah must be viewed as an organic textual unit – with a broad appreciation of the complex history of its formation. This manner of reading ties in with Nietzsche's critique of the disassemblage of Homer.⁷¹ The current state of scholarship indicates that the Torah's group of readers is identical with the community of its authors, which is to say, that the readers are its authors, compilers, and editors.⁷² In antiquity, writing texts meant both recording the tradition and adapting and engaging with the existing tradition. It may be that ancient writers and readers knew how these texts originated and that they endeavoured to preserve differences – not to produce a seamless, linear overall narrative, but to impart to readers how they could develop their own meaning from the foundation of a very complex, often inconsistent, and sometimes even contradictory textual basis.

We could describe this evocation of meaning in a new dimension as 'stereometric reading.'⁷³ The most important interpretations of the Torah are not explicitly stated in the text; rather, they surface in the process of its reception by the audience. This charac-

69 Bauer 2019, see also Bauer 2018.

70 See Schmid 2016b in more detail; see also Levinson 2008; Teeter 2014.

71 See Najman 2012; Fischer 2013.

72 See Nietzsche 1869.

73 See, for example, Schmid 2011b; Schmid 2019, pp. 10–14; Blum 2019.



Fig. 1. Cathedral of Syracuse [Sicily], completed in 1753 following the plans of architect Andrea Palma.

teristic of biblical texts is of great significance for their literary aesthetics. The audience is compelled to draw certain synthesizing conclusions during the reading itself, without unequivocally distilling the meaning of the text. In a certain sense, reading the Torah can be compared to contemplating a building that has equally grown over the centuries, such as the Cathedral of Syracuse in Sicily (Fig. 1).

The Cathedral of Syracuse⁷⁴ dates back to a Greek temple that was erected in the 5th century BCE and dedicated to the goddess Athena. The columns of the temple were reused and can still be seen on the sides of the cathedral today. From the 7th century CE, a basilica was established by incorporating the previous building. In 878, the church building was converted into a mosque but was reconverted again in 1085. After an earthquake in 1693, a baroque façade was added to the church. The result is a highly multi-faceted building that reflects its own history. It is possible and even appealing, all the more so for a modern observer, to determine the architectural tensions and incoherencies of the building that comprise its beauty.

74 See Landsberger 1965, p. 17; Rad 1970, pp. 42–53; Wagner 2007, pp. 11–13; Janowski 2013, pp. 13–21.

Reading the Torah requires a similar openness to perceive its diversity, and, as in the case the Cathedral of Syracuse, the act of engaging with this kind of complexity is a meaningful and rewarding task. In the case of the Torah, it can quite rightly be said that its multi-layered character is one of the most important reasons for its centuries-long persistence: the density of the Torah as a text, as well as its inclusion of a myriad of different perspectives, has made it attractive to centuries of reception.⁷⁵ Without the continuous process of reading, copying, and commenting, the Torah would probably have faded into obscurity shortly after its emergence, and we might have learned of it only through a chance archaeological find.

Bibliography

- Alexander 2003 = Alexander, Philip S.: Literacy among Jews in Second Temple Palestine: Reflections on the Evidence from Qumran, in: Martin F.J. Baasten /Wido Th. van Peursen (eds.): *Hamlet on a Hill. Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, Leuven 2003 (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 118), pp. 3–25.
- Assmann / Assmann 1987 = Assmann, Aleida / Assmann, Jan: *Kanon und Zensur*, in: Aleida Assmann / Jan Assmann (eds.): *Kanon und Zensur. Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 2*, Munich 1987 (*Beiträge zur Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation 2*), pp. 7–27.
- [Astruc] 1753 = [Astruc, Jean]: *Conjectures sur les mémoires originaux, dont il paroît que Moyse s’est servi pour composer le livre de la Genèse*, Bruxelles 1753 [published anonymously].
- Athas 2005 = Athas, George: *The Tel Dan Inscription. A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*, London / New York 2005 (*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series* 360).
- Bauer 2018 = Bauer, Thomas: *Die Vereindeutigung der Welt. Über den Verlust an Mehrdeutigkeit und Vielfalt*, Leipzig 2018 (*Reclams Universal-Bibliothek* 19492).
- Bauer 2019 = Bauer, Thomas: *Die Kultur der Ambiguität. Eine andere Geschichte des Islams*, 6th ed., Frankfurt a.M. 2019.
- Berlejung 2008a = Berlejung, Angelika: *Der gesegnete Mensch. Text und Kontext von Num 6,22–27 und den Silberamuletten von Ketef Hinnom*, in: Angelika Berlejung / Raik Heckl (eds.): *Mensch und König. Studien zur Anthropologie des Alten Testaments. Rüdiger Lux zum 60. Geburtstag*, Freiburg i.Br. et al. 2008 (*Herders biblische Studien* 53), pp. 37–62.
- Berlejung 2008b = Berlejung, Angelika: *Ein Programm fürs Leben. Theologisches Wort und anthropologischer Ort der Silberamulette von Ketef Hinnom*, in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 120.2 (2008), pp. 204–230.
- Blum 2008a = Blum, Erhard: “Verstehst du dich nicht auf die Schreibkunst ...?” Ein weisheitlicher Dialog über Vergänglichkeit und Verantwortung: Kombination II der Wandinschrift vom Tell Deir ‘Alla, in: Michaela Bauks / Kathrin Liess / Peter Riede (eds.): *Was ist der Mensch, dass du seiner gedenkst? (Psalm 8,5). Aspekte einer theologischen Anthropologie. Festschrift für Bernd Janowski zum 65. Geburtstag*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 2008, pp. 33–53.

75 See Giangreco 2009.

- Blum 2008b = Blum, Erhard: Die Kombination I der Wandinschrift vom Tell Deir 'Alla. Vorschläge zur Rekonstruktion mit historisch-kritischen Anmerkungen, in: Ingo Kottsieper (ed.): *Berührungspunkte: Studien zur Sozial- und Religionsgeschichte Israels und seiner Umwelt*. Festschrift für Rainer Albertz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag, Münster 2008 (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 350), pp. 573–601.
- Blum 2016a = Blum, Erhard: Die altaramäischen Wandinschriften aus Tell Deir 'Alla und ihr institutioneller Kontext, in: Friedrich-Emanuel Focken/Michael R. Ott (eds.): *Meta-Texte. Erzählungen von schrifttragenden Artefakten in der alttestamentlichen und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, Berlin 2016 (*Materiale Textkulturen* 15), pp. 21–52.
- Blum 2016b = Blum, Erhard: The Relations between Aram and Israel in the 9th and 8th Centuries BCE: The Textual Evidence, in: Omer Sergi/Manfred Oeming/Izaak J. de Hulster (eds.): *In Search for Aram and Israel. Politics, Culture, and Identity*, Tübingen 2016 (*Orientalische Religionen in der Antike* 20), pp. 37–56.
- Blum 2019 = Blum, Erhard: Institutionelle und kulturelle Voraussetzungen der israelitischen Traditionsliteratur, in: Ruth Ebach/Martin Leuenberger (eds.): *Tradition(en) im alten Israel. Konstruktion, Transmission und Transformation*, Tübingen 2019 (*Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 127), pp. 3–44.
- Brettler 2007 = Brettler, Marc Zvi: *How to Read the Jewish Bible*, New York 2007.
- Bührer 2014 = Bührer, Walter: *Am Anfang ... Untersuchungen zur Textgenese und zur relativ-chronologischen Einordnung von Gen 1–3*, Göttingen 2014 (*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 256).
- Bührer 2015 = Bührer, Walter: The Relative Dating of the Eden Narrative Gen *2–3, in: *Vetus Testamentum* 65.3 (2015), pp. 365–376.
- Carr 2005 = Carr, David M.: *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart: Origins of Scripture and Literature*, Oxford 2005.
- Carr 2011 = Carr, David M.: *The Formation of the Hebrew Bible: A New Reconstruction*, Oxford 2011.
- Crüsemann 1992 = Crüsemann, Frank: *Die Tora. Theologie und Sozialgeschichte des alttestamentlichen Gesetzes*, Munich 1992.
- Dearman 1989 = Dearman, J. Andrew (ed.): *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab*, Atlanta 1989 (*Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 2).
- Dohmen/Stemberger 1996 = Dohmen, Christoph/Stemberger, Günter: *Hermeneutik der Jüdischen Bibel und des Alten Testaments*, Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne 1996 (*Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie* 1,2).
- Dozeman 2017 = Dozeman, Thomas B.: *The Pentateuch. Introducing the Torah*, Minneapolis, MN 2017 (*Introducing Israel's Scriptures*).
- Faigenbaum-Golovin et al. 2016 = Faigenbaum-Golovin, Shira et al.: Algorithmic Handwriting Analysis of Judah's Military Correspondence Sheds Light on Composition of Biblical Texts, in: *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 113.17 (2016), pp. 4664–4669.
- Finkelstein 2020 = Finkelstein, Israel: The Emergence and Dissemination of Writing in Judah, in: *Semitica et Classica* 13 (2020), pp. 269–282.
- Fischer 2013 = Fischer, Irmtraud: Von der Vorgeschichte zur Nachgeschichte: Schriftauslegung in der Schrift – Intertextualität – Rezeption, in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 125.1 (2013), pp. 143–160.
- García López 1995 = García López, Federico: תורה, in: *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament*, 10 vols., ed. by Gerhard Johannes Botterweck, Heinz-Josef Fabry, and Helmer Ringgren, Stuttgart 1973–2000, vol. 8, Stuttgart/Berlin/Cologne 1995, pp. 597–637.

- Gertz 2018 = Gertz, Jan C.: *Das erste Buch Mose (Genesis). Die Urgeschichte Gen 1–11*, Göttingen 2018 (Das Alte Testament Deutsch 1).
- Gertz et al. 2016 = Gertz, Jan C./Levinson, Bernard M./Rom-Shiloni, Dalit/Schmid, Konrad (eds.): *The Formation of the Pentateuch: Bridging the Academic Cultures of Europe, Israel, and North America*, Tübingen 2016 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 111).
- Giangreco 2009 = Giangreco, Rosalia: *Templum Majus. Il Duomo Simbolo di Siracusa*, Siracusa 2009.
- Grabbe 2006 = Grabbe, Lester L.: *The Law, the Prophets, and the Rest: The State of the Bible in Pre-Maccabean Times*, in: *Dead Sea Discoveries* 13.3 (2006), pp. 319–338.
- Grund-Wittenberg 2017 = Grund-Wittenberg, Alexandra: *Literalität und Institution: Auf der Suche nach lebensweltlichen Kontexten der Literaturwerdung im alten Israel*, in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 129.3 (2017), pp. 327–345.
- Hendel 2012 = Hendel, Ronald S.: *A Hasmonean Edition of MT Genesis? The Implications of the Editions of the Chronology in Genesis 5*, in: *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1.4 (2012), pp. 448–464.
- Hezser 2001 = Hezser, Catherine: *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine*, Tübingen 2001 (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 81).
- Hughes 1990 = Hughes, Jeffrey: *Secrets of the Times. Myth and History in Biblical Chronology*, Sheffield 1990 (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 66).
- Janowski 2013 = Janowski, Bernd: *Konfliktgespräche mit Gott. Eine Anthropologie der Psalmen*, 4th, rev. and exp. ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 2013.
- Keel 2007 = Keel, Othmar: *Die Geschichte Jerusalems und die Entstehung des Monotheismus*, vol. 1, Göttingen 2007 (Orte und Landschaften der Bibel 4.1).
- Keel/Uehlinger 1994 = Keel, Othmar/Uehlinger, Christoph: *Der Assyrikerkönig Salmanassar III. und Jehu von Israel auf dem Schwarzen Obelischen*, in: *Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie* 116.4 (1994), pp. 391–420.
- Knauf 1998 = Knauf, Ernst Axel: *Audiatur et altera pars. Zur Logik der Pentateuch-Redaktion*, in: *Bibel und Kirche* 53.3 (1998), pp. 118–126.
- Kratz 2016 = Kratz, Reinhard Gregor: *The Analysis of the Pentateuch. An Attempt to Overcome Barriers of Thinking*, in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 128.4 (2016), pp. 529–561.
- Kreuzer 2015 = Kreuzer, Siegfried: *Geschichte, Sprache und Text. Studien zum Alten Testament und seiner Umwelt*, Berlin/Boston 2015 (Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Beihefte 479).
- Kugel 2008 = Kugel, James: *How to Read the Bible. A Guide to Scripture, Then and Now*, New York 2008.
- Kugel 2012 = Kugel, James: *A Walk through Jubilees. Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation*, Leiden 2012 (Journal for the Study of Judaism, Supplements 156).
- Landsberger 1965 = Landsberger, Benno: *Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt*, in: Benno Landsberger/Wolfram von Soden (eds.): *Die Eigenbegrifflichkeit der babylonischen Welt. Leistung und Grenze babylonischer Wissenschaft*, Darmstadt 1965, pp. 1–18 (Libelli 142) [Reprint of: *Islamica* 2 (1926), pp. 355–372].
- Lange 2009 = Lange, Armin: *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer. Vol. 1: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten*, Tübingen 2009.
- Lange 2016 = Lange, Armin: *From Many to One – Some Thoughts on the Hebrew Textual History of the Torah*, in: Jan C. Gertz/Bernard M. Levinson/Dalit Rom-Shiloni/Konrad Schmid (eds.): *The Formation of the Pentateuch*, Tübingen 2016 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament 111), pp. 121–195.
- Lehmann/Zernecke 2013 = Lehmann, Reinhard G./Zernecke, Anna Elise: *Bemerkungen und Beobachtungen zu der neuen Ophel Pithosinschrift*, in: Reinhard G. Lehmann/Anna Elise Zernecke (eds.): *Schrift und Sprache. Papers read at the 10th Mainz International Colloquium on Ancient Hebrew (MICAH)*, Mainz, 28–30 October 2011, Waltrop 2013 (Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt 15), pp. 437–450.

- Levinson 2008 = Levinson, Bernard M.: *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel*, Cambridge, UK 2008.
- Lo Sardo 2020 = Lo Sardo, Domenico: *Post-Priestly Additions and Rewritings in Exodus 35–40. An Analysis of MT, LXX, and Vetus Latina*, Tübingen 2020 (*Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 2. Reihe 119).
- McCarter/Bunimovitz/Lederman 2011 = McCarter, Kyle P./Bunimovitz, Shlomo/Lederman, Zvi: *An Archaic Ba'al Inscription from Tel Beth-Shemesh*, in: *Tel Aviv* 38.2 (2011), pp. 179–193.
- Meshel 2012 = Meshel, Ze'ev (ed.): *Kuntillet 'Ajrud (Horvat Teman). An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border*, Jerusalem 2012.
- Najman 2012 = Najman, Hindy: *The Vitality of Scripture Within and Beyond the 'Canon,'* in: *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 43.4/5 (2012), pp. 497–518.
- Nietzsche 1869 = Nietzsche, Friedrich: *Homer und die klassische Philologie*, Basel 1869, in: Friedrich Nietzsche: *Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, ed. by Giorgio Colli and Mazzino Montinari, Section 2, vol. 1: *Philologische Schriften (1867–1873)*, rev. by Fritz Bornmann and Mario Carpitella, Berlin/Boston 2013, pp. 247–270.
- Pakkala 2019 = Pakkala, Juha: *God's Word Omitted. Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible*, Göttingen 2019 (*Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments* 251).
- Pardee 1997 = Pardee, Dennis: *Gezer Calendar*, in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, 5 vols, ed. by Eric M. Meyers, New York/Oxford 1997, vol. 2, pp. 396–400.
- Parker 2010 = Parker, David C.: *Codex Sinaiticus: The Story of the World's Oldest Bible*, London 2010.
- Popper 1862 = Popper, Julius: *Der biblische Bericht über die Stiftshütte. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Composition und Diaskeue des Pentateuch*, Leipzig 1862.
- Rad 1970 = Rad, Gerhard von: *Weisheit in Israel*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970 (*Unimus ex uno*).
- Richelle 2016 = Richelle, Matthieu: *Elusive Scrolls. Could Any Hebrew Literature Have Been Written Prior to the Eighth Century BCE?*, in: *Vetus Testamentum* 66 (2016), pp. 556–594.
- Rollston 2010 = Rollston, Christopher A.: *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel. Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age*, Atlanta 2010 (*Archaeology and Biblical Studies* 11).
- Römer 2012 = Römer, Thomas: *Le 'sacrifice d'Abraham,' un texte élohiste? Quelques observations à partir de Gn 22,14 et d'un fragment de Qumran*, in: *Semitica* 54 (2012), pp. 163–172.
- Römer 2013a = Römer, Thomas: *Zwischen Urkunden, Fragmenten und Ergänzungen. Zum Stand der Pentateuchforschung*, in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 125.1 (2013), pp. 2–24.
- Römer 2013b = Römer, Thomas: *Einleitung in das Alte Testament. Die Bücher der Hebräischen Bibel und die alttestamentlichen Schriften der katholischen, protestantischen und orthodoxen Kirchen*, Zurich 2013.
- Rouillard 1985 = Rouillard, Hedwige: *La péricope de Balaam (Nombres 22–24). La prose et les 'oracles,'* Paris 1985 (*Études bibliques* N.S. 4).
- Schmid 2011a = Schmid, Konrad: *Schriftgelehrte Traditionsliteratur. Fallstudien zur innerbiblischen Schriftauslegung im Alten Testament*, Tübingen 2011 (*Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 77).
- Schmid 2011b = Schmid, Konrad: *Authorship. I. Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible/Old Testament*, in: *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, 19 vols., Berlin/Boston 2009–, vol. 3, ed. by Hans-Josef Klauck, Berlin/Boston 2011, pp. 116–120.
- Schmid 2012 = Schmid, Konrad: *Schöpfung im Alten Testament*, in: Konrad Schmid (ed.): *Schöpfung*, Tübingen 2012 (*Themen der Theologie* 4; UTB 3514), pp. 71–120.
- Schmid 2016a = Schmid, Konrad: *Das kosmische Weltgericht in den Prophetenbüchern und seine historischen Kontexte*, in: Hanna Jenni/Markus Saur (eds.): *Nächstenliebe und Gottesfurcht: Beiträge aus alttestamentlicher, semitischer und altorientalischer Wissenschaft für Hans-Peter Mathys zum 65. Geburtstag*, Münster 2016 (*Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 439), pp. 409–434.

- Schmid 2016b = Schmid, Konrad: Die Schrift als Text und Kommentar verstehen. Theologische Konsequenzen der neuesten literaturgeschichtlichen Forschung an der Hebräischen Bibel, in: *Jahrbuch für Biblische Theologie* 31 (2016), pp. 47–63.
- Schmid 2019 = Schmid, Konrad: *Theologie des Alten Testaments*, Tübingen 2019 (Neue theologische Grundrisse).
- Schmid 2021 = Schmid, Konrad: *Literaturgeschichte des Alten Testaments: Eine Einführung*, 3rd ed., Darmstadt 2021.
- Schmid 2022 = Schmid, Konrad: Textual, Historical, Sociological, and Ideological Cornerstones of the Formation of the Pentateuch, in: Jaeyoung Jeon (ed.): *Who Wrote the Pentateuch*, Atlanta 2022 (Society of Biblical Literature, Ancient Israel and its Literature), pp. 29–51.
- Schmid/Schröter 2020 = Schmid, Konrad/Schröter, Jens: *Die Entstehung der Bibel. Von den ersten Texten zu den heiligen Schriften*, 3rd ed., Munich 2020.
- Schmitt 1994 = Schmitt, Hans-Christoph: Der heidnische Mantiker als eschatologischer Jahweprophet. Zum Verständnis Bileams in der Endgestalt von Num 22–24, in: Ingo Kottsieper (ed.): “Wer ist wie du, Herr, unter den Göttern?” *Studien zur Theologie und Religionsgeschichte Israels. Für Otto Kaiser zum 70. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 1994, pp. 180–198.
- Schroer/Münger 2017 = Schroer, Silvia/Münger, Stefan (eds.): *Khirbet Qeiyafa in the Shephelah. Papers Presented at a Colloquium of the Swiss Society for Ancient Near Eastern Studies Held at the University of Bern, September 6, 2014*, Fribourg 2017 (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 282).
- Schwöbel 2009 = Schwöbel, Christoph: The Trinity between Athens and Jerusalem, in: *Journal of Reformed Theology* 3 (2009), pp. 22–41.
- Siebert 2001 = Siebert, Folkert: Zwischen Hebräischer Bibel und Altem Testament. Eine Einführung in die Septuaginta, Münster 2001 (*Münsteraner judaistische Studien* 9).
- Sivan 1998 = Sivan, Daniel: The Gezer Calendar and Northwest Semitic Linguistics, in: *Israel Exploration Journal* 48.1/2 (1998), pp. 101–105.
- Ska 2009 = Ska, Jean-Louis: Genesis 18:6 – Intertextuality and Interpretation – “It All Makes Flour in the Good Mill,” in: Jean-Louis Ska: *The Exegesis of the Pentateuch. Exegetical Studies and Basic Questions*, Tübingen 2009 (*Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 66), pp. 89–96.
- Spieckermann 2012 = Spieckermann, Hermann: From Biblical Exegesis to Reception History, in: *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 1.3 (2012), pp. 327–350.
- Steck 1999 = Steck, Odil Hannes: *Exegese des Alten Testaments: Leitfaden der Methodik. Ein Arbeitsbuch für Proseminare, Seminare und Vorlesungen*, 14th, rev. and exp. ed., Neukirchen-Vluyn 1999.
- Steins 1996 = Steins, Georg: Torahbindung und Kanonabschluss: Zur Entstehung und kanonischen Funktion der Chronikbücher, in: Erich Zenger (ed.): *Die Torah als Kanon für Juden und Christen*, Freiburg i.Br. 1996 (*Herders biblische Studien* 10), pp. 213–256.
- Stordalen 1992 = Stordalen, Terje: Genesis 2,4. Restudying a Locus Classicus, in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 104.2 (1992), pp. 163–177.
- Tappy/McCarter 2008 = Tappy, Ron E./McCarter, Peter Kyle (eds.): *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan. The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.
- Teeter 2014 = Teeter, David Andrew: *Scribal Laws. Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, Tübingen 2014 (*Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 92).
- Teeter/Tooman 2020 = Teeter, David Andrew/Tooman, William A.: Standards of (In)coherence in Ancient Jewish Literature, in: *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 9.2 (2020), pp. 94–129.
- Tov 2003 = Tov, Emanuel: The Text of the Hebrew/Aramaic and Greek Bible Used in the Ancient Synagogues, in: Birger Olsson/Magnus Zetterholm (eds.): *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins until 200 C.E. Papers Presented at an International Conference at Lund University, October 14–17, 2001*, Stockholm 2003 (*Coniectanea Biblica New Testament Series* 39), pp. 237–259.

- Tov 2012 = Tov, Emanuel: *Textual Criticism of the Bible*, 3rd, rev. and exp. ed., Minneapolis, MN 2012.
- Troyer 2008 = Troyer, Kristin de: When Did the Pentateuch Come into Existence? An Uncomfortable Perspective, in: Martin Karrer / Wolfgang Kraus (eds.): *Die Septuaginta. Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten. Internationale Fachtagung veranstaltet von Septuaginta Deutsch (LXX.D)*, Wuppertal 20.–23. Juli 2006, Tübingen 2008 (*Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament* 219), pp. 269–286.
- Ulrich 2010 = Ulrich, Eugene: *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls. Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, Leiden / Boston 2010 (*Supplements to Vetus Testamentum* 134).
- Wade 2003 = Wade, Martha Lynn: Consistency of Translation Techniques in the Tabernacle Accounts of Exodus in the Old Greek, Atlanta 2003 (*Septuagint and Cognate Studies* 49).
- Wagner 2007 = Wagner, Andreas: Der Parallelismus membrorum zwischen poetischer Form und Denkfigur, in: Andreas Wagner (ed.): *Parallelismus membrorum*, Fribourg / Göttingen 2007 (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 224), pp. 1–26.
- Wahl 1997 = Wahl, Harald Martin: *Die Jakobserzählungen. Studien zu ihrer mündlichen Überlieferung, Verschriftung und Historizität*, Berlin / New York 1997 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft N.F. 258).
- Waltke / O'Connor 1990 = Waltke, Bruce K. / O'Connor, Michael: *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax*, Winona Lake, IN 1990.
- Weippert / Weippert 1982 = Weippert, Helga / Weippert, Manfred: Die Bileam-Inschrift von Tell Dēr 'Allā, in: *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 98 (1982), pp. 77–103.
- Wevers 1977 = Wevers, James W.: The Earliest Witness to the LXX Deuteronomy, in: *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 39.2 (1977), pp. 240–244.
- Wevers 1993 = Wevers, James W.: The Building of the Tabernacle, in: *Journal of North West Semitic Languages* 19 (1993), pp. 123–131.
- Xeravits / Porzig 2015 = Xeravits, Géza G. / Porzig, Peter: *Einführung in die Qumranliteratur. Die Handschriften vom Toten Meer*, Berlin / Boston 2015 (De Gruyter Studium).
- Zahn 2011 = Zahn, Molly: *Rethinking Rewritten Scripture. Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch Manuscripts*, Leiden 2011 (*Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 95).

Reflections on the Concept of Authorship in Musicians' Motets

Abstract

In this chapter, a new research approach is evaluated, which proposes how the concept of multiple authorship can help to better understand the musicians' motets and how new impulses for concepts of multiple authorship can be drawn from them. On the basis of two selected examples, *Apollinis eclipsatur* by Bernard de Cluny and *Mater floreat* by Pierre Moulu, it is shown that different levels of authorship – from the composition process to the interpretation and reception process – can be found in the musicians' motets and must be understood in relation to each other. The first example, *Apollinis eclipsatur*, shows how the compositional design not only names several authorial instances but also incorporates attributed characteristics of these authors into the composition's structure. In *Mater floreat*, the focus is on the establishment of a community, which is not only connected by the shared sphere of employment and genealogical references but also on the collective process of creating. In addition to the detailed aspects of the individual examples, new perspectives on the conception of authorship are revealed with the help of an analytical-systematic model. This new approach shows that the musicians' motets involve not only the self-referential naming and genealogical linking of musicians but rather multiple connections of authorial entities, which must be analyzed and considered very precisely.

Keywords

Early Modern Period, Franco-Flemish Polyphony, *Auctor*, Authority, Composer, Cooperation, Group Awareness, Multiple Composition

While the genre of the motet has been considered in many detailed works of scholarship, one sentence in the encyclopedia *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Music in History and the Present) is rather surprising: "Finally, the peculiarity of the self-referential composer motet – which remains completely unexplored as regards its intentions and use, and which, with different functional accents, remained important well into the

* 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 as part of project A4: "Public Bathing and Spa-Music in the Early Modern Period" (first funding phase) and "Music in English Bath and Spa Towns in the Late Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (second funding phase) of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), project no. 405662736.

16th century (musicians' motet) – needs to be mentioned.”¹ This assessment is bewildering, for one, because it claims that the composer or musicians' motet, despite many existing disputes regarding its “intentions and use,” has not been sufficiently explored in its peculiarity. Moreover, the self-referential allusion to the composer is emphasised as an essential feature of the musicians' motet, even though other characteristics also appear central to it; in addition to self-referentiality, the reference to other musicians and composers, which can be embedded in various ways in the musicians' motets, is, in any case, equally relevant. In a newly weighted research approach, the following contribution will hence investigate whether the concept of multiple authorship can help us better understand the notion of musicians' motets. It will also attempt to derive new ideas for concepts of multiple authorship on the basis of the musicians' motets. The first section will look into the significance of the musical author in the compositions of the late Middle Ages and during the early modern period, highlighting the degree to which the musicians' motet occupies a particular position in this context. Following this, I would like to single out two musicians' motets – namely, B.² de Cluny's motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* from the 14th century and Pierre Moulu's motet *Mater floreat* from the beginning of the 16th century – in order to pursue the question to what extent both these compositions can complement discourses of multiple authorship.³ While in the first example the composer names himself in the musical score and thus positions himself in relation to other authorial entities, the composer of the second example refrains from naming himself in the score, and instead shapes a group consciousness through the authorial entities mentioned in the work. Finally, I will show in the third section what a potential systematic approach may look like in relation to this work, and which ideas can be taken up for further discussions of multiple authorship in the (musical) culture of the early modern period.

1. The General Significance of Multiple Authorship in Music

The transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period generally brings with it new approaches to authorship, which express themselves not only through the

1 Kügle/Lütteken/Forchert 1997, col. 525.

2 The full first name of the composer is not clear from the sources; most likely it is Bernard. The composer is not to be confused, however, with other monks from Cluny who bear the same name, e.g. the author of *De Contemptu Mundi*.

3 In delimiting the analysis to these examples, many further aspects of other musicians' motets are omitted that would also be interesting in relation to discussing concepts of multiple authorship; the limitation, however, enables a more detailed investigation into the two examples and systematic considerations. For an overview of different musicians' motets, see Hatter 2019, pp. 54 and 60; Calella 2014, pp. 85–102.

nascent print culture⁴ but also, in the specific context of music, in the 'emergence of the composer.'⁵ The works of the Middle Ages, which are for the most part anonymous, are increasingly contrasted with compositions that allow inferences to be made about their composer on the basis of references in the work or its paratext but which require a careful differentiation regarding the concept of the author. The modern use of the term 'author' thus differs from the musical-historical starting point, in which the author (more precisely, the *auctor*) is primarily associated with the devisers of music or the authors of texts on music theory.⁶ In any case, the terms *cantor*, *auctor*, and *musicus* are contrasted with one another, while these are not homogenous nor strictly separated concepts; for instance, a composer and author can also make an appearance as a performing musician.⁷ The composer of a work acts primarily as *cantor*, *magister capellae*, *magister puerorum*, etc. and combines a creative and performative function. By contrast, the *musicus* is most often a theoretician, characterized by his knowledge of the numerical and rational aspects of music.⁸ And whereas the term *compositor* is already attested in the Middle Ages, it is to be understood in that context as the description of an activity rather than the fixed outline of a profession.⁹ To derive a starting point for discussing

- 4 The attribution of authors is often given through the paratext, which generally emerges with print culture and does not yet exist in manuscript culture. Janz 1995, among others, provides additional reflections on the relevance of earlier attributions of authors.
- 5 The emergence of the composer at this time has been treated in musicology in great detail. The aim is not to substantiate notions of a transfiguration or the mythical birth of the composer but rather to effect a differentiated consideration. The primarily sociohistorical approach of Finscher 1975 has been widely received; see also Huck 2012. Calella specifically points out the interweaving with the emergence of the concept of the work and gives a useful overview of the various scholarly approaches to the emergence of the composer in musicological discourse. See Calella 2014, p. 34: "Authors who attempt to explain this phenomenon either draw on models from the history of ideas or social history, or they strive for a compromise between both perspectives."
- 6 On the differentiation of the term *auctor*, see Calella 2014, p. 137; Calella 2011, pp. 145–147. On the functions of an author and the anonymity of works in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, see also Calella/Schmidt 2013, pp. 10f. The division into composer, music theorist, and authority, however, is not to be regarded as clear-cut, because both theorists and composers are named as authors or *auctores*. See Schmidt 2004, pp. 41–52.
- 7 Erich Reimer provides general as well as detailed reflections on the terms *musicus* and *cantor*. See Reimer 1972 or Reimer 1978.
- 8 This terminological distinction between *musicus* and *cantor*, which can be traced back to Boethius, is not to be understood as clear-cut in the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period; yet, it always resonates on different levels. On the distinction between *musica theórica* and *musica practica*, see also Haas 2007, pp. 13–15.
- 9 The term *compositor* is already attested from the 9th or 10th century, as e.g. Calella 2014, p. 49, shows. Nonetheless, the role and the occupational image of the composer are not yet as clearly outlined as in the late modern period. Only from ca. 1470/1480 does it become apparent that a designation of status and occupation is connected to the word *componista* as the precursor of the German word *Komponist*; see Fuhrmann 2019, p. 45. In addition, it is worth paying attention to its connection to

concepts of (multiple) authorship and to avoid terminological confusion, I will use the term ‘author’ to refer to the composing entity¹⁰; yet, it must always be kept in mind that this is an especially precarious term in musical studies which is not congruent with the use of the term in textual research.¹¹

Looking into the musicians’ motets reveals that their particularity in the late Middle Ages and in the early modern period can be traced back, among other things, to a concrete attribution of authorship.¹² This attribution of authorship is usually not only evident from additional information – that is, from a paratext¹³ – but, in the case of many musicians’ motets, can be ascertained directly from the work itself or the text of the work.¹⁴ An unmistakable feature of musicians’ motets is, first of all, the self-reference to the composer and the attribution of the work to its author. The author not only names himself as the creator of a work but also positions himself within the work and within the direct message of the work.¹⁵ This self-reference or self-naming has already been examined from different perspectives in scholarship; a reduction of musicians’ motets to self-referentiality or biographical details, however, falls short.¹⁶ Analysis of the musicians’ motets cannot only align the mention of the composer’s name with possible biographical self-references¹⁷ but can also reveal relationships with other authorial

the *ingenium* – the emergence or designation of the genius and composer. See Calella 2014, p. 199, as well as Wegman 1996.

- 10 The equivalence ‘musical author = composer’ also refers to Callela’s remarks; see Calella 2014, p. 243.
- 11 For further considerations on the discourse of authorship, see also the introduction to this volume, pp. XVI–XXIII.
- 12 Another approach to be considered critically is the assumption of Mark Everist and Sylvia Huot that anonymity can be interpreted as a sign of multiple authorship and that the lack of authors’ names in the 13th-century motet indicates an inseparable collaboration of several authors. On this subject, see Calella 2014, p. 56.
- 13 For information on paratexts and on the function of music prints and manuscripts ca. 1500, see also Schmidt-Beste 2010.
- 14 See Calella 2014, p. 85: “Especially in manuscript culture, in which the omission of an attribution in the scriptographic transmission is highly probable, the insertion of the names of composers in the text set to music serves both to signal and concurrently secure a closer bond between author and work.”
- 15 This need not always be the case with the musicians’ motets, however, as is apparent in the example *Mater floreat* by Pierre Moulu.
- 16 Jane Hatter also points out in her monograph that the focus in scholarship is increasingly directed toward biographical details, rather than toward aspects of multiple authorship or the collectives of musicians in the motets: “Fifteenth-century musicians’ motets are more commonly used in discussions of the biographies of individuals, rather than explored for their implications as expressions of corporate identity.” Hatter 2019, p. 56, note 7.
- 17 The degree to which the critical examination of a composer’s self-references and intertextual references can be enlightening is apparent in many examples; see, among others, Lütteken 2000. Yet it is critical to take into account the controversial connection between work and biography, which must be differentiated.

entities connected to these works.¹⁸ Of course, the reflection of discourses of multiple authorship is only possible when the authors involved and their connections to each other can be revealed. As will be shown in the following examples, the author must position himself in the text or in the context of the work,¹⁹ and thus has a double status from the start: the author is verified as the named originator of the work and simultaneously takes on a role or a position in the work itself. In addition, vocal compositions are for the most part works of multiple authorship, as the composer is often joined by a separate lyricist. In the case of musicians' motets, few clear statements can be made on the basis of the source material about the nature of the relationship between lyricist and composer, but the naming or positioning of the composer is usually provided through self-referentiality.²⁰ Through the relationship of text to sound, the motet thus entails the potential for collective or collaborative authorship that is inherent in the creation process of all vocal genres.²¹

Finally, aside from these basic considerations of authorship, we must also take into account performance and musical interpretation, which affects not only musicians' motets or other vocal compositions but all musical works. Music is invariably the pairing of composition (*factum*) and interpretation (*fieri*); it must therefore be sounded in order to be constituted, and musical actors are necessary for this sounding. In the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, the figures of the composer and the musician may coincide in the same person, and thus we cannot necessarily assume a separation in the production and interpretation of the work.²² In the case of the motets as polyphonic works, however, it is evident that several performers are required for the overall tonal constitution of the work.²³

18 Bessler 1978, p. 249: "Through this [the musicians' motet], one learns something of the convivial activities of that college, in which the musician could feel secure for a long time."

19 As the focus in this chapter is on musicians' motets by male composers as known, male pronouns will be used for reference.

20 Some works, however, such as the motet *Argi vices Poliphemus/Tum Philemon rebus paucis*, also reveal both who was the librettist and who was the composer, based on the arrangement of the text. In this frequently described motet, the two authors sign in the motet's text "Hec Guillelmus dictans favit / Nicolao qui cantavit / ut sit opus consummatum." See Calella 2011, p. 153 and Calella 2014, p. 88.

21 I understand multiple authorship as a general umbrella term where several authorial entities are involved in the production process. When authors intentionally collaborate as individuals independently from one another in the process of aesthetic production, this is to be considered as collaborative authorship. If multiple authorship is characterized by independent processes of production by different persons who do not significantly interact as individuals in the process, one can speak of collective authorship. On this topic, see also the introduction to this volume, pp. XXVIII f.

22 Here, the division of musical authorship into composer and performer is not as strongly separated as in the late modern period.

23 This seems especially relevant to the conception of sound when we are speaking of a period in which there were no musical scores in the modern-day sense. Neither the part books nor the choir books represent the voices in vertically aligned scores, and it is difficult to experience the work as

2. Concepts of Multiple Authorship in Musicians' Motets

A look at the motet *Apollonius eclipsatur*²⁴ by Bernard de Cluny from the middle of the 14th century offers concrete access to the characteristics of the musicians' motet:

TRIPLUM

Apollinis eclipsatur
numquam lux cum peragatur
Signorum ministerio
bis sex, quibus armonica fulget arte
basilica musicorum collegio
multiformibus figuris
e quo nitet J. de Muris
modo colorum vario
Philippus de Vitriaco
acta plura vernant a quo
ordine multiphario
noscit Henricus Helene
tonorum tenorem bene
Magno cum Dionisio
Regaudus de Tiramonte
Orpheico potus fonte
Robertus de Palacio
actubus petulancia
fungens gaudet poetria
Guilhermus de Mascaudio
Egidius de Morino
baritonans cum Guarino
quem cognoscat Suessio
Arnaldus Martini iugis
philomena P. de Brugis
Gaufridus de Barilio
vox quorum mundi climata
penetrat ad agalmata
Doxe fruuntur bravo!

The light of Apollo is never eclipsed as it passes through in its service the twice-six signs of the zodiac, with whose harmonic art the church shines through the community of musicians in diverse figures. From it shines forth Johannes de Muris through the manner of his colours [decoration], rich in variety, [and likewise] Philippe de Vitry, from whom all kinds of works spring in manifold arrangements. Henri d'Helene, along with Denis le Grand, knows well the course of the tones. Regaud de Tiramont has drunk from the Orphic fountain. Robert du Palais performs his work with boldness. It rejoices in the poetry of Guillaume de Machaut. Gilles de la Therouanne, together with Guarin, sings low, so that Soissons comes to know him. Arnaud of Saint-Martin-du Ré, the inexhaustibly singing nightingale. Pierre de Brügge [and] Godefroy de Baralle. The voice of these men advances to the poles of the world, to their honour. May they enjoy the prize of fame!

a whole because of this depiction in the notation. Only through performance can the work constitute itself and a complete audio impression emerge simultaneously.

- 24 The motet is transmitted for both three and five voices, and it can be assumed that two further voices were later added to the edition for three voices. In the following remarks, I will concentrate on the version for three voices, which is available in the edition of Harrison 1968. For more detailed explanations and an edition of the version for five voices, one should refer to Gómez, who also gives an overview of the arrangement of the sources; see Gómez 1985, pp. 9–12. I will also not consider at this point the later instrumental versions in a Viennese source. On this topic, see Strohm 1993, pp. 116 and 260.

DUPLUM

Zodiacum signis lustrantibus
 armonia Phebi fulgentibus
 musicali palam sinergia
 Pictagore numerus ter quibus
 adequatur preradiantibus
 Boecii basis solercia
 B. de Cluni nitens energia
 artis practice cum theoria recommendans
 se subdit omnibus presencia per salutaria
 Musicorum tripli materia
 noticiam dat de nominibus.

As the signs of the zodiac illuminate and shine out with the harmony of Phoebus in evident musical synergy, the three-fold number of Pythagoras made equal with the artistry of Boethius' foundation through their illumination, B. de Cluni, who shines through the power of practical art connected with theory, commends himself to all most humbly with these present greetings. The content of the *triplum* makes known the names of the musicians.

TENOR

In omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum et in fines orbis terre verba eorum.²⁵
 Their sound has gone out into all lands and their words to the ends of the earth.

Although it cannot be determined to whom the lyrics trace back, this motet for three voices from the 14th century is astonishing in its musical references, intertextual connections, and further points of reference to various works.²⁶ In the Triplum, besides the eternal light²⁷ of Apollo, a commendation is formulated for the musicians, all of whom were contemporaries of Bernard de Cluny. Almost all the musicians mentioned can be identified with names and approximate dates of birth and death.²⁸ It is unclear

25 I rely on the edition of Harrison 1968, here pp. 50–53. My thanks go to Katharina Ost for her assistance with the translations from Latin to German that has served as the basis for the English version of the text.

26 Hatter 2019, p. 60, note 26, refers to the lecture by Wolfgang Fuhrmann ("Musicians Motets and Musicians' Motets in the Late Middle Ages: Notation, Self-Reflexion and Social Identity" on 29/30 May 2014 in Tours) and points out as an example that there is a musical connection between the two motets *Alma polis religio* and *Apollinis eclipsatur*. Likewise, Gómez 1985, pp. 16f., assumes there are connections between two passages in the tenor of *Apollinius eclipsatur* and *Sub Arturo*. Yet these compositional references to other works and to other voices used in different arrangements, e.g. *cantus firmus* arrangements or parodic modes, can be addressed only peripherally in my observations, as these are compositional techniques, rather than functions of authorship.

27 Desmond 2018, pp. 2f. and 16, highlights particularly the metaphors of light in the duplum and triplum in relation to *subtilitas*.

28 Gómez 1985, p. 18, lists the names with biographical dates in the sequence of the motet, namely Jehan des Murs (Johannes de Muris), Philippe de Vitry (Philippus de Vitriaco), Henri d'Helene (Henricus Helene), Denis le Grand (Dionysius Magnus), Regaud de Tirlémont (Regaudus de Tiramonte), Robert de Palais (Robertus de Palatio), Guillaume de Machaut (Guilhermus de Mascaudio), Gilles de Therouanne (Egidius de Murino), Guarin (Garino/Guarino), Arnaud de Saint-Martin-du Ré (Arnaldus Martini), Pierre de Bruges (Petrus de Brugis), and Godefroy de Baralle (Gaufridus de Barilio). Despite some biographical obscurities, all the musicians named were active in the middle of the 14th century, to which period the motet can also be dated.

why Bernard de Cluny directed his focus precisely on these twelve musicians, as no connection of the musicians or their epithets with the signs of the Zodiac is clearly evident.²⁹ The stipulation of the number twelve, however, has given rise to different explanatory approaches in scholarship.³⁰ Juxtaposed with this collective praise, typical of the musicians' motet, is the duplum, in which Pythagoras and Boethius, two authorities on *ars musica*, are named and later accompanied by Bernard de Cluny, the composer of the motet. He is thus doubly anchored in the text (and not only in the paratext): as a performing musician and composer, he stands in relation to his 14th-century contemporaries; at the same time, he sets himself apart from them by not immortalizing himself in the triplum but in the duplum with Pythagoras and Boethius.³¹ Although the specification of a work's intention must be undertaken with caution, especially in discourses of authorship, the composer's purpose in naming the two authorities seems relatively clear in this case: the composer groups himself with the two *auctores*³² of *musica speculativa*, who are distinguished from the contemporary musicians³³ of the triplum. As David Howlett points out in his extensive analysis, Bernard de Cluny shapes his composition in the balanced relationship of three voices between musical practice and musical theory.³⁴

- 29 It is quite possible that the composer intended a connection between the individual signs of the Zodiac and the musicians mentioned, but due to the sparse information on the works and life dates of these musicians, no attribution can be made at present.
- 30 Among other things, Gómez 1985 points to the number twelve in connection with the twelve signs of the Zodiac and the multiplication of the number four as an important Pythagorean number. Howlett 2005 provides extensive numerological interpretations.
- 31 With this configuration, it is thus not a matter of a patrilineal connection to father figures (an image of musical parenthood or *paterfamilias*), as it also often appears in compositions of the time, but rather a listing of contemporaries and a self-integration in the vicinity of Pythagoras and Boethius; see Higgins 1997, pp. 171–173. A chiasmus, in which Bernard de Cluny situates himself opposite Boethius, appears in the duplum; see Howlett 2005, p. 155.
- 32 As Hüsch 1973, p. 226, already shows, two basic trends can be determined among the *auctores* as *inventores musicae*: 1) classical-antique (Pythagoras) or 2) biblical-antique (Jubal). The motet *Apolinis eclipsatur* accordingly is an example of the classical-antique tradition, in which Pythagoras is depicted as the inventor of music. On the differentiation of *auctor* and *auctoritas*, see also Lütken 2005, pp. 9–18.
- 33 The twelve persons mentioned are not to be seen distinctly as performing musicians in contrast to music theorists, as certain of the musicians, such as Egidius de Murino, were also verifiably active as music theorists. The classical authors (Pythagoras and Boethius) are to be distinguished from the twelve musicians of the 14th century primarily through dignity and tradition. See Desmond 2018, pp. 4f.
- 34 See Howlett 2005, pp. 158f. In the triplum and duplum, the harmony of the voices is precisely coordinated in a compositional manner; shortly before the first syllable of *signis* is sung in the duplum, the first syllable of *signorum* is sung in the triplum. Likewise, *armonica fulget* in the triplum follows after *armonia Phebi fulgentibus* in the duplum and *musicorum collegio* in the triplum shortly after *musicali* in the duplum. Johannes de Muris, as the first contemporary of the composer in the triplum, is immediately followed by the first classical *auctor* in the duplum.

The motet can be analyzed through multi-layered points of reference that underpin the concept of *musica mundana* and *humana* with cosmological allusions (Apollo and the signs of the Zodiac), as well as with the *auctores* (Pythagoras and Boethius) and the twelve musicians.³⁵ In the process, the possibilities for the design of the musicians' motet become apparent, in which an affiliation and hierarchization is made possible through the division and demarcation of the text and the configuration of the voices.³⁶ Several personal entities occur in this motet, but this alone is not sufficient to speak of multiple authorship. Only through the existing connections between these personal entities does this attribution become possible. The performing musicians and composers praised form a collective that belongs together,³⁷ whereas the composer Bernard de Cluny, by integrating himself alongside Pythagoras and Boethius, concurrently places himself in another collective, namely the collective of the *auctores* of *musica speculativa*. In the motet, two collectives are created as a result which are separated from one another and in which the composer situates himself; Bernard de Cluny, who could in fact be assigned to the contemporary collective of the triplum, positions himself within the duplum in a triad of Pythagoras, Boethius, and himself.³⁸ As a consequence, two possibilities of assignment arise here: Bernard de Cluny, "who gleams through the power of practical art associated with theory," ranks himself as an authority who admittedly sympathizes in some way with the collective of performing musicians and composers, yet who consciously integrates himself in the collective of the *auctores*.³⁹ The analysis of the motet shows that not only are several authorial entities named through the compositional design, but that their characteristics as authors are also taken into account.⁴⁰ Even though Bernard Cluny is the (individual) composer of the work, he not only legitimizes himself through the placing of his name in the collective of the named authors of *musica speculativa*, but he also takes up characteristics attributed to these authors in his

35 The implementation of Pythagoras' 'triple number' in the composition for three voices becomes apparent, among other things, in the proportion 3:2:1 in the units of movement. In the duplum, there are three movements divided into six, four, and two lines; in the triplum, there are two movements; and in the tenor, only one movement. Boethius' 'base' is related to the number twelve, which is not only taken up with the twelve signs of the Zodiac but also in the triplum with the twelve musicians who are named in twelve lines; see Howlett 2005, pp. 158 f.

36 While the voices are superimposed and sound simultaneously in the interpretation of the motet, a separation of the voices is evident in the material representation of the text on the page.

37 Alternatively, as Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl 2004, p. 24, puts it, one can speak of a "group signature," which refers to the "mention by name of a group of singers, musicians, or composers."

38 The establishment of this precise triad is an arbitrary, personal choice of the composer, which, however, can be placed in a wider context. Other musicians' motets exhibit a variety of references, ranging from Jubal and Gregory the Great to significant writers of *musica mensurabilis*.

39 It is important here to note that the composer Bernard de Cluny does not depict himself in isolation as an individual author but rather integrates himself into a group consciousness.

40 See note 35 on this.

composition: a form of multiple authorship is thus conceived by the composer in order to lend himself and his work greater impact.

The second example is the motet *Mater floreat* by the composer Pierre Moulu from the beginning of the 16th century, which has typically been categorized in scholarship through its connection between the Italian and French royal courts, but whose genesis has thus far not been clearly resolved.⁴¹ As in the first example, neither the lyricist nor the process of the text's creation can be unambiguously determined.

Mater floreat, florescat modulata musicorum melodia, Crescat celebris dufay cadentia, pros-pere-tur preclaris Regis busnoys Baziron, subtiles glorientur, Triumphet alexander magnificus. Congaudeant Obreth compere Eloy hayne la Rue memorabiles, Josquin incomparabilis brauium accipiat. Rvtilet delphicus de longueval tanquam sol inter stellas, Lourdault prioris amenus, Ne absint decori fratres de Fevin Hilaire hilaris, Diuitis felix, Brumel isaac nynot mathurin Forestier, Bruhier facundi mouton cum vellere aureo date gloriam, Regi et regine in cordis et organo.⁴²

May the mother bloom, may the modulated melody of the musicians blossom, may the cadence of the famous Dufay rise up, may the illustrious Regis prosper, may Busnoys and Baziron delicately praise themselves, may Alexander triumph magnificently. May the memorable Obrecht and Compere, Eloy, Hayne, and La Rue rejoice with them, may the incomparable Josquin receive the prize of victory. May the Apollo de Longueval shine red-gold like the sun among the stars, [as well as] Lourdault [and] the lovely Prioris, and may the brothers de Fevin not be far from fame, the serene Hylaire, the fortunate Divitis, the eloquent Brumel, Isaac, Nynot, Mathurian Forestier [and] Mouton with the Golden Fleece. Let this pay homage to the king and the queen with the [play] of strings and organ.

In the motet for four voices, which introduces the final period of the musicians' motets, a formal difference from the first motet described can be seen. As a result of the text being identical in all four voices, there is no possibility of allocating a hierarchization of the textual messages among the individual voices. This is not necessary, however, as all the persons mentioned were more or less contemporaries⁴³ of the composer Pierre Moulu and not *auctores* of *musica speculativa*. Yet the example is equally a praise of or homage to the musicians in question, who seem to be arranged according to a chronology: Guillaume Dufay is praised at the beginning as the oldest composer for his cadenza, followed by the somewhat younger Johannes Regis and Antoine Busboys and another

41 Shephard 2010 takes a closer look at the relationship between Italy and France, which is reflected in the Medici Codex of 1518 in which the motet is included. The genesis of the motet has often been linked to important events relating to the French royal court, e.g. by, among others, Meconi 2003, p. 206. By contrast, Fallows 2012 makes a case for the milieu of the motet's genesis being situated in the private sphere of the composer Pierre Moulu.

42 I rely on the edition of Lowinsky 1968.

43 The composers and musicians mentioned were for the most part born in the middle of the 15th century; only Dufay and a few others belong to an older generation.

twenty musicians.⁴⁴ In its musical design, the motet is divided into two sections. In the first part, with the exceptions of Josquin des Prez and probably also Loyset Compère and Pierre de la Rue, only musicians are named who were already deceased. In the second part, which begins with the mention of Antoine (Apollo) de Longueval, different musicians are named who have an extensive connection to the orchestra of the French court, with the exception of Heinrich Isaac. While the compositional arrangement of the motet contrasts two groups of people, the relationship and the association of the musicians mentioned must be considered in a more clearly differentiated way.⁴⁵

The composer Pierre Moulu admittedly does not mention himself in the text of the motet but still joins the ranks of this group consciousness.⁴⁶ The dignification, or the praise, culminates in the mention of the Golden Fleece, which on the one hand is awarded to the musicians⁴⁷ and on the other hand leads over into the praise for the ruler addressed to the royal couple.⁴⁸ Although no obvious numerological references or compositional attributes can be established when compared to the first example, a concept of multiple authorship nevertheless emerges in the interaction of the different skills and qualities of the composers. The focus is thus primarily on group consciousness

44 A number of scholarly approaches grant increasing attention to these two groups of musicians; see, among others, Meconi 2003, p. 206 and Fallows 2012, p. 328. This dichotomy is guided by the arrangement of the composition and divides the college mentioned into musicians who had already died ca. 1510 and musicians who were still alive and musically active in the 1510s. Although there is a dichotomy in the layout of the work, the sequence of the composers is not chronological and can therefore also be analyzed for its wider context apart from this dichotomy.

45 Especially the first part of the motet with the older composers can be regarded in terms of a genealogy of musicians, but this still prompts questions from a strictly chronological perspective, where between Obrecht and Eloy, for example, the composer Compère is mentioned, who was somewhat older and outlived the other two by around ten years. In the second part, the sequence of the musicians does not follow any chronological order at all, and the connection was often established through the affiliation with the orchestra of the French court – yet here it remains debatable why Heinrich Isaac, for example, who had no direct connection to the orchestra of the French court, is also mentioned.

46 The group consciousness is related to how the musicians named are connected with each other. Robert Jean Knecht and Honey Meconi note an affiliation of the musicians with the French region and the French musical chapel, respectively. According to their considerations, it is likely that *Mater floreat* was composed for Queen Claude's entry into Paris in May 1517; see Knecht 1994, p. 460 and Meconi 2003, p. 206. Fallows 2012 disagrees with this proposition and sees the motet as being situated in Moulu's private sphere. In addition, the considerations of Shephard 2010 regarding the Medici Codex should be taken into account.

47 The mention of the Golden Fleece is to be understood here as an equivocal allusion: it is – quite playfully – linked by name with the musician Mouton (Fr. *mouton* = sheep) but moreover stands as a badge of dignity.

48 It is noteworthy here that the praise and collective esteem are attributed not to the *auctores of musica speculativa* but to the music-making composers, who thus gain in dignity.

as a surrogate for a missing sort of representation of interests.⁴⁹ Because the genealogy of musicians does not follow a strict chronology due to the arrangement of the musicians, and because the affiliation of all the musicians mentioned to the French royal court must be reflected upon critically,⁵⁰ it should be asked whether considerations of a concept of multiple authorship can be helpful in being able to understand better the relationships among the musicians.

Despite the bipartite division of the composers in the arrangement of the work, the musicians named in *Mater floreat* must be analyzed in terms of their affiliation or their relationships to each other, as they are named in a sequence, but no prioritization of the authors as in *Apollinis eclipsatur* arises from the distribution of the same text among the four voices. The homage in the form of the praise of Mary⁵¹ is, on the one hand, directed to the royal family, to whom the praise with organ and instruments is assigned, but this praise, on the other hand, also refers to the musicians themselves. It thereby concerns not only a representation of interests but also the generation of a created community that composes in similar ways and that jointly creates something. A concept of multiple authorship can here be related to the notion that not only the common sphere of employment and a genealogical connection exist, but that a collaborative creative process is also central. Their activities are understood as a kind of collective, possibly also collaborative creation, which is defined not only by the common sphere of employment but also by the adherence to a communal process of creation and work: the “modulated melody of musicians” blossoms into a collective musical ideal through the contributions of individual composers.⁵²

49 As Wolfgang Fuhrmann 2019, p. 42, notes, a corporation or guild in the early modern period was in place among musicians in cities at most; among ecclesiastic singers, one can at best speak of informal associations. ‘Representation of interests’ is thus not to be understood from a modern perspective or as an anachronistic construct but should rather be read as a sign of a growing professional self-image of composers in the early modern period – both as individuals and as a group.

50 On this topic, see Calella 2014, p. 96. Unlike in *Apollinis eclipsatur*, this concerns not only musicians from the same region but rather worthy personalities whose places of activity range from Florence to the French royal court.

51 “*Mater floreat*” is doubtless intended as a praise of Mary (*Mater Dei*), which, in the intercession of Mary, can be related both to the musicians – with Mary as the patron saint of musicians – but also to the French royal family. In addition to “*Mater floreat*,” there are certain other similarly conceived works that incorporate various musicians or communities of musicians in intercessions to Mary. Among others, a well-known example is the motet *Omnium bonorum plena* by Loyset Compère; after attributions to Mary, the intercession or prayer in the second part of the motet is directed concretely at Dufay and other musicians, which has often been related to the milieu of Cambrai Cathedral in scholarship but which leaves unresolved some uncertainties; see Rifkin 2009, pp. 57f.

52 Collective authorship is characterized here as a parallel production by persons who do not interact synchronously as individuals in the process but who collaborate with one another as an ideal community.

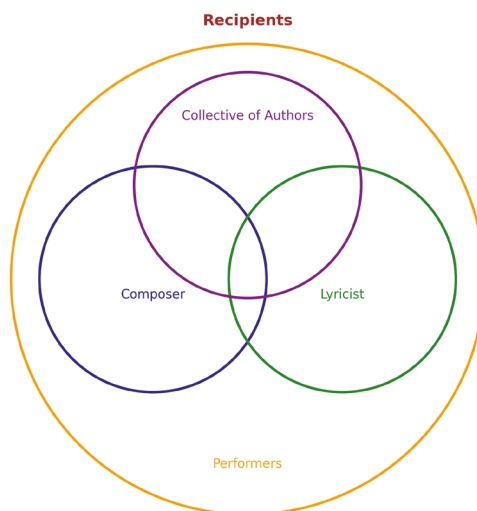


Fig. 1. Systematic model.
Source: author's own design.

3. A Systematic Approach

While the limitation to two examples can only partially reflect the potential of the various musicians' motets, I would nonetheless like to suggest a systematic approach that attempts to connect musicians' motets to concepts of multiple authorship. Musicians' motets are primarily works in which the composer uses his creative power strategically in the production process to position himself in the work and to determine his relationship to a collective of authors. Based on a descriptive approach, a model can be developed to determine the various levels of authorship, from the inner, overlapping circles of the production and composition process to the outer circles of interpretation and reception (Fig. 1). In the case of musicians' motets, the production process should be distinguished from the process of interpretation, each of which can be regarded as a different form of multiple authorship.

If one focuses on the inner structure of authorship in the production and composition process, one can distinguish between three authorial entities, namely the composer, the lyricist, and the collective community of musicians. The collaborative or collective teamwork between composer and lyricist is a fundamental aspect of vocal works rather than a specific quality of the motet or of musicians' motets. What is specific to musicians' motets, however, is that composer and lyricist attach their signatures to the work together, thereby manifesting their collaboration in a clear and obvious manner. In the two examples selected here, the lyricist and his relationship to the composer are not explicitly clarified, but, from a systematic perspective, different variants may emerge. Sometimes the roles are assigned to two different persons; sometimes they are taken on by the same person, which means there is complete

congruence between both circles. In terms of the authorship of text and music in the musicians' motets, this may concern a form of collaborative or collective authorship, but singular authorship is also possible.⁵³ In the relationship between composer and collective community of musicians, it is not a matter of collaborative or collective authorship but rather of a community of composers or musicians in which the composer wants to locate himself with his work.⁵⁴ As is apparent in the two examples and also in other musicians' motets, the composer positions himself toward this collective and thereby attempts to consolidate the value of his status.⁵⁵ The discourse of authorship thus presupposes a plural approach in which the previous or contemporary authors who are named are linked by tradition – without actually collaborating together on a work. In terms of the three inner circles, it thus has to do with a model of multiple authorship that explores the relationship between the composer and a community of musicians, as well as the relationship between the composer and the author of the text, and which can be examined as to whether it can be described in terms of collective or collaborative authorship.⁵⁶

In addition to the process of production or composition, the process of interpretation must also be considered, which I will indicate as an outer circle. The particular relation that emerges from the character of the music in terms of performance practice is the one established with the performers in a process of communication and recep-

53 The strategic and mutual collaboration of a librettist and a composer would be thought of as a form of collaborative authorship, while a production in which composer and librettist do not interact significantly constitutes a form of collective authorship – for example, the composer draws on a text that has already been written. In the examples chosen, however, and also in other musicians' motets, the question from whom or from where the text of the motet originates cannot straightforwardly be answered. An example of the explicit designation in the musical score of the collaborative authorship of librettist and composer is, for instance, the motet *Argi vices Poliphemus/Tum Philemon rebus paucis*, in which both authors sign their names at the end. The question also arises here as to whether this concerns a balanced, collaborative endeavour or rather a form of collective authorship in which the two do not interact significantly.

54 Another starting point is to understand the composer's self-reference and the reference to the collective of musicians as a musical prayer for the musicians and community of musicians; see Hatter 2019, pp. 53–57.

55 In the motet *Apollinis eclipsatur*, Bernard de Cluny positions himself in the text together with Pythagoras and Boethius; in the motet *Mater Floreat*, Pierre Moulu does not mention himself by name but, through his work, positions himself with the chosen composers as peers in the canon to which they all belong.

56 In addition, one can also make a division following synchronic or diachronic aspects. The text and the composition are formed one after the other and not simultaneously; likewise, the related community of authors mostly stands in a consecutive sequence, in a continuous tradition. Only the performers, specifically three in the motet *Apollinis eclipsatur* and four in the motet *Mater Floreat*, have to perform music synchronously, and they thus bring the work to sound all at once.

tion.⁵⁷ If one refers to the two examples, we are dealing with works for three voices⁵⁸ and for four voices, which means at least three or four performers are needed for the tonal constitution of both works.

The reception process of a work is not necessarily to be regarded as a component of authorship, and the collaborative interpretation of the work appears as a matter of course; nonetheless, in the case of the musicians' motets, the relationship and interaction of the entities should, in my view, be considered more closely. The listeners of the vocal polyphony hear the superimposed voices of the text, but it is extremely difficult for them to distinguish or to understand the individual words and textual coherence.⁵⁹ From the point of view of the recipients, it is not entirely clear which musicians' names appear, how the sequence of these musicians is designed, or even how the differentiation and prioritization of the individual musicians takes place – as is the case in *Apollinis eclipsatur*. The audience recognizes that this concerns vocal polyphony and, accordingly, that there is collaborative, communal action implied in the interpretation, but, at the same time, the deeper structure of the text recedes into the background in a purely receptive perspective. This is central, especially in the comparison of performer and recipient: what the recipient can by no means perceive in such detail, the performer realizes all the more clearly, because he must articulate the text, the musicians' names, and he thereby also clearly perceives the implied praise in the form of the collective of musicians.⁶⁰ This is a factor that should not be discounted, that underlies these musicians' motets and is often neglected in the critical engagement with them. The singers articulate the names of the musicians, who are raised up to a collective, and, especially for the contemporary performers who still knew the musicians named, another aspect of belonging arises: the performers make these collectives of musicians audible, possibly perceiving themselves as a performing part of this collective or recognizing at least the plural approach of collective belonging in their declamation of the text.

57 The relationship between the reading and performance of music as a "subject fraught with pitfalls" is included here, as Haar 2013, pp. 27–32 (quotation p. 27), describes it. This goes along with the question of whether music requires performance or is also intended for self-study and intellectual insight in the sense of the quadrivium.

58 In the case of *Apollinis eclipsatur*, there is even a version for five voices, on which, however, I will not expand. See note 24.

59 It is not for nothing that this problems appears in different debates of the time, which are later reflected in the *prima* and *seconda prattica*.

60 Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl 2004, p. 23, also points to this aspect: "In practice, this means that the singers 'pronounce / speak out' the name, immediately transforming the word into sound, concretizing it in a sensory manner, and thus giving a particular significance to the person named. In this way, one can 'make a name' for oneself (or indeed others) with his work, as it is still aptly put today in a turn of phrase."

In summary, the following can be noted with regard to discourses on multiple authorship. One sees that different levels of concepts of authorship – from the process of production and composition to the process of interpretation and reception – prevail in the musicians’ motets and must be viewed as related to one another.⁶¹ Depending on one’s perspective, different aspects can be taken up in this concept of the authorship of the musicians’ motets: What is the relationship of the author of the text to the composer? What is the relationship of the composer to the collective of musicians, and which qualitative evaluations can be made in this respect? What does the collaborative interpretation of the musicians’ motet signify for the singers and the listeners? The systematic model suggested here provides a set of tools that, in addition to the more minute aspects of the individual examples, enables a comparison of the musicians’ motets from the perspective of a concept of authorship.⁶² This focus therefore not only seizes on previously neglected aspects of concepts of multiple authorship but simultaneously offers new approaches to the definition of musical authorship in the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. In this way, a new awareness can be created for the fact that, in the musicians’ motets, it is a matter not only of self-referential namings of musicians but moreover of plural connections between authorial entities, each of which must be analyzed and considered very precisely.

Bibliography

- Bessler 1978 = Bessler, Heinrich: Aufsätze zur Musikästhetik und Musikgeschichte, Leipzig 1978 (Reclams Universal-Bibliothek 740).
- Calella 2011 = Calella, Michele: Patronage, Ruhm und Zensur. Bemerkungen zur musikalischen Autorschaft im 15. Jahrhundert, in: Christel Meier/Martina Wagner-Egelhaaf (eds.): Autorschaft. Ikonen – Stile – Institutionen, Berlin 2011, pp. 145–162.
- Calella 2014 = Calella, Michele: Musikalische Autorschaft. Der Komponist zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit, Kassel et al. 2014 (Schweizer Beiträge zur Musikforschung 20).

- 61 The definition of the relationship also means that the circles that I have chosen in my model must be weighted differently according to each case and are not intended as standard dimensions. Any attempt at systematization is, of course, open to attack and can provide only approximate parameters.
- 62 Of course, this does not mean that the musicians’ motets should all be systematically and abstractly reduced to their authorial entities – which would be a fatal misunderstanding – but rather that an additional possibility should be provided to bring concepts of authorship into play more than has been the case in musicological analyses thus far.

- Calella/Schmidt 2013 = Calella, Michele/Schmidt, Lothar: Einführung: Lehre und Praxis im Gespräch, in: Michele Calella/Lothar Schmidt (eds.): *Komponieren in der Renaissance. Lehre und Praxis*, Laaber 2013, pp. 9–17.
- Desmond 2018 = Desmond, Karen: *Music and the moderni, 1300–1350. The ars nova in Theory and Practice*, Cambridge, UK et al. 2018.
- Fallows 2012 = Fallows, David: Moulou's Composer Motet: Date and Context, in: Thomas Schmidt-Beste (ed.): *The Motet Around 1500. On the Relationship of Imitation and Text Treatment?*, Turnhout 2012, pp. 325–333.
- Finscher 1975 = Finscher, Ludwig: Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten.' Zum Problem Komponisten-Individualität und Individualstil in der Musik des 14. Jahrhunderts, in: *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 6.1 (1975), pp. 29–45.
- Fuhrmann 2019 = Fuhrmann, Wolfgang: *Musikleben in der Renaissance. Zwischen Alltag und Fest. Partial vol. I: Orte der Musik*, Lilienthal 2019 (*Handbuch der Musik der Renaissance* 4.1).
- Gómez 1985 = Gómez, Carmen: Une version a cinq voix du motet Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis dans le manuscrit E-BCEN 853, in: *Musica Disciplina* 39 (1985), pp. 5–44.
- Haar 2013 = Haar, James: Hörer und Leser – Der kritische Umgang mit Musik in der Kultur der Renaissance, in: Michele Calella/Lothar Schmidt (eds.): *Komponieren in der Renaissance. Lehre und Praxis*, Laaber 2013, pp. 19–35.
- Haas 2007 = Haas, Max: *Musikalisches Denken im Mittelalter. Eine Einführung*, 2nd ed., Bern et al. 2007.
- Harrison 1968 = Harrison, Frank: *Motets of French Provenance*, Monaco 1968 (*Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* 5).
- Hatter 2019 = Hatter, Jane D.: *Composing Community in Late Medieval Music. Self-Reference, Pedagogy, and Practice*, Cambridge, UK et al. 2019.
- Higgins 1997 = Higgins, Paula: Musical 'Parents' and Their 'Progeny.' The Discourse of Creative Patriarchy in Early Modern Europe, in: Jessie Ann Owens/Anthony M. Cummings (eds.): *Music in Renaissance Cities and Courts. Studies in Honor of Lewis Lockwood*, Detroit 1997 (*Detroit Monographs in Musicology, Studies in Music* 18), pp. 169–186.
- Howlett 2005 = Howlett, David: Apollinis eclipsatur. Foundation of the 'Collegium musicorum,' in: Suzannah Clark/Elizabeth Eva Leach (eds.): *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture. Learning from the Learned. In Honour of Margaret Bent on her 65th Birthday*, Woodbridge/Suffolk 2005 (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* 4), pp. 152–159.
- Huck 2012 = Huck, Oliver: Die 'Entstehung des Komponisten' und der 'Schritt in die Schrift' – Überlieferung und Edition der Musik des frühen Trecento, in: Christiane Henkes/Harald Saller/Thomas Richter (eds.): *Text und Autor. Beiträge aus dem Venedig-Symposium 1998 des Graduiertenkollegs "Textkritik"* München, Berlin 2012 (Beihefte zu *Editio* 15), pp. 97–114 [Reprint of the Tübingen 2000 ed.].
- Hüschén 1973 = Hüschén, Heinrich: Lob- und Preismotetten auf die Musik aus früheren Jahrhunderten, in: Heinrich Hüschén (ed.): *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea. Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum 70. Geburtstag am 7. Juli 1972*, Cologne 1973, pp. 225–242.
- Janz 1995 = Janz, Bernhard: Schall und Rauch? Überlegungen zur Relevanz von Autorenzuschreibungen in Musikhandschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, in: Annegret Laubenthal (ed.): *Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Eine Festschrift für Ludwig Finscher*, Kassel 1995, pp. 64–71.
- Knecht 1994 = Knecht, Robert Jean: *Renaissance Warrior and Patron. The Reign of Francis I*, Cambridge, UK 1994.
- Kügler/Lütteken/Forchert 1997 = Kügler, Karl/Lütteken, Laurenz/Forchert, Arno: Motette, in: *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 21 vols., ed. by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 6: *Meis-Mus*, 2nd, rev. ed., Kassel/Basel 1997, cols. 499–546.

- Lindmayr-Brandl 2004 = Lindmayr-Brandl, Andrea: Die Autorität der Namen – Fremd- und Eigensignaturen in musikalischen Werken der Renaissance, in: Laurenz Lütteken/Nicole Schwindt (eds.): *Autorität und Autoritäten in musikalischer Theorie, Komposition und Aufführung*, Kassel 2004 (Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 3/2003), pp. 21–40.
- Lowinsky 1968 = Lowinsky, Edward: *The Medici Codex of 1518*, Chicago 1968 (Monuments of Renaissance Music 3).
- Lütteken 2000 = Lütteken, Laurenz: Autobiographische Musik? Kompositorische Selbstdarstellung in der Motette des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 74.1 (2000), pp. 3–26.
- Lütteken 2004 = Lütteken, Laurenz: Auctor und auctoritas – Mittelalterliche Traditionen und veränderte Konzepte in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Laurenz Lütteken/Nicole Schwindt (eds.): *Autorität und Autoritäten in musikalischer Theorie, Komposition und Aufführung*, Kassel 2004 (Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 3/2003), pp. 9–18.
- Meconi 2003 = Meconi, Honey: *Pierre de la Rue and Musical Life at the Habsburg-Burgundian Court*, Oxford et al. 2003.
- Reimer 1972 = Reimer, Erich: *Musicus – Cantor*, in: *Handwörterbuch der musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. by Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht and Albrecht Riethmüller, folder 4: M–O, Stuttgart 1972.
- Reimer 1978 = Reimer, Erich: *Musicus und Cantor. Zur Sozialgeschichte eines musikalischen Lehrstücks*, in: *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 35.1 (1978), pp. 1–32.
- Rifkin 2009 = Rifkin, Joshua: *Compere, Des Pres, and the Choirmasters of Cambrai: Omnium bonorum plena Reconsidered*, in: *Acta Musicologica* 81.1 (2009), pp. 55–73.
- Schmidt 2004 = Schmidt, Lothar: Theoretikerautorität und Komponistenautorität von Tinctoris bis Monteverdi, in: Laurenz Lütteken/Nicole Schwindt (eds.): *Autorität und Autoritäten in musikalischer Theorie, Komposition und Aufführung*, Kassel 2004 (Trossinger Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik 3/2003), pp. 41–52.
- Schmidt-Beste 2010 = Schmidt-Beste, Thomas: Wer, was, für wen? Über Funktion und Publikum von Musikdrucken (und Musikhandschriften) um 1500, in: Birgit Lodes (ed.): *NiveauNischeNimbus. Die Anfänge des Musikdrucks nördlich der Alpen*, Tutzing 2010 (Wiener Forum für ältere Musikgeschichte 3), pp. 91–111.
- Shephard 2010 = Shephard, Tim: *Constructing Identities in a Music Manuscript: The Medici Codex as a Gift*, in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 63.1 (2010), pp. 84–127.
- Strohm 1993 = Strohm, Reinhard: *The Rise of European Music, 1380–1500*, Cambridge, UK 1993.
- Wegman 1996 = Wegman, Rob C.: *From Maker to Composer. Improvisation and Musical Authorship in the Low Countries, 1450–1500*, in: *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 49.3 (1996), pp. 409–479, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/831769> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).

Goltzius and Estius Read Ovid: *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593)

Abstract

This chapter examines the engraving *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593) as the product of a collaboration between the engraver and publisher Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) and the poet Franco Estius (–1594). A close reading of the engraving demonstrates how the medial and spatial separation of text and image allows for the coexistence of two auctorial voices that enter into a productive dialogue about the Ovidian pretext. Poets and artists generate tensions between text and image that serve to emphasize rather than conceal the artificiality of their work. This functions not only as a display of artistic skill contributing to their respective auctorial self-fashioning but also leads towards an implicit theory of art: ultimately, according to Goltzius' and Estius' interpretation of the myth, art requires the animating gaze of the viewer in order to come alive. This vivifying mode of reception not only puts the viewer into a state of quasi-petrified rapture, but it also provides the impetus for new artistic production. By having Pygmalion's love for his artwork merge with narcissistic self-love, the epigram points out the dangers inherent in this process – a warning that is all the more poignant as both text and image create an analogy between the Pygmalion figure and Goltzius himself.

Keywords

Collaboration between Artists and Poets, Early Modern Engravings, Image-Text Relationships, Neo-Latin Epigram, Reception of the Metamorphoses, Verse Inscriptions on Prints

- * Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson. The work for this chapter was carried out within the framework of project C4: “Intermediality as a Starting Point of Aesthetic Reflection in Dutch Graphic Prints of the Early Modern Period” (first funding phase) and “Ceremonies in Print: Intermediality and Representation in Early Modern Netherlandish Culture” (second funding phase) of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG), project no. 405662736. – This contribution is intricately linked to the joint conference paper “Re-Produktion/Se-Produktion. Autorschaft und Intermedialität im Kupferstich ‘Pygmalion und Galatea’ (1593)” by Katharina Hiery and Katharina Ost, presented at the conference “The Aesthetics of Multiple Authorship: Literature – Art – Music” at Tübingen, 12–14 November 2020. While the present text analyzes the portrayal of authorship in the engraving under discussion here with regard to its references to literary texts, a comparable analysis against the background of visual traditions and practices of artistic *agon* can be found in its art-historical counterpart: Hiery 2023. The chapter is available open access: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110755763-011> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).

1. Introduction

The engraving considered here, *Pygmalion and Galatea*¹ (1593, NHD Goltzius 157), originates from a collaboration between the Haarlem engraver and publisher Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) and the Gorkum humanist Franco Estius (–1594);² in the years 1586–1594 over 130 prints resulted from this collaboration. In what follows, I will pursue, from a Latinist perspective and in an intermedial close reading, the question of how the co-authorial relationship between Goltzius and Estius finds expression in the aesthetic structure of this print as well as how it becomes fruitful for reflection on the artwork. To this end, I examine the dialogue that both their authorial ‘voices’ conduct with each other and with the Ovidian pretext with regard to the respective narrative structures, the problematization of the materiality, and the mimetic quality of the statue, as well as the coincidence of artist, viewer, and work in the figure of Pygmalion. The investigation shows how the engraving adjusts and interprets essential aspects of the Ovidian narrative about the author-figure Pygmalion for 16th-century theoretical discourses on art. Finally, a short overview of humanistic and art-theoretical interpretations of Pygmalion from the late 16th century enables a categorization of my findings.

To examine the manifestation and reflection of joint authorship immanent in this print, I will first clarify the concept of authorship used and link it to the historical conditions of the collaboration between Goltzius and Estius. In my understanding, early modern authorship is characterized by the conscious formation, mediated by cultural ‘mechanisms of control,’³ of an authorial persona (self-fashioning⁴) through the work. In his exploration of the poetics of self-fashioning in the occasional verse of the early 17th century, Tom Deneire distinguishes between three types (sociocultural, [meta-] poetic, and intellectual) and three levels (paratext, text, intertext) of self-fashioning.⁵ This approach and the concept of authorship based on it can also be applied to pictorial art if we adopt a correspondingly broad definition of text.⁶

1 This is the name commonly used in registers of works and catalogues. The naming of the statue as Galatea, however, originates from a shift of the Pygmalion material into the world of the bucolic, which took place only in the late 17th century (Reinhold 1971, p. 317 f.), and is thus ahistorical with regard to the present engraving.

2 For the few reconstructible dates for Estius’ life, see Venne 2017, p. 106.

3 Clifford Geertz, cited following Greenblatt 1980, p. 3: “control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions [...] – for the governing of behavior.”

4 Greenblatt, who popularized the English term, uses “self-fashioning” on the one hand to refer to a “cultural system of meanings” that regulates social individuation (Greenblatt 1980, pp. 3 f.), and on the other hand to refer to the concrete practice of self-profiling within such a system (e.g. Greenblatt 1980, p. 9). I follow the second possible usage here.

5 Deneire 2014, pp. 38 f.

6 According to theories of art during the 16th and 17th centuries, the visual arts share essential elements of their theoretical basis with poetry and rhetoric (see Müller / Pfisterer 2011, pp. 7 f.), espe-

Since early modern engravings are products of a collaborative work process in which, for example, painters, draftsmen, and one or more engravers, including apprentices and specialists such as type engravers,⁷ printers, and publishers, were involved,⁸ the chosen approach allows us to differentiate between co-authorship and participation in the production process: I will speak of the former only when at least two authorial voices that can be recognizably distinguished from one another can be discerned. These voices may be highlighted by being mentioned by name,⁹ but for poets and inventors, they are also already inherent in the discrepancy between the media. The nominal designation enables the shaping of an authorial self that transcends the individual work.

For the self-fashioning of the poet of the epigram, a fundamental difficulty arises in printmaking that, of all the paratextual means that are central to the sociocultural aspect of early modern authorial self-fashioning,¹⁰ only the credited name remains. Even the possibility of dedicating a print (which in any case was only rarely taken up)

cially with regard to their tense confrontation with tradition (*imitatio / aemulatio*, see Müller / Pfisterer 2011, pp. 6–11). From this follow further parallels in the strategies of self-profiling.

- 7 On the division of labour, see e.g. Christophe Plantin's (1520–1589) letter to Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) from the period of 31 May to 8 June 1586: "Premièrement si ledict Goltzius voudroit venir a Anvers pour tailler lesdictes figures luymesmes, les visages et autres parties plus delicates en se faisant aider aux autres choses comme il trouveroit le plus convenable, car on s'en remecteroit a sa discrétion pourveu que la chose fust tellement faicte ou taillee que ledict Goltzius y voulust mectre son nom ou marcque." (Plantin 1918, p. 341; 'First, whether the aforementioned Goltzius would want to come to Antwerp and engrave the aforementioned figures themselves, the faces and the other more delicate parts, while employing help for the other parts as he sees fit, for we would leave it to his discretion as long as it is done or engraved in such a way that the aforementioned Goltzius wants to put his name or mark on it.')
- 8 See Griffiths 2016, pp. 234–305, on the various participants in the production of engraving; Griffiths 2016, pp. 42f., on typesetters. Goltzius' workshop was characterized by a bundling together in his person of the roles of image-inventor, (leading) engraver, and publisher; see Mensger 2016; Orenstein et al. 1993, pp. 177–183, on work practice in Goltzius' workshop. He possibly also engraved the type on his sheets himself; Namowitz Worthen 1993, pp. 278–282.
- 9 In particular, the inventor of the image (*invenit*) or copyist (*delineavit*), the executing engraver (*sculpsit*), and the publisher (*excudit*) are commonly mentioned by name. The naming of the epigram poet is rarer; Franco Estius appears to have consistently signed his epigrams published for Goltzius' workshop from 1586 onward; see Ost 2022, also on *Hercules Fighting Geryon* (NHD Goltzius 332) as an early experiment. The substantially better-known Cornelius Schonaeus (1540–1611), who regularly contributed epigrams to Goltzius' engravings as early as 1584 (see Venne 2017, p. 103), marks his poetry with the presumed death of Estius (1594) on the sheets. For an overview of print attribution practice, see Griffiths 2016, pp. 82–86; an extensive compilation of common attribution formulae can be found in Stijnman 2017.
- 10 See Deneire 2014, pp. 39–42.

remains reserved for its inventor, engraver, or publisher.¹¹ If the poet thus lacks the possibility to distinguish himself by exhibiting his contacts within the *res publica litterarum* or his relationships with spiritual and secular authorities,¹² an even greater significance is assigned to the (meta-)poetic and intellectual self-authorization¹³ via the qualities of the respective work.¹⁴ Here, along with a finely polished linguistic form (textual level), allusive references to classical authors (intertextuality) serve as proof of the effort (*labor*) and care (*diligentia*) expected of humanist authors.¹⁵ I would like to explore these in the following.

2. Narrative Structures in Word and Image

In the first step of the intended close reading, I will briefly survey the narrative structure of the Ovidian Pygmalion episode in order to contrast it with its adaptations in the pictorial representation and the epigram of the engraving. According to Alexandra Kailbach-Mehl, Ovid's Pygmalion narrative is structured as an account of two artistic processes of creation and reception – on the one hand during the shaping of the ivory statue (Ov. Met. 10.243–269), on the other in light of its becoming human (Ov. Met. 10.270–297) – which are separated from each other through Pygmalion's participation in the Cypriot festival of Venus (Ov. Met. 10.270–279).¹⁶ The printmaking tradition, significantly influenced by the *Metamorphoses* series of Bernard Salomon and Virgil Solis,¹⁷ seizes on this narrative tripartition in the form of a simultaneous depiction: Pygmalion working on the statue or admiring the work he has just created; Pygmalion praying to the goddess Venus; and Pygmalion in bed with the now animated young woman.

Goltzius' portrayal of Pygmalion (Fig. 1), however, does not follow this representational tradition but is close to a painting that is attributed to Pontormo and / or his pupil

11 See Griffiths 2016, p. 87. This does not prevent poets from writing themselves into the dedication in individual cases, such as Estius on Goltzius' *Roman Heroes* (1586, NHD Goltzius 163 and 172) and Schonaeus in Goltzius' *The Annunciation* (1594, NHD Goltzius 8/2).

12 See Enenkel 2015, pp. 16–18 and 50–53, on the paratextual exhibition of such relationships.

13 See Enenkel 2015, pp. 13 f., on the need for authorization as “proof of the ability to act as an author.”

14 See Deneire 2014, pp. 42–53.

15 Enenkel 2015, pp. 538–553, esp. 541 f.

16 Kailbach-Mehl 2020, pp. 177 f. – Rosati 2016, pp. 63–65, assigns the two main parts of the narrative to the themes of illusion (statue) and reality (young woman).

17 Bernard Salomon (1557), Virgil Solis (1563), Hans Speeckaert (1582), Crispijn de Passe the Elder (1602–1607), Johan Wilhelm Baur (1639). See Henkel 1930, pp. 77–79, 128–131; Melion 2001, p. 155. By contrast, woodcut series in the traditions of Bruges (1484), Venice (1497), and Mainz (1545) know no depiction of Pygmalion (see Blattner 1998; Huber-Rebenich / Lütkemeyer / Walter 2014). On the preceding manuscript tradition, see Blühm 1988, pp. 24–33; Stoichita 2008, pp. 41–88.



Fig. 1. Hendrick Goltzius: *Pygmalion and Galatea*, 1593, copperplate engraving, 327 mm × 218 mm, first design, Amsterdam: Rijkmuseum, inv. no.: RP-P-OB-10.112.

Bronzino and that reduces the representation to a single scene.¹⁸ In this, an obviously living female figure, who is positioned on a stone pedestal in the left half of the picture in a pose reminiscent of the *Venus pudica* type, gazes directly out of the picture, while a kneeling Pygmalion in the right half of the picture worships her.¹⁹ Both figures are separated by a burning sacrificial altar located somewhat in the background.

Goltzius also refrains from a simultaneous presentation but, in contrast to Bronzino and/or Pontormo, portrays a marble statue.²⁰ This statue likewise brings to mind classical images of Venus, yet its head is slightly tilted forward and the gaze of its pupilless eyes remains unoriented. While the face of the young man, who sits in the part of the picture on the capital of a column, looks up at the statue, his naked torso – parallel to the statue's body – is orientated toward the viewer of the engraving. With his right hand, he holds a bunch of flowers; the fingers of his left hand hold a chisel. The corresponding wooden hammer lies below the chisel on the ground; some flowers and a piece of jewellery are scattered in front of the statue's pedestal. Paradoxically, the young man, who is undoubtedly to be identified with Pygmalion, seems less dynamic in his posture than the stone statue, which appears to be poised both to cover itself further and to step over its pedestal.²¹ The room in which the scene is situated, with its raised light-openings (only implied) and interior arches reminiscent of ancient monumental buildings, offers no hints of regular use as a sculptor's workshop beyond the Corinthian capital on which Pygmalion is seated.²²

- 18 *Pygmalion and Galatea*, 1529/1530, oil on wood, 81 x 64 cm, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence (inv. no. 1890, 9933). On the attribution, see Deiters 2002, pp. 91–93. On the parallels between the painting and Goltzius' engraving, see Bättschmann 1997, pp. 328–333, as well as Stoichita 2008, pp. 195–201.
- 19 While modern interpretations read the figure of the woman as a superimposition of Pygmalion's statue and the image of Venus, this need not have been equally true for contemporary observers. It is therefore not obvious that Vasari (or, if applicable, the source for his description) does not exclusively see Venus in the female figure and thus reduces the painting to a presentation of the canonical sacrificial scene: "dipinse Bronzino, Pigmalione che fa orazione a Venere, perchè la sua statua, ricevendo lo spirito, s'avviva e divenga (come fece, secondo le favole di poeti) di carne e d'ossa" (Vasari 1878–1885, vol. 6, p. 275; 'Bronzino painted Pygmalion praying to Venus, so that his statue, by receiving the spirit, would awaken to life and (as it happened according to the stories of the poets) become flesh and bone').
- 20 This difference can doubtless also be interpreted from the respective paragonal context, which, however, I cannot discuss further in this chapter. On the positioning of Goltzius' depiction of Pygmalion "in the double paragone of painting and sculpture and of sculpture and engraving" (Melion 2001, p. 159), s. Melion 2001, *passim*; on the painting by Bronzino or Pontormo, see Deiters 2002, pp. 89–119; Blühm 1988, pp. 34–42.
- 21 On the overstepping of the pedestal in 18th-century depictions of Pygmalion, see Stoichita 2008, pp. 173–189.
- 22 See Blühm 1988, pp. 162 f., on the workshop in portrayals of Pygmalion.

Goltzius' depiction thus merges the entire first part of the Ovidian narrative and the festival of Venus into a single timeless moment,²³ but, unlike Bronzino and/or Pontorno, he does not include the actual animation of the statue in his composition of the image. Underneath the picture is engraved the epigram composed and signed by Franco Estius:

S[c]ulpsit²⁴ ebur niveum quod virginis ora gerebat
 Pygmalion, vivae dixisses virginis ora.
 Ipse opus author amans in imagine flagrat eburna,
 Munere Acidaliae cupido dein iuncta marita est.

Pygmalion carved the snow-white ivory that bore the likeness of a young woman,
 "The likeness of a living young woman," you would have said.
 The artist himself loves his work and burns for the ivory statue;
 Through a gift of the Acidalian [Venus], it was joined in marriage to the passionate one.

The epigram not only borrows in language and content from the Pygmalion narrative of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*²⁵ but also adopts its epic meter for the smaller form. In directly borrowing the Ovidian opening line *sculpsit ebur* (Ov. Met. 10.248), Estius exhibits the relatedness of his epigram to the pretext and sensitizes his readers to also recognize and to construct more subtle references in what is to follow.²⁶ Through the programmatic citation, the poet introduces himself as a reader of Ovid²⁷ who is able to comment purposefully on elements of the classical model through skilfully selective techniques of reading and referencing. At the same time, the *s[c]ulpsit* in the epigram draws a parallel

23 The hammer and chisel refer to the creation of the statue, Pygmalion's wistful gaze to his burning with love for the statue, the flowers and jewellery to the gifts he offers up to the statue, the depiction of the statue as a Venus figure to Pygmalion's prayer at the festival of Venus. On the coincidence of the creation and reception of the statue in Goltzius' depiction, see also Blühm 1988, p. 54.

24 The uncorrected misspelling *Sulpsit* in the engraving foregrounds the distance between poet and engraver in the production process. In contrast to letterpress printing, no institutionalized procedures for proofreading seem to have been established in the engraving production of the 16th century; misspellings were fixed only sporadically.

25 See Wolkenhauer / Arbeitsgruppe Estius 2017, p. 113.

26 See Wills 1996, p. 24, on the technique of strong initial marking.

27 Estius meets the ideal of demonstrating the most comprehensive "intertextual competence" possible through a "dense intertextual fabric" made of references to several authors even in the narrowest space (Enenkel 2015, p. 548), e.g. by using the rare epithet *Acidalia*, which here may refer to Mart. 6.13 (otherwise only in Verg. Aen. 1.720 as well as Serv. ad. Verg. Aen. 1.720, Laus Pison. 91 and Mart. 9.12). Martial's epigram describes a statue group that depicts Julia Flavia in the style of an Aphrodite by Phidias (see Plin. NH 36.5) together with Cupid, and creates a shifting image of a statuesque, beautiful woman on the one hand and a living marble statue on the other.

between the two artists Pygmalion and Goltzius by taking up Goltzius' signature on the sheet (*Anno 1593 / Hgoltzius. Inue[ni]t et sculp[sit]*).²⁸ Pygmalion's chisel thus merges with Goltzius' burin; in Latin, both are designated with *cælum*.

Admittedly, the epigram narrates diachronically like Ovid but simplifies his narrative structure to a tripartite division: creation of the statue (l. 1–2) – love for the statue (l. 3) – marriage with the statue (l. 4). The temple sacrifice, which in Ovid separates the time before the animation of the statue clearly from the life of the awakened woman, is present here at most in a secondary reading.²⁹ The bringing to life of the statue, which is decisive for Ovid's narrative, finds just as little mention in the epigram as does the fruitfulness of the resulting union. The use of the present tense in the third line, in which Pygmalion's love for his own work (*opus [...] amans*) and his desire for the ivory statue (*in imagine flagrat eburna*) coincide in time,³⁰ in view of the following perfect tense (*dein iuncta [...] est*), is to be understood, on the one hand, as the narrative present tense.³¹ On the other hand, in the intermedial interplay, this usage identifies the third line with the content of the pictorial representation present for readers in the engraving, while subsequent events are moved once more into the historical distance.

3. Pygmalion's Statue

Like Bronzino and/or Pontormo before him, Goltzius bases his depiction of the statue on classical figures of Venus (especially the *Venus pudica* and *Venus felix* types). Yet he even extends the figurative identification to the Pygmalion figure, whose body posture he approximates to the Cupid of the *Venux felix* group, as observed by Walter Melion.³² The epigram picks up on this association in its fourth line by referring to Pygmalion as *cupido* (passionate).³³

28 See Melion 2001, p. 154.

29 *Acidaliae* in *Munere Acidaliae* taken as dative ('a sacrificial offering to the Acidalian [Venus]'), see Verg. Aen. 6.637.

30 On the ambiguity of *opus*, see Elsner 1991, p. 160; Sharrock 1991b, p. 169; Melion 2001, p. 153. By contrast, Ovid imagines a two-stage process: *operisque sui concepit amorem* (Ov. Met. 10.249) separated from *haurit / pectore Pygmalion simulati corporis ignes* (Ov. Met. 10.252–253).

31 This use of the narrative present tense follows the temporal narrative structure of Ovid's Pygmalion narrative, which, according to Salzmann-Mitchell, p. 75, prefers the perfect tense for dynamic, narrative sequences and the present tense for contemplative, descriptive sequences. Klug's dissenting analysis (Klug 1999, p. 465) cannot explain why Pygmalion's terse actions (e.g. *sculpsit*, Ov. Met. 10.248; *dixit*, Ov. Met. 10.276) stand in the perfect tense (see Klug 1999, pp. 460 and 462).

32 Melion 2001, p. 157.

33 See Ahl 1985, p. 56, on wordplay in spite of different vowel lengths.

On the one hand, the identification of the statue with a likeness of the goddess Venus invokes the pre-Ovidian tradition of the Pygmalion material for an early modern audience: according to a secondarily transmitted version by Philostephanos (3rd century BCE), Pygmalion is supposed to have been a Cypriot king who fell in love with a cult statue of Aphrodite, brought it to his bed, and attempted sexual intercourse with it.³⁴ A story with a related motif emerged around the Aphrodite of Knidos, regarded as the archetype of the *Venus pudica* type, by the Greek sculptor Praxiteles (c. 390–320 BCE): a young man is said to have fallen in love with the marble statue of the goddess and at first to have gazed upon it ceaselessly in the temple; he then secretly allowed himself to be locked in the sanctuary overnight and, after satisfying his desire, left behind a lasting stain on the thigh of the sculpture.³⁵ As Thomas Farnabius' commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, probably written for use in schools, attests (first edition: 1636), these narratives were also read by a non-specialist readership in close connection with the Pygmalion material of the *Metamorphoses*.³⁶

On the other hand, the Venus of the engraving problematizes the ambiguous identity of the ivory statue in Ovid's narrative: in contrast to the older tradition, the engraving does not claim that the statue represents the goddess. The contrast produced in the engraving between a figurative representation as a statue of Venus and an epigram that asserts that the statue bears the likeness of a young (human) woman (*vivae [...] virginis ora*)³⁷ draws attention to those elements of Ovid's text that confer the features of the goddess on the ivory statue: her nakedness,³⁸ her unsurpassable beauty, her quality of not having been born (*formam [...] qua femina nasci / nulla potest*, Ov. Met. 10.248–249),³⁹ Pygmalion's cult-like handling of the statue (dressing it, adorning it, laying it on a bed), and the gifts he offers up to her.⁴⁰

If, for Ovid, there may have resonated in this ambiguity a commentary on the poetic construction of the elegiac *puella* as an image of Venus,⁴¹ its problematization across media in the engraving draws attention to the divinity of the artwork. I would like to

34 Clem. Al. Protr. 4.57.3; Arn. Adv. nat. 6.22. See Dinter 1979, pp. 13–16, on the pre-Ovidian history of the Pygmalion material.

35 Ps.-Lucian Amores 15–16; Plin. NH 36.21; Clemens of Alexandria also mentions this narrative in direct connection with Philostephanos' variant narrative of Pygmalion and emphasizes especially the different material of the two statues (Clem. Al. Protr. 4.57.3).

36 Farnabius (Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon, p. 240) narrates the versions of Arnobius and Ps.-Lucian. See Tholen 2019, pp. 96f. and 196–198.

37 Based on Ov. Met. 10.250 (*virginis est verae facies*).

38 See Hardie 2002, p. 190, and O'Reilly 2003, p. 106, on Clemens' statement: "And if anyone sees a naked woman depicted, they know that she is golden Aphrodite" (Clem. Al. Protr. 4.57.2–3).

39 See Miller 1988, p. 206; Sharrock 1991b, p. 171. Aphrodite is supposed to have risen from the sea foam (Gr. ὁ ἀφρός [*ho aphrós*]).

40 See Sharrock 1991b, p. 171; Schönbeck 1999, pp. 307f.

41 See Sharrock 1991a; O'Reilly 2003, pp. 128–131.

counter Oskar Bätschmann's interpretation that Goltzius was "the first to [forego] the appearance and invocation of the goddess,"⁴² insofar as Goltzius' pictorial invention consistently realizes the superimposition of Pygmalion's ivory statue onto the golden statue of Venus, through which the goddess, according to Ovid, is present at the temple sacrifice.⁴³ The gifts that Pygmalion offers to his statue as favours of love thus at the same time function as sacrificial offerings to the goddess Venus. Pygmalion's admiration of the artwork merges with the theophany and worship of the deity.⁴⁴

3.1. The Materiality of the Statue

While the first line of the epigram refers to Pygmalion's statue as 'ivory' (*S[c]ulpsit ebur niveum*), Goltzius adopts the pictorial tradition that imagines the work as a marble statue.⁴⁵ This tension between image and text, emphasized through the repetition *ebur – eburna* (ll. 1 and 3), evokes the question of the semantic significance of both materials: ivory, as Jaś Elsner has elaborated, is closely connected to the motif of deception and illusion in Greco-Latin literature via the Homeric pun ἐλέφας (*eléphas*, 'ivory') – ἐλεφαίρομαι (*elephaíromai*, 'to deceive'); for instance, in Virgil's *Aeneid*, false dreams leave the underworld through an ivory portal.⁴⁶ As Elsner continues, ivory is thus especially suitable as a condensation point for metapoetic reflection on truth and fiction in poetry.⁴⁷ Parian marble,⁴⁸ by contrast, is not only excellently suited for painting because of its translucent whiteness but in classical literature also functions as an ideal image of pale skin that human bodies can match only in exceptional cases.⁴⁹ In a reversal of the mimetic quality of Hellenistic marble sculptures, it is notable how frequently marble appears in the narrative world of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as the target material of trans-

42 Bätschmann 1997, p. 333.

43 Ov. Met. 10.277: *ipsa suis aderat Venus aurea festis*. 'Golden' is indeed a common epithet of the goddess (see, for example, Hom. Hym. 5.1), but here a gilded statue may also be concretely intended; see Hardie 2002, p. 190.

44 See note 29 on *Munere Acidaliae* in the epigram and also Ov. Met. 10.273. See Melion 2001, p. 158.

45 See Deiters 2002, p. 96; Wolkenhauer / Arbeitsgruppe Estius 2017, p. 113. Melion 2001, p. 160, insists on ivory as the material of the depicted statue; this, however, seems implausible due to the fractures of the pedestal.

46 Hom. Od. 19.564–565; Verg. Aen. 6.895–896. See Ahl 1985, p. 261; Elsner 1991, pp. 162f. On ivory as erotically charged material in the context of the Ovidian narrative, see Sharrock 1991a, p. 40; and Salzman-Mitchell 2008, pp. 308f. (unlike O'Reilly 2003, pp. 123f., who connects ivory to chastity).

47 Elsner 1991, pp. 163f.; see Nagy 1986, p. 83.

48 Statues were predominantly made from this type of marble (see Plin. NH 36.14).

49 See Ov. Met. 3.419 and 481 (Narcissus), Ov. Met. 4.675 (Andromeda), Ov. Met. 13.746 (Scylla), Ciris 256, 450, and 503 (all Ciris), Verg. Georg. 4.523 (Orpheus), Mart. 8.55.16 (Alexis), disturbingly broken in Ov. Am. 1.7.51–52 (Corinna).

formations.⁵⁰ The figurative representation as a marble statue therefore introduces into the engraving a moment that runs counter to its being brought to life, which situates Pygmalion's artificial *puella* in a field of tension between 'not yet animated' (ivory as the starting material of the transformation) and 'already rigidified' (marble as the typical target material of transformations).

The contradictory messages imparted by the engraving about the statue's material emphasize all the more clearly as the material with which Ovid's Pygmalion works appears to bear features of both marble and ivory. Despite the Ovidian narrator's ceaseless repetition that the material being used is ivory,⁵¹ even attentive readers may thus have the impression that Pygmalion succeeds in "converting marble into the living flesh of a woman."⁵² The clearest difference to the real-world properties of the material is probably that Pygmalion's statue seems to be formed from a single piece,⁵³ whereas an actual life-size ivory statue would have to consist of several elements supported by a wooden framework.⁵⁴ The material of the fictive statue is also soft and warm like ivory on the one hand,⁵⁵ but, on the other hand, it shows veins⁵⁶ and (potentially) contusions⁵⁷ – qualities that are thus strongly reminiscent of marble.⁵⁸ A real marble statue, however, could neither be easily moved,⁵⁹ nor would it be possible to dress it or tilt its neck without further complication.⁶⁰ The Ovidian 'ivory' is therefore a material possible

50 For example, Phineus and his companions (Ov. Met. 5.178–235), Niobe (Ov. Met. 6.301–312), Lailaps and the Teumessian fox (Ov. Met. 7.759–795), and Peleus' wolf (Ov. Met. 11.346–409). In the immediate run-up to the Pygmalion narrative, the Propoetides are turned to stone by their punishment imposed by Venus (Ov. Met. 10.242). See Isager 1991, p. 177, as well as Barolsky 2005, pp. 150–153, more generally on the motif of petrification in the *Metamorphoses*.

51 Ov. Met. 10.243, 255 and 275–276.

52 Solodow 1988, p. 2. On pp. 215 f., Solodow again speaks of a statue made from ivory.

53 The ideal of a statue *ex uno lapide* (Plin. NH 36.41) is associated in a particular way with marble; see, for example, Pliny's anecdote of the marble block that broke loose and released a statue of Silen (Plin. NH 36.14). On the reception of the motif in the early modern period, see Lavin 1998. In *gerebat* (instead of a consecutive *gereret*), Estius' epigram seizes on this idea.

54 Salzman-Mitchell 2008, p. 296.

55 Pygmalion imagines that his fingers sink into the material (Ov. Met. 10.257); see Salzman-Mitchell 2008, p. 294.

56 Ov. Met. 10.289. For the applicability of *venae* to the veining of marble, see, for example, Plin. NH 26.163; Stat. Achil. 1.3.36.

57 Ov. Met. 10.258. See Plin. NH 36.44 on the *maculae* of marble.

58 The mention of hymetic beeswax (Ov. Met. 10.284–285) also suggests the idea of hymetic marble (see Plin. NH 36.7; Hor. Carm. 2.18.3). It is worth mentioning that the Parian marble preferred for statues is characterized by its homogenous colour.

59 Pygmalion, however, lays the statue on a bed (Ov. Met. 10.267); see Salzman-Mitchell 2008, p. 298.

60 Ov. Met. 10.263 and 267–269. Such mobility would require joints, such as those known from classical ivory dolls; see Stoichita 2008, pp. 24–29; Hersey 2009, pp. 32 f.; Manson 1982, p. 134 f.

only within the fictional world, one that combines the properties of marble and real-world ivory.

The contradictory messages in the engraving about the statue's materiality pinpoint Ovid's handling of 'ivory' as fictional material into an explicit dichotomy. On the one hand, their discrepancy exposes the difference in media within the engraving and the presence of two distinct authorial 'voices' made possible through this. On the other hand, it functions as an figure of aesthetic reflection,⁶¹ which, in problematizing the material depicted, brings to light the material used for the depiction and thus the artistic facture of the engraving: on this level, the statue of the engraving consists neither of marble nor of ivory; rather, it is recognizable as an illusion artfully created in text and image on the basis of ink and paper.

3.2. Deceptive Authenticity?

Through her missing pupils and the merging of her mantle with the statue's base, the female figure in Goltzius' depiction is unambiguously marked as a classical sculpture,⁶² with her face, in particular, seeming to be almost set off from the rest of her body. By contrast, Estius interrupts his narrative in the second line of his epigram in order to emphasize the living appearance of Pygmalion's ivory statue in a parenthesis (*vivae dixisses virginis ora*). As an amplifying *correctio*, this interjection repeats the *virginis ora* of the preceding line (*quod virginis ora gerebat*) – a decision that deserves special attention in view of the narrowly limited space afforded to the poet. The phrase taken up, 'bearing the face of a young woman' (*virginis ora gerere*), is used only twice by Ovid, from whose linguistic usage it derives: namely, for the Sirens, whose bodies merge human and birdlike elements, and for Scylla, a hybrid being with the torso of a young woman and an abdomen of wild hounds.⁶³ Its application to chimaeras corresponds to the performative aspect of the phrase, which is configured in accordance with patterns such as 'to play someone's role' (*alicuius personam gerere*), 'to bear a facial expression' (*vultum gerere*), or 'to wear an item of clothing' (*vestem gerere*). What the first line therefore states in the objective-indicative mode of discourse about the artificiality of the woman's face (*quod virginis ora gerebat*) is evidently opposed to the likeness of the same as asserted in

61 On the concept of the figure of aesthetic reflection, see Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2019, pp. 19–23.

62 See Melion 2001, p. 157. Before the 2nd/3rd century CE, the pupils of Greek and Roman marble statues were generally only painted on (Abbe 2015, pp. 177f.); the loss of the painting resulted in the characteristic 'empty' eyes.

63 Ov. Met. 5.552–553 (Sirenen) and Ov. Met. 13.731–734 (Scylla). Without the connection with *gerere*, *virginis ora* is applicable in various ways (in Virgil, Valerius Flaccus, Silius, and Statius of Diana, Media, human women, the disguised Achilles, and a monster). Notable is the use in Val. Flacc. 2.463 for a woman held captive by a sea-monster, whom the poet compares to an ivory or marble statue; see Ov. Met. 4.675.

the second line in subjective-conjunctive colouring (*vivae dixisses virginis ora*).⁶⁴ Here, Estius employs the so-called ‘generalizing’ second-person singular (*dixisses*),⁶⁵ which Ovid uses in his *Metamorphoses* in a specific way: if this subjunctive usage is generally to be understood less as a concrete address to the reader (but rather corresponds to ‘one could say’),⁶⁶ it mostly serves Ovid, as Wheeler has shown, to put the audience into the perspective of a specific character.⁶⁷ For example, his *quam vivere credas* (Ov. Met. 10.250; ‘[a statue] that one would probably think was alive’) thus presents readers of the Pygmalion narrative with the choice of either accepting or rejecting the artist’s self-deceptive view.⁶⁸ In contrast to Ovid, Estius uses the pluperfect tense (*dixisses*, ‘you would have said’). He thus transgresses the grammatical limits of a stylistic device actually restricted in Latin to the subjunctive present tense and imperfect tense and emphasizes the temporal distance between the moment of reading the epigram and the moment of deciding for or against Pygmalion’s perspective. Admittedly, the voice of the epigram asserts to bridge that distance by claiming to know what ‘one’ would have said if ‘one’ had been present in the situation, but this gives rise to the question of the sources of knowledge and the poet’s reliability. The temporal distance displayed in the pluperfect *dixisses* therefore introduces an additional reflexive moment into the reception process, which complicates a spontaneous acceptance or rejection of Pygmalion’s point of view. Another appealing complication arises through the possibility of reading the entire second line of the epigram ‘against the grain’ and in the sense of a strict demarcation as an apostrophe: “‘The likeness of a living young woman,” you would have said, Pygmalion’ (*Pygmalion, vivae dixisses virginis ora*). Even the presence communicated figuratively cannot resolve the distance between the moment of reading and the narrated moment: the lifeless face of the statue obviously does not correspond to what Pygmalion appears to see. Thus, the epigram indeed informs us about a possible view of the statue as lifelike or animated, but whether to adopt this perspective as one’s own, if applicable, is left up to the decision of the observer.

In his poem, Estius accordingly also refrains from narrating an explicit animation of the statue:⁶⁹ while a transition from image (*simulacrum*) to woman (*virgo*) is com-

64 On the emphasis on lifelikeness as evidence of artificiality, see Kailbach-Mehl 2020, p. 183; Schönbeck 1999, p. 303. On this form of parenthetical repetition from objective and subjective perspectives in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, see Albrecht 1963, pp. 92–96.

65 The phenomenon can be found as potentialis in Kühner / Stegmann 1976, § 46.2–3. Gilmartin 1975 coined the term ‘imaginary second person’; Wheeler 1999, p. 211, prefers “generalizing second person.”

66 Albrecht 1963, p. 206; Wheeler 1999, pp. 101–103.

67 Wheeler 1999, pp. 150 f.

68 See Wheeler 1999, pp. 155 f.; Hardie 2002, p. 174.

69 Unlike, for example, Posthius: *Dixit, & alma Venus vivere iussit ebur* (Posthius: Tetrasticha in Ovidii *Metamor.*, fol. 124; see Horn 1995, pp. 216 f.).

prehensible in Ovid,⁷⁰ the ivory image is the grammatical subject of the marriage in the epigram.⁷¹ Both artists of the engraving therefore seem to deny the vivification narrated by Ovid in the sense of an actual metamorphosis, and instead read this part of the narrative (Ov. Met. 10.280–297) as an immersion in artistic illusion following the perspective of Pygmalion.⁷² As a result, the engraving does not narrate the bringing to life of a statue, but rather the possibility of imagining a statue as animated.

4. Pygmalion: Artist and Observer

In the duality of bouquet and chisel, Goltzius' composition of his image adopts from the Ovidian model the peculiarity that Pygmalion is portrayed as both artist and recipient of art.⁷³ Here, the artist can stand as a metaphor for the imaginative-creative observer, just as the observer can function as a metaphor for the creative *phantasia* of the artist.⁷⁴

4.1. Love of the Work as Self-love

The third line of the epigram suggests that a tendency toward self-love may be inherent in this doubling. First of all, Estius reverses the syntax of the Ovidian *auctor opus laudat* (Ov. Pont. 3.9.9) to *opus auctor amans* and thus creates a phrase whose ambiguity increases with repeated reading, until at last almost any syntactic allocation of the words seems possible⁷⁵ – the boundaries between loving and being loved, between Pygmalion and his statue, become blurred. For the second part of the line, with *in imagine flagrat eburna*, the poet employs a construction not documented in antiquity for the verb *flagare* ('to burn,' 'to blaze'), but which is presumably borrowed from the semanti-

70 Ov. Met. 10.253 (*simulatum corpus*), 280 (*simulacra*), 289 (*corpus*), 292 (*virgo*).

71 The implicit feminine subject of *iuncta marita est* is most closely to be found in the ivory image mentioned in the previous line (*in imagine [...] eburna*).

72 See Kailbach-Mehl 2020, pp. 184 f.

73 The chisel functions as a tool of the artist (see *sculpsit*, Ov. Met. 10.248), the bouquet of flowers as an expression of love for the artwork (see *concepit amorem*, Ov. Met. 10.249), which presupposes its reception (see *miratur et haurit*, Ov. Met. 10.252). On this double role in Ovid's narrative, see Elsner 1991, p. 159; Kailbach-Mehl 2020, p. 165; in the engraving, Melion 2001, p. 157.

74 See Elsner 1991, p. 159; Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 69.

75 The variants *Ipsē opus auctor amans* ('The artist himself loves the work'), *Ipsū opus auctorem amans* ('The work itself loves the artist' / 'The work loves the artist himself'), and *Ipsū opus auctor amans* ('The work itself loves as an artist') are all read equally as *Ips' opus auctor(') amans*. I thank Prof. Dr. Anja Wolkenhauer for the suggestion that Estius' variably relatable *amans* is reminiscent of an Ovidian pun (*et carmen demens carmine laeso amo*, Ov. Tr. 4.1.30), which works in a way quite comparable with the oscillating relation of author and work.

cally similar *ardere* ('to burn,' 'to be engulfed in flames').⁷⁶ Through this irregularity, in addition to the primary level of meaning, that Pygmalion burns for the ivory figure,⁷⁷ an alienating second level comes into play in which the statue appears, as it were, as a body part of its creator, warmed and animated by his love: it is 'in the ivory likeness' (*in imagine [...] eburna*) that Pygmalion's love burns.⁷⁸

In this thematization of the narcissistic aspect inherent in Pygmalion's love for his statue, the engraving elaborates on an aspect of the narrative already laid out by Ovid: not only does the classical author use conspicuously equivocal formulations that allow for the boundary between artist and work to become blurred,⁷⁹ his description of Pygmalion's love for the "self-reflecting image"⁸⁰ also displays manifold intratextual parallels to the narrative of the self-regarding Narcissus (Ov. Met. 3.402–510).⁸¹ This latter figure freezes in astonishment before his own reflection (*adstupet*), and thus becomes the very statue "apparently formed of Parian marble" that he admiringly beholds in the water of the spring.⁸² In the doubling of this freezing in astonishment *before* the statue and the astonished freezing *into* a statue, a classical figure of thought is expressed that is of particular interest for the interpretation of the present engraving.

4.2. Pygmalion's Stupefaction

If the colourlessness and homogenous engraving technique of Goltzius' Pygmalion appear to be formed from the same material as his statue, this approximation is further

76 That this construction also demonstrates a high reflexive potential with *ardere* is evidenced by Ovid's *ardetque in virgine virgo* (Ov. Met. 9.725) as a description of the love between Iphis and Ianthe.

77 Canonically expressed with *flagrare* and directional accusative: *in imaginem flagrat*.

78 See the constructions of art in [...] *pectore flagrat amor* (Ov. Her. 16.126).

79 Thus Pygmalion's love for his own work (*operisque sui concept amorem*, Ov. Met. 10.249) contains an element of self-love (*sui [...] amorem*), the self-movement of the statue and its being moved by Pygmalion are merged (*velle moveri*, Ov. Met. 10.251), and the 'burning desire for the imitated body' (*simulati corporis ignes*, Ov. Met. 10.252–253) can also be read as the genitive of the subject ('the burning desire of the imitated body').

80 Leach 1974, p. 125; see Rosati 2016, p. 67.

81 These links exist on a structural level (Spencer 1997, p. 40, and Hardie 2002, p. 189, see an opposition of the two narratives, Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 93, a duality of contrast and correspondence), with regard to the thematized love of the illusionistic image (Rosati 2016, p. 66), but also in details such as the emphasized colour contrast of white and red (Salzman-Mitchell 2005, pp. 94–95, on Ov. Met. 3.422–423 and 480–484, as well as Ov. Met. 10.291–294; see Sharrock 1991a, p. 36) or the materials invoked in both narratives (marble: Ov. Met. 3.419 and 481 and see section 3.1; ivory: Ov. Met. 3.422 and Ov. Met. 10.248, 255, and 275; melting wax: Ov. Met. 3.488 and 10.285; see Sharrock 1991a, p. 36).

82 Ov. Met. 3.418–419: *adstupet ipse sibi vultuque inmotus eodem / haeret, ut e Pario formatum marmore signum*; see Hardie 2002, p. 146f.

strengthened by the figure itself in its posture being modelled on classical statues (most crucially the *Belvedere Torso*, in addition to the aforementioned *Venus felix* group).⁸³

On the textual level, Pygmalion's persistence in the timeless-contemplative present tense of the *flagrat* (see above, section 2) conveys a comparably statuesque impression. Indeed, though the further course of the narrative is briefly sketched out in the fourth line (*Munere Acidaliae cupido dein iuncta marita est*), Pygmalion is only passively present in it; while a wedding is typically understood in Latin as the action of the bridegroom 'leading [the bride] into marriage' (in *matrimonium ducere*), here Venus (as the actual agent) and the ivory statue (as the grammatical subject) effect the marriage around the artist (*cupido*), who is frozen, as it were, in longing contemplation. This motif is already familiar from the aforementioned textual traditions. While Ovid's Pygmalion seems to lapse into a cognitive impassivity, which does not exclude, however, his groping reception of the statue to assure himself of it,⁸⁴ the young man in love in Pseudo-Lucian's narrative lapses before the Aphrodite of Knidos⁸⁵ into a physical rigidity, yet which leaves room for verbal expression:

All day long would he sit facing the goddess with his eyes fixed uninterruptedly upon her, whispering indistinctly and carrying on a lover's complaints in secret conversation.⁸⁶

By having Pygmalion become more extensively rigidified – his hands rest in a lowered position, his mouth is closed, and even the epigram does not give voice to his statuesque body – the depiction of the engraving surpasses these variants of partial immobility and exemplifies an attitude of reception that I would like briefly to situate in the artistic theory of the time. If the astonished freezing (ἐκπληξίς, *ékplixis*) of the recipient was still theorized by Pseudo-Longinus (1st century CE) as peculiar to the poetic, in contrast to the rhetorical image,⁸⁷ it is developed by the artistic theory of the early modern period into a specific identification with the visual arts. Thus, the Dutch theorist of art Francis-

83 Limouze 1992, p. 445. Melion 2001, p. 157, and Kirves 2017, p. 79, observe further statuesque elements of the Pygmalion figure.

84 Ov. Met. 10.287–288: *dum stupet [...] rursus amans rursusque manu sua vota retractat*; see Salzman-Mitchell 2005, pp. 74f.

85 On its connection to the Pygmalion narrative in the early modern period, see section 3.

86 Ps.-Lucian Amores 15 (trans. MacLeod): τήν θ' ὅλην ἡμέραν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς θεοῦ καθεζόμενος ὀρθὰς ἐπ' αὐτήν διηνεκῶς τὰς τῶν ὀμμάτων βολὰς ἀπήρειδεν. ἄσημοι δ' αὐτῷ ψιθυρισμοὶ καὶ κλεπτομένης λαλιᾶς ἔρωτικαὶ διεπεραίνοντο μέμψεις.

87 Ps.-Longinus Subl. 15.2: τῆς μὲν ἐν ποιήσει [φαντασίας, Κ.Ο.] τέλος ἐστὶν ἐκπληξίς, τῆς δ' ἐν λόγοις ἐνάργεια; see Matuschek 1991, p. 41–44. In contrast to rhetoric, according to Pseudo-Longinus, the poetic image may for this purpose also entirely exaggerate in the manner of a saga and in every way exceed the limits of the credible (μυθικωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ὑπερέκπτωσιν [...] καὶ πάντῃ τὸ πιστὸν ὑπεραίρουσαν, Ps.-Longinus Subl. 15.8). On the understanding of *ékplixis* in the early modern period, see Refini 2012, pp. 46f.

cus Junius the Younger (1591–1677), via his reflection on the *ars* [...] *latet arte sua* of the Pygmalion narrative (Ov. Met. 10.252), arrives at the model of an attitude of reception in which “the viewer, moved [by the dexterity of the art], admires those techniques of the learned [artist’s] hands as if touched by thunder.”⁸⁸ In his description of Goltzius’ journey to Rome, Goltzius’ friend and biographer Karel van Mander (1548–1606) had him embody just such an ideal of reception himself: “He almost forgot himself because his spirit and mind were, as it were, abducted and taken away from his body through looking at the excellent works of art.”⁸⁹ According to van Mander, this petrifying experience, however, subsequently moves Goltzius into an even greater activity of drawing,⁹⁰ the consequences of which probably also include the Pygmalion engraving.⁹¹ The narrative of artistic creativity sketched out in this way can be reconstructed as a sequence of stupefied admiration (with spiritual transcendence), fervent copying, and subsequent appropriation of what has been seen for one’s own pictorial innovations. Yet also in Goltzius’ work, the close relationship between the presentation of Pygmalion in the engraving considered here and the figure drawing in his depiction of the *Apollo of Belvedere* (NHD Goltzius 380)⁹² produces a close connection between the reception of art and its (re-)production.

The Pygmalion of the engraving can thus be read as Goltzius’ self-image, both in his capacity as an observer of classical art and as an artist.⁹³ As van Mander’s account suggests, both these dimensions are mutually dependent: the intensive reception of art forms the prerequisite for artistic creation, which in turn makes possible subsequent experiences of reception.⁹⁴ At the same time, the erotic charge of the relationships of

88 Junius: *De pictura veterum libri tres*, p. 203 (= 3.6.5): [*artis facilitate*] *permotus spectator veluti attonitus miratur illa doctorum manuum σοφίσματα*. As a prototypical example for this attitude of reception, he uses the late antique philosopher Damaskios, who, in view of a statue of Aphrodite, froze in place sweating for the sake of his admiration (ἵδρωσα μὲν ὑπὸ θάμβους τὲ [sic] καὶ ἐκπλήξεως / *sudavi prae stupore et admiratione*, following Photius Bibl. 242.87). On Junius’ reception of Ps.-Longinus, see Eck 2016.

89 Van Mander: *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 283^r; trans. Miedema 1994, p. 390.

90 Van Mander: *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 283^r; trans. Miedema 1994, p. 390: “and while new things after which he yearned daily renewed his enthusiasm, he dedicated himself, as ordinary students do, steadily and diligently to drawing after the best and most important antiques.”

91 See Melion’s discussion of Goltzius’ chalk drawings of the *Belvedere Torso*, as well as of the *Venus pudica*, the *Venus felix*, and the *Venus ex balneo* from the year 1591, i.e. precisely those classical statues that significantly influence the figures of the Pygmalion sheet (Melion 2001, pp. 157–159).

92 See Goltzius 1983, p. 92.

93 See section 2 on the double *sculpsit*.

94 See Salzman-Mitchell 2005, pp. 69–73, who enquires after the “previous viewings and readings” that influence the *phantasia* of Ovid’s Pygmalion, and thus enable his artistic activity: “On the basis of previous readings and phantastic viewings of the figure of Lucretia, the statue of Knidian Aphrodite and perhaps the image of Diana in her bath, Pygmalion forges a perfect maiden”; Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 73.

viewing and reception should not be entirely disregarded: in Goltzius now in turn exhibiting the contemplating Pygmalion himself as an object of contemplation – statuesquely paralleled with the sculpture of the woman – the engraving presents a comprehensively erotically open visual offering.⁹⁵

5. Pygmalion in the Early Modern Period

Before I summarize the lines of interpretation developed in the previous sections, I would like to look into the question of how the Ovidian Pygmalion narrative was read in the late 16th century. A thorough investigation with a claim to completeness cannot be undertaken here, but the following sketch may convey a sufficient impression to contextualize the proposed interpretation of the engraving.

The editions of the *Metamorphoses* in the early modern period typically prefix the individual narratives of transformation with the summaries ascribed to Lactantius Placidus (4th/5th century), the late antique commentator on Statius.⁹⁶ On the one hand, these emphasize the insane character of Pygmalion's love (*in vecordem incidit amorem*) and relocate the fulfilment of his marriage wish to his perception (*conperit voto se esse damnatum coniugii*); on the other hand, they also stress the creative power of the artist (*itaque laetatus artis suae Paphum filium genuit*).⁹⁷

The Latin commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* distributed in the Netherlands in the late 16th and early 17th centuries are different: far from any artistic-reflexive interpretation, they seem to be primarily concerned with negotiating the erotic aspects of the narrative. Victor Giselinus' scholia, which were used in Plantin's editions of the *Metamorphoses* (1561–1588), thus comment on the *reverentia* of the statue (Ov. Met. 10.251) with "well-bred young women hardly dare to move in the presence of men for shame."⁹⁸ Somewhat later in Jacobus Pontanus' edition (1618), the only thing remaining of the Pygmalion narrative is his initial decision to live a celibate life (Ov. Met. 10.243–246), after which

95 The engraving thus corresponds in its sum to the effect of the *Aphrodite of Knidos*, which transcends sexual preferences (Ps.-Lucian Amores 13–14). The male-contoured gaze of the viewer in Ovid (Salzman-Mitchell 2005, p. 69) is universalized in the statue-group of the engraving to various permutations of gender and desire.

96 Some uncertainty exists about the composition of its original version: Cameron, p. 311, arrives at a dating in the period from 150 to 250 CE. Earlier research assumed a composition not before the 5th/6th century BCE; see Cameron 2004, p. 5, notes 13–17. The attribution to Lactantius Placidus is in any case erroneous; see Cameron 2004, pp. 313–316.

97 Ps.-Lact. Plac. Fab. 10.8, quoted after Raenerius: Pub Ovidii Metamorphoseōn, fol. 137^r.

98 Naugerius/Giselinus: P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon, p. 275: *Virgines bene educatae prae pudore in conspectu virorum vix se audent movere*. See Tholen 2019, pp. 120–123, on the further development of this line of interpretation in Farnabius: P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon and Rabus/Minellius: Publilii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon.

the text leaps directly to the myth of Atalanta and Hippomenes (Ov. Met. 10.560).⁹⁹ The line of interpretation pursued by Dinter for the German-speaking world, which reads the Pygmalion narrative from the angle of a happy marriage instituted by God,¹⁰⁰ is not evidenced in Dutch publications.

The understanding of the Pygmalion narrative as a myth about artists thus seems to have been reserved for specific writings on theories of art. In these, the figure undergoes both positive and negative interpretations. The Italian theorist of art Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) parallels Pygmalion, for one thing, with the biblical *deus artifex*, who forms man from clay and blows his breath into him;¹⁰¹ however, he elsewhere vehemently rejects the exploitation of the Pygmalion myth as proof of the nobility of art, as he sees above all in the Cypriot artist an example of unbridled lust and spiritual derangement.¹⁰² Goltzius' friend and biographer Karel van Mander conversely interprets Pygmalion from the point of view of love for one's own work; in his commentary on the *Metamorphoses*, this is concretized allegorically as an infatuation with one's own good works that distracts from the "true Venus," meaning love for God and one's neighbour.¹⁰³ According to his life of Goltzius, the latter is distinguished positively by the fact that he is not "[like] some Pygmaliions who fall blindly in love with their own creations,"¹⁰⁴ but constantly retains a critical view of them. Finally, one reading based on the line *ars [...] latet arte sua* (Ov. Met. 10.252, 'Art conceals itself through its own artifice'), which stages Pygmalion positively as an artistic figure without reservation, is found in Franciscus Junius the Younger (1637). For him, Pygmalion demonstrates the potential of art not merely to imitate nature but even to surpass it. It signifies an artist who, through *gratia* ('grace') and *facilitas* ('ease'), has reached the pinnacle of artistry (*caput artis*): namely, to create art that is no longer recognizable as artificial.¹⁰⁵

99 Pontanus: Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoseōn*, p. 400–404. Pontanus thus omits the narratives of Pygmalion, Myrrha, and Adonis from his text and commentary of Ovid. On this practice of censoring editions and commentaries, see Tholen 2019, pp. 110–116. In his collection of truisms *Ethicorum Ovidianorum Libri Quatuor*, Pontanus likewise does not consider the Pygmalion narrative.

100 In commentaries on the *Metamorphoses* in Sabinus: *Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio*, fol. M3^r, M3^v; Spreng: P. Ovidii Nasonis, fol. 247^r–248^v, and Holtzwardt: *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, fol. F2^r–F2^v. In the emblem, see Reusner: *Aureolorum emblematum*, fol. D2r. See Dinter 1979, pp. 49–51.

101 Vasari 1878–1885, vol. 1, pp. 218f., with reference to Genesis 2:7, see Barolsky 2003.

102 Vasari 1878–1885, vol. 1, pp. 97f.

103 Van Mander: *Wtlegginghe en singhevende verclaringhe*, fol. 87^v. See Blühm 1988, pp. 54f.; Limouze 1992, p. 445. Also similar is the Spanish emblem book by Covarrubias (*Covarrubias y Orozco: Emblemas morales*, fol. 224).

104 Van Mander: *Het Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 286^v; trans. Miedema 1994, p. 405: "gelijck wel ander Pigmalions [...] die op hun eyghen dinghen blindlijck verlieven."

105 Junius: *De pictura veterum libri tres*, pp. 3f. (=1.1.3) and 202f. (=3.6.4). On these passages, see Dundas 2007, p. 104. On *gratia* as an artistic ideal, see also Plin. NH 35.79.

6. Conclusion

The exchange thus traced between image and text in *Pygmalion and Galatea* demonstrates the particular strength of engraving as a genre in which, through the medial and spatial separation of epigram and pictorial representation, two authorial voices can exist in parallel as co-authors, without there being any compulsion for them to harmonize or any danger of their overwriting each other.

Hendrick Goltzius and Franco Estius use this media structure to develop differentiated readings of Ovid that are precisely not taken up in the Ovidian motif of art, which becomes invisible in the completeness of the illusion created by it (*ars [...] latet arte sua*, Ov. Met. 10.252). In the interplay of word and image, engravers and poets purposefully generate tensions through which they exhibit the artificiality of their work: for example, in the epigram putting up for discussion the vividness of an obviously inanimate visage, or in that contradictory messages about the material used by Pygmalion (marble in the pictorial representation, ivory in the text) problematize the fictionality of the artist's narrative. The transparent appropriation of classical models also contributes to this effect; the *Venus felix* group and the *Belvedere Torso* are cited in the image, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the epigram. Since the artificiality of the engraving thus exhibited at the same time functions as a display of the artistic skill of its creators, it not only contains a high potential for artistic reflexivity, but it also forms an essential element of the authorial self-construction (self-fashioning) of Goltzius and Estius.

For the classical Pygmalion narrative, the bringing to life of the statue is of central importance, but this is neither explicitly presented nor specifically narrated by Goltzius and Estius. By situating the animation primarily in the imagination of Pygmalion, who is depicted as an observer, they present the viewers of their engraving with the choice of either following his animating gaze in a "decision of free will"¹⁰⁶ or rejecting it as deluded. The contrast between a statue of Venus designed according to classical models and the figure of Pygmalion, clothed in the style of the 16th century, makes it possible to relate this choice more generally to imaginative-animating (as well as worshipful) modes of classical reception. The attitude of reception modelled on the Pygmalion of the engraving connects the possibility of animating perception with the reverse effect of the artwork on the viewer, who is, as it were, stupefied in admiration. According to Karel van Mander's life of Goltzius, the impulse for his own artistic creation emerged out of precisely this intensive phase of reception. In the engraving, the portrayal of Pygmalion as a completed and animated adaptation of the *Belvedere Torso* illustrates one such creative appropriation of visual, as well as imaginative, impressions.

The opposition of stupefaction and animation creates the imagery of a mirror between the mythical artist and his statue, to which the multiple readings of *Ipse opus*

106 Wolf 1993, p. 44 ("freien Willensentschluss," picking up on a formulation by Manfred Smuda).

author amans correspond on the textual level. In the little space available, Estius characterizes Pygmalion as an artist who invests himself into his work in such a way that it even becomes the site of his emotional feeling (*in imagine flagrat*): the love for the work created cannot be separated from self-infatuation. Goltzius and Estius radicalize this reflexive motif by presenting Goltzius as parallel with Pygmalion on both medial levels of the engraving.¹⁰⁷ The immense artistic claim raised by this parallel – standing in the tradition of ambiguous interpretations of Pygmalion – goes hand in hand with the fact that Goltzius himself can be criticized by the figure of Pygmalion: messages about the narcissistic relationship between author and work may reflect on him as a recipient of antiquity.¹⁰⁸

Bibliography

Abbreviations

- Arn. Adv. nat. = Arnobius, *Adversus nationes libri VII*, ed. by Concetto Marchesi, 2nd ed., Turin 1953 (Corpus scriptorum Latinorum Paravianum 62).
- Ciris = Ciris, in: *Appendix Vergiliana*, ed. by Wendell Vernon Clausen, Francis Richard David Good-year, Edward J. Kenney, and John A. Richmond, Oxford 1966 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Clem. Al. Protr. = Clemens Alexandrinus: *Protrepticus*, ed. by Miroslav Marcovich, Leiden/New York 1995 (Supplements to *Vigiliae Christianae* 34), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004313019> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Hom. Hym. = Homerus: *Hymni*, in: *Homeri Opera*, Tomus V, ed. by Thomas W. Allen, Oxford 1963 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Hom. Od. = Homerus: *Odyssea*, ed. by Martin L. West, Berlin/Boston 2017 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana 2026), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110420234> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Hor. Carm. = Quintus Horatius Flaccus: *Carmina*, in: *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*, ed. by David R. Shackleton Bailey, Stuttgart 1985 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana).
- Laus Pison. = *Laus Pisonis*, in: *Calpurnius Siculus, Bucoliques; Pseudo-Calpurnius, Éloge de Pison*, ed. and trans. by Jacqueline Amat, Paris 1991 (Collection des Universités de France Série Latine 293).

- 107 On the textual level, the *sculp[sit]* of the signature corresponds with the *S[c]ulpsit* of the epigram (see section 2); in the pictorial depiction, the chisel functions as an analogue of the burin; and Pygmalion's clothing is reminiscent of the figure of the drawing observer in Goltzius' *Apollo of Belvedere* (see section 4.2).
- 108 Van Mander's attempt to distinguish Goltzius from Pygmalion (see section 4.2) illustrates this very point. In Thomas Greene's terminology, this dynamic corresponds to the mode of "dialectical imitation" (Greene 1982, pp. 45 f.).

- Mart. = Marcus Valerius Martialis: Epigrammata, ed. by Wallace Martin Lindsay, 2nd ed., Oxford 1929 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Ov. Am. = Publius Ovidius Naso: Amores, in: P. Ovidi Nasonis Amores, Medicamina Faciei Femineae, Ars Amatoria, Remedia Amoris, ed. by Edward J. Kenney, 2nd ed., Oxford 1994 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Ov. Her. = Publius Ovidius Naso: Epistulae Heroidum, ed. by Heinrich Dörrie, Berlin/New York 1971 (Texte und Kommentare 6), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110843132> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Ov. Met. = Publius Ovidius Naso: Metamorphoses, ed. by Richard J. Tarrant, Oxford 2004 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Ov. Pont. = Publius Ovidius Naso: Epistulae ex Ponto, in: P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri Quinque, Ibis, Ex Ponto Libri Quatuor, Halieutica Fragmenta, ed. by Sydney G. Owen, Oxford 1915 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Ov. Tr. = Publius Ovidius Naso: Tristia, in: P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri Quinque, Ibis, Ex Ponto Libri Quatuor, Halieutica Fragmenta, ed. by Sydney G. Owen, Oxford 1915 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Photius Bibl. = Photius: Bibliotheca, Tome VI: Codices 242–245, ed. and trans. by René Henry, Paris 1971 (Collection des Universités de France Série Grecque 205).
- Plin. NH = Gaius Plinius Secundus: Naturalis Historia, Liber XXXV, ed. and trans. by Jean-Michel Croisille, Paris 1985 (Collection des universités de France Série latine 272); Liber XXXVI, ed. by Jacques André, trans. by Raymond Bloch, comm. by Agnès Rouveret, Paris 1981 (Collection des Universités de France Série Latine 250).
- Ps.-Lact. Plac. Fab. = Pseudo-Lactantius Placidus: Narrationes fabularum Ovidianarum, in: P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoseon libri XV, Lactanti Placidi qui dicitur Narrationes Fabularum Ovidianarum, ed. by Hugo Magnus, Berlin 1914.
- Ps.-Longinus Subl. = Pseudo-Longinus: Libellus de sublimitate, ed. by Donald A. Russell, Oxford 1968 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Ps.-Lucian Amores = Pseudo-Lucianus: Amores, in: Lucian. Soloecista, Lucius or The Ass, Amores, Halcyon, Demosthenes, Podagra, Ocypos, Cyniscus, Philopatris, Charidemus, Nero, ed. and trans. by Matthew D. MacLeod, Cambridge, MA 1967 (Loeb Classical Library 432).
- Serv. ad. Verg. Aen. = Servius: In Vergilii carmina comentarii, editionis Harvardianae vol. 2, ed. by Edward K. Rand et al., Lancaster, PA 1946.
- Stat. Achil. = Publius Papinius Statius: Achilleis, ed. by Aldo Marastoni, Leipzig 1974 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana).
- Val. Flacc. = Gaius Valerius Flaccus Setinus Balbus: Argonauticon libri VIII, ed. by Widu-Wolfgang Ehlers, Stuttgart 1980 (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana).
- Verg. Aen. = Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis, in: P. Vergilii Maronis Opera, ed. by Roger A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1969 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).
- Verg. Georg. = Publius Vergilius Maro: Georgica, in: P. Vergilii Maronis Opera, ed. by Roger A.B. Mynors, Oxford 1969 (Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis).

Primary Literature

- Covarrubias y Orozco: Emblemas morales = Covarrubias y Orozco, Sebastián de: Emblemas morales, Madrid: Luis Sanchez, 1610.
- Farnabius: P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon = Farnabius, Thomas: P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV. Cum notis Th. Farnasii, Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1650.

- Holtzward: *Emblematum Tyrocinia* = Holtzward, Matthäus: *Emblematum Tyrocinia: Ssive picta poesis Latinogermanica. Das ist Eingebümete Zierwerck / oder Gemälpoesy. Innhaltend Allerhand GeheymnußLehren / durch kunstfündige Gemäl angepracht / und poetisch erkläret. [...]*, Strasbourg: Bernhard Jobin, 1581 (VD 16 H 4548), URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00028624-7.
- Junius: *De pictura veterum libri tres* = Junius, Franciscus: *De pictura veterum libri trës*, Amsterdam: Johannes Blaeu, 1637.
- van Mander: *Wtlegginghe en singhevende verclaringhe* = van Mander, Karel: *Wtlegginghe en singhevende verclaringhe op den Metamorphosis Publij Ovidij Nasonis*, Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604.
- van Mander: *Het Schilder-Boeck* = van Mander, Karel: *Het Schilder-Boeck waerin voor eerst de leerlustighe lueght den grondt der Edelvry Schilderconst in verscheyden deelen Wort voorghedraghen*, Haarlem: Paschier van Wesbusch, 1604.
- Naugerius / Giselinus: *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon* = Naugerius, Andreas / Giselinus, Victor: *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV. Ab Andrea Naugerio castigati, & Vict. Gisellini scholiis illustrate*, Antwerpen: Plantin, 1578.
- Pontanus: *Ethicorum Ovidianorum Libri Quatuor* = Pontanus, Jacobus: *Ethicorum Ovidianorum Libri Quatuor*, Ingolstadt: Officina Typographica Ederiana, 1617 (VD17 1:043795T), URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10171195-8.
- Pontanus: *Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon* = Pontanus, Jacobus: *Ex P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libris XV. Electorum Libri Totidem, Ultimo Integro*, Antwerpen: Martinus Nutius Erben, 1618, URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11199567-1.
- Posthius: *Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metamor.* = Posthius, Johannes: *Tetrasticha in Ovidii Metamor. Lib. XV. quibus accesserunt Vergilij Solis figuræ elegantiss. & iam primùm in lucem editæ*, Frankfurt a.M.: Rab, Feyerabend und Han, 1563 (VD16 P 4496), URL: <https://onb.digital/result/1028BFDF> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Rabus / Minellius: *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon* = Rabus, Pieter / Minellius Johannes, Publii Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoseon Libri XV. Cum annotationibus posthumis J. Minellii, Quas magna ex parte supplevit atque emendavit P. Rabus*, Rotterdam: Reiniers Leers, 1586.
- Raenerius: *Pub Ovidii Metamorphoseon* = Raenerius, Johannes: *Pub. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon, Libri XV. In singulas quasque Fabulas Lact. Placidi Argumenta. Cum Scholijs & Indice*, Antwerpen: Plantin, 1561, URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10171181-6.
- Reusner: *Aureolorum emblematum* = Reusner, Nikolaus: *Aureolorum Emblematum, Liber Singularis*, Straßburg: Bernhard Jobin, 1591 (VD16 R 1381), URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb00087210-4.
- Sabinus: *Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio* = Sabinus, Fabianus: *Fabularum Ovidii Interpretatio. Tradita In Academia Regiomontana*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhau Erben, 1555 (VD16 S 121), URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10995352-3.
- Spreng: *P. Ovidii Nasonis* = Spreng, Johannes: *P. Ovidii Nasonis Deß sinnreychen vnd hochverstendigen Poeten / Metamorphoses, oder Verwandlung / [...]*, Frankfurt a.M.: Rab, Feyerabend und Han, 1571 (VD 16 S 8378), URN: urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb11265476-7.

Secondary Literature

- Abbe 2015 = Abbe, Mark B.: Polychromy, in: Elise A. Friedland / Melanie Grunow Sobocinski / Elaine K. Gazda (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*, Oxford 2015, pp. 173–188.
- Ahl 1985 = Ahl, Frederick: *Metaformations. Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets*, Ithaca 1985.

- Albrecht 1963 = Albrecht, Michael von: Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen und ihre dichterische Funktion, Würzburg 1963.
- Barolsky 2003 = Barolsky, Paul: The Spirit of Pygmalion, in: *Artibus et Historiae* 24.48 (2003), pp. 183–184.
- Barolsky 2005 = Barolsky, Paul: Ovid, Bernini, and the Art of Petrification, in: *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 13.2 (2005), pp. 149–162.
- Bätschmann 1997 = Bätschmann, Oskar: Belebung durch Bewunderung: Pygmalion als Modell der Kunstrezeption, in: Mathias Mayer / Gerhard Neumann (eds.): *Pygmalion. Die Geschichte des Mythos in der abendländischen Kultur*, Freiburg i.Br. 1997 (*Litterae* 45), pp. 325–370.
- Blattner 1998 = Blattner, Evamarie: Holzschnittfolgen zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid. Venedig 1497 und Mainz 1545, Munich 1998 (Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 72).
- Blühm 1988 = Blühm, Andreas: Pygmalion. Die Ikonographie eines Künstlermythos zwischen 1500 und 1900, Frankfurt am Main et al. 1988 (*Europäische Hochschulschriften Reihe 28, Kunstgeschichte* 90).
- Cameron 2004 = Cameron, Alan: *Greek Mythography in the Roman World*, Oxford 2004 (*American Classical Studies* 48).
- Deiters 2002 = Deiters, Wencke: Der Paragone in der italienischen Malerei des Cinquecento. Mittel im Wettstreit der Künste bei Mazzola Bedoli, Tizian, Pontormo, Bronzino, Daniele da Volterra und Vasari, Diss., Heidelberg 2002.
- Deneire 2014 = Deneire, Tom: Neo-Latin and Vernacular Poetics of Self-Fashioning in Dutch Occasional Poetry (1635–1640), in: Tom Deneire (ed.): *Dynamics of Neo-Latin and the Vernacular. Language and Poetics, Translation and Transfer*, Leiden/Boston 2014 (*Medieval and Renaissance Authors and Texts* 13), pp. 33–58.
- Dinter 1979 = Dinter, Annegret: Der Pygmalion-Stoff in der europäischen Literatur. Rezeptionsgeschichte einer Ovid-Fabel, Heidelberg 1979 (*Studien zum Fortwirken der Antike* 11).
- Dundas 2007 = Dundas, Judith: Sidney and Junius on Poetry and Painting. From the Margins to the Center, Newark, DE 2007.
- Eck 2016 = Eck, Caroline van: The Petrifying Gaze of Medusa. Ambivalence, *Explexis*, and the Sublime, in: *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 8.2 (2016), DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5092/jhna.2016.8.2.3> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Elsner 1991 = Elsner, Jaś: Visual Mimesis and the Myth of the Real. Ovid's Pygmalion As Viewer, in: *Ramus* 20.2 (1991), pp. 154–168.
- Enenkel 2015 = Enenkel, Karl Alfred Engelbert: Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neulateinischen Literatur (ca. 1350–ca. 1650). Zur autorisierenden und wissensvermittelnden Funktion von Widmungen, Vorworttexten, Autorporträts und Dedikationsbildern, Leiden/Boston 2015 (*Mittelalterliche Studien und Texte* 48).
- Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2019 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette/Robert, Jörg: Reflexionsfiguren der Künste in der Vormoderne. Ansätze – Fragestellungen – Perspektiven, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter/Anja Wolkenhauer/Jörg Robert/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *Ästhetische Reflexionsfiguren in der Vormoderne*, Heidelberg 2019 (*Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 88), pp. 11–33.
- Gilmartin 1975 = Gilmartin, Kristine: A Rhetorical Figure in Latin Historical Style. The Imaginary Second Person Singular, in: *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 105 (1975), pp. 99–121, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/283936> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Goltzius 1983 = Goltzius, Hendrick: *Eros und Gewalt*, ed. by Eva Korazija-Magnaguagno, Dortmund 1983 (*Die bibliophilen Taschenbücher* 386).
- Greenblatt 1980 = Greenblatt, Stephen: *Renaissance Self-Fashioning. From More to Shakespeare*, Chicago 1980.
- Greene 1982 = Greene, Thomas M.: *The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry*, New Haven et al. 1982 (*The Elizabethan Club Series* 7).

- Griffiths 2016 = Griffiths, Antony: *The Print Before Photography. An Introduction to European Print-making 1550–1820*, London 2016.
- Hardie 2002 = Hardie, Philip R.: *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion*, Cambridge, UK 2002.
- Henkel 1930 = Henkel, M.D.: *Illustrierte Ausgaben von Ovids Metamorphosen im XV., XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert*, in: Fritz Saxl (ed.): *Vorträge 1926–1927*, Leipzig/Berlin 1930 (*Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 6), pp. 58–144.
- Hersey 2009 = Hersey, George L.: *Falling in Love with Statues. Artificial Humans from Pygmalion to the Present*, Chicago/London 2009.
- Hiery 2023 = Hiery, Katharina: (Un-)originell und (un-)kreativ? Pygmalion als Vorbild für den frühneuzeitlichen Autor in Hendrick Goltzius' Druckgrafik, in: Stefanie Gropper/Anna Pawlak/Anja Wolkenhauer/Angelika Zirker (eds.): *Plurale Autorschaft. Ästhetik der Co-Kreativität in der Vor-moderne*, Berlin/Boston 2023 (*Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten* 2), pp. 231–272, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110755763-011> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Horn 1995 = Horn, Hans-Jürgen: Die Tetrasticha des Johannes Posthius zu Ovids Metamorphosen und ihre Stellung in der Überlieferungsgeschichte, in: Hermann Walter (ed.): *Die Rezeption der Metamorphosen des Ovid in der Neuzeit. Der antike Mythos in Text und Bild. Internationales Symposium der Werner Reimers-Stiftung, Bad Homburg v.d.H. (22. bis 25. April 1991)*, Berlin 1995 (*ikonographische Repertorien zur Rezeption des antiken Mythos in Europa Beihefte* 1), pp. 214–223.
- Huber-Rebenich/Lütkemeyer/Walter 2014 = Huber-Rebenich, Gerlinde/Lütkemeyer, Sabine/Walter, Hermann: *Ikonographisches Repertorium zu den Metamorphosen des Ovid. Die textbegleitende Druckgraphik*, vol. 1.1: *Narrative Darstellungen*, Berlin 2014.
- Isager 1991 = Isager, Jacob: *Pliny on Art and Society. The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, Odense 1991 (*Odense University Classical Studies* 17).
- Kailbach-Mehl 2020 = Kailbach-Mehl, Alexandra: *Künstlerfiguren als poetologische Reflexionsfiguren in der augusteischen Dichtung*, Hildesheim et al. 2020 (*Spudasmata* 186).
- Kirves 2017 = Kirves, Martin: Das Skulpturale im Werk von Hendrick Goltzius, in: Norbert Michels (ed.): *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617). Mythos, Macht und Menschlichkeit. Exhibition Catalogue Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau, 11 November 2017–7 January 2018, Petersberg 2017 (Kataloge der Anhaltischen Gemäldegalerie Dessau* 20), pp. 72–85.
- Klug 1999 = Klug, Wolfgang: 'Erzählrelief' bei Ovid. Über den Gebrauch der Erzähltempora in einer Metamorphose Ovids: *Pygmalion*: X, 243–297, in: Werner Schubert (ed.): *Ovid. Werk und Wirkung. Festgabe für Michael von Albrecht zum 65. Geburtstag*, Frankfurt a.M. et al. 1999 (*Studien zur klassischen Philologie* 100), pp. 455–465.
- Kühner/Stegmann 1976 = Kühner, Raphael/Stegmann, Carl: *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Part II: Satzlehre*, vol. 1, 5th ed., Hannover 1976.
- Lavin 1998 = Lavin, Irving: *Ex Uno Lapide. The Renaissance Sculptor's Tour de Force*, in: Matthias Winner/Bernard Andreae/Carlo Pietrangeli (eds.): *Il Cortile delle Statue. Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan. Akten des internationalen Kongresses zu Ehren von Richard Krautheimer*, Rom, 21.–23. Oktober 1992, Mainz 1998 (*Veröffentlichungen der Bibliotheca Hertziana [Max-Planck-Institut] in Rom*), pp. 191–210.
- Leach 1974 = Leach, Eleanor Winsor: Ekphrasis and the Theme of Artistic Failure in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in: *Ramus* 3.2 (1974), pp. 102–142, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0048671X00004549> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Limouze 1992 = Limouze, Dorothy: Engraving as Imitation. Goltzius and his Contemporaries, in: Reinbert Leonard Falkenburg/Hessel Miedema (eds.): *Goltzius-Studies. Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617)*, Zwolle 1993 (*Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 42/43), pp. 439–453.

- Manson 1982 = Manson, Michel: *Le Mythe de Pygmalion est-il un Mythe de la Poupée?*, in: Raymond Chevallier (ed.): *Colloque Présence d'Ovide*, Paris 1982 (Caesarodunum 17.2), pp. 101–137.
- Matuschek 1991 = Matuschek, Stefan: *Über das Staunen. Eine ideengeschichtliche Analyse*, Tübingen 1991 (Studien zur deutschen Literatur 116).
- Melion 2001 = Melion, Walter S.: *Vivae dixisses virginis ora. The Discourse of Color in Hendrick Goltzius's Pygmalion and the Ivory Statue*, in: *Word and Image* 17.1–2 (2001), pp. 153–176, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02666286.2001.10435708> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Mensger 2016 = Mensger, Ariane: *Hendrick Goltzius. Kupferstecher, Inventor, Verleger*, in: Ariane Mensger (ed.): *Bestechend gestochen. Das Unternehmen Hendrick Goltzius. Exhibition Catalogue Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett*, 20 August–13 November 2016, Munich 2016, pp. 11–20.
- Miedema 1994 = Miedema, Hessel: *Karl van Mander. The Lives of the Illustrious Netherlandish and German Painters. From the First Edition of the Schilder-boeck (1603–1604)*. 6 vols, vol. 1: *The Text*, Doornspijk 1994.
- Miller 1988 = Miller, Jane M.: *Some Versions of Pygmalion*, in: Charles Martindale (ed.): *Ovid Renewed. Ovidian Influences on Literature and Art from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge, UK 1988, pp. 205–214.
- Müller/Pfisterer 2011 = Müller, Jan-Dirk/Pfisterer, Ulrich: *Der allgegenwärtige Wettstreit in den Künsten der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Jan-Dirk Müller/Ulrich Pfisterer/Anna Kathrin Bleuler/Fabian Jonietz (eds.): *Aemulatio. Kulturen des Wettstreits in Text und Bild (1450–1620)*, Berlin/Boston 2011 (Pluralisierung & Autorität 27), pp. 1–32.
- Nagy 1986 = Nagy, Gregory: *Pindar's Olympian 1 and the Aetiology of the Olympic Games*, in: *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 116 (1986), pp. 71–88, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/283911> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Namowitz Worthen 1993 = Namowitz Worthen, Amy: *Calligraphic Inscriptions on Dutch Mannerist Prints*, in: Reindert Leonard Falkenburg/Hessel Miedema (eds.): *Goltzius-Studies. Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617)*, Zwolle 1993 (Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek 42/43), pp. 261–306.
- NHD Goltzius = Leesberg, Marjolein/Leeflang, Huigen: *Hendrick Goltzius*, 4 vols., vol. 1, *Ouderkerk aan den IJssel* 2012 (The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700).
- O'Reilly 2003 = O'Reilly, Mary Bernadette: *Undercurrents in Ovid's Metamorphoses. Hercules, Pygmalion, and Myrrha*. PhD thesis, University of Glasgow 2003, URL: <https://theses.gla.ac.uk/2464/> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Orenstein et al. 1993 = Orenstein, Nadine/Leeflang, Huigen/Luijten, Ger/Schuckman, Christiaan: *Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620*, in: Ger Luijten (ed.): *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art 1580–1620. Exhibition Catalogue Rijksmuseum Amsterdam*, 11 December 1993–6 March 1994, Zwolle 1993, pp. 167–200.
- Ost 2022 = Ost, Katharina: *Epigramme als Widmungsträger. Die intermediale Neukonzeptualisierung von Hendrick Goltzius' Römischen Helden*, in: Mariam Hammami/Anna Pawlak/Sophie Rüth (eds.): *(Re-)Inventio. Die Neuaufgabe als kreative Praxis in der nordalpinen Druckgraphik der Frühen Neuzeit*, Berlin/Boston 2022 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 2), pp. 57–106.
- Plantin 1918 = Plantin, Christophe: *Correspondance de Christophe Plantin 7*, ed. by Jan Denucé, Antwerpen 1918 (Uitgaven der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen 32).
- Refini 2012 = Refini, Eugenio: *Longinus and Poetic Imagination in Late Renaissance Literary Theory*, in: Caroline van Eck/Stijn Bussels/Maarten Delbeke/Jürgen Pieters (eds.): *Translations of the Sublime. The Early Modern Reception and Dissemination of Longinus' Peri Hupsous in Rhetoric, the Visual Arts, Architecture and the Theatre*, Leiden/Boston 2012 (Intersections 24), pp. 33–53.
- Reinhold 1971 = Reinhold, Meyer: *The Naming of Pygmalion's Animated Statue*, in: *The Classical Journal* 66.4 (1971), pp. 316–319.

- Rosati 2016 = Rosati, Gianpiero: Narciso e Pigmalione. Illusione e spettacolo nelle *Metamorfosi* di Ovidio, Pisa 2016 (Bibliotheca 13).
- Salzman-Mitchell 2005 = Salzman-Mitchell, Patricia B.: A Web of Fantasies. Gaze, Image, and Gender in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Columbus 2005.
- Salzman-Mitchell 2008 = Salzman-Mitchell, Patricia B.: A Whole Out of Pieces. Pygmalion's Ivory Statue in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in: *Arethusa* 41.2 (2008), pp. 291–311.
- Schönbeck 1999 = Schönbeck, Hans-Peter: Erfüllung und Fluch des Künstlertums. Pygmalion und Daedalus bei Ovid, in: *Philologus* 143.2 (1999), pp. 300–316, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1524/phil.1999.143.2.300> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Sharrock 1991a = Sharrock, Alison R.: Womanufacture, in: *Journal of Roman Studies* 81 (1991), pp. 36–49, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2307/300487> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Sharrock 1991b = Sharrock, Alison R.: The Love of Creation, in: *Ramus* 20.2 (1991), pp. 169–182.
- Solodow 1988 = Solodow, Joseph B.: *The World of Ovid's Metamorphoses*, Chapel Hill et al. 1988.
- Spencer 1997 = Spencer, Richard Albert: Contrast as Narrative Technique in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Lewiston, NY 1997 (Studies in Classics 6).
- Stijnman 2017 = Stijnman, Ad: Terms in Print Addresses: Abbreviations and Phrases on Printed Images 1500–1900, 2017, URL: <https://www.delineavit.nl/wp-content/uploads/Terms-in-print-addresses.pdf> (last accessed: 3 December 2024).
- Stoichita 2008 = Stoichita, Victor I.: L'Effet Pygmalion. Pour une Anthropologie Historique des Simulacres, Genf 2008 (Titre Courant 37).
- Tholen 2019 = Tholen, John Petrus Franciscus: Ovidian Paratexts. Guiding the Reader to the *Metamorphoses* in the Early Modern Low Countries, Diss., Universiteit Utrecht 2019.
- Venne 2017 = Venne, Hans van de: Zu den Kupferstichen von Hendrick Goltzius mit Epigrammen von Cornelius Schonaeus, in: Norbert Michels (ed.): *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617). Mythos, Macht und Menschlichkeit*. Exhibition Catalogue Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau, 11 November 2017–7 January 2018, Petersberg 2017 (Kataloge der Anhaltischen Gemäldegalerie Dessau 20), pp. 103–107.
- Vasari 1878–1885 = Vasari, Giorgio: *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*. Con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols., Florenz 1878–1885.
- Wheeler 1999 = Wheeler, Stephen Michael: *A Discourse of Wonders. Audience and Performance in Ovid's Metamorphoses*, Philadelphia, PA 1999.
- Wills 1996 = Wills, Jeffrey: *Repetition in Latin Poetry. Figures of Allusion*, Oxford 1996.
- Wolf 1993 = Wolf, Werner: *Ästhetische Illusion und Illusionsdurchbrechung in der Erzählkunst. Theorie und Geschichte mit Schwerpunkt auf englischem illusionsstörenden Erzählen*, Tübingen 1993 (Buchreihe der Anglia 32).
- Wolkenhauer / Arbeitsgruppe Estius 2017 = Wolkenhauer, Anja / Arbeitsgruppe Estius: Die übersehene Hälfte. Ein Werkstattbericht zur Erschließung der Bildepigramme in der frühneuzeitlichen Druckgraphik, in: Norbert Michels (ed.): *Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617). Mythos, Macht und Menschlichkeit*. Exhibition Catalogue Anhaltische Gemäldegalerie Dessau, 11 November 2017–7 January 2018, Petersberg 2017 (Kataloge der Anhaltischen Gemäldegalerie Dessau 20), pp. 108–117.

IV. Co-Creativity in the Interplay of the Individual and the Collective

Stefanie Gropper

‘Ek segi,’ ‘vér segjum,’ ‘verður sagt’

Multiple Authorship in the *Íslendingasögur*

Abstract

Although all of the approximately forty Icelandic family sagas (*Íslendingasögur*) have been transmitted anonymously, scholarly approaches have time and again, and on the basis of various methods, tried to ascribe them to authors. The aim is to legitimize the texts as literary works of art and to contextualize them historically accurately. All these approaches share the assumption of emphatic authorship – a saga, whether as a work of art or a historical resource, is deemed to be the product of a single person, working autonomously and being responsible for form and content, which guarantees the authenticity of the work. This model of the author, which goes back to modernity, attempts to resolve the problem of both origin and transmission of Icelandic sagas in an act of violence: as the existence of the saga as a literary work of art is linked to the achievement of a particular person at a particular point in time, both oral transmission of the texts and the variation between sagas as well as the existence of several versions of an individual saga are not taken into account. The anonymity of the sagas is, however, not down to a coincidence of the history of transmission but obviously based on a conscious decision of those agents involved in their production and transmission. The following chapter will attempt at presenting an alternative approach to the concept of authorship in regarding the anonymity of the sagas and their variation, not as some deficit in relation to identifiable authorship but rather as a generic characteristic of the multiple authorship of these texts. *Njáls saga* will be the central example, but other sagas will be considered as well.

Keywords

Narrative Voice, Narratorial Comments, Anonymous Transmission, Saga Literature, *Njáls saga*

1. Introduction

The *Íslendingasögur* (*Sagas of Icelanders*) are a group of around 40 texts of Old Icelandic saga literature, all of which have been passed down anonymously. Nevertheless – or

- * Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson. – The work for this chapter was carried out within the framework of project B5: “Narrative (Self-)reflection in the Icelandic Family Sagas” (first funding phase) and “Kaleidoscopic Narration in the Icelandic Sagas” (second funding phase) of the Collaborative Research Center 1391 *Different Aesthetics*, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, DFG), project no. 405662736.

precisely because of this – the question of their authorship has repeatedly played an important role in scholarship. In 1953, the Icelandic literary scholar Sigurður Nordal thus wrote about the unknown author of *Njáls saga*:

Med den omfangsrigeste og stofrigeste af alle Isl.s., *Brennu-Njáls saga* (Njála), kulminerer den islandske kunstprosa og sagadigtningen i det hele taget. Forfatteren af dette mægtige værk er sagalitteraturens Shakespeare, en fribytter, der henter sit stof allevegne fra, udnytter den ældre sagalitteratur som passer ham, stor i sine fortrin som sine fejl, sin styrke og sine svagheder, undertiden ubehersket i sine sympatier og antipatier, konventionel i visse skildringer (Gunnars vikingetog m.m.), glippende i den tilfredsstillende motivering af hovedbegivenheder (Høskulds drab), jagende efter det spændende og effektfulde, baade deri og i visse udskjelser i stil og smag befængt med sin tids svagheder, paa grensen af dekadencen, – men trods alt dette som stilist, skildrer og menneskekender en af alle tiders største.¹

In *Brennu-Njáls saga*, the most voluminous and richest in material of all the *Sagas of Icelanders*, there is the culmination of artistic Icelandic prose and saga poetics in general. The author of this mighty work is the Shakespeare of saga literature, a freebooter who draws his material from everywhere, utilizing older saga literature as suits him; great in his merits and his faults, his strengths and his weaknesses; sometimes unrestrained in his sympathies and antipathies; conventional in certain depictions (Gunnarr's Viking raid, etc.), slipping in the satisfactory motivation of the main events (Høskuldr's murder), and chasing after the exciting and effective, both in this and in certain excesses in style and taste tainted with the weaknesses of his time, bordering on decadence – but despite all this, as a stylist, portraitist, and judge of character, one of the greatest of all time.

Sigurður Nordal was among the first to make the case for regarding the sagas as literary works instead of historical sources for the period of Iceland's settlement. Using the example of *Hrafnkels saga*, Sigurður Nordal showed that the *Sagas of Icelanders* tell of historically verifiable characters and, in part, historically documented events, but that they also contain historically incorrect, unverifiable information and anachronisms, which he saw as proof of their fictionality.² He thus concluded that the saga could not be a historical source and was also not intended as such, but rather that it was the work of a literary creative author. In doing so, he set himself apart from the scholarship that regarded the sagas as representations of an unbroken oral tradition from the period of the events to the writing down of the texts. Sigurður Nordal considered the assumption of a 'consciously creative author,' implicitly a male author,³ to be a prerequisite for the sagas to be examined as literature on the basis of their artistry and aesthetics. Because of his anonymity, the properties deemed necessary for the production of art could be

1 Sigurður Nordal 1953, p. 259.

2 Sigurður Nordal 1958.

3 Scholarship generally assumes male authors, as attested by the personal pronouns used in English and Scandinavian literature. Only a few attempts exist at attributing a saga to a woman, such as e.g. Helga Kress 1980 for *Laxdæla saga*.

projected onto this author; Sigurður Nordal describes the author of *Njáls saga* as an audacious genius who breaks all the artisanal rules of writing in order to translate his perception of the world into language. Despite the explicit comparison with Shakespeare, this description is reminiscent rather of the characterization of the Danish author Adam Oehlenschläger in the history of Scandinavian literature. In his poem *Guldhornene* (‘The Golden Horns’), published in 1803, Oehlenschläger resurrects the prehistoric Golden Horns of Gallehus, stolen from the Copenhagen Kunstkammer in 1802, and uses the poem, which appeals to a poetic-mythical popular sentiment, to herald in Scandinavian national romanticism.⁴ Sigurður Nordal, accordingly, is less interested in the actual authorship of the *Sagas of Icelanders*; rather, he interprets them as the beginning of a new literary period in Icelandic literature, and strives to use them – especially *Njáls saga*, as a literary highlight – to establish a national literary myth.

While Sigurður Nordal’s primary aim was to establish the entity of the author as the originator of the sagas, and hence as a literary creator, other approaches attempt to learn more about the author as a real person, as a representative of a certain time and mentality. Einar Ólafur Sveinsson’s introduction to his edition of *Njáls saga* contains a 12-page chapter titled “Leitin að höfund” (‘The search for the author’), which ends, however, with the rather sober conclusion: “Auðvitað er alveg óvíst, að nafn hans sé nokkursstaður nefnt.”⁵ (‘Of course, it is entirely uncertain whether his name is mentioned anywhere.’) Even though Einar Ólafur Sveinsson discusses quite different historical persons as possible authors, he thus resignedly accepts the anonymity of the saga but nonetheless attempts to discover more about the author’s talent (“hæfiliki”) and mentality (“hugarfar”),⁶ thereby also searching for his ingenuity and uniqueness. He concludes that, although the unknown author possibly knew neither Latin nor Greek, he was well versed with the history of his own country and also with skaldic poetry, that he had experience of life and insight into human nature, and that he was probably not a clergyman but rather an educated layman with a sense of national pride.⁷ The image that Einar Ólafur Sveinsson paints of the author of *Njáls saga* is very different from the one presented by Sigurður Nordal; yet both seem to have imagined its author as similar to one of the saga’s protagonists. While Einar Ólafur Sveinsson was probably thinking of the wise Njáll, the law-speaker and clever strategist, Sigurður Nordal apparently imagined a representative of the younger generation, a mixture of the heroic Gunnarr Hámundarson and his rival Skarpheðinn Njálsson. Although both Sigurður Nordal and Einar Ólafur Sveinsson refer to the text itself, it is nevertheless clear how much they project a certain image of the author: Sigurður Nordal the ingenious founder of Ice-

4 Müller-Wille 2006, p. 132.

5 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. CXII.

6 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. CI for both terms.

7 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. CI.

landic national literature, and Einar Ólafur Sveinsson the trustworthy and righteous narrator of the national past.

While both Sigurður Nordal and Einar Ólafur Sveinsson were primarily interested in understanding the artist and his mentality, more recent scholarship has generally been concerned with the attribution of a saga to certain individuals who all played a central role in the history and politics of Iceland in the 13th century and who hold a genealogical relationship to characters in the respective saga.⁸ In this way, the contextualization of the texts is meant to be made possible, as well as their interpretation as historical sources, which do not, however, provide information about the Viking Age but rather about the 13th century as the presumed period of origin for the written sagas, a time of crisis in the Icelandic Middle Ages. As a result, the historical source value of the *Sagas of Icelanders* shifts again into the foreground compared to their literary aesthetics, even if this focus now concerns less the period of the sagas' action than their presumed – and indeed hardly verifiable – time of writing.⁹ What all these studies have in common is that they presuppose an emphatic form of authorship – be it as a work of art or as a historical source, a saga is thus the product of an individual, autonomously working person who is responsible for content and form and thus guarantees the authenticity of the work. The strength of the notion of the emphatic author as a prerequisite for viewing literature as art can also be seen in approaches that actually wish to do justice to precisely this entanglement of oral and written transmission. Although Slavica Ranković, under the label of 'distributed authorship,' concerns herself decidedly with the possibility of several entities participating in a work,¹⁰ her approach ultimately aims to unravel this form of multiple authorship in order to be able to assign to individual persons their respective share of the work so that their specific contribution can then be examined more closely.

The model of emphatic authorship attempts to solve the complex problem of the origin and transmission history of the *Íslendingasögur* in an act of violence: as the existence of the saga as a literary work is connected to the activity of a certain person at a certain point in time, the oral tradition of the texts is reduced to as unimportant a role

- 8 As a rule, this concerns either Snorri Sturluson or members of his widely ramified family, about whom a comparatively good deal is known from historical sources and who played an important role in Icelandic history and politics, especially in the 13th century. Snorri was regarded early on as the author of various texts, such as the *Prose Edda* and *Heimskringla*. The question of whether he also wrote *Egils saga* has been addressed repeatedly; Torfi Tulinius 2004 has most recently dealt with it. Further examples of author attributions are North 2009 and Elín Bára Magnúsdóttir 2015.
- 9 Callow 2017, pp. 26f., in his essay on the dating of the sagas comes to the sobering conclusion: "Overall the research on origins and dating of the *Íslendingasögur* has been less voluminous since 1985 than it was in the preceding thirty years. There have been no major shifts in the framing of the debate. Opinions, within it, however, remain diverse."
- 10 Ranković 2007; Ranković / Ranković 2012.

as is their variance and the existence of several versions of a single saga. In this static model, the oral tradition of the texts becomes a nebulous ‘before,’ a primordial literary soup from which the emphatic authors of the 13th century then create their works of art. Variance and versions are the ‘after’ depicted in the stemma, i.e. deviations from the original, which, depending on one’s perspective, are to be evaluated either as errors or as manifestations of reception. Yet it is questionable whether this concept of the emphatic author really does justice to the authorship of the *Sagas of Icelanders*. The anonymity of the sagas is not a coincidence in the history of their transmission, but evidently is based on a conscious decision by those actors who participated in the process of their creation and transmission. While sagas in medieval manuscripts are consistently transmitted without attribution to authors, we find the first attempts at retrospective author attributions only in manuscripts from the end of the 17th century, with the beginning of an antiquarian and, in the broadest sense, a philological preoccupation with the sagas.¹¹ In this chapter, I would therefore like to attempt an alternative approach to the concept of authorship by recognizing the anonymity of the sagas and their variance not as a deficit for an identifiable authorship but rather as a generic characteristic of these texts. I use *Njáls saga* as a central exemplary text, but will also draw on other sagas.¹²

2. References to ‘Authorship’ in the *Sagas of Icelanders*

In Old Norse – as in the other languages of medieval Europe, according to Anatoly Liberman – there is no noun with the meaning ‘author’ or ‘narrator.’¹³ The word *höfundur* (‘author’), used today in Icelandic, occurs only rarely in medieval texts (*höfundr*), where it has the meaning ‘juror’ or ‘authority.’¹⁴ Besides this, there is the noun *skáld* (‘poet’), which appears often in narrative texts but which is used exclusively for the composers of skaldic poetry in Old Icelandic.¹⁵ It is only in modern Icelandic that this word has also taken on the meaning ‘composer of belletristic texts.’ In the sagas, the term *skáld* is used for professional skalds – for instance, court poets in the service of a ruler – but not for the composers of single stanzas, which are frequently inserted in the *Sagas of*

11 On this subject, see Glauser 2021, pp. 29f.

12 I am aware of the contradiction that I am on the one hand criticizing the fact that scholarship projects the concept of emphatic authorship onto the sagas, and that I am on the other hand using the editions produced by this scholarship. It would be more consistent to evidence the diversity of voices that I postulate here on the basis of the transmission of manuscripts. As I hope to demonstrate, however, traces of multiple authorship also survive in the editions beholden to the notion of the emphatic author.

13 Liberman 2019.

14 Glauser 2021, p. 22.

15 Glauser 2021, pp. 27f.

Icelanders.¹⁶ As can be seen from diverse accounts, the skalds fulfilled all the expectations that we nowadays associate with emphatic authorship. They compete to see who can compose the best stanzas;¹⁷ it is required that they make a claim to originality and innovation; and bad poetry is condemned, as shown by the epithet *skáldaspillir* ('spoiler of skalds'), which was probably given to the skald Eyvindr because he was accused of plagiarism.¹⁸

The emphatic authorship of skaldic poetry, born of mythical power,¹⁹ stands in contrast to the unmarked authorship of eddic poetry and saga literature, where the "connotations of the mythical origins of authorship" are omitted.²⁰ Nevertheless, the numerous verbs that occur in the Icelandic sagas to refer to the production and performance of narratives certainly point to the reflection on literary creation, even if they are directed less toward an individual authorial entity but rather focus on the text itself.

The expressions *setja saman* or *setja bók saman* (literally: 'to put together,' 'to compile a book') are probably closest to our modern notion of 'producing a text' in the sense of authorship. They are not evidenced in the *Sagas of Icelanders*, however; they appear in specialized prose and translated literature only, which suggests they are loan translations of the Latin *componere*, referring to the compilation of several individual texts into a larger whole within a manuscript.²¹

For 'writing,' the word *rita*, which etymologically corresponds to the English verb 'to write,' is generally used: *Þar kom þá ok Gilli jarl sem fyrr var ritat*. ("Earl Gilli had come there too, as was written above.")²² This example from *Njáls saga* is ambiguous, because it refers both to the medial aspect of writing – as opposed to oral storytelling – and to the organization of the text; the fact that Earl Gilli came to a meeting on the Orkneys had already been reported at the beginning of the same chapter. As Kevin Müller has shown, *rita* corresponds to the Latin *scribere* and generally means 'to write down' or 'to copy' a text, even if the meaning 'to compose' is not excluded.²³

16 Diana Whaley 2005, p. 480, draws attention to the fact that "[p]oetic composition was never, however, a full-time, life long occupation, and though the functionary skalds who served Nordic rulers were well rewarded they also farmed, traded, and fought."

17 The contest between two skalds is recounted in *Sneglu-Halla þáttur*, among other texts; [Sneglu-Halla þáttur, Flateyjarbók]. Translated as *The Tale of Sarcastic Halli*.

18 Poole 2012, p. 171.

19 The myth of the mead of poetry – a concoction produced from the spittle of the Æsir and the Vanir that Óðinn gifts to the poets – is narrated in the *Prose Edda*. For the meaning of this myth, see Glauser 2016, pp. 1 f.

20 Müller 1999, p. 148.

21 On *setja saman*, see Weber 1972, p. 192; Müller 2020, p. 127.

22 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 442. Translation: *Njal's Saga*, p. 210.

23 Müller 2018, p. 148; Müller 2020, p. 51.

The verb *skrifa*, borrowed from Middle Low German *schriven*, also means ‘to write’.²⁴ Þar var at boði Úlfr Uggason ok hafði ort kvæði um Ólaf Høskuldsson ok um sǫgur þær, er skrifaðar váru á eldhúsinu, ok færði hann þar at boðinu. (“Among the guests was a poet, Ulf Uggason, who had composed a poem about Olaf Hoskuldsson and the tales carved on the wood of the fire-hall which he recited at the feast.”)²⁵ As in a number of other passages, *skrifa* here is used in the sense ‘to paint,’ ‘to draw,’ ‘to carve.’²⁶ In this example, *skrifa* emphasizes the medieval aspect of how the narratives used by the skald Úlfr Uggason in a poem (*kvæði*) are recorded. In addition, this example shows that the composition of verse is denoted by a specialized term (*yrkja*, past participle *ort*) and that the composer of this poem is named (Úlfr Uggason), while the narratives he uses (*sǫgur*) are apparently transmitted anonymously. As Gert Kreuzer has shown, there are at least 17 different verbs that refer to the composition of poems or stanzas.²⁷ While skaldic poetry thus developed a rich vocabulary for artistic production, in the *Sagas of Icelanders*, as elsewhere in Old Icelandic narrative prose, we primarily find formulations that refer to the act of narration, to the structuring and organization of what is narrated, and to the relationship between that which is narrated and the underlying tradition.

By far the most frequently used term in the *Sagas of Icelanders* is *segja frá* (‘say of, say about’): Nú er at segja frá Hallgerði, at hon sendi mann vestr til Bjarnarfjarðar eptir Brynjólfi frænda sínum, róstu, en hann var ilmenni mikít. (“Now to return [= in the narrative; S.G.] to Hallgerd: she sent a man west to Bjarnarfjord for her kinsman Brynjolf the Brawler, a very bad sort.”)²⁸ Also derived from the verb *segja* is the term *saga*, which, like the German word *Geschichte*, can mean both ‘narrative’ and ‘notice, statement, report’ or ‘event, incident, process,’ and thus denotes the subject of the narrative.²⁹

It is characteristic of the *Sagas of Icelanders* that they only very rarely contain an extradiegetic ‘I’: Ok lýk ek þar Brennu-Njáls sǫgu. (“And here I end the saga of the burning of Njal.”)³⁰ In no single case can this *ek* (‘I’), which often alternates with *vér* (‘we’) in the manuscript transmission,³¹ be assigned to an actual historical person. Nonetheless, in texts designed to be heard, as indeed the *Sagas of Icelanders* are, this first-person narrator can be seen as substituting for the voice of the author, since the first-person narrator speaks to the imagined audience as if delivering a recital.³² Accordingly, the extradiegetic narrator in the example just quoted from *Njáls saga* takes on the position

24 Müller 2020, p. 81.

25 Laxdæla saga, p. 80. Translation: The Saga of the People of Laxardal, p. 40.

26 See the examples in Cleasby / Gudbrand Vigfusson 1874, sub verbo.

27 Kreuzer 1977, pp. 135–148.

28 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 100. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 45.

29 See also the examples in Baetke 2006, sub verbo.

30 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 464. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 220.

31 Thus also in Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 464, note 1.

32 Glauch 2010.

of an authorial voice, but this is not to conclude that it is the voice of an individual who can be identified by name or be contextualised historically.

Rather than the first-person narrator relatively common to Middle High German texts, there predominates in the *Sagas of Icelanders* a narrative voice dominates who speaks in subjectless sentences, which precludes any personalization as an imagined narrating figure. From this stylistic means results the impression of a very reserved, supposedly objective narrative voice, which is considered characteristic of the *Sagas of Icelanders*.³³ This narrative voice structures the narrative: *Nú er þar til máls at taka [...]* (“To return to [...]).³⁴ It enables spatial orientation within the narrative: *Nú víkr sǫgunni vestr til Breiðarfjarðardala*. (“Now the setting of this saga shifts west to the valleys of Breidafjord.”)³⁵ In addition, the narrative voice selects what is narrated and about whom: *Þeir Hrutr ok Hǫskuldr kómu þangat til fjárskiptis, ok urðu þeir Ósvífr á þat vel sáttir, ok fóru heim með féit, ok er nú Ósvífur ór sǫgunni*. (“Later, Hrut and Hoskuld came to Osvif to divide the property, and they reached a good settlement on that matter. Hrut and Hoskuld then went home, and Osvif is now out of the saga.”)³⁶ It is thus decided already in chapter 12 (of almost 160 chapters) that the character by the name of Ósvífr no longer plays a role in *Njáls saga*. Even if this does not appear to be an authorial decision taken by the narrating entity itself because of the subjectless phrasing, the narrative voice evidently has knowledge of the further progression of the narrative. As in this example, the subjectless phrasings furthermore have the consequence that the narrative voice gives the impression of organizing the narrative and guiding its reception but does not assume any explicit responsibility for that which is narrated. Instead, this responsibility is usually outsourced to tradition, itself equally anonymous: *ok eigi var sá leikr, at nokkur þyrfti við hann at keppa, ok hefir svá verit sagt, at engi væri hans jafningi*. (“and there was no sport in which there was any point in competing with him. It was said that no man was his match.”)³⁷ The narrative voice had already earlier listed a variety of the physical abilities of Gunnarr Hámundarson, one of the main characters of *Njáls saga*. For a final assessment of Gunnarr as an incomparable warrior, the narrative voice refers to tradition, implying that this judgement was passed down and thus constantly retold, from the period of the historical Gunnarr’s life until the time of the written *Njáls saga*’s creation in the 13th century.³⁸ At the same time, however, the narrative voice conceals the fact that an authorial decision is required as to in which situations this tradition is retold and enlisted to authenticate the narrative. In a sense, the narrative voice brings

33 On the style of narration in the *Sagas of Icelanders*, see Sävborg 2017.

34 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 36. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 16.

35 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 6. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 2.

36 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 40. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 18.

37 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 53. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 24.

38 On the significance of tradition for the literary aesthetic of the *Sagas of Icelanders*, see Gropper 2023.

in tradition as a co-narrator and a bearer of responsibility for the narrative. The idea of authorship in the modern sense, as well as the desire for an identifiable historical individual, thus do not do justice to the concept of authorship in the *Sagas of Icelanders*.³⁹

3. Who Narrates the *Sagas of Icelanders*?

Even if the *Sagas of Icelanders* do not contain any explicit statements on authorship, there are, in addition to remarks on the organization of the narrative and the selection of the narrated materials, also references to the analysis of authorship in the sense of responsibility for that which is narrated. It becomes evident here that the narrative voice is not only unmarked, but, moreover, that it does not represent an individual – albeit anonymous – person nor a clearly defined entity that could be referenced extratextually. The subjectless narrative voice, the occasional authorial ‘I’ or ‘we,’ and tradition narrate the saga together and complement each other. As the following passage from *Stjörnu-Odda draumr* (*Star-Oddi’s Dream*) shows, these three entities are able to work together very closely: *Þar kann eigi glöggliga frá at segja, hversu högg fóru með þeim, ok mun ek þar gera skjóta frásögn, þvíat þat er þar frá lyktum at segja, at [...]* (“It is not possible to report exactly how they traded blows, and I will make a long story short, for the outcome of [...]).⁴⁰ All three narrating entities – that is, the voice in the first person singular or plural as the representation of an authorial entity, the narrative voice that withdraws into indeterminacy and formulates without a subject, and the tradition – stand in a complex syntactical relationship to one another: all refer to the same event, and all are involved in the emergence of the narrative by selecting, evaluating, and organizing that which is to be narrated. There is hence a plurality of voices on the extradiegetic level that function together as representations of an authorial force, even if most of the expressions on the process of narration derive from the narrative voice.

The voice in the first person singular or plural, probably most clearly perceived by the audience as an authorial force, rarely appears in the sagas on an extradiegetic level and usually only at the conclusion, as in the above example from *Njáls saga*. The voice of tradition accompanies the narrative voice and supports it by authenticating, and thus to some extent authorizing, that which is narrated. The narrative voice, by contrast, guides the audience through the entire text, structures the narrated material, and aids with orientation in the plot. Yet the narrative voice also relates that which is being narrated from a certain distance, as references to the ‘then’ of the diegesis as compared to the ‘now’ of the narration make clear: *Þaðan hljóp hann [Kári, S.G.] með reykinum í gróf*

39 Ármann Jakobsson and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson come to a similar conclusion, yet they refer not to *Sagas of Icelanders* but rather to sagas of kings (see *Morkinskinna* I, p. XV).

40 *Stjörnu-Odda draumr*, p. 466. Translation: *Star-Oddi’s Dream*, p. 451.

noðkurra ok hvíldi sik, ok er þat síðan kǫlluð Káragróf. ("From there he [Kari, S.G.] ran under cover of the smoke to a hollow and rested there, and that place has since been called Karagrof ('Kari's Hollow')")⁴¹ After the home of the eponymous protagonist of the saga, Njáll Þorgeirsson, has been set on fire, his son-in-law Kári manages to escape. The place where he conceals himself is named after him. Events that happen in the saga have consequences that are still visible for the recipients of the written saga, which came into being at least 200 years later. The present condition of the recipients has its origin in the narrated past. This process, which is representative of the distance of the narrative voice from the events reported, becomes even more obvious in *Laxdæla saga*: *Í þann tíma var þat mikil tízka, at úti var salerni ok eigi alskammt frá bænum, ok svá var at laugum.* ("At this time it was fashionable to have outdoor toilets some distance from the farmhouse, and such was the case at Laugar.")⁴² The narrative voice thus places itself on the side of the audience, narrating from their perspective and their temporal distance. The events narrated are set in the distant past, and the clarifying narrative voice is necessary to be able to understand the conditions at the time. The extent to which the narrative voice feels obliged to the audience and expects to be criticized or corrected by them is also attested by apologetic references to missing sources or gaps in the tradition: *En þó at hér sé sagt frá noðkurum atburðum, þá eru hinir þó miklu fleiri, er menn hafa engar sagnir frá.* ("and though a few of the things that happened are told here, there were many more for which men have no stories.")⁴³

With regard to authorial agency, however, the voice of public opinion and the voice of tradition differ. While public opinion is an intradiegetic voice on the same level as the characters acting in the story, who can in turn become part of this public opinion, the narrative tradition is an extradiegetic voice on the same level as the narrative voice, which legitimizes its statements through tradition. The anonymous intradiegetic voice of public opinion corresponds to the likewise anonymous voice of tradition on an extradiegetic level. In the sagas, evaluations of events or characters are often expressed in the form of a general assessment: *Ok svá kom, at hann [Hrapp, S.G.] slósk á tal við Guðrúnu, svá at margir tǫluðu, at hann myndi fífla hana.* ("As time went on, he [Hrapp, S.G.] began to talk to Gudrun in private, so that many said he was out to seduce her.")⁴⁴ The anonymous public of the intradiegetic level observes and judges what takes place between Hrapp and Guðrún, the daughter of his host Guðbrandr. The narrative voice on the extradiegetic level subsequently confirms the rumour by reporting that a member of Guðbrandr's household discovers Hrapp and Guðrún together in a bush some time

41 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 332. Translation: Njal's Saga, p. 157.

42 Laxdæla saga, p. 145. Translation: The Saga of the People of Laxardal, p. 74.

43 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 404. Translation: Njal's Saga, p. 192.

44 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 211. Translation: Njal's Saga, p. 100.

later, engaging in ‘lewd’ behaviour.⁴⁵ In scholarship, such references to public opinion have usually been equated to a commentary by the narrative voice.⁴⁶ As Rebecca Merkelbach has shown, however, this public opinion is its own voice in its own right within the narrative, complementing the narrative voice and the voices of the characters.⁴⁷

The intradiegetic public opinion represents the social scrutiny to which the characters are exposed. For the most part, the *Sagas of Icelanders* are set in public spaces in the broadest sense, where several characters reside. Every action is observed by an unspecified public and evaluated for possible consequences with regard to social coexistence. The fragility of peaceful coexistence as a central theme of the sagas is also reflected in the numerous legal disputes in which attempts are made to resolve conflicts and restore the social order. The catalysts for such conflicts are usually small conflicts between neighbours at first or provocations that lead to infractions of a person’s or family’s honour and which eventually escalate into protracted feuds. Public opinion detects the danger of a burgeoning conflict, as in the above example of the relationship between Hrapp and Guðrún, which is not sanctioned by her father and which then actually leads to a case of manslaughter and legal consequences.

The extradiegetic narrative tradition, by contrast, is the controlling entity to which the narrative voice is subject and to which it feels responsible. Tradition offers the narrative voice the scope for selection and interpretation of the narrated elements, but this scope is likewise controlled by public opinion – the extratextual public opinion of the audience, which hears and evaluates the narrative and which would not accept a narrative at variance with tradition.

In many cases, however, it proves difficult to discern intradiegetic public opinion from tradition, as this example from *Laxdæla saga* shows: *Þat er flestra manna sagn, at Þorleikr ætti lítt við elli at fást, ok þótti þó mikils verður, meðan hann var uppi. Ok lúkum vér þar sögu frá Þorleiki.* (“According to most people, Thorleik was not one to grow old comfortably, but was nevertheless respected as long as he lived. The story of Thorleik ends here.”)⁴⁸ Here, several different voices express themselves about the character Þorleikr. The voice of tradition (*flestra manna sagn*: “according to most people”) reports his struggle against old age, while the voice of public opinion (*þótti þó mikils verður*: “but was nevertheless respected”) attests to Þorleikr’s good reputation during his lifetime. The narrative voice then points out that no further mention is made of Þorleikr in the saga.

45 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 211: *Síðan fór Ásvarðr að leita hennar* [Guðrúnar, S.G.] *ok fann þau* [Hrapp ok Guðrúnu, S.G.] *í runni einum liggja bæði saman.* (“Asvard went looking for her [Gudrun, S.G.] and found the two of them [Hrapp and Gudrun, S.G.] lying together in some bushes”; translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 100).

46 See, for example, Lönnroth 1970, pp. 170f.

47 Merkelbach 2019, p. 150.

48 *Laxdæla saga*, p. 111. Translation: The Saga of the People of Laxardal, p. 56.

The intradiegetic social assessment of public opinion forms the foundation for what is later shared and narrated and thus also forms the foundation for the narrative tradition from which the narrative voice avails itself to create the saga. Public opinion is the place where the inherent narrative logic and the world of lived experience interact: the narrative scope of the narrative voice is controlled by the audience and by tradition.

The narrative voice thus transfers responsibility for the accuracy of the content to public opinion and tradition, while it is the task of the narrative voice to structure and shape this content. This distribution of tasks points to the concept of multiple or heteronomous authorship.⁴⁹ It concerns a fluid and flexible concept of authorship in which the actors involved do not strive for a stable text, but in which authorship rather defines the scope within which a story may be told differently, be retold, expanded, or abbreviated.⁵⁰ The rules of the game are determined by tradition and public opinion; that is, they are subject to social scrutiny. Yet tradition and public opinion do not guarantee the ‘truth’ of what is reported in the sense of what is empirically verifiable; rather, they stand for what is accepted in a narrative. A narrative aesthetics is inconceivable without a social sanctioning of the narrative.

Yet the story is also told on the intradiegetic level by the characters themselves. The characters of the *Sagas of Icelanders* often have a very high proportion of speech, so that their voices are very clearly audible in the narrative. In contrast to the impersonally formulated narrative voice, the characters acting in the story speak as clearly marked first-person narrators. To the medieval audience, these figures were known as part of their own story and occasionally also as part of their own familial history. The ambiguity of the word ‘saga’ is thus reflected, as it can refer both to the content and the form of the narrative. From our modern perspective, historiography and fiction are intermingled in this literary arrangement, from which the longstanding discussion in scholarship about the historical reliability of the sagas was ignited. In the sagas, the stories of these characters generally begin one or two generations before their birth with the founders and relate the reasons that led to the migration of their family from Norway to Iceland. Time and again, interspersed references strengthen the impression of the historical relevance of the narrated events for the implicit audience.⁵¹ The characters of the sagas, especially those who appear in several sagas, presumably also oscillated between ‘real’ and ‘fictional’ in the medieval audience’s perception, and it is thus that their voices

49 The term ‘heteronomous authorship’ derives from Ingo Berensmeyer, Gert Buelens und Marysa Demoor (Berensmeyer/Buelens/Demoor 2012, p. 14). Aleida Assmann 2012, pp. 67–69, previously introduced the similar concept of ‘weak authorship.’

50 This retelling is not specific to Old Norse narration, as argued by Worstbrock 1999.

51 See, for example, Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 363: *Þá váru komnir höfðingjar ór öllum fjórðungum á landinu, ok hafði aldri þing verit jafnþjölmennt áðr, svá at menn mundi.* (“Chieftains had come from all quarters of the land, and there had never been such a crowded Thing as far back as men could remember.” Translation: Njal’s-Saga, p. 172).

receive special weight and authorial force. This applies in particular to renowned law-speakers, such as Snorri goði Þorgrímsson or Njáll Þorgeirsson, who left historically verifiable traces in Icelandic history, at least according to the sagas.⁵²

Although authorial remarks like *Þau* [Njáll ok Bergþóra, S.G.] *áttu sex börn, dætr þrjár ok sonu þrjá, ok koma þeir allir við þessa sögu síðan* (“They [Njal and Bergthora, S.G.] had six children, three daughters and three sons, and they all play a part in this saga”)⁵³ imply that the narrative voice exercises a controlling force over the characters of the diegesis, the characters themselves participate in the narration of their own story. They often undertake tasks that would otherwise be assigned to the narrative voice in heterodiegetically narrated texts. Thus, characters often evaluate and characterize other characters:

Þá ræddi Høskuldr til Hróts: “Hversu lízk þér á mey þessa? Þykki ér eigi fögr vera?” Hrótr þagði við. Høskuldr innti til annat sinn. Hrótr svaraði þá: “Ærit fögr er mæz sjá, ok munu margir þess gjalda; en hitt veit ek eigi, hvaðan þjófsaugu eru komin í ættir várar.” Þá reiddisk Høskuldr, ok var fátt um með þeim bræðrum nökkura hríð.⁵⁴

Then Høskuld said to Hrut, “How do you like this girl? Don’t you find her beautiful?”

Hrut was silent. Høskuld asked again.

Then Hrut answered, “The girl is very beautiful, and many will pay for that. But what I don’t know is how thieves eyes have come into our family.”

Høskuld was angry at this, and for a while there was coolness between the brothers.

While the narrative voice previously described the beauty of the young Hallgerðr, one of the main female characters in *Njáls saga*, Hallgerðr’s uncle Hrótr takes it upon himself here to point out the girl’s negative aspects to her father Høskuldr – as much as to the audience. Hrótr’s remark that many will have to suffer because of Hallgerðr’s beauty, as well as his reference to thieves’ eyes, go far beyond an intrafamilial insult, because they foreshadow central elements of the plot. Her first two husbands are each killed by her foster-father Þjóstólfr after they quarrel with Hallgerðr. In her third marriage to Gunnarr Hámundarson, she comes into conflict with Bergþóra, the wife of her husband’s best friend Njáll. The conflict – which, among other things, involves the theft of supplies as solicited by Hallgerðr – after numerous stages of escalation leads, first, to Gunnarr’s death and then also to the deaths of Njáll and Bergþóra in the subsequent initiative to take vengeance. The entirety of this extensive story is already presaged in Hrótr’s words about his niece and the central kernel of the saga outlined for the audi-

52 Njáll Þorgeirsson is regarded as the founder of the *fimtarðómr*, the fifth or highest court in Iceland, which decides transregional conflicts. The importance of this authority plays a central role in *Njáls saga*.

53 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 57. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 25.

54 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 7. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 2.

ence. In the sagas, such *foreshadowing* often takes place on the intradiegetic level, for instance, in the form of dreams.⁵⁵ The characters here act independently of the narratologically superordinate narrative voice and co-narrate their own story by laying out elements of the plot and therefore influencing the structure of the narrative.⁵⁶

This form of independent co-narration by the characters can be very extensive, so that the heterodiegetic narrative voice at times disappears completely for long stretches. When Gunnarr asks his legally educated friend Njáll for advice as to how he can recover his relative Unnr's dowry after her divorce from her husband, Njáll gives him detailed instructions. In direct speech, Njáll not only explains what Gunnarr is to do, but he also describes the expected verbal reactions of the other side and how Gunnarr is to respond to them in turn. During this long monologue, which is nowhere interrupted by the narrative voice, the impression of strategizing is maintained by all the sentences containing either *skalt þú* ("you must") or *hann mun* ("he will").⁵⁷ What is unexpected in the description of the plan, however, are the anticipated dialogues between Gunnarr and his opponent Hrútr, which are rendered by Njáll as direct speech:

"Hann mun spyrja, hvárt þú sér norðlenzkr; þú skalt segja, at þú sér eyfirzkr maðr. Hann mun spyrja, hvárt þar sé allmargir ágætir menn. 'Ærinn hafa þeir klækiskap,' skalt þú segja. 'Er þér kunnigt til Reykjardals?' mun hann segja. 'Kunnigt er mér um allt Ísland,' skalt þú segja. 'Eru í Reykjardal kappar miklir?' mun hann segja. 'Þjófar eru þar ok illmenni,' skalt þú segja. Þá mun Hrútr hlæja ok þykkja gaman at. [...]"

"He will ask if you're from the north, and you must say that you're from Eyjafjord. He will ask whether there are many excellent men up there.
You must say, 'They do a lot of nasty things.'
'Are you familiar with Reykjadal?' he will say.
'I am familiar with all of Iceland,' you must say.
'Are there any mighty heroes in Reykjadal?' he will say.
'They're thieves and rogues,' you must say.
Hrut will laugh and find this great sport. [...]"⁵⁸

Through this lively scenic presentation, Njáll's description of his plan is given the character of an internal narrative, although its first-person narrator is not clearly marked. The monologue is introduced by the narrative voice with an inquit that identifies Njáll

55 One of the most well-known examples for such a dream is found in *Laxdæla saga*: Guðrún's dream portends her four marriages which encompass a great deal of the saga's plot; *Laxdæla saga*, pp. 88–91; Translation: The Saga of the People of Laxardal, pp. 44 f.

56 On the thus far underappreciated narratological significance of character speech and especially character dialogue, see Phelan 2017, p. 13–19.

57 Brennu-Njáls saga, pp. 59–63. Translation: Njal's Saga, pp. 26 f.

58 Brennu-Njáls saga, pp. 60 f. Translation: Njal's Saga, p. 26.

as the speaker: *Þá þagði Njáll nokkura stund ok mælti síðan: ‘Hugsat hefi ek málit, ok mun þat duga.’* (“Njal was silent for a while, and then spoke: ‘I’ve thought the matter over, and this is what will work.’”)⁵⁹ This is followed by the plan, which is recognizable as a continuation of Njáll’s direct speech only by the ‘you’ of its address to Gunnarr. Njáll gives Gunnarr instructions whose execution is then reported by the narrative voice in the following chapter, albeit much shorter and with the dialogues in indirect speech – and just detailed enough to indicate that Njáll’s plan was executed correctly. The narrative voice thus bestows the transmission of important details of the plot to one of the characters whom it had previously described as clever and circumspect:

Hann var lögmaðr svá mikill, at engi fannsk hans jafningi, vitr var hann ok forspár, heilráðr ok góðgjarn, ok varð allt at ráði, þat er hann réð mǫnnum, hógværr og drenglyndr, langsýnn ok langmínngr; hann leysti hvers manns vandræði, er á hans fund kom.

He was so well versed in the law [= lawspeaker, S.G.] that he had no equal. He was wise and prophetic, sound of advice and kindly, and whatever course he counselled turned out well. He was modest and noble-spirited, able to see far into the future and remember far into the past, and he solved the problems of whoever turned to him.⁶⁰

If the narrative voice leaves it to Njáll himself to outline his plan, then his authority guarantees that the plan will actually be successful, as is confirmed by the narrative voice in the following chapter. Although Njáll has developed the plan, the monologue does not contain any subjective observations or evaluations, but in the setting of medieval performance, Njáll’s becomes the dominant narrative voice for the audience due to the length of the monologue and takes on the task of narration alone for the entire chapter.

This close interplay between narrative voice and characters is especially clear in the shift from indirect to direct speech: *Hann kvezk hafa siglt til landa þeirra allra, er váru meðal Nóregs ok Garðaríkis – ‘ok svá hefi ek ok siglt til Bjarmalands.’* (“He said he had been to all the lands which lie between Norway and Russia – ‘and I have even sailed to Permian.’”)⁶¹ The narrative voice initially refers to the speech of the character in indirect speech, then transfers the responsibility to the character himself and thus also the authority for what is said. The character is then allowed to tell their story further to a certain extent. The saga is thus narrated through the shift between the impersonally formulated and unmarked narrative voice and the clearly marked first-person statements of the characters.

59 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 59. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 26.

60 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 57. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 25.

61 Brennu-Njáls saga, p. 75. Translation: Njal’s Saga, p. 32.

That the characters are part of the authorial polyphony of the sagas is evidenced by their awareness of their own narrative worthiness, as here in *Króka-Refs saga*:

[...] ok at skilnaði mælti Gestr við Ref: “Ef þér verður eigi útkvámu auðit, þá vil ek, at þú látir skrifa frásögn um ferð þína, því at hún mun nökkurum merkilig þykkja, því at ek hygg, at þú sér annar spekingr mestr í várri ætt. [...]”

When they parted, Gest said, “If it turns out you are not destined to come back to Iceland, I wish that you would have a story written about your journey, because it will seem noteworthy to some people since I think you are the second wise man to appear in our family. [...]”⁶²

Gestr wishes for Refr’s story to be written down, even if he does not say who should write it down. Refr’s story is worth narrating because it corresponds to the taste and the expectations of public opinion which will evaluate this story as *merkilig* (‘memorable’) and thus as a worthy constituent of the narrative tradition. It is precisely this mandate that the narrative voice then fulfils by narrating Refr’s journey to Greenland immediately following Gestr’s remark.

An intermediate position between the narrative voice and character speech is taken up in the sagas by stanzas interspersed in the narrative text in various numbers and density, depending on the saga.⁶³ For the most part, these stanzas are composed in the skaldic meter of *dróttkvætt* (‘court metre’); a small number are composed in other skaldic meters, and more rarely in eddic meters. In the *Sagas of Icelanders*, these stanzas, which are very elaborate both syntactically and in their imagery, are mainly spoken by the characters in the saga who use them to express their subjective feeling and judgment in connection with a particular event, such as Móðólfr Ketilsson, who speaks a stanza after Njáll’s farm and its inhabitants have been burned down by enemies:

Þá kvað Móðólfr Ketilsson vísu:
 Stafr lifir einn, þar er inni
 unnfúrs viðir brunnu,
 synir ollu því snjallir
 Sigfúss, Níals húsa.
 Nú er, Gollnis sonr, goldinn,
 gekk eldr of sjöt rekka,
 ljóss brann hyrr í húsum,
 Høskulds bani ins røskva.

62 *Króka-Refs saga*, p. 131. Translation: *The Saga of Ref the Sly*, p. 404.

63 The *Íslendingasögur* as prosimetrum were the subject of a project funded by the DFG and AHRC: <https://uni-tuebingen.de/fakultaeten/philosophische-fakultaet/fachbereiche/neuphilologie/englisches-seminar/sections/skandinavistik/forschung/the-islendingasoeegur-as-prosimetrum/> (last accessed: 11 December 2024).

Modolf Ketilsson spoke this verse:

From Njal's house *one* [= Kari] lived
 when fire burned the rest;
 the sons of Sigfus,
 stalwart men, set it.
 Now the *kin of Gollnir* [= Njal] is paid
 for the killing of brave Hoskuld;
 the blaze burned through the house,
 bright flames in the hall.⁶⁴

In this stanza, Móðólfr, on the one hand, expresses his satisfaction that the death of one of his allies is now avenged. On the other hand, he also expresses his shock at the cruelty of the *brenna*, in which people are burned alive in their own homes. In the sagas, emotions are generally mentioned explicitly by the narrative voice only when they are publicly displayed by the characters, that is, when they can be seen by others. This is often a matter of grief over a young man who has been killed or anger induced by an infraction against one's honour. Such publicly expressed feelings initiate actions and are therefore relevant for the narrative voice. Private feelings, by contrast, are restricted to the interior of the house or to closed rooms and are either expressed there by the characters themselves or have to be deduced interpretively by the audience.⁶⁵ With their strictly regulated language and form, clearly delineated from the prose, skaldic stanzas are likewise a kind of closed space in the saga in which a character can speak about their own feelings and thus make their interiority visible. Because of the hermetic language of skaldic poetry, these subjective expressions are, however, not immediately accessible. The setting of these stanzas is often diffuse, both in terms of the spatial location of the characters speaking them and their temporal relationship to the immediately preceding events. Because of the otherwise linear chronology of the saga, the stanzas are indeed implied to be a direct reaction, but they are to a certain extent a hiatus in the diegesis – like a text spoken as an aside in the theatre. They interrupt the narrative flow and force the audience to pause as the meaning of the stanzas does not disclose itself straightaway. They are admittedly statements by a character in the story in direct speech, but their stylized language makes them foreign aesthetic bodies in the prose text. Even if stanzas are occasionally embedded in a character's longer direct speech, they are usually marked by a formulaic inquit of the narrative voice, as in the example above, and are therefore offset from 'normal' character speech.

Stanzas are also quoted by the narrative voice for authentication of the narrative, as here in *Eyrbyggja saga*:

64 Brennu-Njáls saga, pp. 335f. Translation: Njal's Saga, pp. 158f.

65 See Gropper 2020.

Þar fellu þrír menn af Kjalleklingum, en fjórir af Illuga. Stýrr Þórgrímsson vá þá tvá menn. Svá segir Oddr í Illugadrápu:

Drótt gekk sýnt á sættir,
svellendr en þar fellu
þremja svells fyr þolli
þrír andvöku randa;
áðr kynfrömuðr kœmi
kvánar hreggs við seggi,
frægt gøðisk þat fyrða
forráð, griðum Snorri.

Three of the Kjalleklings' men were killed and four of Illugi's men. Styr Thorgrimsson killed two men there.

Odd said this about it in his drapa on Illugi:

They openly breached the settlement,
and three *stirrers of wakeful shields* [= warriors]
fell there before *the bearer*
of the ice-sharp blade [= warrior]
until Snorri – the warrior who provides for
the *giant-wife's wolf-kin* [= carrion beasts] –
fixed a settlement between them.
His leadership grew famous.⁶⁶

The anonymous narrative voice attests its statement about the outcome of the battle through the quotation of a named skald who, as an eyewitness to the event and hence a reliable source, has composed a praise poem for one of the combatants. The stanza is extradiegetic, as it is quoted by the narrative voice in such a way that the composer of the stanza supports the narrative voice authorially. From the point of view of the characters, however, the composer of the stanza is closer to them as a contemporary than is the narrative voice, which decidedly presents itself as being temporally distant from the narrated events. As a result, these extradiegetic skaldic stanzas connect the different narrative levels, and thus also the narrative entities. The extradiegetic narrative voice can quote stanzas that are spoken by characters in other narratives on an intradiegetic level. Voices that speak concurrently with the characters in the diegesis complement the narrative voice, which stages itself as temporally different. At the same time, the stanzas complement the anonymous extradiegetic entities of the narrative voice and tradition with an identifiable first-person speaker, which is otherwise delimited almost exclusively to the intradiegetic level.

All of the roughly forty *Sagas of Icelanders* manifest this concept of polyphonic narration, albeit in each case in different forms and with different forms of composition of this

66 Eyrbyggja saga, p. 32. Translation: The Saga of the People of Eyri, p. 144.

polyphony. In some sagas, such as *Reykðæla saga*, the narrative voice is strongly supported by tradition, whereas in *Njáls saga*, intradiegetic public opinion is perceived as a strongly distinct voice. The proportion of character speech also varies greatly from saga to saga. *Reykðæla saga*, for instance, reproduces character speech almost exclusively in indirect speech, while the characters in *Njáls saga*, as shown above, complement the narrative voice. Some sagas, such as *Eyrbyggja saga*, contain a variety of stanzas distributed across the whole narrative, while other sagas, such as *Reykðæla saga*, feature only occasional stanzas or none at all, as in *Hrafnkels saga*. What the entire corpus of the *Sagas of Icelanders* has in common, however, is that a plurality of entities participate in the narrative, both on the extradiegetic and intradiegetic levels, by which first-person speech, with a few exceptions, is delimited to character speech on the intradiegetic level. Extradiegetic and intradiegetic voices complement each other – to some degree like a choir, with individual soloists stepping forward – but do not aim at narrating contradictory stories.

4. The Multiple Authorship of the *Sagas of Icelanders*

Authorship is only weakly marked in the *Sagas of Icelanders*. Any signs of emphatic authorship, such as attribution by name, first-person narrators, or attributive paratexts, are almost entirely absent. Instead, the sagas contain numerous references to polyphonic narration – both on an intradiegetic and extradiegetic level. Each saga is narrated by an array of different voices, which all jointly contribute to the overall narrative. On the extradiegetic level, these are the narrative voice and the tradition, as well as sources cited by the narrative voice. On the intradiegetic level, this is a matter of character speech and public opinion; there are individual voices that express themselves in the speech of characters, but there is also the collective voice of public opinion.⁶⁷ As the example of Njáll’s plan has shown, character speech can also be polyphonic to the extent that the character allows several other characters to speak in his own speech.⁶⁸

On the extradiegetic level, a decidedly collective voice evolves with tradition, while the narrative voice oscillates between the individual *ek* (‘I’) and the collective *vér* (‘we’) but is expressed as impersonal most of the time.

We thus find in the saga a form of multi-voiced or polyphonous narration, yet one in which the voices are not orchestrated by the author nor expressive of his intention, as in Bakhtin’s concept of polyphony,⁶⁹ but in which all the voices contribute to the creation of the saga and thus possess authorial power themselves. Through the use of these diverse voices, contradictory opinions, gaps in the tradition, or even alternative

67 On the collective narrative voice (narrative entity), see Roggenbuck 2020, p. 87.

68 On polyphonic character speech, see Roggenbuck 2020, p. 109f.

69 Bakhtin 1984, pp. 220f.

versions of the narrative are revealed, which accordingly reflects the narrative process itself but does not create the overall impression of unreliable or subversive narration – though this of course does not exclude the possibility of there being subversive actions or speech within the diegesis. These different narrative entities are conscious of their responsibility for selection and interpretation in the act of narration, and therefore reflect the awareness of participating in a form of multiple, collective authorship. The narrative polyphony of the sagas is the product of a “shared” authorship and shows that the sagas are “the work of men, though not the work of a man.”⁷⁰ The narrative is indeed structured and organized by the narrative voice – which itself oscillates between singular and plural – but the shared perspective of the narrative is determined by tradition.⁷¹

The collective memory of the community, represented by the voices of tradition and public opinion, is the actual authorial force that defines the scope of the narrative. The fluctuation between the ‘I’ of character speech, the ‘I’ / ‘we’ of the narrative voice, and the ‘one’ (*svá er sagt*: ‘as it is told’ or *menn segja*: ‘people say’) of tradition and public opinion does not produce a contrast between individual or plural narration but represents different perspectives on that which is narrated. The different voices do not undermine an overarching narrative voice but rather complement both the narrative voice and one another, telling the story together by contributing different perspectives, positions, and facets. It is not a question of telling the one true story, but about putting together (*setja saman*) a good story from the available options. The different versions of the narrative are indeed marked, but they are not evaluated as correct or incorrect; rather, they are kept open as various narrative possibilities. The marking of variance reflects the awareness of aesthetic structure: the latitude of the narrating entities consists in how the story is narrated, what is selected, and how it is emphasized.

The point of confluence justifying the multiple authorship of the *Sagas of Icelanders* is the strength of the narrative tradition, the appreciation of which is expressed aesthetically in the staging of a narrative that narrates itself in multiple voices. The polyphony of this narrative interweaves the extradiegetic with the intradiegetic level. Despite the close relationship that the *Sagas of Icelanders* have to oral tradition, they represent oral narration – in the sense of conventional, natural storytelling – only in a limited way; while they indeed narrate the story quite conventionally, that is, in a linear chronological order, they also contain unnatural elements.⁷² The sagas transcend the boundaries of narrative communication in that their characters, for example, take on the role of the narrative voice or speak highly artificial stanzas.⁷³ The similarities with ‘natural’ practices of oral narration that are nevertheless often present in the sagas are

70 The concept of ‘shared authorship’ and the quotation are derived from C.S. Lewis 1966, p. 39.

71 See Lotman/O’Toole 1975, p. 342.

72 See the table in Skov Nielsen 2011a, p. 85.

73 For ‘unnatural’ character speech, see Skov Nielsen 2011b.

not relics that have survived the written formation of the sagas or that shine through their literarily reworked surface; rather, they are part of the aesthetics of a narrative art that is based on the continuous interaction between artistic production and social reception. The transmission of the sagas mirrors a continuous reflection on the negotiations between literary convention and public expectation in a slowly but constantly shifting social context. The formulations frequently appearing in medieval texts that request of anyone who knows better to correct a narrative are not empty truisms in the sagas – as the evidence of alternative versions attests – but rather a program of collective authorship.

The sustainability of this aesthetic of multiple narration can also be seen in the transmission history of the *Sagas of Icelanders*. Numerous sagas, such as *Njáls saga*, for instance, are passed down in different versions, which often circulated simultaneously. The complex stemma of *Njáls saga* shows that numerous manuscripts cannot be assigned clearly to any of the versions.⁷⁴ There was thus no ‘correct’ or ‘final version’; rather, the narrative could be varied – within the limits preset by the controlling entities of tradition and public opinion (audience). These versions are the results of a continuous interaction with the audience, a narratively productive give-and-take as a source of power for the appreciation of multiple authorship. The audience of the saga takes on the duties of public opinion and tradition by accepting a saga, finding it worthy of further transmission, and possibly adapting it to a new context and new expectations. While the aspect of inherent logic, with an emphasis on authenticity and autonomy, predominates in the modern conception of authorship, the aesthetics of multiple authorship in the sagas is determined by continuous negotiations between the (re-)producers and recipients of the texts. Innovation and change are possible, but the scope for this is determined and controlled by the tradition – represented in each case by the receiving audience. Authorship does not signify a claim to being the originator of a narrative but rather means the participation in a shared tradition through the realization of a new version of the story.

The *Sagas of Icelanders* are thus flexible narratives for which ‘the single correct’ text of an imagined archetype, for which an author was then sought, was stipulated only with the beginning of philological editing. As a result, philological editions attempted to reduce the polyphony of the *Sagas of Icelanders* to a single, responsible voice, which should be determined by name as far as possible and which, for large sections of the scholarly community, is still today considered a prerequisite for the sagas being appropriate objects for analysis as literature with an artistic claim. Yet even beyond the Middle Ages, the polyphonic narrative style of the saga time and again invited new voices to participate in its narration. For this reason, we should abandon the notion that any *Saga of Icelanders* is a self-contained work, as well as the idea of an individual, identifiable, and nameable authorial entity being solely responsible for it.

74 See the stemma in Lethbridge/Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir, plate 12.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Brennu-Njáls saga = Brennu-Njáls saga, ed. by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, Reykjavík 2010 [1954] (Íslenzk fornrit 12).
- Eyrbyggja saga, ed. by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson and Matthías Þórðarson, Reykjavík 1935 [Reprint 1985] (Íslenzk fornrit 4).
- Króka-Refs saga = Króka-Refs saga, in: Kjalnesinga saga, ed. by Jóhannes Halldórsson, Reykjavík 1959 (Íslenzk fornrit 14), pp. 117–160.
- Laxdoela saga, ed. by Einar Ólafur Sveinsson, Reykjavík 1934 (Íslenzk fornrit 5).
- Morkinskinna I = Morkinskinna I, ed. by Ármann Jakobsson and Þórður Ingi Guðjónsson, Reykjavík 2011 (Íslenzk fornrit 23).
- Njal's Saga = [Brennu-Njáls saga] Njal's Saga, trans. by Robert Cook, in: The Complete Sagas of Icelanders, Including 49 Tales, 5 vols., gen. ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, Reykjavík 1997, vol. III, pp. 1–220.
- [Sneglu-Halla þáttur, Flateyjarbók] = [Sneglu-Halla þáttur, Flateyjarbók], in: Eyfirðinga sögur, ed. by Jónas Kristjánsson, Reykjavík 1956 [Reprint 2001] (Íslenzk fornrit 9), pp. 261–295.
- Star-Oddi's Dream = [Stjörnu-Odda draumr] Star-Oddi's Dream, trans. by Marvin Taylor, in: The Complete Sagas of Icelanders, Including 49 Tales, 5 vols., gen. ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, Reykjavík 1997, vol. II, pp. 448–459.
- Stjörnu-Odda draumr = Stjörnu-Odda draumr, in: Harðar saga, ed. by Þorhallur Vilmundarson/Bjarni Vilhjálmsson, Reykjavík 2009 [1991] (Íslenzk fornrit 13), pp. 457–481.
- The Saga of Ref the Sly = [Króka-Refs saga] The Saga of Ref the Sly, trans. by George Clark, in: The Complete Sagas of Icelanders, Including 49 Tales, 5 vols., gen. ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, Reykjavík 1997, vol. II, pp. 397–420.
- The Saga of the People of Eyri = [Eyrbyggja saga] The Saga of the People of Eyri, trans. by Judy Quinn, in: The Complete Sagas of Icelanders, Including 49 Tales, 5 vols., gen. ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, Reykjavík 1997, vol. V, pp. 131–218.
- The Saga of the People of Laxardal = [Laxdoela saga] The Saga of the People of Laxardal, trans. by Keneva Kunz, in: The Complete Sagas of Icelanders, Including 49 Tales, 5 vols., gen. ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, Reykjavík 1997, vol. V, pp. 1–120.
- The Tale of Sarcastic Halli = [Sneglu-Halla þáttur, Flateyjarbók] The Tale of Sarcastic Halli, trans. by George Clark, in: The Complete Sagas of Icelanders, Including 49 Tales, 5 vols., gen. ed. by Viðar Hreinsson, Reykjavík 1997, vol. I, pp. 342–357.

Secondary Literature

- Assmann 2012 = Assmann, Aleida: Introduction into Cultural Studies. Topics, Concepts, Issues, Berlin 2012 (Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik 36).
- Bakhtin 1984 = Bakhtin, Mikhail: Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics, ed. and trans. by Caryl Emerson, introd. by Wayne C. Booth, Minneapolis/London 1984 (Theory and History of Literature 8).
- Baetke 2006 = Baetke, Walter: Wörterbuch zur altnordischen Prosaliteratur. Vollständiges Faksimile der 1. Auflage (Berlin 1965–1968) zusammen mit Titelei und beiden Vorwörtern der zweiten, durchgesehenen Auflage (Darmstadt 1970) samt Korrekturen, Greifswald 2006.
- Berensmeyer/Buelens/Demoor 2012 = Berensmeyer, Ingo/Buelens, Gert/Demoor, Marysa: Authorship as Cultural Performance: New Perspectives in Authorship, in: Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik 60.1 (2012), pp. 5–30.

- Callow 2017 = Callow, Chris: Dating and Origins, in: Ármann Jakobsson/Sverrir Jakobsson (eds.): The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas, London/New York 2017, pp. 15–33.
- Cleasby/Gudbrand Vigfusson 1874 = Cleasby, Richard/Gudbrand Vigfusson: An Icelandic-English Dictionary, Oxford 1874. Online edition of the American-Scandinavian Foundation: http://www.germanic-lexicon-project.org/texts/oi_cleasbyvigfusson_about.html (last accessed: 11 December 2024).
- Elín Bára Magnúsdóttir 2015 = Elín Bára Magnúsdóttir: Eyrbyggja saga. Efni og höfundareinkenni, Reykjavík 2015 (Íslensk fræði 65).
- Glauch 2010 = Glauch, Sonja: Ich-Erzähler ohne Stimme. Zur Andersartigkeit mittelalterlichen Erzählens zwischen Narratologie und Mediengeschichte, in: Harald Haferland/Mathias Meyer (eds.): Historische Narratologie – Mediävistische Perspektiven, Berlin 2010 (Trends in Medieval Philology 19), pp. 149–185.
- Glauser 2016 = Glauser, Jürg: Mittelalter (800–1500), in: Jürg Glauser (ed.): Skandinavische Literaturgeschichte, Stuttgart 2016, pp. 1–51.
- Glauser 2021 = Glauser, Jürg: "... who is the Author of this Book?" Creating Literary Authorship in Medieval Iceland, in: Lukas Rösli/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1), pp. 17–52.
- Gropper 2020 = Gropper, Stefanie: The Human Condition, in: Massimiliano Bampi/Carolyne Larrington/Sif Ríkharðsdóttir (eds.): A Critical Companion to Old Norse Literary Genre, Cambridge 2020 (Studies in Old Norse Literature 5), pp. 177–191.
- Gropper 2023 = Gropper, Stefanie: Authorship and Auctoritas in Sagas of Early Icelanders. The Example of Reykdæla saga, in: Wilhelm Heizmann/Jan van Nahl (eds.): Germanisches Altertum und Europäisches Mittelalter: Gedenkband für Heinrich Beck, Berlin/New York 2023 (Ergänzungs-bände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 142), pp. 139–156.
- Kress 1980 = Kress, Helga: "Mjök mun þér samstaft þykkja" – Um sagnahefð og kvenlega reynslu í Laxdæla sögu, in: Anna Sigurðardóttir/Valborg Bentsdóttir/Guðrún Gísladóttir/Svanlaug Baldursdóttir (eds.): Konur skrifa: til heiðurs Önnu Sigurðardóttir, Reykjavík 1980, pp. 97–109.
- Kreutzer 1977 = Kreutzer, Gert: Die Dichtungslehre der Skalden. Poetologische Terminologie und Autorenkommentare als Grundlagen einer Gattungspoetik, 2nd ed., Meisenheim 1977.
- Lethbridge/Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2018 = Lethbridge, Emily/Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir (eds.): New Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of *Njáls saga*. The *historia mutila* of *Njála*, Kalamazoo 2018 (The Northern Medieval World).
- Lewis 1966 = Lewis, C.S.: The Genesis of a Medieval Book, in: C.S. Lewis: Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Literature, ed. by Walter Hooper, Cambridge 1966, pp. 20–40.
- Liberman 2019 = Liberman, Anatoly: The Saga Mind and the Beginnings of Icelandic Prose, Lewiston 2019.
- Lönnroth 1970 = Lönnroth, Lars: Rhetorical Persuasion in the Sagas, in: Scandinavian Studies 42.2 (1970), pp. 157–189.
- Lotman/O'Toole 1975 = Lotman, Juri Michailowitsch/O'Toole, Lawrence M.: Point of View in a Text, in: New Literary History 6.2 (1975): On Narrative and Narratives, pp. 339–352.
- Merkelbach 2019 = Merkelbach, Rebecca: Monsters in Society. Alterity, Transgression, and the Use of the Past in Medieval Iceland, Berlin/Boston 2019 (The Northern Medieval World).
- Müller 1997 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Aufführung – Autor – Werk. Zu einigen blinden Stellen gegenwärtiger Diskurse, in: V. Nigel Palmer/Hans-Jochen Schiewer (eds.): Mittelalterliche Literatur und Kunst im Spannungsfeld von Hof und Kloster. Ergebnisse der Berliner Tagung, 9–11 October 1997, Tübingen 1999, pp. 149–166.

- Müller 2018 = Müller, Kevin: The Terminology of Reading and Writing in *Sturlunga Saga*, in: Jürg Glauser/Kate Heslop (eds.): RE:writing. Medial Perspectives on Textual Culture in the Icelandic Middle Ages, Zurich 2018 (Medienwandel – Medienwechsel – Medienwissen 29), pp. 143–163.
- Müller 2020 = Müller, Kevin: Schreiben und Lesen im Altisländischen. Lexeme, syntagmatische Relationen und Konzepte in der *Jóns saga helga*, *Sturlunga saga* und *Laurentius saga biskups*, Tübingen 2020 (Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 66).
- Müller-Wille 2006 = Müller-Wille, Klaus: Romantik – Biedermeier – Poetischer Realismus (1800–1870), in: Jürg Glauser (ed.): Skandinavische Literaturgeschichte, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 131–182.
- North 2009 = North, Richard: Sighvatr Sturluson and the Authorship of *Víga-Glúms saga*, in: Wilhelm Heizmann/Klaus Bödl/Heinrich Beck (eds.): *Analectica Septentrionalia*. Beiträge zur nordgermanischen Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte, Berlin/New York 2009 (= Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon für germanische Altertumskunde 65), pp. 256–280.
- Phelan 2017 = Phelan, James: Somebody Telling Somebody Else. A Rhetorical Poetics of Narrative, Columbus 2017 (Theory and Interpretation of Narrative).
- Poole 2012 = Poole, Russell: Eyvindr skáldaspillir Finnsson, in: Poetry from the Kings' Sagas 1. Part 1, ed. by Diana Whaley, Turnhout 2012 (Skaldic Poetry of the Scandinavian Middle Ages 1), pp. 171–235.
- Ranković 2007 = Ranković, Slavica: Who is Speaking in Traditional Texts? On the Distributed Author of the Sagas of Icelanders and Serbian Epic Poetry, in: *New Literary History* 38.2 (2007), pp. 293–307.
- Ranković/Ranković 2012 = Ranković, Slavica/Ranković, Miloš: The Talent of the Distributed Author, in: Slavica Ranković (ed.): *Models of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, Toronto 2012 (Papers in Mediaeval Studies), pp. 52–75.
- Roggenbuck 2020 = Roggenbuck, Stefanie: Narrative Polyphonie. Formen von Mehrstimmigkeit in deutschsprachigen und anglo-amerikanischen Erzähltexten, Berlin/Boston 2020 (Narratologia 70).
- Sävborg 2017 = Sävborg, Daniel: Style, in: Ármann Jakobsson/Sverrir Jakobsson (eds.): *The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas*, London/New York 2017, pp. 111–126.
- Sigurður Nordal 1953 = Sigurður Nordal: Litteraturhistorie. B: Norge og Island, Stockholm/Oslo/Copenhagen 1953 (Nordisk kultur 8).
- Sigurður Nordal 1958 = Sigurður Nordal: Hrafnkels saga Freysgoða: A Study, trans. by R. George Thomas, Cardiff 1958 [Original: Sigurður Nordal: Hrafnkatla, Reykjavík 1940 (Studia Islandica 7)].
- Skov Nielsen 2011a = Skov Nielsen, Henrik: Unnatural Narratology, Impersonal Voices, Real Authors, and Non-Communicative Narration, in: Jan Alber/Rüdiger Heinze (eds.): *Unnatural Narratives – Unnatural Narratology*, Berlin/New York 2011 (Linguae & Litterae 9), pp. 71–88.
- Skov Nielsen 2011b = Skov Nielsen, Henrik: Fictional Voices? Strange Voices? Unnatural Voices?, in: Per Krogh Hansen/Stefan Iversen/Henrik Skov Nielsen/Rolf Reitan (eds.): *Strange Voices in Narrative Fiction*, Berlin/New York 2011 (Narratologia 30), pp. 55–82.
- Torfi Tulinius 2004 = Torfi Tulinius: Skáldið í skriftinni: Snorri Sturluson og *Egils saga*, Reykjavík 2004.
- Weber 1972 = Weber, Gerd Wolfgang: 'Fact' und 'Fiction' als Maßstäbe literarischer Wertung in der Saga, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 101 (1972), pp. 188–200.
- Whaley 2005 = Whaley, Diana: Skaldic Poetry, in: Rory McTurk (ed.): *A Companion to Old Norse-Icelandic Literature and Culture*, Oxford 2005 (Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture 31), pp. 479–502.
- Worstbrock 1999 = Worstbrock, Franz-Josef: Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen, in: Walter Haug (ed.): *Mittelalter und frühe Neuzeit. Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze*, Tübingen 1999 (Fortuna vitrae 16), pp. 128–142.

‘Different from all other *Egils sagas*’

On the Connection between Individual Authorship and a Different Aesthetics in Late Premodern Iceland

Abstract

In the long-lasting Icelandic manuscript culture, the production and reception of sagas was situated in a narrative tradition characterised by the absence of notions of an author genius and a high degree of *mouvance* and *variance*: from the 13th to the 19th century, Icelandic saga literature was transmitted anonymously and in handwritten form in ever new retextualizations, accompanied by reiterating changes of medium (oral / written) and genre (prose / verse). It is therefore less the absence than the more or less sudden appearance of attributions of authorship for these kinds of texts in the course of the 18th century that is remarkable in the Icelandic case. In a first generation of Icelandic literary histories and philological treatises in this period, not only new saga narratives but also new versions of medieval texts were ascribed to individual authors. The identification of text (versions) with authors often came along with negative assessments of the literary quality of these texts. This conjunction indicates that particular texts that do not meet the aesthetic conventions of saga literature were singled out as works of individuals and that identifiable authorship thus reflects notions of aberration from the literary tradition in the Icelandic case. The humanistic treatises exhibit at the same time a high awareness of and nuanced terminology for the complex processes of rewriting and plural authorship of the handwritten Icelandic narrative tradition. This chapter will discuss prominent examples of this protophilological discourse as to their reflection of and relation to Icelandic textual and literary culture in the late premodern period.

Keywords

Iceland, Saga Literature, Literary History, Humanism, 18th Century, Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnavík, Árni Magnússon

The nascent preoccupation with concepts of individual authorship in the late premodern period in Iceland is constitutively and inextricably tied to practices of multiple authorship. The following chapter shows that the attribution of authorship in the Ice-

- * Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson. – This chapter is the result of the studies within the framework of the research project *Romanhaftwerden. Skandinavische Prosaliteratur der späten Vormoderne* (Novelizations: Scandinavian Prose Literature in the Late Premodern Period) at the University of Zurich (<https://www.ds.uzh.ch/de/projekte/romanhaftwerden.html>, last accessed: 14 December 2024), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation.

landic 18th century was indeed ambiguous and does not fit into the traditional positions of positively connoted, innovative individual authorship and negatively connoted, epigonal multiple authorship. Instead, attributions of authorship in literary-historical treatises of this period reflect disputes in a polarity between old and new concepts of authorship, which at the same time reflect recent developments of a philological tradition and the associated processes of canonization.

After some general remarks on the transmission of Icelandic prose literature of the premodern era, incipient reflections on authorial practices and the parameters of premodern Icelandic literary production are examined in an analysis of early representatives of Icelandic literary historiography: the *Apparatus ad Historiam Literariam Islandicam* by Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík, and notes by his teacher Árni Magnússon. Furthermore, it will be argued that the canonization of the medieval tradition beginning with these literary-historical writings displays a close entanglement of ideas of trusted tradition, applied aesthetic ideals, and notions of authorship.

1. Anonymous, Open Transmission and Multiple Authorship

Anonymous transmission constitutes the standard case for the production and reception of texts in medieval and early modern Iceland. The 13th century introduced a long-lived textual tradition of vernacular prose texts, the so-called saga literature, encompassing a broad spectrum in terms of theme and subject matter – from translated hagiographic, courtly, and pseudo-historical literature from the continent to historiographically structured texts on the history of Iceland and the Norwegian kingdom to narratives about earlier historical and prehistorical times associated with heroic epic and fairytale traditions.¹ But for a few exceptions, all these texts have been transmitted anonymously, without any authorial, compilatory, or scribal entity being named; moreover, they have been handed down in an open textual tradition in new manuscript copies, and therefore have also been constantly recompiled and rearranged.² An autho-

1 O'Connor 2017 provides a comprehensive scholarly overview of debates on the relationship between historicity and fictionality and the use of the terms historiography and pseudo-historiography in the context of saga literature.

2 Common names for the different genres of saga literature in an English-speaking context are the sagas of saints, sagas of bishops, chivalric sagas, sagas of antiquity, *Sagas of the Icelanders*, contemporary sagas, sagas of kings, and legendary sagas. These subdivisions and designations of textual groupings, common today with some minor variations, are the results of philological scholarship beginning in the 18th century, not least in Árni Magnússon's milieu; by contrast, the designation of the various textual groupings as sagas is already found in the medieval manuscript tradition. The noun *saga* is a nominal derivation of the verb *segja* ('to tell'). For an introduction to the term, the transmission, and the characteristics of saga literature, see Clunies Ross 2010; on the anonymity of transmission and concepts of authorship, see esp. pp. 50f.

rial, scribal, or compiling entity is named for only a few prose texts in the medieval manuscript tradition. As for the few exceptions, these are primarily translations of courtly literature and texts on the (contemporary) history of the Norwegian kingdom and of Iceland in particular.³

In the 17th century and even more so in the 18th, a comprehensive process of viewing, cataloguing, and recopying medieval texts was initiated in the context of antiquarian and proto-philological endeavours. At the same time, new prose texts and new sagas continued to be written, recorded, and distributed in manuscript form until the end of the 19th century, mostly anonymously but linked to the names of authors in some cases – this will be returned to later. Indeed, the first scholarly editions of individual texts appeared from the 17th century onwards; the manuscript, however, remained the principal medium for the transmission and distribution of vernacular prose literature in the Icelandic reception context until at least the 19th century.⁴

2. *Poetæ et scriptores*: Concepts of Authorship in Early Modern Icelandic Literary Histories

The multiplicity of authorship processes in early modern Icelandic prose literature becomes obvious in a more conspicuous way for the first time in a newly emerging genre of texts in the 18th century, which in fact devotes itself to the individual author: literary histories, which in the Icelandic context are preserved in manuscripts and occasionally also in printed form, from the first decades of the 18th century. Just as in other regions of Europe, the emergence of print culture and humanist tendencies were also closely connected to a pursuit of the identification and staging of authorial entities in the Icelandic context, and the early literary histories that reflect this pursuit primarily supply lists of authors and the works attributed to them.⁵

3 The designations in these cases are also often to be categorized as invocations of an *auctoritas* rather than the identification of an *auctor*. On this subject, see Sverrir Tómasson 1988, pp. 222–236; Glauser 2010; Rohrbach 2021.

4 On the longstanding Icelandic manuscript tradition in coexistence with a slowly emerging domestic print culture in the early modern period, see McKinnell 1978–1981; Glauser 1994; Driscoll 1997; Driscoll/Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2017.

5 It is not possible in this chapter to recapitulate the extensive scholarship on the emergence of the aesthetics of genius in the 18th century; instead, reference is made only to some studies that are particularly relevant in the present context. On the difference between premodern and modern markings of authorship, see Haferland 2011. On the engagement with and the staging of forms of individual authorship in the early modern continental tradition in the polarity between print and manuscript culture, see Ezell 2019. On British debates over authorship in the 18th century, see Schellenberg 2019.

One of the oldest of these literary-historical treatises is the *Apparatus ad Historiam literariam Islandicam* by Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík (1705–1779), a scribe and assistant to Árni Magnússon (1663–1730), the best-known Icelandic manuscript collector and proto-philologist, who also left his mark on his pupil's literary history, which appeared after his death.⁶ The treatise, transmitted via manuscript and first edited in 2018 by Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir and Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, lists central works of Icelandic literature, as well as, in alphabetical order, Icelandic poets, scholars, bishops, schoolmasters, and authors before and after the Reformation, and includes a designation of the works attributed to them.⁷ Jón Ólafsson distinguishes between *poetæ* and *scriptores*:

Tertia pars historiæ literariæ Islandicæ continens nomina scriptorum & poetarum, qvi ante et post Reformationem Lutherim vixere, cum brevi eorundem vitæ descriptione atqve operum recensu. Tribus sectionibus distincta, Quarum prima bimembris est, sistens primo scriptores, et mox deinde poetas.⁸

The third section of this Icelandic literary history contains names of scribes and poets who lived before or after the Lutheran Reformation, with a brief description of their lives and a summary of their work. Divided into three subsections, the first of which consists of two parts: first the *scriptores*, and then the *poetæ*.

While a tradition of listing poets and scholars can already be found in the 14th century,⁹ lists of the authors or *scriptores* of prose texts are new to this period. Jón Ólafsson elaborates on the concept of *scriptores* in an *Observatio ad lectorem*:

- 6 The *Apparatus* is preserved in the manuscript KB Add 3 fol. in the Arnarnagæa Collection in Reykjavík. On Jón Ólafsson's works, see the still most thorough study of his oeuvre by Jón Helgason (1926; on the *Apparatus*, see pp. 177–205); Jón Helgason predominantly investigates Jón Ólafsson's comments on post-Reformation authors. On the structure and embedding of Jón Ólafsson's *Apparatus* in contemporary developments, see Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir/Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2015. On Árni Magnússon's life and work, see Már Jónsson 2012.
- 7 Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir and Þórunn Sigurðardóttir (2015, pp. 35f.) rightly point out that the *Apparatus* is no mere list of authors but offers literary-historical classifications and interpretations. Yet the chosen mode of presentation in the form of alphabetical lists attests to an interest in the works and authors that was typical of the period.
- 8 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 14. Unless otherwise noted, translations from Icelandic correspond to the author's translations in the German original of this chapter.
- 9 Thus, the Codex Upsaliensis of the *Prose Edda*, dated to the first quarter of the 14th century, contains *Skáldatal*, a list of skalds from the 9th to the 13th century, and *Lögsögumannatal*, a list of Icelandic lawspeakers likewise from the 9th to the 13th century (DG 11 4to, fol. 23^r–25^v). On the embedding of both lists in the manuscript context and the medieval tradition, see Guðrún Nordal 2001, pp. 50–55; Schneeberger 2020, pp. 118–125.

Þá kalla ég scriptores sem bækur hafa skrifað, eður snúið þeim úr öðrum tungum, meir en kveðið, þó kveðið hafi nokkuð.¹⁰

I designate as *scriptores* those who wrote down books or translated them from other languages, more than they composed, even if they also composed something.

Jón Ólafsson’s definition of the *scriptor* thus does not follow scholastic distinctions between different authorial entities but comprehensively refers to scribes and translators, and it becomes clear in the further course of his treatise that his concept of *scriptor* encompasses various types of multiple authorship, of which the *auctor* is merely a special case.¹¹

In the third section of his *Apparatus*, Jón Ólafsson lists 21 names of medieval Icelanders and the prose texts attributed to them in an analysis of designations by name in the medieval tradition. In this section, Jón identifies some men as the authors of individual works.¹² This primarily concerns works of a historiographical nature on the more recent and older history of Iceland and Norway, translated texts, and poetological treatises. In doing so, Jón Ólafsson repeatedly analyses aspects that are extremely insightful in the context of ideas of multiple authorship, and in which obviously different, incongruent conceptions of authorship stand in conflict with one another. In his discussion of Eiríkr Oddsson’s authorship, he accordingly cites the reference to him in the medieval tradition as the one “er fyrsta sinn ritaði þessa sögu”¹³ (‘who wrote down this story for the first time’). The *fyrsta sinn* (‘for the first time’) implies the starting point of a constant process of writing and rewriting, which becomes even clearer in other passages in his list, such as when, in relation to Haukr Erlendsson, who was working at the beginning of the 14th century, he points out that, in his book of settlements, it says that he wrote it after – that is, on the basis of – the books of settlement by two other men:

10 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 193.

11 For a detailed discussion of the relevant textual passages, see below. On medieval distinctions between various authorial entities in the learned and vernacular traditions, see Minnis 1984; Müller 1995; Kraebel 2019.

12 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, pp. 21–34. The third section of the treatise bears the title “Scriptores Islandici vetustiores, seu ante Reformationem Lutheranam” (Older Icelandic writers, or those before the Lutheran Reformation), followed by a division into two parts: “I. Prosaici veteres” (I. Old prose works) and “II. Poëtæ et poëtriæ” (II. Poets and poetry). Prose texts with authorial attributions are subsumed into the first part, followed by the second and considerably longer part on poets and poetry.

13 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 25. Little is known about Eiríkr Oddsson. He is dated to the 12th century because of the reference to his name as an authority in the historiographical tradition of the 13th century.

Haukur lögmaður Erlendsson hefur ritað eina landnámabók, teste þeirri prentuðu vorri, p. 174. Þar segir að hann ritaði hana eftir landnámabókum er ritað höfðu Sturla lögmaður Þórðarson og Styrmir fróði.¹⁴

The judge Haukur Erlendsson wrote a book of settlements; see our printed version, p. 174. It says there that he wrote it after the books of settlement that the judge Sturla Þórðarson and that Styrmir the Learned had written.

The process of continuing the writing of a text on the basis of earlier models is spelled out even more extensively in the case of Ólafur Þórðarson hvítaskáld (ca. 1210–1259), about whom it is said:¹⁵

Ólafur Þórðarson hvítaskáld er auctor tractatsins í Eddu de orthographia. [...] Í það minnsta er hann hinn fyrsti er það hefur conciperað, en aðrir kannski aukið síðan, eins og um fleira er til gengið.¹⁶

Ólafur Þórðarson hvítaskáld is the *auctor* of the treatise about orthography in the *Edda*. [...] He is at least the first to have conceptualized this, and others may have expanded it later on, as has happened in some cases.

Jón elaborates in particular detail on Snorri Sturluson (1178–1241), who was discovered and staged as a central authorial figure, primarily in connection with the transmission of sagas about the history of the Norwegian kingdom in the Scandinavian antiquarian tradition of the 17th century.¹⁷ As with Eiríkr Oddsson and several others, Snorri Sturluson is equally established as an authorial entity in medieval Icelandic textual transmission. For instance, the mythographic, poetic treatise of the *Prose Edda* in the Codex Upsaliensis manuscript from the beginning of the 14th century is introduced, unusually for the Icelandic context, by a rubric designating the title, authorial entity, and medium: *Bók þessi heitir Edda. Hana hefir saman setta Snorri Sturluson eftir þeim hætti sem hér er skipat*¹⁸ ('This book is called Edda. Snorri Sturluson put it together in the manner explained here'). The explicit naming of Snorri in this manuscript, among other things, has been the inducement since

14 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 27. The printing to which Jón Ólafsson refers here is the first printing of *Landnámabók* from 1688, under the title *Sagan Landnama: Um fyrstu bygging Islands af Nordmönnum*.

15 Concrete dates given for the lives of medieval authors are based on the medieval Icelandic annalistic tradition.

16 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 29.

17 See Jørgensen 2013, p. 53; Rohrbach 2021.

18 Uppsala UB, DG 11, fol. 2^r. The semantic implications of the verb *setja saman* have been discussed extensively in scholarship. For a study of the semantic frames of *setja saman*, see Müller 2020, pp. 127–141; the relevant passage is discussed on pp. 129f. See also Glauser 2010, p. 319, and Stefanie Gropper's contribution in this volume, pp. 229–252.

the 17th century, and ultimately to the present day, for the widespread identification of Snorri as the author of a whole series of works from the Icelandic Middle Ages.¹⁹

Yet Jón Ólafsson deconstructs this incipient staging of an authorial genius in his literary history precisely in his discussion of the works attributed to Snorri,²⁰ and various aspects of multiple authorship come into play in these deconstructions. In relation to the sagas of kings, he highlights that Snorri “hefur ritað, eður látið rita” (‘wrote or caused to be written’). He further states that, on the one hand, Snorri’s text builds on an earlier tradition by Ari the Learned, and that Snorri supplemented this “með ýmsum traditionibus” (‘with various traditions’); and that, on the other hand, ‘some codices [were] supplemented and interpolated by later men’: “Þó eru sumir codices auknir og interpoleraðir af seinni mönnum.”²¹ Snorri’s authorship is thus relativized and multiplied in three directions: firstly, the act of writing is attributed to another entity; secondly, the composition is characterized as the supplementation of a model; and, thirdly and finally, we are made aware of the continued writing of Snorri’s text ‘by later men’ in its further transmission.

His discussion of Snorri’s authorship regarding the aforementioned mythographic and poetological treatise of the *Prose Edda* is similar. Jón Ólafsson writes about this:

Edda [...] er honum eignuð, og því kölluð Snorra-Edda. Meina sumir hún sé rituð hér um 1215, en það getur ei verið fyllilega satt, að hann sé auctor hennar allrar. [...] Þó kann maður ei allsendis að þverneita, né vita, nema Snorri hafi skrifað eitthvað þess konar stutt ágríp, sem aðrir hafi spunnið sinn toga af síðan. En hitt er víst að hann hefur eitthvað skrifað um skálda kenningar og heiti. En það hygg ég sömuleiðis hafi verið stutt ágríp [...] En annar hefur á seculo 14 aukið þetta allt og saman skeytt ýmislega; því þar eru citeruð þeirrar aldar skáld, svo vel sem Snorri sjálfur.²²

The *Edda* is attributed to him and is thus called *Snorra Edda*. Some think it was written here around 1215, but it cannot be entirely true that he is the *auctor* of all of it. [...] Yet no one can entirely deny or know it, apart from that Snorri wrote some brief outline of these things from which others later spun their own ball of wool. But it is certain that he wrote something about the kennings and *heiti* of the skalds. And that, I think, was likewise a brief outline. [...] But someone else in the 14th century expanded all this and put it together differently, for poets of that century are also quoted, as indeed is Snorri himself.

Here, Jón also focuses on the diachronically continued writing of the text and reduces Snorri’s share in the production of the text to drawing up a brief outline that was subsequently expanded and rearranged. Unlike in relation to the sagas of kings, Jón none-

19 The term ‘work’ has been deliberately selected here because in Old Norse studies, authorial attributions to Snorri Sturluson enter especially closely into philological constructions of abstract textual works. See Rohrbach 2021.

20 Jón uses the term *scripta*; Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 31.

21 All quotations are found in Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 31.

22 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 31.

theless identifies Snorri as the originator of a no-longer available original text for the *Edda*, and refers to him as its *auctor*, analogous to Ólafr Þórðarson in connection with the treatise on orthography. Consequently, the term *auctor* in both cases refers to a poetological work on the one hand, and on the other to the identification of a textual origin. Only in a few other places does Jón Ólafsson refer to men as *auctores*. He thus designates Oddr munkr (12th century) as the author of three works, namely *Skjöldunga saga*, *Yngvars saga víðförla*, and *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* – though this is connected to a harsh critique of the textual form of the works attributed to him, which is unique for an early author in the *Apparatus*.²³ On Sæmundr the Learned (1056–1103), Jón Ólafsson notes that he knows nothing about his authorship for certain: “Ég veit í sannleika ekki hvað hann hefur skrifað eður er auctor til”²⁴ (‘In truth, I do not know what he wrote or of what he is the *auctor*’). Finally, the term also appears in a quotation of Árni Magnússon in relation to *Grettis saga*, which will be discussed in more detail in due course.

3. Claptrap and Fabrications

The processes described by Jón Ólafsson of the continued writing, expansion, and interpolation of texts in diachrony were not represented in such a neutral manner by all his contemporaries. More explicit evaluations of such interpolations are found in the case of Jón’s teacher Árni Magnússon – for example, with regard to the late medieval manuscript compilation *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.), which he attests to contain a great deal of ‘claptrap.’ In an exchange of letters with the judge Páll Vídalín (1667–1727), he writes about a saga:

Hier excipera eg Olafs sögu ur Flateyjar bók (af henne hafed þier og copie), því hun er ödruvís enn allar adrar, og pessime interpolerud af þeim radlausa Flateyar bokar compilatore, sem þar hefur innsett þvætting og fabulas [...].²⁵

- 23 The works attributed to Oddr munkr are fundamentally evaluated negatively by Jón Ólafsson (*Safn til Íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 28) due to their fabulous character: “Nefnd Ólafs saga er þó svo fabulosa að annaðhvert hefur hann, eður hinir er honum sögðu, verið fjarskalegir fabulatores. [...] Ég þegi um Yngvars sögu, sem næstum ótrúlegt er að nefndur Gissur, eður Jón Loftsson, hafi viljað eiga nokkurn þátt í, eður viljað vita af, naumast að eiga” (‘The aforementioned *Ólafs saga* is so fabulous that either he or those who told it to him were immense fabulists. [...] I am silent about *Yngvars saga*; it is almost unbelievable that the aforementioned Gissur [Hallsson] or Jón Loftsson had some share in it or knew about it, let alone wanted to own it’). The property of the fabulous is otherwise attributed to late medieval texts only; see below.
- 24 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 33.
- 25 Árni Magnússon’s note on *Flateyjarbók* (GKS 1005 fol.), AM 76 b II fol., fol. 25^v, 26^r. See Arne Magnusson’s private brevveksling, p. 662; Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir 2000, p. 96. For Árni Magnússon’s critical assessment of *Flateyjarbók*, see also Glauser 1998, pp. 34f.

I excerpt here the Óláfs saga from Flateyjarbók (of which you also have a copy), because it is different from all the others, and most poorly interpolated by the ignorant compiler of Flateyjarbók, who has inserted claptrap and *fabulæ* there [...].

The emphasis that the saga is 'different from all the others,' combined with the damning judgement of the text, reveals that at this juncture the characteristics of open textual cultures and multiple authorship collided with the concerns of early philologists, and that the textuality of this manuscript evidently and clearly transgressed the limits of accepted textual variance in manuscript transmission.

Such judgemental remarks about processes of multiple authorship are also found with Jón Ólafsson, albeit only occasionally. He cites two significant cases, exclusively in relation to post-Reformation traditions, in which a saga was 'fabricated' or new episodes were 'fabricated into' an old saga:

Jón Þorláksson sýslumaður hefur logið upp sögunni af Ármanni og Þorsteini gála, en Jón Guðmundsson hefur gjört rímurnar. Sami Jón hefur og logið 7 þáttum inn í Óláfs sögu.²⁶

The bailiff Jón Þorláksson fabricated the saga of Ármann and Þorsteinn gáli, and Jón Guðmundsson made the *rímur* for it. The same Jón also fabricated seven *þættir* [i.e. short episodes or narratives, L.R.] into Óláfs saga.

The selected terminology of *ljúga upp* and *ljúga inn* – the 'fabricating' and 'fabricating into' – in turn implies that there is a 'correct' text or a 'correct' tradition that is corrupted by these texts, or rather by the two men. In the case of *Óláfs saga*, as with *Flateyjarbók*, this concerns a saga about the history of the Norwegian kings, and thus a work close to the historiographical tradition; in the other case of *Ármanns saga*, it concerns a saga in the form of a *Saga of the Icelanders*, which narrates the events around the time of the settlement of Iceland in the 10th century.²⁷ *Ármanns saga* is mentioned twice at the very beginning of the apparatus in lists of sagas that are "öldungis upplognar" ('completely fabricated') or "ofur þurslega lognar" ('overly grossly fabricated').²⁸ In addition to *Ármann saga*, both these lists contain narratives that were extremely popular in espe-

26 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 10.

27 On Jón Þorláksson's *Ármanns saga* and Árni Magnússon's preoccupation with this text, see Knöpfle 2021. In the case of *Ármanns saga*, Árni Magnússon is more reserved in his assessment than his pupil when he writes about it in a catalogue of Icelandic works preserved in a transcript: "Nefndan Söguþátt hefur Jon Þorlaksson sealfur componerad i prosam efter Ármanns Rímum Jons lærda, og hefur Jon siálfur þetta fyrer mer medkent" ('Jón Þorláksson himself composed the aforementioned saga in prose after the *Ármanns rímur* of Jón the Learned, and Jón himself informed me of this'; NKS 1836 4to, Part 2, p. 18). See Jón Helgason 1980, p. 40.

28 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 6.

cially the late premodern period, which are traditionally categorized as legendary or mythic sagas in modern scholarship, as well as translated chivalric sagas and individual *Sagas of the Icelanders* and *þættir* recorded later on, such as *Króka-Refs saga* or *Brandkrossa þáttur*.²⁹ Jón Ólafsson defines the status of their fabrication predominantly based on the existence of fantastical elements: “Það er mark á þeim er íslenskir hafa sjálfir logið, að þar er oftast að eiga við jötna, tröll, berserki, töfra og þvílíkt”³⁰ (‘The characteristic of those [sagas] that Icelanders fabricated themselves is that they mostly concern giants, trolls, berserkers, magic, and similar matters’). Following these statements, falsity is thus linked, in Jón’s understanding, to characteristics related to content; at the same time, however, he also repeatedly refers this condition back to aesthetic characteristics identified as later amplifications and revisions in relation to narratives of non-fabricated material, as in the case of *Ólafs saga*.

4. Sagas (of the Icelanders), Collective Authorship, and Authorial Genius

Jón Ólafsson reflects similarly on adaptations of narrative material for other sagas that modern scholars assign to the textual group of the *Sagas of the Icelanders*. As a whole, the *Sagas of the Icelanders* are mentioned only peripherally in Jón Ólafsson’s treatise. Unlike the sagas of kings or the contemporary sagas, for instance, the *Sagas of the Icelanders* – which become tangible in written form from the 13th century onwards, and which tell of the Icelandic society of the 9th and 10th centuries – are never linked to named authors in the medieval manuscript tradition itself.³¹ Likewise, the *Sagas of the Icelanders* are almost entirely absent from Jón’s list of authors. In the opening section of the *Apparatus*, directly preceding the remarks on fabricated sagas, there is instead a detailed reflection on the background to the emergence of the *Sagas of the Icelanders*, which, unlike the historiographical works central to his subsequent discussion, are ‘expanded and deduced’ from genuine material.³²

29 On the prominence of these textual groupings with an affinity for the fantastic in late medieval and early modern Icelandic transmission, see Glauser 1983; Glauser 1994; Driscoll 1994.

30 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 6.

31 For a more detailed discussion of the aesthetic structure of multiple authorship in the *Sagas of the Icelanders*, see Stefanie Gropper’s chapter in this volume, pp. 229–252.

32 The tripartite division into true, half-true, and fabricated stories identified by Jón Helgason 1926, p. 195, can be deduced from Jón’s text only implicitly, at least for the first two categories, but evidently goes back to the classical tradition; see Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir / Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2015, pp. 43 f.

Flestar vorar sögur (exceptis Ara fróða Schedis, Landnáma sögur, Sturlunga sögu, Noregskonunga sögum og nokkrum annálum) eru auknar og diduceraðar út úr sönnu efni [...]. Mennirnir hafa verið, og höfuðpassasernir, en aukið og amplificerað ýmislega, svo áheyrilega skyldi verða. Meðal slíkra reikna ég Vatnsdæla sögu, Laxdæla sögu, Eyrbyggja sögu, Svarfdæla sögu, Ísfirðinga sögu, Grettis sögu, Njáls sögu etc. Munkar hafa í þeirri tíð gjört sér fait af að dikta og samansætja slíkt til að ávinna með því fé og laun.³³

Most of our sagas (with the exception of Ari the Learned's *Schedæ*, the sagas of settlements, *Sturlunga saga*, the sagas of the kings of Norway, and some annals) are expanded and deduced from genuine material [...]. The people and major events existed, but were expanded and amplified in various ways to make them worth listening to. Among these, I count *Vatnsdæla saga*, *Laxdæla saga*, *Eyrbyggja saga*, *Svarfdæla saga*, *Ísfirðinga saga*, *Grettis saga*, *Njáls saga*, etc. At that time, monks made it a habit to compose and put together such things in order to acquire wealth and reward.³⁴

By naming monks as the ones who ‘composed and put together’ these narratives, which were elaborated and deduced from genuine material, and who also expanded and amplified them to make them worth listening to, Jón’s account remains cautious with regard to individual authorship, instead presenting the *Sagas of the Icelanders* as a product of collective authorship in a bygone era.³⁵

In his list of authors, Jón mentions only two sagas, after all, which are traditionally grouped among the *Sagas of the Icelanders*. On the one hand, with recourse to notes by Árni Magnússon, he discusses the extent to which *Grettis saga*, cited in his initial list, can be ascribed to Sturla Þórðarson (1214–1284), a nephew of Snorri Sturluson, because it ‘breathes’ the genius of this 13th-century skald:

Sumir hafa meint [Sturla] væri author til Grettis sögu, kannski það Björn á Skarðsá hafi svo meint. En það man ég fyrir víst að Páll lögmaður meinti svo, því honum þóttu vísurnar í henni spirera genium Sturlu, er var eitt hið merkilegasta skáld, sem sjá má af Hákonar sögur og víðar.³⁶

33 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 6.

34 This probably refers to the book of settlements (*Landnámabók*). For contemporary conceptions of *Landnámabók* and the *Íslendingabók* or *Schedæ* of Ari the Learned, see Rösli 2021.

35 By contrast, Árni Magnússon discusses the truthfulness of the Icelandic sagas much more critically than his pupil, focusing decidedly on the (late) authorship of individual men in a negative manner: “Flestar af vorum Íslensku sögum eru skrifadar af hominibus historices penitus ignavis et chronologiæ imperitis, eru þar í mesta part scitur indigna, amplificerud med ærnum orðafiölda, item res confusissime tracterader, og mart aukid og ósatt [...], flestar eru og skrifadar so seint, ad autores kunnu ei vel vita veritatem gestorum” (‘Most of our Icelandic sagas have been written by men not familiar with the course of historical events or dates. They mostly contain inessential things, expanded with immense quantities of words, as well as confusingly treated events, and much is added or untrue [...]; most are also written so late that the authors could not have known the truth of the events’; NKS 1836 4to, Part 2, p. 79). See Jón Helgason 1980, p. 63.

36 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 33; see also p. 20.

Some have said that [Sturla] was the author of *Grettis saga*; perhaps Björn from Skarðsá meant this. Yet I certainly remember that the judge Páll [Vídalín] said this, because he thought that the verses in it breathed the genius of Sturla, who was one of the most remarkable skalds, as may be seen in *Hákonar saga* and elsewhere.

Árni Magnússon himself recorded the following in his notes on *Grettis saga*:

Grettis saga gengur nær *Fabulæ* enn *Historiæ*, er full med *Fabulas* <og> parachronismos. er interpolerud úr einhvöriu opere Sturla Þórðarsonar, og hans ætla eg vísurnar se. *Grettissaga* sú er vær höfum er interpolerud úr þeirri er Sturla Þórðarson hefur ritad, og það kannske seint á tímum. Interpolator mun hafa sett *fabulas* þar inn. Eg minnst mig ad hafa sed gamalt fragment úr þessari *Grettissögu*. Annars er ei óvíst at *Grettissaga* Sturlu hafe og *fabulosa* verid, og líkara þike mer ad Sturla muni hafa komid vid Visurnar er standa í þeirri sem vær nú höfum. Þessi saga er *fabulis plena*.³⁷

Grettis saga is closer to a *fabula* than a *historia*; it is full of *fabulæ* and parachronisms. It is interpolated from some work by Sturla Þórðarson, and I assume that the stanzas are his. The *Grettis saga* that we have is interpolated from the one written by Sturla Þórðarson, perhaps at a late date. The interpolator will have inserted the *fabulæ* at that point. I remember having seen an old fragment from this *Grettis saga*. Otherwise, it is not uncertain that Sturla's *Grettis saga* was also fabulous, and it seems to me more likely that Sturla will have contributed the stanzas that now exist in the one we now have. This saga is full of *fabulæ*.

Significantly, Árni Magnússon and Jón Ólafsson do not focus on the characteristics of the prose narrative but rather on the aesthetics of the embedded stanzas in order to identify the author and thus its associated early dating; for them, the fabulous quality that does not correspond to their aesthetic ideal cannot be reconciled with the positively connoted medieval *scriptor* Sturla Þórðarson.³⁸ In addition to *Grettis saga*, Jón Ólafsson

37 NKS 1836 4to, Part 2, pp. 34f. See Jón Helgason 1980, p. 49.

38 *Grettis saga* was and still is categorized, not least because of its 'fabulous' character, by scholarship as a 'postclassical' saga, together with some other *Sagas of the Icelanders*, including the aforementioned *Króka-Refs saga*, which Jón classed as a fabricated saga. This categorization originates in a constructed aesthetic ideal of the 13th-century classical saga, which is not methodologically unproblematic and integrally embedded in nationalist discourses, and which has long been at the centre of scholarly attention. This idea is methodologically problematic not least because many of the sagas dated to this period are preserved only from a much later period. The idealization of the 13th century and the actors known from this period goes back specifically to the so-called 'Icelandic School' in the first half of the 20th century, which stylized it as the heyday of Icelandic culture before the loss of political independence; in 1262, Iceland became part of the Kingdom of Norway, which in turn became part of the Kingdom of Denmark at the end of the 14th century, and it was only in 1918–1944 that Iceland became an independent state (O'Connor 2017, p. 90). In an attempt at reconciling these politicized aesthetic ideals with the existing textual aesthetics of *Grettis saga*, Sigurður Nordal 1938, p. 30, one of the most prominent figures in Iceland's national

ascribes to Sturla three works of contemporary Icelandic and Norwegian historiography, namely *Íslendinga saga* (which survives integrated into *Sturlunga saga*), *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*, and *Magnúss saga lagabætis*, as well as a version of *Landnámabók* and the poetological treatise *Háttalykill*.³⁹ In relation to these works, Jón does not use the term *auctor* but rather describes Sturla's authorial activity using the verbs *skrifa* ('to write') and *setja saman* ('to put together'). In the section on ancient poets, however, he refers to Sturla as the *auctor* of the verses and prose of *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar*: "Hann er auctor svo vel til allra vísanna í sögu Hákonar kóngs Hákonarsonar sem sjálfrar sögunnar"⁴⁰ ('He is the *auctor* of all the verses in the saga of King Hákon Hákonarson, as well as of the saga itself'). Jón's description of Sturla's authorship thus, on the one hand, reflects on positive assessments of inscriptions into processes of multiple authorship, which, on the other hand, are connected to an endeavour to identify individual authorship, especially of historiographical and poetological literature, while acknowledging original authorship primarily in connection to poetry.

5. Sagas (of the Icelanders), Philologists, and Impostors

The second *Saga of the Icelanders* mentioned in Jón Ólafsson's list of authors is *Heiðarvíga saga*. Jón Ólafsson reflects on the textual status of *Heiðarvíga saga* and mentions that he produced a compendium of this saga himself.⁴¹ *Heiðarvíga saga* survives to this day only in fragments, after part of the only extant medieval manuscript of the saga and a copy

literary historiography, went a step further following the attributions of authorship made by the proto-philologists and propagated the existence of a lost, classical first version of *Grettis saga* authored by Sturla Þórðarson, which was then subsequently 'watered down' in a second version. In the meantime, scholarship now assumes that *Grettis saga* dates from the late 14th or even 15th century, and thus clearly after Sturla Þórðarson's lifetime. On the dating of *Grettis saga*, see Örnólfur Thorsson 1994; Seelow 2005. One of the first monographic studies on sagas that do not correspond to the classical ideal and their treatment in the history of scholarship was Arnold 2003; there are now numerous studies of late medieval narrative traditions; see O'Connor 2017, p. 93. On the longstanding contempt for late medieval transmission in the Icelandic context, see Glauser 1998, pp. 35–37.

39 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 33. *Háttalykill* is a register of skaldic metrics, which Jón Ólafsson translated, along with other lists of this type, probably around 1737; see Jón Helgason 1926, pp. 95f.

40 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 49.

41 Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu*, p. 8: "Heiðarvíga saga, aðrir kalla Víðdæla sögu, hefur aldrei verið annað en appendix Styrs sögu. Vide minn formála fyrir framan compendium mitt af nefndri Styrs sögu" ('*Heiðarvíga saga*, which others call *Víðdæla saga*, was never anything other than an appendix to *Styrs saga*. See my preface to my compendium of the aforementioned *Styrs saga*').

by Jón Ólafsson were destroyed in the Great Fire of Copenhagen in 1728.⁴² Jón reconstructed the part lost in the fire in a summarized form from memory and appended lists of archaic word forms, as well as of characters, periods, and locations in this saga, to this summary.⁴³ Due to the loss of the medieval text, Jón's manuscript, evidently existing in and emerging from a scholarly context, was the only remaining textual trace of this saga and was consequently copied in a number of manuscripts, in each case with the inclusion of Jón's introductory note that it was written down from memory.⁴⁴ Lbs 132 4to, the oldest surviving intact copy of Jón's *Inntak*, precedes the introductory comments with a longer preface attributed to Jón Ólafsson, in which, among other things, it says:

Um Nöfn þeirra Manna sem lítit koma við Söguna hefi eg umgetit hvar eg eigi man þau glögt, so og um Bæja-Nöfn, var mer eigi auðvelt þau at muna, því eg hefi hvorki verid í Eyrarsveit en þar í Borgarfirði, sem Sagan mest um getur, og eru þar Sveitir so ad segia mer allz okunnar.⁴⁵

I have conjectured the names of people who only appear peripherally in the saga where I have not properly remembered them, and likewise the names of farms; it was not easy for me to remember them because I have not been to the regions around Eyri or to the places in Borgarfjörður with which the saga deals the most, and the areas there are, so to say, entirely unknown to me.

Unlike in the case of *Ármanns saga*, which is given the label 'fabricated,' Jón's own 'new writing' of *Heiðarvígá saga* is therefore disqualified neither by him nor by his contemporaries, but rather treated as a legitimate substitute for approximating a lost text. The situation looks different with regard to the recent textual tradition of another *Saga of the Icelanders*. The version in question of one of the best-known *Sagas of the Icelanders* – commonly known as *Vitlausa Egla*, the inverted *Egils saga* – has not been edited to this

42 The surviving medieval manuscript is Holm perg. 18 4to (c. 1300); another single-page fragment of the saga is Lbs frg 1 (ca. 1300–1350). On the textuality and transmission of *Heiðarvígá saga*, see Driscoll 2006, pp. xviii f.

43 The summary and both lists are preserved in Lbs 442 4to, an autograph by Jón Ólafsson from 1730: "Inntak sögubrotsins af Víga-Styr" ('Contents of the fragment of *Víga-Styrs saga*'), "Archaismi et loquendi modi rariores úr þessari Víga-Styrs sögu" ('Archaisms and rare phrases from this *Víga-Styrs saga*, fol. 26^v–28'), and "Nokkrar líkligar tilgátur um mennina, tímenn og staðinn sem heiðarvíginn snerta" ('Some probable assumptions about the people, times, and places that concern the battle on the heath,' fol. 29^r–31^v).

44 Copies of the *Inntak*, sometimes together with both lists, are found in six manuscripts from the 18th and early 19th centuries. For a detailed discussion, see Driscoll 2006, p. xix. The introductory notes state: "Nota: mm. merkir, minnir mig, og eg er eigi fullvið um. SS. merkir segir Sagan, o: það sem er Sögunnar egin Ord" ('Note: mm. means "I remember," but I am not completely certain. SS. means "the saga says," that is, these are the saga's own words,' quoted after Lbs 132 4to, fol. 3; the note is on fol. 1^r in Jón Ólafsson's autograph Lbs 442 4to, but fol. 1^r is preserved only fragmentarily). For the tentativeness expressed in the course of the *Inntak*, see also Jón Helgason 1926, p. 44.

45 Lbs 132 4to, fol. 1^v.

day and has been examined rudimentarily only in isolated studies.⁴⁶ The ‘inverted’ *Egils saga*, which is transmitted in four manuscripts, diverges from the three surviving versions of the medieval tradition in both its content and narrative style and stands parallel and unconnected to contemporaneous copies of the medieval textual tradition.⁴⁷ This more recent version of *Egils saga* is based on early modern poetic compositions of the saga that were retransformed into prose.⁴⁸ In the process, the narrative was comprehensively adapted to 17th-century usage in terms of vocabulary and style.⁴⁹ Thus, among other things, dialogues are designed to be more verbose; the syntax is phrased more hypotactically; the genealogies omnipresent in medieval saga tradition, as well as secondary characters, have been struck from the narrative; and the main characters are drawn in a more contrasting and drastic manner, with conspicuous attention given to descriptions of battles.⁵⁰

Árni Magnússon and his entourage also find critical words for this younger version of *Egils saga*. As in the case of *Flateyjarbók*, one of Árni Magnússon’s scribes – not identified by name, but in whose hand the saga’s first four folios are written – attests that it is ‘different from all other *Egils saga* s’ and must have been composed ‘recently’:

Þessi Egils Saga er skrifuð epter bók i folio frá Syslumanninum Olafi Einarßyni. Er hún ölik öllum öðrum Egils sögum, og að visu nylega componeruð af einhverium Islenskum, kanskie Sigurde á Kner, sem bókina ritad hefur.⁵¹

- 46 In his edition of *Egils saga*, Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888, p. xxviii, remarked in his introductory account of the manuscript tradition: “Ved denne omarbejdelse [...] er der ingen grund til at dvæle” (‘There is no reason to concern oneself with this version’). Michael Chesnutt 2006, p. lvii, similarly deals with this adaptation only briefly on one page in his edition of the C-redaction of the saga. The only two short studies of this version to date are Stefán Karlsson 1995 and Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015.
- 47 The younger *Egils saga* is preserved in AM 163r fol. (1650–1700), Holm papp. 15 fol. (1650–1700), AM 454 4to (1700–1725), and Oslo NB 313 fol. (18th century); see Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015, p. 181.
- 48 See Stefán Karlsson 1964, p. 9; Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015, pp. 180f. There is currently a dissertation project by Nikola Macháčková on the transmission of *Egils rímur* and the younger *Egils saga* underway at the University of Iceland.
- 49 See Stefán Karlsson 1995, p. 70: “Stíll sögunnar er svo rækilega bylt, að varla mun þar finnast heil málsgrein sem sé tekin óbreytt úr gömlu sögunni” (‘The style of the saga is so thoroughly rejigged that one can hardly find an entire paragraph there that has been adopted unchanged from the old saga’).
- 50 See Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015, pp. 182–193.
- 51 Supplementary note to the manuscript AM 454 4to (AM 454 4to, Acc Mat, fol. 1r). Similarly in the catalogue entry of the *Catalogus Librorum Arnæ Magnæi*, written by Jón Ólafsson in AM 384 fol. f. 17v: “Eigels Saga, ölik öðrum (meinast nydiktud)” (‘*Egils saga*, different from others (seems to be newly composed)’); see also Thott 1046 fol., p. 90.

This *Egils saga* is written following a book in folio form of the bailiff Ólafur Einarsson. It is different from all other *Egils sagas* and surely composed recently by some Icелander – maybe by Sigurður á Knqr, who wrote the book.

Further remarks in Árni Magnússon's hand on the identity of the author accompany this neutral statement:

Mig minner, eg hafi einhversstadar, epter sögu Sigurdar ä Knqr, ad hann þessa Egilssögu ritad hafi epter hendi lærda Gísla i Melrakkadal, og er þä Gisle, öefad, author bokarinar. Gisle var ad visu sannreyndr impostor. Enn Sigurdur var frömur madr.⁵²

I remember that I [found out] somewhere, following the account of Sigurður á Knqr, that he had written this *Egils saga* after the hand of Gísli the Learned from Melrakkadalur, and Gísli is then doubtless the *author* of the book. Gísli was certainly a veritable fraud. But Sigurður was a devout man.

In this account, the text is thus not only discarded from the corpus of the medieval textual tradition as newly composed, but Árni Magnússon goes yet further in identifying a certain Gísli from Melrakkadalur as the author of this text, who is known as a veritable fraud, and in turn excludes the authorship of a man named Sigurður known to be devout. Gísli is also portrayed as “obscurus et obscuri generis homo” and “magiæ suspectus” in other literary-historical treatises, such as Hálfðan Einarsson's *Sciagraphia Historiae Literariae Islandicae autorum et scriptorum tum ineditorum indicem exhibens*.⁵³ Unlike *Ármanns saga*, the new composition of *Egils saga* is not explicitly categorized as ‘fabricated,’ but ultimately it is similarly contextualized in an implicit manner through the identification of a suspect candidate as the author of this version.

52 AM 454 4to, Acc Mat, fol. 1^{r/v}. See also Jón Samsonarson 1979, pp. 50f.

53 Hálfðan Einarsson: *Sciagraphia Historiae Literariae Islandicae*, p. 79: “Gislavus Johannis, Melrakkadalensis, magiæ suspectus, & variorum carminum superstitiosorum auctor, Historiam Ala-flecki carmine pertexuit. Obiit repentina morte 1671. Gislavus Johannis, obscurus & obscuri generis homo, qvem a priore distingvendum puto, Historiam Sigurgardi & Valbrandi & fabulam de Alafleck metro reddidit” (‘Gislavus Johannis from Melrakkadalur, suspected of sorcery and author of various superstitious songs, composed in verse the *historia* of Áli flekkr. Died a sudden death in 1671. Gislavus Johannis, a sinister man and of sinister nature, whom I believe I am able to distinguish from the previous one, reworked the tale of Sigurgarður and Valbrandur and the *fabula* of Áli flekkr in verse’). On Gísli Jónsson's evaluation by his contemporaries, see Jón Samsonarson 1979. See also Páll Eggert Ólason 1949, p. 61.

6. Conclusions

In Árni Magnússon's and Jón Ólafsson's literary-historical elaborations, a juxtaposition of various connotations of authorship becomes clear. For one thing, the traditional narrative of the aesthetic prevalence of nameable, individual authors is confirmed in the Icelandic discursions of the 18th century. At the same time, however, the Icelandic context also shows a shift in the traditional connection of individual authorship with originality and innovation and of multiple authorship with ideas of epigonism, where authors who act too freely 'fabricate into' the tradition and evidently do not appropriately reproduce the time-honoured tradition in accordance with the expectations of contemporary recipients. It becomes clear from the attributions in Jón Ólafsson's *Apparatus* that multiple authorship is seen as the default state of textual transmission and that individual actors are identified in this process but are generally located only as one of a text's many formative entities, unless their intervention transgresses a certain framework and leads to a text marked as other and as divergent, which is subsequently linked with an individual author.

In the context of premodern Icelandic saga literature, two different types of practices and processes of multiple authorship can be identified as part of this context, for which I would like to suggest the terms consecutive and simultaneous multiple authorship. The literary-historical and proto-philological discourses of the 18th century already illustrate the consecutive textual and scribal traditions building on one another. This type of multiple authorship is a form of diachronic authorship through continued writing. At the same time, however, the transmission of saga literature is also characterized by a simultaneous multiplicity of production, or rather of productive reception, by parallel strands of transmission running synchronously and diachronically beside one another, as is also captured by the concepts of *variance* and *mouvance*, now omnipresent in the analysis of premodern textuality.⁵⁴ Consecutive and simultaneous multiplicity are evidently accepted by the scholars of the 18th century as belonging to tradition, and the establishment of a concept of individual authorship in this period takes place through engagement with this multiplicity of authorship and transmission. Yet there are also obviously limits to the acceptable divergence of consecutive and simultaneous multiplicity.

The positions of Jón Ólafsson and his contemporaries can be closely linked to the formation of a canon for the medieval textual tradition which began in this period. From Jón's catalogues and explanations, it becomes clear that variance – particularly in terms of additions and interpolations – is acceptable in the medieval tradition, even if it is not always esteemed; by contrast, in the contemporary textual tradition and transmission, it contravenes the conventions of the period and leads to exclusion from the canon. The proto-philologists and antiquarian scholars of the 18th century, anxious to preserve the

54 For the concept of *mouvance*, see Zumthor 1972; for *variance*, Cerquiglini 1989.

medieval textual tradition, defined the canon of the ‘correct’ tradition with their aesthetic value judgements, and also excluded from this canon both the continued writing of old texts and the additions of new texts that ‘fabricated into’ this old tradition of saga narration. It is precisely the 18th-century texts that violate tradition and were banned from the canon as a result, such as *Vitlausa Egl*a, that allow for insights into a literary saga tradition that was still productive in the 18th century, and which indeed still operated in the mode of consecutive multiple authorship, yet which embellished it under different auspices and more freely in order to develop its own new texts in connection with tradition.

Many of the literary-historical positions taken by 18th-century proto-philologists influence debates in literary studies and the formation of categories for premodern Icelandic prose literature to this day. The canon of Icelandic literature, first outlined in the 18th century, shaped and still shapes recognized aesthetic ideals and the continued, strangely anachronistic pursuit to identify nameable, individual *auctores* in an anonymous sphere of open textual transmission.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Arne Magnussons private brevveksling = Arne Magnussons private brevveksling, ed. by Finnur Jónsson and Kristian Kålund, Copenhagen 1920.
- Hálfðan Einarsson: *Sciagraphia Historiae Literariae Islandicae* = Hálfðan Einarson: *Sciagraphia Historiae Literariae Islandicae autorum et scriptorum tum ineditorum indicem exhibens*, Copenhagen 1777.
- Jón Ólafsson: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu* = Jón Ólafsson úr Grunnnavík: *Safn til íslenskrar bókmenntasögu sem skiptist í þrjá hluta*, ed. by Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir and Þórunn Sigurðardóttir, Reykjavík 2018.
- Sagan Landnama = Sagan Landnama. Um fyrstu bygging Islands af Nordmönnum, Skálholt 1688.

Secondary Literature

- Arnold 2003 = Arnold, Martin: *The Post-Classical Icelandic Family Saga*, Lewiston 2003 (Scandinavian Studies 9).
- Cerquiglioni 1989 = Cerquiglioni, Bernard: *Eloge de la variante. Histoire critique de la philologie*, Paris 1989 (Des travaux).
- Chesnutt 2006 = Chesnutt, Michael: Forord, in: Michael Chesnutt (ed.): *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar*. vol. 3: C-Redaktionen, Copenhagen 2006 (Editiones Arnarnagðanæ Series A, 21), pp. xv–lxiv.
- Clunies Ross 2010 = Clunies Ross, Magaret: *The Cambridge Introduction to the Old Norse-Icelandic Saga*, Cambridge 2010 (Cambridge Introductions to Literature).

- Driscoll 1994 = Driscoll, Matthew James: Traditionality and Antiquarianism in the Post-Reformation *Lygisaga*, in: Andrew Wawn (ed.): Northern Antiquity. The Post-Medieval Reception of Edda and Saga, London 1994, pp. 83–99.
- Driscoll 1997 = Driscoll, Matthew James: The Unwashed Children of Eve. The Production, Dissemination and Reception of Popular Literature in Post-Reformation Iceland, London 1997.
- Driscoll 2006 = Driscoll, Matthew James: Inngangur, in: Fjórar sögur frá hendi Jóns Oddssonar Hjaltalín, ed. by Matthew Driscoll, Reykjavík 2006 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi. Rit 66), pp. vii–lxvii.
- Driscoll / Margrét Eggertsdóttir 2017 = Driscoll, Matthew James / Margrét Eggertsdóttir (eds.): Mirrors of Virtue. Manuscripts and Print in Late Pre-Modern Iceland, Copenhagen 2017 (Opuscula 15; Bibliotheca Arnarnaganaeana 49).
- Ezell 2019 = Ezell, Margaret J. M.: Manuscript and Print Cultures 1500–1700, in: Ingo Berensmeyer / Gert Buelens / Marysa Demoor (eds.): The Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship, Cambridge 2019, pp. 115–132, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316717516.008> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Finnur Jónsson 1886–1888 = Finnur Jónsson: Fortale, in: *Egils saga Skallagrímssonar tilligemed Egils stórre kvad*, ed. by Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen 1886–1888, pp. i–xcv.
- Glauser 1983 = Glauser, Jürg: Isländische Märchensagas. Studien zur Prosaliteratur im spätmittelalterlichen Island, Basel / Frankfurt a.M. 1983 (Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 12).
- Glauser 1994 = Glauser, Jürg: Spätmittelalterliche Vorleseliteratur und frühneuzeitliche Handschriftentradition: Die Veränderungen der Medialität und Textualität der isländischen Märchensagas zwischen dem 14. und 19. Jahrhundert, in: Hildegard Tristram (ed.): Text und Zeittiefe, Tübingen 1994 (ScriptOralia 58), pp. 377–438.
- Glauser 1998 = Glauser, Jürg: Vom Autor zum Kompilator. Snorri Sturlusons *Heimskringla* und die nachklassischen Sagas von Olav Tryggvason, in: Hans Fix (ed.): Snorri Sturluson. Beiträge zu Werk und Rezeption, Berlin / New York 1998 (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon für Germanische Altertumskunde 18), pp. 34–43.
- Glauser 2010 = Glauser, Jürg: Staging the Text. On the Development of a Consciousness of Writing in the Norwegian and Icelandic literature of the Middle Ages, in: Slavica Ranković (ed.): Along the Oral-Written Continuum. Types of Texts, Relations and Their Implications, Turnhout 2010 (Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 20), pp. 311–334.
- Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir / Þórunn Sigurðardóttir 2015 = Guðrún Ingólfssdóttir / Þórunn Sigurðardóttir: “thi al vores lærdom er dog mesten halfverk og stumpeviis.” En islandsk litteraturhistorie fra det 18. århundrede, in: 1700-tal. Nordic Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies 12 (2015), pp. 32–54, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7557/4.3524> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Guðrún Nordal 2001 = Guðrún Nordal: Tools of Literacy. The Role of Skaldic Verse in Icelandic Textual Culture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Toronto 2001.
- Haferland 2011 = Haferland, Harald: Wer oder was trägt einen Namen? Zur Anonymität in der Vor-moderne und in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters, in: Stephan Pabst (ed.): Anonymität und Autorschaft. Zur Literatur- und Rechtsgeschichte der Namenlosigkeit, Berlin / Boston 2011 (Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur 126), pp. 49–72, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110237726.49> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Jón Helgason 1926 = Jón Helgason: Jón Ólafsson frá Grunnavík, Copenhagen 1926 (Safn fræðafjelagsins um Ísland og Íslendinga 5).
- Jón Helgason 1980 = Jón Helgason: Athuganir Árna Magnússonar um fornsögur, in: Gripla 4 (1980), pp. 33–64.
- Jón Samsonarson 1979 = Jón Samsonarson: Fjandafæla Gísla Jónssonar lærða í Melrakkadal, in: Gripla 3 (1979), pp. 40–70.

- Jørgensen 2013 = Jørgensen, Jon Gunnar: Editionen von altnordischen Texten im Norden: Nordische *Heimskringla*-Ausgaben, in: Paula Henrikson/Christian Janss (eds.): *Geschichte der Edition in Skandinavien*, Berlin 2013 (Bausteine zur Geschichte der Edition 4), pp. 49–64, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110317572.49> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Knöpfle 2021 = Knöpfle, Madita: Conceptions of Authorship. The Case of *Ármanns rímur* and Their Reworkings in Early Modern Iceland, in: Lukas Rösli/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship*, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1), pp. 239–264.
- Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir 2000 = Kolbrún Haraldsdóttir: Innhald og komposisjon i Flateyjarbók, in: Nordica Bergensia 23 (2000), pp. 93–115.
- Kraebel 2019 = Kraebel, Andrew: Modes of Authorship and the Making of Medieval English Literature, in: Ingo Berensmeyer/Gert Buelens/Marysa Demoor (eds.): *The Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship*, Cambridge 2019, pp. 98–114, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316717516.007> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Már Jónsson 2012 = Már Jónsson: Arnas Magnæus philologus (1663–1730), Odense 2012 (The Viking Collection. Studies in Northern Civilization 20).
- McKinnell 1978–1981 = McKinnell, John: Saga Manuscripts in Iceland in the Later 18th Century, in *Saga Book* 20 (1978–1981), pp. 131–136.
- Minnis 1984 = Minnis, Alastair J.: *Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1984.
- Müller 1995 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Auctor – Actor – Author. Einige Anmerkungen zum Verständnis vom Autor in lateinischen Schriften des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, in: Felix Philipp Ingold/Werner Wunderlich (eds.): *Der Autor im Dialog. Beiträge zu Autorität und Autorschaft*, St. Gallen 1995, pp. 17–31.
- Müller 2020 = Müller, Kevin: Schreiben und Lesen im Altnordischen. Die Lexeme, syntagmatischen Relationen und Konzepte in der *Jóns saga helga*, *Sturlunga saga* und *Laurentius saga biskups*, Tübingen 2020 (Beiträge zur Nordischen Philologie 66).
- O'Connor 2017 = O'Connor, Ralph: History and Fiction, in: Ármann Jakobsson/Sverrir Jakobsson (eds.): *The Routledge Research Companion to the Medieval Icelandic Sagas*, New York 2017, pp. 88–110.
- Örnólfur Thorsson 1994 = Örnólfur Thorsson: Grettir sterki og Sturla lögmaður, in: *Samtíðarsögur – The Contemporary Sagas. Níunda alþjóðlega fornsagnaþingið – Ninth International Saga Conference*. Preprint, Akureyri 1994, pp. 907–933.
- Páll Eggert Ólason 1949 = Páll Eggert Ólason (ed.): *Íslenzkar æviskrár frá landnáms tímum til ársloka 1940*, vol. 2, Reykjavík 1949.
- Rösli 2021 = Rösli, Lukas: From *Schedæ Ara Prests Fróða* to *Íslendingabók*. When an Intradiegetic Text Becomes Reality, in: Anna Catharina Horn/Karl G. Johansson (eds.): *The Meaning of Media. Texts and Materiality in Medieval Scandinavia*, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Modes of Modification 1), pp. 173–213, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110695366-009> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Rohrbach 2021 = Rohrbach, Lena: The Persistence of the Humanistic Legacy. Concepts of Authorship and Textuality in *Konungasögur* Studies, in: Lukas Rösli/Stefanie Gropper (eds.): *In Search of the Culprit. Aspects of Medieval Authorship*, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Andere Ästhetik – Studien 1), pp. 141–173.
- Schellenberg 2019 = Schellenberg, Betty A.: The Eighteenth Century. Print, Professionalization, and Defining the Author, in: Ingo Berensmeyer/Gert Buelens/Marysa Demoor (eds.): *The Cambridge Handbook of Literary Authorship*, Cambridge 2019, pp. 133–146, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316717516.009> (last accessed: 14 December 2024).
- Schneeberger 2020 = Schneeberger, Sandra: Handeln mit Dichtung. Literarische Performativität in der altnordischen Prosa-Edda, Tübingen 2020 (Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie 63).
- Seelow 2005 = Seelow, Hubert: Noch einmal: *Grettis saga Ásmundarsonar*, in: Susanne Kramarz-Bein (ed.): *Neue Ansätze in der Mittelalterphilologie – Nye veier i middelalderfilologien*. Akten der skandina-

- vistischen Arbeitstagung in Münster vom 24. bis 26. Oktober 2002, Bern/Frankfurt am Main 2005 (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Germanistik und Skandinavistik 55), pp. 197–206.
- Sigurður Nordal 1938 = Sigurður Nordal: Sturla Þórðarson og Grettis saga, Reykjavík 1938 (Studia Islandica. Íslenzk fræði 4).
- Stefán Karlsson 1964 = Stefán Karlsson: Gömul hljóðdöl í ungum rímum, in: Íslenzk tunga 5 (1964), pp. 7–27.
- Stefán Karlsson 1995 = Stefán Karlsson: Af Agli í ellinni, in: Sigurgeir Steingrímsson (ed.): Vöruvoð ofin Helga Þorlákssyni fimmtugum, Reykjavík 1995, pp. 70–72.
- Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir 2015 = Svanhildur Óskarsdóttir: Egil Strikes Again: Textual Variation and the Seventeenth-Century Reworkings of *Egil's Saga*, in: Laurence de Looze/Jón Karl Helgason/Russell Gilbert Poole/Torfi Tulinius (eds.): Egil, the Viking Poet. New Approaches to *Egil's Saga*, Toronto/Buffalo/London 2015 (Toronto Old Norse and Icelandic Series 9), pp. 175–196.
- Sverrir Tómasson 1988 = Sverrir Tómasson: Formálar íslenskra sagnaritara á miðöldum. Rannsókn bókmenntahefðar, Reykjavík 1988 (Stofnun Árna Magnússonar á Íslandi 33).
- Zumthor 1972 = Paul Zumthor: Essai de poétique médiévale, Paris 1972.

Manuscripts

Copenhagen, Den Arnamagnæanske Samling, Nordisk forskningsinstitut
AM 76 b II fol.
AM 384 fol.

Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek
NKS 1836 4to
Thott 1046 fol.

Oslo, Nasjonalbiblioteket
Oslo NB 313 fol.

Reykjavík, Landsbókasafn Islands – Háskólabókasafn
Lbs frg 1
Lbs 132 4to
Lbs 442 4to

Reykjavík, Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í íslenskum fræðum
AM 163 r fol.
AM 454 4to
GKS 1005 fol.
KB Add 3 fol.

Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket
Holm perg. 18 4to
Holm papp. 15 fol.

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek
DG 11, Codex Upsaliensis

Reproductive Authorship in the Courtly Novel

Abstract

Around 1200 the genre of courtly romance gained profound cultural significance and importance. This chapter discusses aspects and conditions in a wide range which facilitate the aesthetical and poetical complexity of this genre. Courtly Novels show different forms of collaborative and multiple authorship.

Keywords

Materiality, Mediality, Medieval German Literature, Poetics, Transmission, Textual Criticism, Variants, Wolfram von Eschenbach

“In the written narratives of the Middle Ages, the birth of the author occurs: as a metaphor.”¹ This surprising punchline concludes an essay by Hartmut Bleumer, who in the 1990s masterfully summarizes the lively discussion about authorship and its conceptualization in the literature of the medieval period, and who also attempts to decipher the renewed interest in the author. Bleumer thus examines authorship, which he connects in the Middle Ages to the criteria of the attribution of meaning and writing, on the one hand, as a narrative within literary studies and, on the other hand, as a paradoxical staging in Wolfram’s von Eschenbach *Parzival*, which famously differentiates the construction of the author and the role of the narrator to the highest degree and which, among other things, inexorably contrasts them with regard to the treatment of traditional clerical knowledge.²

With regard to the authorial self-design of the *tîhter* in the courtly novels around 1200, scholarship has to take note of rich material that chronicles the status and legitimacy, the assertion and withdrawal, of authorship and authority. Indeed, it can be observed in these representations, unfurled in prologues, epilogues, and metapoetic

* Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson.

1 Bleumer 2015, p. 35. See also Nichols 2006; Helle 2019.

2 See here also the account by Kragl 2019.

excurses, how forms of reflexive knowledge about the genesis of a work and the profile of an author emerge through reference to others and to oneself. Undoubtedly, these testimonies of novelists in the High and Late Middle Ages are of particular interest if one wishes to get to the root of the 'figures of aesthetic reflection' of this period.³

If, however, the analysis of these self-descriptions is delimited to the immanent properties of the text, scholarship forfeits the possibility of taking into account contextual conditions – however hazy – in the textual production of courtly novels.⁴ The discussion of authors in medieval German studies at the end of the last millennium was also only peripherally concerned with this contextual knowledge, with the material conditions of textual production; it is instead more closely linked to the social-historical approaches of the 1970s and 1980s, such as Joachim Bumke's investigations into the patrons and benefactors of a literature that exists as commissioned art, and which is subject to heteronomous interests.⁵ Recently, however, the commendable volume of research on patronage edited by Bernd Bastert, Andreas Bihrer, and Timo Reuekamp-Felber had to state that the widely held assumptions of Old German studies in the last decades about the courtly literary scene are in need of revision in urgent and critical exchange with historical scholarship.⁶

This revision has led to the hypothesis in recent research that the concrete practice of literary productivity in the Middle Ages is less attributable to an individual ruler as patron but was rather accomplished by other members of the court who had access to education.⁷ Certain personal constellations and habitual attitudes that could be formed in the noble courts of the 12th and 13th centuries appear to have shaped courtly literature, and must be taken seriously and reflected upon as dimensions of social practice – however difficult they may be to reconstruct historically.⁸ And it is precisely this aspect that is made invisible in a research survey by Ursula Peters when she represents scholarship that proceeds on the basis of immanent textual properties and that questions assertions of legitimacy and threats to validity in courtly literature – decontextualizing the names of authors and patrons, and treating them as ciphers of a textuality defined

3 On the terminology, see the programmatic essays by Braun / Gerok-Reiter 2019 and Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2022, pp. 29–31 (English translation: Gerok-Reiter / Robert 2025).

4 See, for example, Felber 2001. As is well known, sources for the material conditions of the medieval literary world are mostly sparse and often suffice for rather speculative reconstructions only, such as those of the patronage relationships of authors or the dating of works.

5 See Bumke 1979; Bumke 1986; subsequently Heinze 1993; for a critical response, Müller 1993.

6 Bastert / Bihrer / Reuekamp-Felber 2017.

7 See, for example, Bezner 2019; Benz 2021.

8 The extent to which these groups of people can be understood as 'networks' requires, on the one hand, a precise historical appraisal of the individual case, and, on the other, a terminological review of the applicable theoretical approaches with regard to the concept of 'network.'

by alterity⁹ – as a necessary methodological reaction to the social-historical and literary-sociological orientation of Medieval German studies in the 1970s:

The extent to which their readjustment against the background of cultural studies can set foot on new methodological shores and locate our understanding of courtly poetry on a fundamentally altered basis can be seen, for example, in medievalist scholarship on patrons, a branch of the historical-societal project, systematically pursued by Joachim Bumke in the 1970s and 1980s, of analyzing the overall panorama of (Western European) courtly culture in the 12th and 13th centuries and the literary production associated with it.¹⁰

It seems to me, however, that one does not have to abandon one approach in order to pursue the other. Literary productivity in the Middle Ages – and this does not come into view in the studies of author-patron relationships that can be sociohistorically reconstructed, nor in the literary-sociological reflections on the institutionality of court literature – is also bound to demands that commit it to specific figures of justification. The often-observed dependence on tradition, which does not exclude renewal and transformation, should be mentioned, as well as the concept of *translatio studii*.¹¹ It has also been observed that the Latin literature of the Middle Ages developed conceptualizations of authoriality which evidence the advanced nature of this writing culture beyond question. The medieval theoretical strand regarding origination and authorship is not based on the notion of a creator *ex nihilo*; rather, the author “participates in a discourse that began long before him and merely places his own accents by adding more or less of his ‘own’ material.”¹² In an analysis of Bonaventure’s preface to the commentary *In primum librum Sententiarum*, Alastair J. Minnis has compiled those terms that are used to describe degrees of participation in original creation:

The literary role of the *auctor*, considered in its widest sense, was distinguished from the respective roles of the scribe (*scriptor*), compiler (*compiler*) and commentator (*commentator*). [...] The *auctor* contributes most, the *scriptor* contributes nothing, of his own. The scribe is subject to materials composed by other men which he should copy as carefully as possible, *nihil mutando*. The *compiler* adds together or arranges the statements of other men, adding no opinion of his own (*addendo, sed non de suo*). The *commentator* strives to explain the views of others, adding something of his own by way of explanation. Finally and most importantly, the *auctor* writes *de suo* but draws on the statements of other men to support his own views.¹³

9 See Kellner/Strohschneider/Wenzel 2005; Strohschneider 2014.

10 Peters 2018, p. 49. See also Peters 2009.

11 See Friede/Schwarze 2015.

12 Müller 1995, p. 25.

13 Minnis 1984, pp. 94 f.; see also Bumke 1997, p. 102: “The medieval theory of authorship that emerged from the tradition of late antique commentary is based on the close relationship of the terms *auctor* and *auctoritas*. The *auctores*, according to the medieval understanding, were those

Here, concrete concepts (or terms!) of work in dealing with the text transmitted are adduced for a more accurate definition of ‘authorship.’ The definitional differentiation in the distinction between scribe, compiler, commentator, and author has also been applied to vernacular literature. Thus, the term *compilatio* has been used to describe the literary work of courtly epicists in the 12th and 13th centuries.¹⁴ Bent Gebert has recently used the term fruitfully in a methodologically advanced study with regard to Konrad von Würzburg and his monumental Trojan novel:

Konrad’s accumulation of sources can hence be regarded as a difficult, extreme case of ‘multiple authorship’ [...] between material heterogeneity and compositional homogenization, the product of which I would like to examine as ‘compilatory narration’ beyond poetological self-assertion.¹⁵

Authorship, vested with attested authority to varying degrees of intensity, can also be signified in medieval manuscript culture by its ‘complicity,’ as Beatrice Trínca puts it:

Under the specifically medieval conditions of multiple authorship, the ‘author’ forms a cipher for a collective contribution that emerges from diverse constructive and destructive intentions and coincidences, as well as from a text’s own intratextual dynamics. All persons who, over time, shape and reshape the text in all its versions can be included in the authorial collective: authors of the narration (whose name may be mentioned in the text), writers, redactors, readers (who leave behind traces of their reading). The emergence of scholarly editions represents an (artificial) line of demarcation in this process. In transmission, the boundaries between scribe and scriptorium on the one hand and author or redactor on the other become more and more indistinct. Part of the aforementioned collective – although they do not impinge directly on the narrative fabric, but contextualize it – are also illuminators, rubricators, bookbinders, and the authors of other texts contained in the respective manuscripts.¹⁶

This description of medieval multiple authorship can serve as an exemplary notion of which entities or actors may be involved, in a co-ordinated way, in a socially and aes-

authors to whom *auctoritas* was due; apart from the authors of the Holy Scriptures, these were the poets and philosophers of Roman antiquity and of Christian late antiquity, whose works formed the foundation for and the subject of education in schools.” See also Kelly 1999.

14 See Bumke 1997, p. 110.

15 Gebert 2021, p. 319.

16 Trínca 2019, pp. 24f. The availability of the author’s name bears witness to a new significance for vernacular authorship, which is evidently connected to the reorientation of literature in the 13th century. The reorientation back to the renowned poets of the period around 1200 bestowed on them an authority that vernacular poetry had never possessed before, and which is encountered again in German literature only in the veneration of Opitz in the 17th century. People composed songs in the names of Reinmar and Neidhart, signed didactic works with the names of Stricker or Tannhäuser, and wrote epics under the name of Wolfram. Thus, a new canon emerged that influenced literary consciousness until the 15th century. See Bumke 1997, p. 97.

thetically determined setup – bound to the materiality of the exclusive object of the manuscript – in order to produce a written and pictorial work of courtly culture.¹⁷

Further assumptions, ideas, and attributions may be addressed here concerning conditions of origin and conceptualizations of the geneses of works, as well as the social functions that the aristocratic culture of the High and Late Middle Ages developed in its interest in the new vernacular literature. I have already touched on the moment of representation of aristocratic norms and values – however difficult the source situation is for the reconstruction of this social practice.

In his sociohistorically oriented sketches of French culture in the 12th century, the Romance philologist Erich Köhler paints a picture of the emergence of a new social force that was becoming self-aware – that of the now also legally recognized class of chivalry, which attempted “to legitimate itself as the bearer of a superior culture,”¹⁸ and therefore associated itself with the clerics at the courts: “*Chevalerie et clergie*, chivalry and education, reads the slogan that [...] is already inscribed in the cradle of the novel.”¹⁹ In his reflections on the genre of the novel in relation to its historical function, Köhler links the idea of *translatio studii* to the “translation of chivalry,” and thus situates it in courtly-chivalric discourse.²⁰ As a medium for the self-legitimation of a new social elite, the genre of the novel obtains the valorization that it is supposed to effect.²¹ It is perhaps unsurprising that the courtly novel has also been connected to other significant concepts of aristocratic culture. Using the *Erec* novels as an example, Karlheinz Stierle examines, with a clearly perceptible emphasis, the semantics and functionalization of *cortoise* in medieval culture, which he characterizes as “a boon of comity that, as the essence of the courtly, permeated all class and linguistic boundaries.”²² According to Stierle, it is the courtly novel especially that contributed to the dissemination of this new social norm and elevated it to an ideal. This was possible, Stierle continues, because the newly emerging literature at the courts did not yet recognize the modern distinction or categorical separation between poetry and reality:

To a special degree, *cortoisie* is a transitional category between imaginary and social reality. Through *cortoisie*, as it were, an ideal of heightened life is brought from fiction into reality. *Cortoisie* is novelistic in life; it strives, as it were, over and above the real.²³

17 See here also the well-known works of the Romanist Stephen G. Nichols under the heading of material philology; I will refer simply to Nichols 2016.

18 Köhler 1981, p. 243.

19 Köhler 1981, p. 243.

20 Köhler 1981, p. 251.

21 Köhler's 1981 essay does not provide a further definition of the term 'education.' In later research, the term seems to have been replaced by the concept of 'knowledge.'

22 Stierle 1994, p. 256.

23 Stierle 1994, p. 258.

Ultimately, the establishment of *cortoisie*, or comity, aims at forms of reciprocal communication that imprint themselves on the form of the novel.

*

To account for the conditions, possibilities, and functions of the genre of the courtly novel in the High and Late Middle Ages, and in order to adequately describe such figures of aesthetic reflection for this type of text as well as to elaborate concepts of (multiple) authorship, different methodological approaches must be chosen and different thematic perspectives adopted – and that is the purpose of this chapter. The following reflections focus on those methodological dimensions and thematic emphases that take an aesthetic-praxeological perspective on the textual material and that factor in the autological and heterological dimensions of courtly epic poetry, in order to invoke the terminology of the Collaborative Research Center (CRC) 1391 *Different Aesthetics*. Multiple or collaborative authorship always appertains to the criterion of reproducibility. The category of ‘reproductivity’ stands in contrast to the terminology of the ‘autological’ versus the ‘heterological dimension’; it has a share in both areas of the model proposed by the CRC.²⁴ On the one hand, it refers to the cultural knowledge of a written tradition based in rhetoric, as well as to the generic requirements and specifications of the courtly novel. On the other hand, it incorporates the interests of historically concrete contexts and the effects of social practices, which can only be deduced through precise analyses and interpretations of the material evidence. From my perspective, the courtly novel can be adequately understood in its historicity – and also in its aesthetics – through this category, as hopefully has already become clear in my line of argument thus far. I accordingly attempt to trace the conditions (of expression) and possibilities of medieval authorship in the courtly novel in terms of the aesthetics of production and reception. The reconstruction of the text-critical debate over the courtly novel forms the first important field of investigation. It shows how influential the conceptions of the content and form of authorship established here have been, even beyond the narrow context of the discussion of textual criticism. This is followed by reflections on the courtly novel’s autological dimension and the constraints of its genre: the rhetorical-historical approach allows to make plausible conceptions of multiple authorship. As I will argue, abridgements, as a distinct form of representation for courtly epic, are a result of reproductive contact with the previous text. Using examples from the work of Wolfram von Eschenbach, I consolidate my thoughts by considering aspects of reception, variance, and mediality.

24 See the contributions on the research programme: Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2022, pp. 26–29; Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2025.

1. Authorship in the Courtly Novel: the Text-critical Dimension

What is to be done need not be described at length. The rescued and recaptured monuments are kept in careful preservation everywhere; it is of no benefit to us to put them into print hastily so that their content may be opened to mere curiosity, but rather we should make an effort toward the production and protection of their original form. What the past has brought forth must not be at the arbitrary service of the needs or opinion of our present age; instead, the latter must do its utmost that it may pass faithfully through its hands and pass down untampered to the most recent posterity.²⁵

Starting from Joachim Bumke's thesis "that the concept of authorship in the Middle Ages was most closely linked to the transmission of texts,"²⁶ it is also necessary to consider how the discipline of German studies has dealt with this transmission methodologically. The courtly novels of the period around 1200 represented the classical field of application for classical textual criticism in medieval German studies, in the sense of Lachmann's method, for a long time.²⁷ In this regard, it was surely decisive that, since its beginnings, the discipline has operated with emphatic concepts of 'author' and 'text' or 'work' in relation to this genre. Concepts of authorship based on the aesthetics of the genius marked the assumptions and presuppositions of editing, as well as of interpretation. Yet it was not only the transfer of emphatically conceived models of authorship to the genre of the courtly novel that predestined these texts to become objects of Lachmann's classical method; this genre additionally represents a type of text that is literarized to a greater degree than other high medieval genres of text, and which is not based in orality. That the textual form of the courtly verse novels in the extant witnesses to transmission evidences the 'inconstancy' or 'openness' of these texts was brought to the attention of the discipline in the 1990s by Joachim Bumke's text-critical studies on the courtly novels. In particular, Bumke's monograph on the *Nibelungenklage* and his edition of this text are to thank for the fact that the textual history and criticism of the courtly novels have received new impetus. This is an advanced attempt to process the transmission of a courtly narrative with all the means of traditional textual criticism and, at the same time, to outline a theoretical model of medieval textuality on the basis of the analyzed material. Bumke's study, based on the results of his empirical and philological work with texts transmitted by manuscript, seems to depart from a production-related concept of the author – in the sense of a cohering figure centring and organizing the textual material. The model of description and analysis of the 'equivalent parallel versions,' which lays claim to its legitimacy in the corpus of courtly epic poetry, rests on the insight that, in the field of this textual genre, one can assume multiple early, i.e.

25 Grimm 1966, p. 31.

26 Bumke 1997, p. 87.

27 See Müller 1999.

‘author-proximate,’ versions of the texts, which are characterized by a high degree of variability.

While Bumke’s model of ‘equivalent parallel versions’ has been discussed with much approval in the field, objections have also been raised that should be pursued further. Albrecht Hausmann, for instance, defended the text-critical method but pointed out its methodological limitations:

Behind the parallel versions, there may very well stand in principle an archetype and also an authorial text, only this cannot be reconstructed – in any case, not with the means of text-critical comparison. It is not the historical absence of ‘originals’ or ‘archetypes,’ and thus a peculiarity of medieval culture, but rather the impossibility of reconstructing them with one’s own methodological means that was and is the problem of a textual criticism that is directed, by means of the process of collation, at the ‘original’ text. The phenomenon of ‘parallel versions’ is thus the result of a process of collation that assigns a privileged status to primary filiations compared to later stages of transmission; these parallel versions are not ‘equivalent’ in a historical sense but at best in a methodological one, specifically because of their equal position in the stemma.²⁸

In addition, Bumke’s concept of ‘versions’ also shows theoretical implications that model the textuality of courtly novels in a specific way. A philology that postulates the existence of multiple versions of the texts transmitted does not simply state an objective textual finding in the history of transmission, but rather constructs a model of transmission that in turn conceptualizes the scholarly approach by means of editorial and interpretative presuppositions.²⁹ This observation is directed at the fact that Bumke’s investigations into the history of transmission and textual criticism relocate the object of scholarly insight from the text of an author to the versions of a text:

In this way, the concept of the work shifts from the original to the versions. If the epic work is accessible only in different versions, the versions represent the work itself because it is not possible to form an idea of the work independently of the versions.³⁰

Because Bumke insists here on the criterion of ‘creative drive’ or ‘originality’³¹ for the categorical definition of the concept of version, it is not only the boundaries between

28 Hausmann 2001, p. 82.

29 Peter Strohschneider 2001, p. 29, characterizes Bumke’s new conception of the history of the courtly epic’s transmission as the “reconstructive result of a complex multiplicity of hermeneutic operations.”

30 Bumke 1996, pp. 48f.

31 See also Henkel 2001, p. 138: “The introduction of the concept ‘originality’ into the definition seems problematic to me because the recognizably motivated and individually shaped access to a previous state of the text can also be recognized in ‘adaptation.’”

the 'version' of a text and the 'adaptation' of the same that remain fluid.³² The concepts of 'version' and 'adaptation' remain bound to the category of the intentionality of the respective creators of the texts – in the case of versions, to that of the (or an) 'author.' It remains unclear how the model of 'equivalent parallel versions' relates to the category of authorial intention:

This means, however, that the historically specific confusion of the genesis and legitimacy of a text, passed down in the classicist concept of 'originality,' is not disrupted by the concept of 'versions.' Accordingly, the moment of authorization of the text by its creator, i.e. authorship, is also claimed for 'versions,' at least implicitly, and specifically when 'versions' are distinguished from 'adaptations' as 'primary' and 'secondary' versions of texts [...] and when the criterion of their 'originality' encompasses 'a different drive in formulation and design.'³³

Yet the textuality of medieval culture is also tied to the function of the author in the thoughts of Johannes Janota, who, among other things, has produced authoritative editions in the genre context of the highly variable liturgical dramas:

On the contrary, it is precisely the text-altering authorization of a work – through all its distortions of transmission, up to misunderstandings and objective errors – that confirms the authority of the author (even if he remains anonymous) in the updated adaptation. It is thus not only medieval attestations of authors or the collections of declared authors that demand we also retain the concept of the author for the Middle Ages.³⁴

By contrast, one can argue along with the Anglicist Hans Walter Gabler that, in medieval textual production, the entity of the author is less decisive than the act of writing itself, which instead aims at adaptation. The fact of the materiality of a text's genesis is therefore not to be underestimated:

The fact that medieval scribes and *scriptoria* [...] lived happily with the variance in the texts of works, and even participated in their enrichment, in all their efforts to hand down 'good' texts also indisputably suits the assumption that, for medieval poets and their listeners and readers, the names of authors and the faithful reproduction of the thoughts and ideas of transmitted works sufficed as an appeal to 'authorities.' It could be claimed that this was a period for the dissociation of authors and texts. The author-authority stood for the thoughts and meaning of the transmitted works. The texts in which they were transmitted were at the same time both variable and able to

32 See also the criticism of Strohschneider 2001, p. 115: "First of all, the expression 'creative drive' ties the genesis and identity of a version to the position of a subject, which it furnishes with the criterion of intentionality; in this respect, 'versions' and 'adaptations' do not differ from one another. Yet the actuality or non-actuality of a creative drive on the part of a text's originator is not a fact that can be proven by textual analysis."

33 Strohschneider 2001, p. 115.

34 Janota 1998, p. 79.

be critically corrected when being copied, for if scribes did not promote the corruption of the text through their copying errors, they were certainly critical proofreaders and understood themselves as such. In this, there is revealed an immediate attentiveness regarding the materiality of the texts. The text passed down in writing should be, and remain, comprehensible. By contrast, the author, or even the author's intent, remained alien to the copyist who made the transmission of the text possible.³⁵

Within medieval German studies, it seems striking to me that, in discussions about the author and his functions in medieval culture, these are connected with ethical and normative positions, and less with the principle of securing intelligibility:

The figure of the author constitutes itself in the concern over the correct text: in the fulfilment of the rules of art, and in the especially dogmatic correctness of the content. This concern can lead to the liberalization of the text, but also to the assumption of responsibility for the text and therefore to the demand for its conservation. In this sense (not in a genius-aesthetic sense), 'emphatic authorship' also existed in the Middle Ages.³⁶

The debate over the model of 'versions' in the courtly novel reveals that the genre of the courtly novel is closely linked to notions of a creative subject, whose conception of the work should also be tangible in the transmitted versions. Forms of multiple authorship are not taken into account in this summary of the discussion, even though editors are aware of the work processes out of which these texts emerge.

2. Reproductive and Interpretive: Retelling in the Courtly Novel

Han ich nu kunst, div zeige sich!
durch reine hertze, den wise ich
dises bûches rehtez angenge,
des materie vns vil enge
her Wolfram hat betûtet:
div iv wirt baz belûtet.³⁷

Do I own the art, then I show it!
Those who own a pure heart, to them will I reveal
the real opening of the book
whose matter Sir Wolfram von Eschenbach has only
interpreted in a delimited manner:
This I will illuminate for you.

35 Gabler 2012, pp. 320f.

36 Grubmüller 2000, pp. 32f.

37 Ulrich von dem Tûrlin: Arabel, R. 4,1.

Ulrich von dem Türlin takes a surprisingly critical stance on his famous predecessor's narrative practice, which Ulrich wishes to surpass both quantitatively and qualitatively in his attempt to depict the prehistory of those events that Wolfram von Eschenbach treated in his crusade novel. Moreover, in the concept of *materie*, the passage names a central aspect of the conditions of production in the realm of the courtly epic and describes the activity of the *tihter* as reproductive and interpretive.

The finding that the adaptation of the mostly French or Latin originals occurred by means of the expansion or abridgement of the text is of central significance in the description of models of authorship in the courtly novel. The responsibility for such treatment of text was assigned – at least in the essays by Franz-Josef Worstbrock,³⁸ which decisively influenced German studies – to medieval poetic treatises, such as those by Matthew of Vendôme and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, who, taking up classical concepts and postulates, each transformed and codified them for their own contexts, “which is already a practiced and recognized standard of literary practice and linguistic and formal design in the literature of their time.”³⁹ If vernacular authors around 1200 are characterized as ‘retellers’ – a conceptualization has been astoundingly successful – there is some proximity to the concept of the compiler, who, as already explained, shapes anew that which he encounters.⁴⁰

Worstbrock also recognizes significant analogies between the work of the courtly narrators around 1200 and the poetic treatises of medieval Latin.⁴¹ He regards what theoretical discourse and ‘practical’ narrative work share as common perspectives – the *materia* handed down and the *artificium* constitute the text of the reteller – as the “universals of the epoch.”⁴² Yet he also does not ignore the problem that the “concept of *materia* [lacks] a firm contour.”⁴³

Marie-Sophie Masse and Stephanie Seidl describe how to imagine this practice in the context of studies on German-language novels of antiquity, which the two philologists refer to as ‘third-level texts’:

38 Worstbrock 1985; Worstbrock 1999.

39 Henkel 2017, p. 28.

40 See Worstbrock 1999, p. 139: “According to all this, the reteller is not an author in the medieval understanding, but the artifex. Similarly, the Middle High German word ‘*tihtære*,’ as far as I am able to track its occurrence in the realm of epic poetry, does not signify the author, but rather the one who gives it artful form, starting with the rhymes.”

41 Worstbrock 1999, p. 137.

42 See Worstbrock 1999, p. 138: “It [that universal of the epoch, M.B.] is developed in poetics into a rhetorically instrumented operational system in relation to the field of *artificium* that represents procedural possibilities of disposition, expansion and abridgement, and formulation.”

43 Worstbrock 1999, p. 138.

With the *materia*, the *latinitas* also provides instruction for the *tractatio materiae*. The vernacular authors, who very probably received a clerical education, were familiar with Latin theories of poetry, which were taught in schools and codified in the *artes poeticae* from the second half of the 12th century. In this respect, it seems legitimate to use the theory of poetry originally targeted at Latin stylistics for the study of vernacular literature.⁴⁴

In her highly relevant professorial dissertation, Silvia Schmitz refers to the knowledge codified in the medieval *artes poeticae* as ‘rules of adaptation.’⁴⁵ She primarily consults the *Ars versificatoria* of Matthew of Vendôme, the *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf, and his abridged version of the *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*. The focus of her investigations is on *inventio* and its associated procedures of *abbreviatio* and *dilatatio*.⁴⁶ In the *artes poeticae*, the purpose of topical *inventio* to guarantee the principal diversity of arguments is limited (by systematization, the doctrine of *proprietates*, and the *officia* of the *genus demonstrativum*), as Schmitz shows in relation to Matthew. By means of a subtle comparison between Johannes de Garlandia, who appended a separate chapter for *inventio* to his *Parusiana Poetria*, and Matthew, *inventio* is described as a hermeneutic act – as a method of interpreting and shaping *materia* – with the author taking into account the adapting of rhetorical practice to the needs of textual interpretation. Finally, Schmitz points out that the term and the concept of *inventio* can also be targeted at the intellectual penetration of the work.

The medieval conceptualization of *abbreviatio* and *dilatatio* is first set apart from the *minutio* and *amplificatio* of classical rhetoric. Where the conceptual enhancement of the expression and the dilation and the lessening (or concentration) of the expression and the abridgement are combined in classical rhetoric, the qualitative dimension recedes in medieval techniques of textual adaptation:

In contrast to classical techniques, the qualitative dimension recedes in *dilatatio* and *abbreviatio* as encountered in the *artes poeticae*. They are predominantly directed at the expansion or contraction of a given subject. Nonetheless, it must be noted, especially for *amplificatio* and *dilatatio*, that an overly sharp distinction of the two methods does not do justice to either classical or medieval teachings.⁴⁷

44 Masse/Seidl 2016, p. 12.

45 Schmitz 2007. See also Schmitz 2016.

46 Linden 2017, p. 6: “In *amplificatio*, i.e. artful expansion, a poet who works with pre-existing material can demonstrate his own skill. Accordingly, this field receives a great deal of attention in medieval poetic treatises, which adapt their instructions to the contemporary literary situation. In addition, *abbreviatio* and *dilatatio* are two sides of the same coin, specifically two opposite movements in engagement with a basic text, which can also be understood through the image of folding in and folding out.”

47 Schmitz 2007, p. 263.

Abbreviatio and *dilatatio* owe their revaluation in the medieval tradition to the progymnasmata – “for in the rhetorical exercises for paraphrasing and embellishing a subject, considerable significance is attributed to abbreviation and expansion”⁴⁸ – and to the commentary tradition of late antiquity (such as the commentaries of Servius). Through the authority of Virgil, the methods of abridgement and expansion, practiced in school lessons, gain substantial importance as the procedural steps of adaptation. Yet the picture remains complex, conditioned by the hardly uniform terminology and the categorical indeterminacy of these terms in the poetic treatises.

For methods of expansion, Geoffrey names “eight techniques by means of which a *materia* can be expanded: the ‘accumulation of synonymous statements,’ paraphrase (*circuities*), comparison (*collatio*), address (*apostrophia*), personification of the speaker (*prosopopoeia*), excursus (*digressio*), description (*descriptio*), and ‘antithetical means of expression.’”⁴⁹

For techniques of abridgement, Geoffrey correspondingly describes seven methods of textual adaptation, to which belong, for instance, the reduction of expression to the essential (*emphasis*) and the avoidance of repetition.⁵⁰ As Schmitz concludes, Geoffrey treats the techniques of *abbreviatio* only briefly in the *Poetria nova*; however, this undoubtedly has dispositional functions in the order and weighting of the material.

In an important contribution, Ludger Lieb criticized the distinction between *materia* and *artificium* that Wortsbrock, in particular, strongly argued for in the debate, and questioned whether “an applicability of the rhetorical model of Latin poetic treatises to major forms of vernacular narrative is reasonable.”⁵¹ The rhetorical-poetic terms “hardly [lead] to clean enough differentiations.”⁵² Lieb comes to the thought-provoking conclusion

that the application of the rhetorical-poetic concept to courtly novels tends to reduce complexity. It obscures the complex situation of the problem, especially in suggesting that the *artificium* can be separated from the *materia* in epics and novels as it can in fables. Instead of busying oneself historically with *dilatatio* and *abbreviatio* and quickly bumping up against the model’s analytical limitations precisely because of its attractive dichotomy, one could rather emphasize the reciprocal conditionality of *materia* and *artificium* [...].⁵³

48 Schmitz 2007, p. 265.

49 Schmitz 2007, p. 269.

50 Schmitz 2007, p. 269: “For *abbreviatio*, he names seven methods: the reduction of the expression to the essential (*emphasis*), the use of (short) clauses (*articulus*), the ablative absolute (*ablativus*), the avoidance of repetition, the mere allusion to a broad subject, the unconnected order of individual words and groupings of words, and the fusion of several statements into one.”

51 Lieb 2005, p. 357. See also Hasebrink 2009; Gollwitzer-Oh 2012; Köbele 2017.

52 Lieb 2005, p. 359.

53 Lieb 2005, p. 362.

On the one hand, Lieb insists on taking the paradoxes of the semantics of *materia* more seriously than rhetorical approaches do. He states that no interpretation – at least, no methodologically transparent one – can be gained from collections of dilations and abbreviations alone. The question of the relationship between (classical and medieval) ‘theory’ and practice and the practices of writing (and copying) by medieval scribes and redactors should also receive more attention. Of course, the fact that theory and practice also each have a different significance and scope in regard to medieval textual production remains important.⁵⁴ Finally, as Susanne Köbele notes, it must also be considered that, in the context of the practice of courtly narration, it cannot be assumed that one may apply the “strict alternative of stable *materia* on the one hand and variable *artificium* on the other.”⁵⁵

3. The Practice and Poetics of Abridged Courtly Novels

In the course of the debate initiated by Joachim Bumke on the genesis and legitimacy of parallel versions in the context of courtly epic poetry, those versions of texts that have had the term ‘abridgement’ assigned to them, and which have mostly been attributed to the entity of a redactor, have also received new attention in scholarship. Here, for instance, the *J version of *Die Klage* and the *M version of Gottfried’s von Straßburg *Tristan* can be cited, to name just two well-known representatives.⁵⁶ In addition, Joachim Bumke, Nikolaus Henkel, and recently Julia Frick have constructed models for describing the techniques and practices of abridgement, which have emerged from intensive engagement with the stock of transmitted texts.⁵⁷ As this discussion has made clear, abridgements are to be understood as the “form of representation of a distinct type of narration” that enriches the image of a courtly literary scene characterized

54 See Knapp 2014, p. 231: “The *artes poeticae* and other high medieval poetological works and passages are importance indices of this ‘literary infrastructure,’ but [...] by no means constitute it alone. Every medieval storyteller who had attended a better school for a longer period of time or who had had professional contact with an advanced student knew e.g. that a narrative ‘should be short, clear, and verisimilar’ (Rhetorica ad Herennium I,9,14: *ut brevis, ut dilucida, ut veri similis sit*). Storytellers who grossly violate this therefore often attempt to defend themselves seriously or ironically, at least nominally, against reproaches of this kind; thus, for instance, they promise to skip over something out of a need for brevity – in most cases, before they in fact portray it.”

55 Köbele 2017, pp. 167f.

56 The *J version of the *Klage* represents the manuscript I/J Berlin SBB SPK mgf 474 (Nibelungenlied, Klage, Winsbecke and Winsbeckin); Frick 2018 gives a more recent overview of this version of the text. The *M version of *Tristan* represents an illuminated manuscript from Munich, the famous Cgm 51 (Gottfried von Straßburg: *Tristan*, Ulrich von Türlheim: *Fortsetzung*); see Baisch 2006.

57 See Bumke 1996; summaries in Henkel 1992; Henkel 1993. Frick 2018 distinguishes three types of abbreviation by redactors.

by its collectivity.⁵⁸ Because narrative emerges in the courtly epic not infrequently as description (in the context of *descriptions*, for example), the impression of a paucity of information and redundancy arises in reception with regard to the level of plot. By concentrating on the narrative's progression and reducing descriptive elements, such as *ornatus*, a narrative is implemented in which the benefit of conciseness and the avoidance of redundancy come into their own as poles of the effects that can be produced by abridgement.⁵⁹

Abridgements of courtly epic can aim at conventionality; however, this effect is hardly to be understood as a reduction of meaning, but rather as a relocation of meaning. Abridgements always affect the temporal order of the narrative and that which is narrated, such as when adaptation induces an increase in the narrative tempo. Semantic reaccentuations – for example, in regard to conceptions of character – can be observed and given plausibility through a hermeneutics of comparison, which can also assess the validity of interpretations for the non-abridged versions. It may then be possible to discern the formation of a profile that can be understood as an interest in the reception of reproductive or multiple authorship. The text-critical findings for the abridged versions must be carefully kept in view in order to be able to assess the scope of the thesis' formation regarding the drive toward *brevitas*. Contingency and errors in transmission also characterize these processes of textual adaptation and transmission. These are what they are, and they are to be highlighted as such.

4. Multiple Authorship and Forms of Aesthetic Experience

Smaragde wâren die buochstabe, mit rubînen verbundet.
adamante, krisolîte, grânât dâ stuonden. Nie seil baz gehundet
wart, ouch was der hunt vil wol geseilet.
ir muget wol errâten, welhez ih dâ nâme, op wære der hunt dergegene geteilet.

The letters were of emerald, mingled with rubies. There were diamonds, chrysolites, and garnets. Never was a leash better hounded, and indeed the hound was very well leashed. You may well guess which I would choose, if the hound were the alternative choice!⁶⁰

58 Frick 2021, p. 13. See also Frick 2018, p. 25: "In this view, early long versions and abridgements of courtly epics, as different manifestations of medieval retelling within a spectrum with fluid boundaries, represent two narrative modes belonging to the genuine possibilities of the genre, in which the *materia* is in each case retextualized by means of the poetic *artificium* in different ways, i.e. it is always interpreted anew in each case."

59 See Frick 2021, p. 25; see also Frick 2020.

60 Wolfram: Titurel, v. 147,1–4 (Wolfram: Parival and Titurel, trans. Edwards 2006, p. 364, v. 142).

The young, educated noblewoman Sigune gets into a strange situation in a forest clearing where she had wanted to meet her lover, which induces her to undergo a complex aesthetic experience; by means of some writing on a truly luxurious dog leash – the letters of which are formed of gemstones, fastened with gold nails to a cord of precious silk – the young woman receives the story of an unhappy love, namely that of the young Queen Clauditte and the Duke Ehkunaht. Sigune's appreciation of this love story, divested from the courtly context and its public forms of literary reception, has been characterized as a solitary and isolated reading. It has even been interpreted as an expression of "a radical autonomization of literature,"⁶¹ as if Werther, in one of his letters to Wilhelm, were here reporting on his reading of Homer in nature. What exactly the heroine reads, however, requires an interpretation of Wolfram's fragment, the aesthetic strategy of which seems to leave precisely this aspect in the dark. Sigune strives to discern the consciously employed textual strategy of fragmentariness⁶² and to resolve this in a secure understanding of the writing on the dog leash. Yet the hunting dog then escapes her along with the wonderful leash that bears the gemstone script. She can perceive it only for a moment – Sigune's experience is that of the ephemerality of the textual. Stability and duration, properties of the text that later book culture came to appreciate, do not characterize the duchess' act of reading. Whether Sigune perceives the gemstone script on the leash as a form of "blocked textuality,"⁶³ thus aiming at eventfulness, or as a norm-mediating practical text meant to guide the action is difficult to determine. In the case of this written artwork, the aesthetic is to be understood only as a potentiality, specifically "in the sense that even if this possibility is not taken up, the linguistic artwork in question is not yet nihilated in its status as an object of perception."⁶⁴ Perhaps it is the case, however, that Sigune reads the gemstone text in distanced reflexivity as an aesthetic artwork with chiasmic word order, neologisms, ambitious metaphors, and polysemous narrative commentary – role distance seems to be a condition of more complex forms of aesthetic experience. Still, quite a few scholarly positions purport that Sigune's mode of reception proceeds in an identificatory manner.

In Albrecht's von Scharfenberg transformation of Wolfram's stanzas – *Der jüngere Titurel* – it is recounted how Sigune's solitary reading in the forest becomes a courtly public performance in which the text of the dog's leash is anchored "institutionally in Arthur's court."⁶⁵ Where Sigune had previously read the gemstone script on the hunting dog's leash alone and without social oversight or hermeneutic support in Wolfram's narrative – with the result that she 'coveted' the reading of the text, how the text could

61 Brackert 1996, p. 173.

62 See Köbele/Kiening 1998.

63 Strohschneider 2006.

64 Küpper 2001, p. 219.

65 Neukirchen 2006, p. 205.

gain control over her⁶⁶ – the text of the dog leash is made accessible here by a clerically educated intermediary after Tschionatulander and other courtiers wonder about the strange object and its writing. Distressingly, it is ensured that all those present keep quiet under threat of sanctions and that all also hear the instructive message. What is offered on the leash is no *aventure*, but rather courtly doctrine: the text of the inscription⁶⁷ begins as a letter from Clauditte to Ekunat, in which she praises her partner and explains her choice, but then deploys didactic, authoritative speech over a variety of stanzas, which scholarship divides into a doctrine of duties, a doctrine of morals, a doctrine of love, and a doctrine of virtue.⁶⁸ For the narrator, however, the 44 stanzas are, in their entirety, a doctrine of virtue.⁶⁹ Those expecting or hoping for some other knowledge of Wolfram's fragment, such as a narrative of the *aventure* about Clauditte and Ekunat, will be disappointed.

This view of an (admittedly unusual) situation for the reception of courtly literature yields interesting aspects in regard to the issue of the historical configurations of multiple authorship. *Titarel* imagines the result of reproductive or multiple authorship in the context of a primarily courtly and exorbitant display of splendour, which emphasizes the materiality and mediality of writing and text. Its reception – first through Signune's solitary and free interpretation and then, in Albrecht's retelling, in the collective and directed performance of teaching – corresponds on the side of production to the scalable participation in authorship.

5. Dialogue of the Variants: *krâm* or *chranz* – *minne* or *helfe*.

To What Has the Duchess Orgeluse Committed Herself?

At the end of Wolfram's von Eschenbach grail novel *Parzival*, King Gramoflanz and the Arthurian knight Gawain are to meet in a chivalric duel in the field near Jôflanze. After Gawain's return to his beloved, she, the Duchess Orgeluse, kneels before Gawain (like Laudine before Yvain in Hartmann's second Arthurian novel) and asks to be excused for the things she had demanded of him. The knight – who up to that point had to endure nothing but mockery and insults from the duchess, yet who was able to demonstrate his great capacity for suffering and willingness to love as a result – retorts that her mockery is also inappropriate because it has damaged the institution of knighthood. He then hands over the garland stolen from Gramoflanz, thereby eliciting a strong emotional reaction in the duchess. In tears, and with great rhetorical gesticulation, she tells the

66 Wenzel 1997, p. 270.

67 Albrecht: Jüngerer Titarel 1, v. 1874–1927.

68 Haug 1992, esp. pp. 368–370; see also Baisch et al. 2010.

69 Albrecht: Jüngerer Titarel 1, v. 1508.

Arthurian knight of her lover and husband Cidegast – *der triuwe ein monîzirus* (of fidelity a unicorn)⁷⁰ – and of his death, for which King Gramoflanz is responsible. Gawain tells her about his impending duel with the latter, forgives her everything, and asks for the immediate granting of her favour: after all, no one else is there.⁷¹ The duchess sharply reproaches him and begins crying again.⁷² The tears get through to the hero: *unz er mit ir klagete* (so long he lamented with her).⁷³ In response, Orgeluse tells Gawain of the pact she made with the magician Clinschor.⁷⁴ In order to take revenge on Gramoflanz, the duchess sought the help and the service of knights whom she sent into battle against Gramoflanz. Among them was King Amfortas, with whom she entered into a love affair. She received from him valuable goods from Thabronit as a gift; he received in her service the wound that forms a narrative centre in Wolfram's narrative cosmos. The duchess uses that gift from Amfortas, who could no longer tend to the protection of Orgeluse following his wounding, to steady her friendship with the dangerous magician Clinschor.

The D and G manuscripts of *Parzival*, central to Lachmann's edition, transmit notable presumptive variants in this part of the text:

D, L:

durch vride ich Clinschore dar
gap mînen *krâm* nâch rîcheite var:
swenne diu âventiur wurde erliten,
swer den prîs het erstriten,
an den solt ich *minne* suochen:

wolt er min [nur g: minne] niht geruochen,
der *krâm* wær anderstunde mîn
(italics: M.B.)

In order to have peace with Clinschor,
I gave him my wonderful things.
If ever one should pass the adventure
obtain victory,
I should seek my love with him.
If he, however, would not want me (my love),
then the things should fall back to me.

G:

Dur fride ich chlinshor.
Dar gap minem *chranz*.
Nach rîcheit wurde ganz.
swenne diu aventiur wurde erbiten.
swer den pris het erstriten.
an den solt ich *helfe* suochen.
wolt er min niht geruochen.
der *chranz* wær anderstunde min.
(italics: M.B.)

To have peace with Clinschor,
I gave him my wonderful wreath.
If ever one should have solicited the adventure
and could and could obtain victory,
I should look for help with him.
If he, however, would not want (to support) me,
then the wreath should fall back to me.

70 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 613,22.

71 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 615,1.

72 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 615,22.

73 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 615,23.

74 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 617,17–23.

It is perhaps less conspicuous that manuscript G replaces *krâm* (things) with *chranz* (wreath); like D, it elsewhere transmits *krâm*.⁷⁵ Rather, it is worth considering how the manuscripts differ in their report of what the duchess pledged to the one who knew how to survive the adventure over the dangerous ford.

One must [...] ask oneself whether Orgeluse has forgotten that she made a contractual pledge to Clinschor to compete for the love of the one who survives the adventure of *Schastel marveile* (617,19ff.). When she meets Gawain again after his victory on *Lit marveile*, she treats him just as contemptuously as before (598,16ff.). Gisela Zimmermann has pointed out that Orgeluse has committed herself to *minne* (617,21) towards the victor of *Schastel marveile* only in the manuscripts of the *D class; in most manuscripts of the *G class, *helfe* [help] stands in place of *minne* [love].⁷⁶

Yet not only this – Gisela Zimmermann has also tried to vindicate the text transmitted in manuscript G with arguments that are worth taking into account:

Orgeluse could ask for *helfe* [help] from the conqueror of the hall's magic even if she had previously given her love to another. At first, she is also interested in *helfe* when she meets Gawain again. In addition, the version of manuscript G now allows us to attribute some influence on Orgeluse's behaviour after Gawain's first success on *Schastel marveile* to the arrangement between Orgeluse and Clinschor. This arrangement – but not the version in manuscript D – can also be squared with the fact that Orgeluse makes any reward for Gawain dependent on the outcome of the adventure at the ford. A caveat of this kind would hardly be comprehensible if she were obliged to win his love.⁷⁷

Previous editions of the text follow Lachmann's editorial decision and adopt the text of D. Future interpretations of Wolfram's von Eschenbach *Parzival* should not only carefully appreciate the results of text-critical research, as the work of the Bern *Parzival* project impressively attests, but also implement them appropriately in their analyses.

6. Mediality

Any archetype exists primarily as an intellectualized standard for evaluating the variations worked out in the individual texts. These manuscript texts, in themselves and in their mutability, are the proper subject of critical analysis. Since they represent a collaborative re-creation involving authors, performers, revisers, and scribes, the work is completely detached from its originator, who at any event had thoroughly subverted his individuality in the production of literary compositions.⁷⁸

75 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 617,6.

76 Bumke 1994, p. 110.

77 Zimmermann 1972, p. 146. See also Zimmermann 1974.

78 Speer 1980, p. 318.

The great interest in the figure of Cundrîe revealed by the cycle of pictures in the famous Cgm 19 – which probably came into being in the second third of the 13th century and which transmits Wolfram's von Eschenbach *Parzival*, both fragments of *Titurel*, and two of Wolfram's *Tagelieder* – corresponds to the lack of interest in a figure who even so occupies a prominent position in Wolfram's Arthurian grail novel.⁷⁹ The Duchess Orgeluse, as well as Arnîve, Sangîve, and Itonjê (i.e. King Arthur's female relatives), who all play an important role in the peace negotiations in Book XIV of the novel, are almost disregarded in the pictorial presentation. That book narrates how the battle between King Gramoflanz and Gawain is able to be settled peacefully thanks to King Arthur's skill in negotiation; however, Arthur only develops the initiative to do so when he is urged on by his female relatives. In the end, not only are ritual kisses of reconciliation exchanged between the hostile parties, but Arthur also brings about a sequence of political marriages: *Artus was der frouwen milte*.⁸⁰ The first illustrated page transmitted in Cgm 19 (Fig. 1)

tells the story of the amicable settlement of the conflict by Arthur in a scenic sequence. Three bands are arranged from top to bottom, depicting the consultation with the messengers and preliminary conversations in the tent, the meeting of the convoys, and the reconciliation of the parties in the conflict. In all three bands of the image, the area of confidentiality is delimited by the tents standing on the left and right. The preparatory discussions take place in them. The space in between is in natural surroundings and freely visible, and is thus the space for the production of the public sphere.⁸¹

Among the illustrated manuscripts of *Parzival*, it is only manuscript G of Wolfram that selects the conflict resolution scene described here as a pictorial motif. Monika Unzeitig-Herzog sees this as evidence of how decidedly current the political theme of reconciliation, also represented in Wolfram's text, was for the early 13th century.⁸²

The upper register on fol. 49^r depicts Gramoflanz in the tent on the right taking counsel, probably with his uncle Brandelidelin. The messengers, signified by the saddled horses, are to inform Arthur that Gramoflanz wishes to fight Gawain and no one else. In the tent on the left, King Arthur – who, like Gramoflanz, is labelled with a scroll – confers with his female relatives. Sangîve, Arthur's sister; Arnîve, his mother; and Itonjê, his granddaughter, call on the king to tell him of the (long-distance) love between Gramoflanz and Itonjê. Does the blank scroll refer to Gramoflanz' love letter to Itonjê?

The middle register of this page illustrates Arthur and Gramoflanz meeting each other with their followers on the plain of Jôflanze. Both are wearing silver crowns, are

79 Cf. to this cycle of images most recently Fahr-Rühland 2021; see also Saurma-Jeltsch 1992 and Ott 1993.

80 Wolfram: *Parzival*, v. 730,11.

81 Unzeitig-Herzog 1998, pp. 215 f.

82 Unzeitig-Herzog 1998, pp. 215 f.



Fig. 1. Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival – Titurel – Tagelied.
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Cgm 19, fol. 49r.

unarmed, and are again labelled with a scroll. The throng of knights accompanying King Gramoflanz is explicitly mentioned in Wolfram's novel; however, as portrayed by Wolfram, it is not Arthur but Gawain's brother Beacurs who rides out to Gramoflanz on Arthur's behalf. On the left-hand side of the image is probably Queen Guinevere in the tent at the back.

The lower register depicts two scenes that are consecutive in the novel: the reconciliation of the parties and the deeds of the *frouwen milte* Arthur respectively. The two episodes are contrasted with each other through different ratios. While the text elucidates the sizeable contribution that the female figures make toward preventing the battle between Gramoflanz and Gawain, not a single female figure on this side of the picture has been furnished with a scroll. The greeting kiss and the embrace between Gramoflanz and Itonjê are depicted in the centre of the picture; the actual reconciliation between the parties in the conflict is signified by a handshake between Gawain and Gramoflanz. The greeting and reconciliation scenes are thus consolidated into a single image. By contrast, there is no portrayal of the reconciliation between Orgeluse and Gramoflanz in the pictorial scheme. On the right-hand edge of the picture, Arthur arranges the marriage between Gramoflanz and Itonjê. The lower register of the image is therefore less concerned with the pictorial realization of the complex relationships that the peace settlement between the parties must observe; instead, it illustrates the love story between Gramoflanz and Itonjê, which ends happily.

The sequence of images in the Munich *Tristan* Cgm 51 and the *Parzival* Cgm 19 creates a 'new story' that presupposes the text but that – by force of the immanent horizon of meaning of the iconographic formulae developed in Christian art – reinterprets it and narrates it independently.⁸³

In Norbert Ott's view of the illustrations of courtly literature, the image thus, on the one hand, asserts an autonomous position but, on the other hand, is connected back to the interests of courtly society and culture (to a greater degree than the verse novels themselves). The picture cycles are understood as witnesses to the texts' reception and are related to a use-context that seems to govern their pictorial schemes directly and guides their design in a deproblematizing and legitimizing manner. Ott's methodological approach is based on the concept of an expanded concept of literature

that asks less about the autonomy of the individual literary texts and more about its 'situation' in literary and social life; about the function of literature, its use by groups of patrons and classes of users; about the reception, and thus the related transformation, of the textual situation.⁸⁴

83 Ott 1993, p. 63.

84 Ott 1984, pp. 356f.

Ott also fruitfully applies this approach concerning the history of transmission to the study of manuscript illustrations.

In addition to the representative idea of the *aventure* of battle and *minne* as exemplary ideologisms – or [...] as the displacement of this society's contradictions – there also seems to be, in the use-context of the pictorial witnesses, an appeal to the balancing of violence, to the pacification of feudal anarchy, to the securing of territorial sovereignty as signalled by *minne* and marriages resulting from *minne*. The central use-proposition of medieval pictorial witnesses, according to reproaches of the courtly novel, is the self-identification, the representative idealization of one's own societal norms, often by means of the model of ideal *minne*, in which feudal marriage and personal romantic relationships are brought together.⁸⁵

The historically specific variance of the macro-narratives that dominate in a culture materializes in the difference not only between the versions of a text but also in the different affordances of meaning that a text and the pictorial cycle associated with it each update. This can be observed in how text and image develop a divergent way of dealing with the systems of norms and meaning that determine them. Text and image become the media of such means of access and the respective 'commentary' on the other form of expression.⁸⁶

In the reconciliation scene, in which ritual kisses are exchanged between the participants, the manuscript transmission evidences the seismic nature of the event. When Gramoflanz asks the duchess for *suone* (atonement) and kisses her, manuscript D reads: *dar umbe si weinens luste* (therefore she liked to weep).⁸⁷ The verse in Cgm 19, by contrast, reads: *Des si doh wenc lûste* (At this she was little delighted). In manuscript G, Orgeluse does not weep; she merely endures the reconciliation with reluctance.

*

This chapter takes up questions about the concepts and functions of medieval authorship, as these are also (and especially) amplified in the parallel versions of courtly epic poetry in the 12th and 13th centuries. These forms of authorship can be characterized, as argued, as multiple as well as collaborative, insofar as different entities are involved in the manufacture of these works. The focus of these considerations was on the (propositional) conditions and possibilities of medieval authorship, using the example of the textual genre of the courtly novel. According to my argument, these can be comprehensively described using the concept of 'reproductivity.'

85 Ott 1982/1983, p. 20. The concept of 'use-function,' which is important to Ott's approach, is found in Kuhn 1936.

86 See Nichols 1989.

87 Wolfram: Parzival, v. 729,20.

Bibliography

Primary Literature

- Albrecht: Jüngerer Titurel 1 = Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel, vol. 1 with stanzas 1–1957, nach den ältesten und besten Handschriften, ed. by Werner Wolf, Berlin 1955 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 45).
- Albrecht: Jüngerer Titurel 2 = Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel, vol. 2 with stanzas 1958–4394, nach den ältesten und besten Handschriften, ed. by Werner Wolf, Berlin 1964–1968 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 55/61).
- Albrecht: Jüngerer Titurel 3 = Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel, vol. 3 with stanzas 4395–6237, nach den Grundsätzen von Werner Wolf, ed. by Kurt Nyholm, Berlin 1985–1992 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 73/77).
- Albrecht: Jüngerer Titurel 4 = Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel. vol. 4: Textfassungen von Handschriften nach den Mittelgruppen, ed. by Kurt Nyholm, Berlin 1995 (Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters 79).
- Ulrich von dem Türlin: Arabel = Ulrich von dem Türlin: Arabel. Die ursprüngliche Fassung und ihre Bearbeitung, ed. by Werner Schröder, Stuttgart/Leipzig 1999.
- Wolfram: Parzival = Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival. Study edition, Middle High German text based on the 6th ed. by Karl Lachmann, trans. by Peter Knecht, introd. by Bernd Schiroke, Berlin/New York 1998.
- Wolfram: Titurel = Wolfram von Eschenbach: Titurel, ed., trans. and provided with a commentary and materials by Helmut Brackert and Stephan Fuchs-Jolie, Berlin 2002.
- Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival. Auf der Grundlage der Handschrift D, ed. by Joachim Bumke, Tübingen 2008 (Altdeutsche Textbibliothek 119).
- Wolfram: Parzival and Titurel = Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival and Titurel, trans. by Clive Edwards, London 2006.

Secondary Literature

- Baisch 2006 = Baisch, Martin: Textkritik als Herausforderung der Kulturwissenschaft. *Tristan*-Lektüren, Berlin/New York 2006 (Trends in Medieval Philology 9).
- Baisch et al. 2010 = Baisch, Martin/Meyer, Matthias/Keller, Johannes/Kragl, Florian (eds.): *Der Jüngere Titurel* zwischen Didaxe und Verwilderung. Neue Beiträge zu einem schwierigen Werk, Göttingen 2010 (Aventiuren 6).
- Bastert/Bihrer/Reuvekamp-Felber 2017 = Bastert, Bernd/Bihrer, Andreas/Reuvekamp-Felber, Timo (eds.): *Mäzenaten im Mittelalter aus europäischer Perspektive. Von historischen Akteuren zu literarischen Textkonzepten*, Göttingen 2017 (Encomia Deutsch 4).
- Benz 2021 = Benz, Maximilian: Volkssprachige Literatur und höfische Kultur um 1200. Pasticcio über eine hofklerikale Perspektive, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte* 95.1 (2021), pp. 1–21.
- Bezner 2019 = Bezner, Frank: Literaturbetrieb – Mittelalter, in: Eva von Contzen/Stefan Tilg (eds.): *Handbuch Historische Narratologie*, Berlin 2019, pp. 44–57.
- Bleumer 2015 = Bleumer, Hartmut: Autor und Metapher. Zum Begriffsproblem in der germanistischen Mediävistik – am Beispiel von Wolframs *Parzival*, in: Susanne Friede/Michael Schwarze (eds.): *Autorschaft und Autorität in den romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters*, Berlin/Boston 2015 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 390), pp. 13–40.

- Brackert 1996 = Brackert, Helmut: Sinnspuren. Die Brackenseilinschrift in Wolframs von Eschenbach Titurel, in: Harald Haferland/Michael Mecklenburg (eds.): Erzählungen in Erzählungen. Phänomene der Narration in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Munich 1996 (Forschungen zur Geschichte der Älteren Deutschen Literatur 19), pp. 155–175.
- Braun/Gerok-Reiter 2019 = Braun, Manuel/Gerok-Reiter, Annette: Selbstbezüglichkeit und ästhetische Reflexionsfigur als Bausteine einer historischen Literarästhetik. Einige grundsätzliche Überlegungen aus Sicht der germanistischen Mediävistik, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter/Stefanie Gropper/Jörg Robert/Anja Wolkenhauer (eds.): Ästhetische Reflexionsfiguren in der Vormoderne, Heidelberg 2019 (Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift 88), pp. 35–66.
- Bumke 1979 = Bumke, Joachim: Mäzene im Mittelalter. Die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland 1150–1300, Munich 1979.
- Bumke 1986 = Bumke, Joachim: Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter, 2 vols., Munich 1986 (dtv 4442).
- Bumke 1994 = Bumke, Joachim: Geschlechterbeziehungen in den Gawan-Büchern von Wolframs Parzival, in: Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik 38/39 (1994), pp. 105–121.
- Bumke 1996 = Bumke, Joachim: Die vier Fassungen der *Nibelungenklage*. Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte und Textkritik der höfischen Epik im 13. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1996 (Quellen und Forschungen zur Literatur- und Kulturgeschichte 8 [242]).
- Bumke 1997 = Bumke, Joachim: Autor und Werk. Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zur höfischen Epik (ausgehend von der Donaueschinger Parzivalhandschrift G⁵), in: Helmut Tervooren/Horst Wenzel (eds.): Philologie als Textwissenschaft. Alte und neue Horizonte. Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 116 (1997), pp. 87–114.
- Fahr-Rühland 2021 = Fahr-Rühland, Nina: Symmetrie und Symbolik. Bildliches Erzählen in den Parzival-Illustrationen des CGM 19, in: Volker Leppin (ed.): Schaffen und Nachahmen. Kreative Prozesse im Mittelalter, Berlin/Boston 2021 (Das Mittelalter, Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung, Beihefte 16), pp. 171–190.
- Felber 2001 = Felber, Timo: Autorschaft als Textfunktion. Zur Interdependenz von Erzählerstilisierung, Stoff und Gattung in der Epik des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, in: Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 120.1 (2001), pp. 1–23.
- Frick 2018 = Frick, Julia: *abbreviatio*. Zur historischen Signifikanz von Kürzungsfunktionen in der mittelhochdeutschen höfischen Epik des 13. Jahrhunderts. Eine Projektskizze, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 140.1 (2018), pp. 23–50.
- Frick 2020 = Frick, Julia: Zwischen Sinnreduktion und Prägnanz. Kürzung als Instrument der Sinnbildung in historischer Poetik und literarischer Reflexion, in: Birgit Zacke/Peter Glasner/Susanne Flecken-Büttner/Satu Heiland (eds.): Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung 2020. Themenheft 5: Text und Textur. WeiterDichten und AndersErzählen im Mittelalter, Oldenburg 2020, pp. 219–244.
- Frick 2021 = Frick, Julia: Literarische Kürzung. Konzepte der *abbreviatio* in historischer Perspektive, in: Julia Frick/Oliver Grütter (eds.): *abbreviatio*. Historische Perspektiven auf ein rhetorisch-poetisches Prinzip, Basel 2021, pp. 9–41.
- Friede/Schwarze 2015 = Friede, Susanne/Schwarze, Michael: Einleitung, in: Susanne Friede/Michael Schwarze (eds.): Autorschaft und Autorität in den romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters, Berlin/Boston 2015 (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 390), pp. 1–12.
- Gabler 2012 = Gabler, Hans Walter: Wider die Autorzentriertheit in der Edition, in: Jahrbuch des freien deutschen Hochstifts 2012, pp. 316–348.
- Gebert 2021 = Gebert, Bent: Heterogene Autorschaft und digitale Textanalyse. Ein Experiment zum kompilatorischen Erzählstil Konrads von Würzburg, in: Norbert Kössinger/Astrid Lembke (eds.):

- Beiträge zur mediävistischen Erzählforschung 2021. Themenheft 10: Konrad von Würzburg als Erzähler, Oldenburg 2021, pp. 309–344.
- Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2022 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette/Robert, Jörg: Andere Ästhetik – Akte und Artefakte in der Vormoderne. Zum Forschungsprogramm des SFB 1391, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter/Jörg Robert/Matthias Bauer/Anna Pawlak (eds.): *Andere Ästhetik. Grundlagen – Fragen – Perspektiven*, Berlin/Boston 2022 (*Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten* 1), pp. 3–51.
- Gerok-Reiter/Robert 2025 = Gerok-Reiter, Annette/Robert, Jörg: *Different Aesthetics – Premodern Acts and Artifacts. The Program of the Tübingen Collaborative Research Center 1391*, in: Annette Gerok-Reiter/Jörg Robert/Matthias Bauer/Anna Pawlak (eds.): *Different Aesthetics. Principles – Questions – Perspectives*, Berlin/Boston 2025 (*Andere Ästhetik – Koordinaten* 1E), pp. 3–48.
- Gollwitzer-Oh 2012 = Gollwitzer-Oh, Kathrin: *materia und artificium*. Tradition und poetischer Möglichkeitssinn im *Eneasroman* Heinrichs von Veldeke, in: Hartwin Brandt/Benjamin Pohl/W. Maurice Sprague/Lina K. Hörl (eds.): *Erfahren, Erzählen, Erinnern. Narrative Konstruktionen von Gedächtnis und Generation in Antike und Mittelalter*, Bamberg 2012 (*Bamberger Historische Studien* 9), pp. 169–194.
- Grimm 1966 = Grimm, Jacob: An Professor von Savigny, in: *Reden und Aufsätze. Eine Auswahl*, ed. by Wilhelm Schoof, Munich 1966, pp. 28–34.
- Grubmüller 2000 = Grubmüller, Klaus: Verändern und Bewahren. Bewusstsein vom Text im deutschen Mittelalter, in: Ursula Peters (ed.): *Text und Kultur. Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150–1450*, Stuttgart/Weimar 2000 (*Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände* 23), pp. 8–33.
- Hasebrink 2009 = Hasebrink, Burkhard: Die Ambivalenz des Erneuerns. Zur Aktualisierung des Tradierten im mittelalterlichen Erzählen, in: Ursula Peters/Rainer Warning (eds.): *Fiktion und Fiktionalität in den Literaturen des Mittelalters*. Jan-Dirk Müller zum 65. Geburtstag, Munich/Paderborn 2009, pp. 205–217.
- Haug 1992 = Haug, Walter: Albrechts *Jüngerer Titurel*. Ethos und Magie der Brackenseilinschrift, in: Walter Haug (ed.): *Literaturtheorie im deutschen Mittelalter. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd, rev. and exp. ed., Darmstadt 1992, pp. 364–375.
- Hausmann 2001 = Hausmann, Albrecht: Mittelalterliche Überlieferung als Interpretationsaufgabe. ‘Laudines Kniefall’ und das Problem des ‘ganzen Textes,’ in: Ursula Peters (ed.): *Text und Kultur. Mittelalterliche Literatur 1150–1450*, Stuttgart/Weimar 2000 (*Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände* 23), pp. 72–95.
- Heinzle 1993 = Heinzle, Joachim (ed.): *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter*. DFG-Symposion 1991, Stuttgart 1993 (*Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände* 14).
- Helle 2019 = Helle, Sophus: What Is An Author? Old Answers to a New Question, in: *Modern Language Quarterly* 80.2 (2019), pp. 113–139.
- Henkel 1992 = Henkel, Nikolaus: Kurzfassungen höfischer Erzähltexte als editorische Herausforderung, in: *Editio* 6 (1992), pp. 1–11.
- Henkel 1993 = Henkel, Nikolaus: Kurzfassungen höfischer Erzähldichtung im 13./14. Jahrhundert. Überlegungen zum Verhältnis von Textgeschichte und literarischer Interessenbildung, in: Joachim Heinzle (ed.): *Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter*. DFG-Symposion 1991, Stuttgart/Weimar 1993 (*Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände* 14), pp. 39–59.
- Henkel 2001 = Henkel, Nikolaus: Rezension zu Joachim Bumke: *Die vier Fassungen der Nibelungenklage* und Joachim Bumke (ed.): *Die Nibelungenklage*, in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 123 (2001), pp. 137–144.
- Henkel 2017 = Henkel, Nikolaus: Reduktion als poetologisches Prinzip. Verdichtung von Erzählungen im lateinischen und deutschen Hochmittelalter, in: Franz-Josef Holznagel/Jan Cölln (eds.) (in Verbindung mit Ricarda Bauschke-Hartung und Susanne Köbele): *Die Kunst der brevitās*. Kleine

- literarische Formen des deutschsprachigen Mittelalters. Rostocker Kolloquium 2014, Berlin 2017 (Wolfram-Studien 24), pp. 27–55.
- Janota 1998 = Janota, Johannes: Mittelalterliche Texte als Entstehungsvarianten, in: Andrea Bartl/Jürgen Eder/Harry Fröhlich/Klaus Dieter Post/Ursula Regener (eds.): "In Spuren gehen ..." Festschrift für Helmut Koopmann, Tübingen 1998, pp. 65–80.
- Kellner/Strohschneider/Wenzel 2005 = Kellner, Beate/Strohschneider, Peter/Wenzel, Franziska (eds.): Geltung der Kunst. Formen ihrer Autorisierung und Legitimierung im Mittelalter, Berlin 2005 (Philologische Studien und Quellen 190).
- Kelly 1999 = Kelly, Douglas: The Conspiracy of Allusion. Description, Rewriting, and Authorship from Macrobius to Medieval Romance, Leiden 1999 (Studies in the History of Christian Thought 97).
- Knapp 2014 = Knapp, Fritz Peter: Poetik, in: Fritz Peter Knapp (ed.): Die Rezeption lateinischer Wissenschaft, Spiritualität, Bildung und Dichtung aus Frankreich, Berlin/Boston 2014 (Germania Litteraria Mediaevalis Francigena 1), pp. 217–242.
- Köbele 2017 = Köbele, Susanne: Registerwechsel. Wiedererzählen, bibelesch (Der Saelden Hort, Die Erlösung, Lutwins Adam und Eva), in: Bruno Quast/Susanne Spreckelmeier (Hgg): Inkulturation. Strategien bibeleschen Schreibens in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Berlin/Boston 2017 (Literatur. Theorie. Geschichte 12), pp. 167–202.
- Köbele/Kiening 1998 = Köbele, Susanne/Kiening, Christian: Wilde Minne. Metapher und Erzählwelt in Wolframs *Titel*, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur 120 (1998), pp. 234–265.
- Köhler 1981 = Köhler, Erich: Der Roman in der Romania, in: Henning Krauß (ed.): Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft, vol. 7: Europäisches Hochmittelalter, Wiesbaden 1981, pp. 243–282.
- Kragl 2019 = Kragl, Florian: Autor und Erzähler – Mittelalter, in: Eva von Contzen/Stefan Tilg (eds.): Handbuch Historische Narratologie, Berlin 2019, pp. 82–93.
- Kuhn 1936 = Kuhn, Hugo: Mittelalterliche Kunst und ihre 'Gegebenheit.' Kritisches zum geisteswissenschaftlichen Frage-Ansatz, in: Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte 14 (1936), pp. 223–245.
- Küpper 2001 = Küpper, Joachim: Einige Überlegungen zur Ästhetik des Wortkunstwerks, in: Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und Allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft 46.2 (2001), pp. 209–226.
- Lieb 2005 = Lieb, Ludger: Die Potenz des Stoffes. Eine kleine Metaphysik des 'Wiedererzählens,' in: Joachim Bumke/Ursula Peters (eds.): Retextualisierung in der mittelalterlichen Literatur. Sonderheft der Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie 124 (2005), pp. 356–379.
- Linden 2017 = Linden, Sandra: Exkurse im höfischen Roman, Wiesbaden 2017 (Münchener Texte und Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters 147).
- Masse/Seidl 2016 = Masse, Marie Sophie/Seidl, Stephanie: 'Texte dritter Stufe.' Eine Einleitung, in: Marie Sophie Masse/Stephanie Seidl (eds.): 'Texte dritter Stufe.' Deutschsprachige Antikenromane in ihrem lateinisch-romanischen Kontext, Berlin/Münster 2016 (Kultur und Technik 31), pp. 9–19.
- Minnis 1984 = Minnis, Alastair J.: Medieval Theory of Authorship. Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages, London 1984.
- Müller 1993 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Zu einigen Problemen des Konzepts 'Literarische Interessenbildung,' in: Joachim Heinze (ed.): Literarische Interessenbildung im Mittelalter. DFG-Symposium 1991, Stuttgart 1993 (Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände 14), pp. 365–384.
- Müller 1995 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Auctor – Actor – Author. Einige Anmerkungen zum Verständnis vom Autor in lateinischen Schriften des frühen und hohen Mittelalters, in: Felix P. Ingold/Werner Wunderlich (eds.): Der Autor im Dialog. Beiträge zu Autorität und Autorschaft, St. Gallen 1995, pp. 17–31.
- Müller 1999 = Müller, Jan-Dirk: Aufführung – Autor – Werk. Zu einigen blinden Stellen gegenwärtiger Diskussion, in: Nigel F. Palmer/Hans-Jochen Schiewer (eds.): Mittelalterliche Literatur und Kunst

- im Spannungsfeld von Hof und Kloster. Ergebnisse der Berliner Tagung 9.–11. Oktober 1997, Tübingen 1999, pp. 149–165.
- Neukirchen 2006 = Neukirchen, Thomas: Die ganze *aventure* und ihre *lere*. Der *jüngere Tituel* Albrechts als Kritik und Vervollkommenung des *Parzival* Wolframs von Eschenbach, Heidelberg 2006 (Beihefte zum *Euphorion* 52).
- Nichols 1989 = Nichols, Stephen G.: The Image as Textual Unconscious: Medieval Manuscripts, in: *L'Esprit Créateur* 29.1 (1989), pp. 7–23.
- Nichols 2006 = Nichols, Stephen G.: The Medieval 'Author.' An Idea Whose Time Hadn't Come?, in: Virginie Green (ed.): *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*, New York 2006, pp. 77–101.
- Nichols 2016 = Nichols, Stephen G.: From Parchment to Cyberspace. Medieval Literature in the Digital Age, New York et al. 2016 (Medieval Interventions. New Light on Traditional Thinking 2).
- Ott 1982/1983 = Ott, Norbert H.: Geglückte Minne-Aventure. Zur Szenenauswahl literarischer Bildzeugnisse im Mittelalter. Die Beispiele des Rodenecker *Iwein*, des Runkelsteiner *Tristan*, des Braunschweiger *Gawan*- und des Frankfurter *Wilhelm-von-Orlens*-Teppichs, in: *Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft* 2 (1982/1983), pp. 1–32.
- Ott 1984 = Ott, Norbert H.: Überlieferung, Ikonographie – Anspruchsniveau, Gebrauchssituation. Methodisches zum Problem der Beziehungen zwischen Stoffen, Texten und Illustrationen in Handschriften des Spätmittelalters, in: Ludger Grenzmann/Karl Stackmann (eds.): *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, Stuttgart 1984 (Germanistische Symposien-Berichtsbände 5), pp. 356–386.
- Ott 1993 = Ott, Norbert H.: Bildstruktur statt Textstruktur. Zur visuellen Organisation mittelalterlicher narrativer Bildzyklen. Die Beispiele des Wienhausener *Tristan*teppichs I, des Münchner *Parzival* Cgm 19 und des Münchner *Tristan* Cgm 51, in: Klaus Dirscherl (ed.): *Bild und Text im Dialog*, Passau 1993 (Passauer Interdisziplinäre Kolloquien 3), pp. 53–70.
- Peters 2009 = Peters, Ursula: Die 'Gesellschaft' der höfischen Dichtung im Spiegel der Forschungsgeschichte, in: *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 128.1 (2009), pp. 3–28.
- Peters 2018 = Peters, Ursula: Die Rückkehr der 'Gesellschaft' in die Kulturwissenschaft. Zur gesellschaftsgeschichtlichen Neuorientierung der Mittelalterphilologie, in: *Scientia Poetica. Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Literatur und der Wissenschaften* 22.1 (2018), pp. 1–52.
- Saurma-Jeltsch 1992 = Saurma-Jeltsch, Lieselotte E.: Zum Wandel der Erzählweise am Beispiel der illustrierten deutschen *Parzival*-Handschriften, in: *Wolfram-Studien* 12 (1992), pp. 124–152.
- Schmitz 2007 = Schmitz, Silvia: Die Poetik der Adaptation. Literarische *inventio* im *Eneas* Heinrichs von Veldeke, Tübingen 2007 (Hermaea 113).
- Schmitz 2016 = Schmitz, Silvia: Wenn eine Hindin nicht mehr 'modern' ist. Heinrichs von Veldeke *Eneas* und der Verlust poetischer Komplexität 'auf dritter Stufe,' in: Marie Sophie Masse/Stephanie Seidl (eds.): 'Texte dritter Stufe.' Deutschsprachige Antikenromane in ihrem lateinisch-romanischen Kontext, Berlin 2016 (Kultur und Technik 31), pp. 21–37.
- Speer 1980 = Speer, Mary B.: Wrestling with Change: Old French Textual Criticism and *Mouvance*, in: *Olifant* 7.4 (1980), pp. 311–326.
- Stierle 1994 = Stierle, Karlheinz: Cortoisie. Die literarische Erfindung eines höfischen Ideals, in: *Poetica* 26 (1994), pp. 256–283.
- Strohschneider 2001 = Strohschneider, Peter: Rezension zu Joachim Bumke (ed.): *Die Nibelungenklage*. Synoptische Ausgabe aller vier Fassungen, Berlin / New York 1999, in: *Arbitrium* 1 (2001), pp. 26–32.
- Strohschneider 2006 = Strohschneider, Peter: Sternenschrift. Textmodelle höfischen Erzählens, in: Eckart Conrad Lutz (ed.): *Text und Text in lateinischer und volkssprachiger Überlieferung des Mittelalters*. Freiburger Kolloquium 2004, Berlin 2006 (Wolfram-Studien 19), pp. 33–58.

- Strohschneider 2014 = Strohschneider, Peter: Höfische Textgeschichten. Über Selbstentwürfe vor-moderner Literatur, Heidelberg 2014 (Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Beiheft 55).
- Trîncea 2019 = Trîncea, Beatrice: *Amor conspirator*. Zur Ästhetik des Verborgenen in der höfischen Literatur, Göttingen 2019 (Aventiuren 10).
- Unzeitig-Herzog 1998 = Unzeitig-Herzog, Monika: *Artus mediator*. Zur Konfliktlösung in Wolframs *Parzival* Buch XIV, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 32 (1998), pp. 196–217.
- Wenzel 1997 = Wenzel, Horst: Wilde Blicke. Zur unhöfischen Wahrnehmung von Körpern und Schriften, in: *L'Homme*. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft 8.2 (1997), pp. 257–271.
- Worstbrock 1985 = Worstbrock, Franz-Josef: *Dilatatio materiae*. Zur Poetik des *Erec* Hartmanns von Aue, in: Frühmittelalterliche Studien 19 (1985), pp. 1–30.
- Worstbrock 1999 = Worstbrock, Franz-Josef: Wiedererzählen und Übersetzen, in: Walter Haug (ed.): *Mittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit. Übergänge, Umbrüche und Neuansätze*, Tübingen 1999 (Fortuna vitrea 16), pp. 128–142.
- Zimmermann 1972 = Zimmermann, Gisela: Untersuchungen zur Orgelusepisode in Wolframs von Eschenbach *Parzival*, in: *Euphorion* 66.2 (1972), pp. 128–150.
- Zimmermann 1974 = Zimmermann, Gisela: Kommentar zum VII. Buch von Wolframs von Eschenbach *Parzival*, Göttingen 1974 (Göttinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik 133).

Artwork, Craftwork, Science – and Who Is the Author?

The Case of 18th-Century Botanical Illustrations

Abstract

18th-century botanical illustrations are, in a way, paradigmatic examples of a 'different aesthetics.' Their design reflected the inner logic of artistic processes, which themselves were shaped by the technical possibilities and aesthetic conventions of the time, while the images also had to meet the demands of a specific social function, namely, botanical teaching and research. The making of these illustrations required both botanical and artisanal knowledge and skills, and botanists often collaborated with one or several artists and craftspeople. In this respect, 18th-century botanical illustrations are exemplary instances of multiple authorship on an individual level. Closer inspection reveals furthermore that the images were integrated into a pictorial discourse that extended across Europe, far beyond their specific places of production. This directs our attention to an interesting additional aspect of multiple authorship, namely, the relationship between the individual and the collective in 18th-century natural history.

Keywords

Natural History, Botanical Illustrations, Artisanal Knowledge, Different Aesthetics, Multiple Authorship

1. Introduction

For a long time, botanical illustrations were excluded from the canon of art history; they were considered too factual and too unassuming to be interesting. In her (otherwise highly valuable) study of natural historical illustrations of the 16th to the 18th centuries, the art historian Heidrun Ludwig thus tried hard to sell the "aesthetics of botanical paintings" to art history. According to Ludwig, if we regarded the botanist as an art collector and appreciated the artistic value of botanical paintings, then "the somewhat dry flavour that is apparently adherent to botanical depictions quickly subsides."¹ It seems that only when one ignored the scientific context of the illustrations did they become relevant and interesting to art history. Yet the history of science too was uninterested

* Translated by Alexander Wilson. Quotations for which no other translation is cited have also been translated by Wilson.

1 Ludwig 1998, p. 152.

in natural historical illustrations for a long time; here, they were considered to be too representational and ostensibly trivial. This attitude has changed in both disciplines over the last decades – and rightly so, as I will show in this chapter.²

These illustrations are complex in both content and design. In a certain way, they are paradigmatic examples of a ‘different aesthetics.’³ Their design followed an inherent artistic logic and was shaped by the artisanal possibilities and conventions of the time. Equally important, however, were the demands of their specific botanical function. To camouflage botanists as art collectors, as Ludwig suggested with the best of intentions, fails to recognize the high standards of these images in terms of their content. In 18th-century Europe, on which I concentrate here, they were a vital element of botanical research and teaching alongside herbaria and gardens. Their production demanded the collaboration of actors with botanical as well as artistic and artisanal knowledge and skills. In this respect, precisely who should be criticized or praised as the ‘author’ of an illustration is unclear. Printed works appeared almost exclusively under the name of the botanist. If all those who contributed decisively to the production and design are considered as ‘authors,’ however, the images are undoubtedly the result of multiple authorship and also offer an interesting perspective on the relationship between the individual and the collective in the natural history of the 18th century.

In the following, I will first outline the dual nature of plant illustrations. I suggest that they should be addressed as functional art: as art that had to be useful but was allowed to be beautiful. I will subsequently take a look at the making of botanical illustrations and examine which people with which competencies were involved in the illustrations’ production and how the collaboration can be described. A relevant finding here is that both botanists and artists strove to avoid collaboration and rather tried to acquire the necessary competencies themselves: as botanist-artists, or *vice versa*, in a personal union. Finally, I will show from a broader perspective how botanical illustrations were integrated via numerous, complex copying links into a visual discourse that extended across all of Europe.

- 2 The scholarly literature on illustrations in natural history has multiplied since the 1990s; it is impossible to present even a cursory overview in the present context. Important inspiration for the understanding of so-called ‘atlases’ was provided by, among others, Daston / Galison 2007 and developed further in e.g. Daston 2015; for (subjectively) selected examples of widely received studies on botanical illustrations more recently, see O’Malley / Meyer 2008; Bleichmar 2012; Kusukawa 2012; Egmond 2017. Klonk 2003 provides an overview that is still worth reading; more recently and with a more analytic approach, see Marr 2016. For a handbook, see Hentschel 2014.
- 3 See the research programme of CRC 1391 *Different Aesthetics*: <https://uni-tuebingen.de/en/research/core-research/collaborative-research-centers/crc-different-aesthetics/> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).

2. Botanical Illustrations as Functional Art

In the spring of 1731, Christoph Jacob Trew (1695–1769), a town physician and naturalist in Nuremberg, received some plant drawings from a young friend and colleague in Regensburg.⁴ They came from the hand of a gardener with a talent for drawing who was working on a *herbarium vivum*, a collection of 600 images of primarily native plants. Trew was both delighted and interested and agreed to buy two or three drawings a week from the gardener-artist at the price of one guilder per piece.⁵ At the same time, however, Trew asked that his requirements for botanical illustrations be clearly communicated: “My dear cousin would be so kind to remind the artist that I set great store on everything being drawn true to nature, because I need it not only for decoration, but also for practical purposes.”⁶ Thus began Trew’s longstanding and successful co-operation with Georg Dionysius Ehret (1708–1770), who would eventually become one of the most famous plant illustrators of the 18th century.⁷

In his note to the artist, Trew encapsulated the twofold expectation of botanical images: they should be useful and pleasing, *prodesse et delectare*. Botanical illustrations were permitted to be beautiful, and sometimes they were even supposed to be; floral works and *florilegia* with splendid furnishings could serve representative purposes, even on a national or imperial level. This was the case, for instance, with the *Flora Danica* and *Flora Batava*, produced on lordly commission, in which the botanical scope also marked territorial claims.⁸

Above all, however, botanical illustrations served concrete purposes in research and teaching wherever plants and botanical knowledge played a role, including in natural history, medicine, pharmacy, forestry, and agriculture. The latter fields became the focus of state interests in the 18th century and were fundamentally reformed in many places, including through professionalized education and instruction.⁹ A number of 18th-century plate works were expressly intended as textbooks and manuals in precisely these

4 For Trew, see, for example, Pirson 1953; Schug 1978. On Trew as an editor of volumes of botanical plates, see Schnalke 1995; Nickelsen 2006a, chapter 2.

5 There is an extensive collection of letters by Trew, which can be viewed in the manuscript collection of Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen (hereafter cited as: UBE Briefsammlung Trew). The letters are cited according to their numbering in the collection; see Schmidt-Herrling 1940. Here: Johann A. Beurer to Trew, letter no. 22, 26 February 1731, and letter no. 23, 5 December 1731; Trew to Beurer, letter no. 34, 17 January 1732.

6 Trew to Beurer, letter no. 33, 22 December 1732 (UBE Briefsammlung Trew).

7 On Ehret, see, for example, Schnalke 1996; Kastinger Riley 1996; Calmann 1977.

8 See also Nickelsen 2018a; Nickelsen 2021. For the named works, see Oeder: *Abbildungen der Pflanzen* (*Flora Danica*); Kops: *Flora Batava*.

9 See, for example, the contributions in Popplow 2010. For Preußen, see also Klein 2015; Klein 2016.

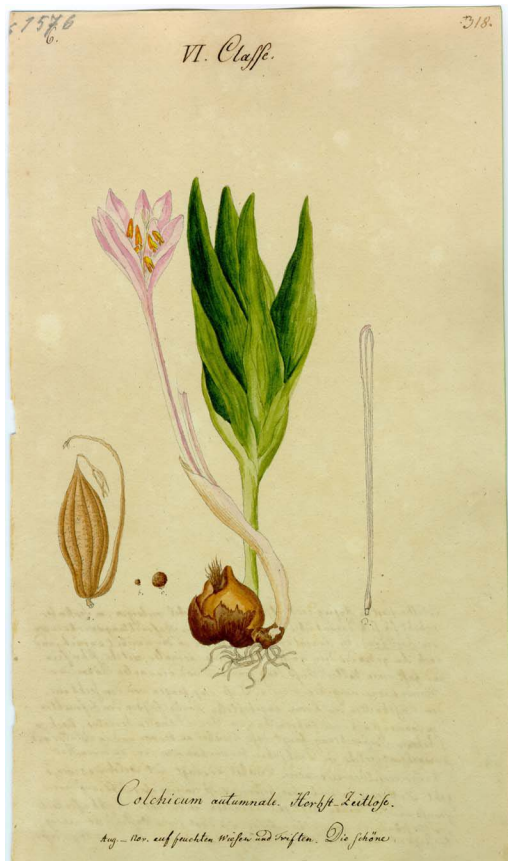


Fig. 1. Autumn crocus (Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*), Landesmuseum Wiesbaden, Sandberger collection, no. 1576 (watercolour painting).

contexts.¹⁰ This squares with the finding that native species with functional values, such as coltsfoot, hazelnut, and autumn crocus, were depicted much more frequently than exotic, magnificent plants, such as amaryllis, aloe, and pineapple.¹¹

Figure 1 shows one such rather inconspicuous drawing: a watercolour of the autumn crocus (*Colchicum autumnale* L.). It derives from the estate of Johann Philipp Sandberger (1783–1844), a Hessian teacher and plant lover who compiled an extensive

10 These include the works by Kerner: *Abbildungen oekonomischer Pflanzen*; Hayne: *Getreue Darstellung und Beschreibung der in der Arzneykunde gebräuchlichen Gewächse*; and Schkuhr: *Botanisches Handbuch*, which play a role in the later sections of this chapter.

11 For details, see, for example, Nickelsen 2000; Nickelsen 2006a; for an overview catalogue: Dickel/Uhl 2019. Cooper 2007 explains that regional floral works also experienced an upsurge in the 18th century.

collection of plant drawings for his own use.¹² The sheet is undated – it is estimated to date from the 1820s – and clearly shows the conventions for the design of botanical illustrations. For all the variance, from the unpretentious apothecary's textbook to the sumptuously coloured coffee-table folio, the form of these plates was highly standardized from the 18th century at the latest. Typically, an individual specimen was depicted against a neutral, bright background, on which all the organs were clearly recognizable, often in various stages of life: leaves, flowers, stem, roots. In addition, there appeared detailed drawings of the flower and the fruit, and sometimes of their components.

The pictures were thus reminiscent of herbarium sheets, which in the 18th century became even more important than in earlier times and were increasingly standardized.¹³ Like illustrations, also herbarium sheets communicated knowledge about plant species; the mode of representation, however, was fundamentally different. In herbaria, individual exemplars of the species were conserved with each of their contingent properties. By contrast, botanical illustrations displayed synthesizing, comprehensive descriptions of species, that is, the typical, defining properties of an entire class according to the conventions of the time. They were therefore highly sophisticated in form and in content. Only a few artists and craftspeople mastered this art to the satisfaction of naturalists, and these were known and recommended in all of Europe.¹⁴ In this respect, the circle around Trew enjoyed particular recognition. It was widely known that Trew devoted considerable time and effort to educating and training talented draughtsmen and engravers in Nuremberg according to his ideas. Besides the standards of the genre, this also included an introduction to the principles of botany, so that the artists knew to what they should pay particular attention when depicting a species of plant.¹⁵ Trew also was in close exchange with the director of the Nuremberg Academy of the Arts, where some of his draughtsmen received their artistic education.¹⁶

Ehret equally spent some time in Nuremberg, where he was instructed by Trew in the principles of botany and the conventions of botanical illustrations. In his very first letters, Trew outlined some details of how he envisioned a botanical illustration:

12 The Sandberger collection can be viewed at the Landesmuseum Wiesbaden. It comprises around 2500 watercolours, ca. 20 × 35 cm, as loose sheets in 14 portfolios. The sheets are numbered and arranged by family (presumably in retrospect). No index exists. The museum dates the collection to the period 1820–1827.

13 See, for example, Müller-Wille 1999; Müller-Wille 2002a. For a comparison of different forms of representation: Nickelsen 2006b.

14 See Nickelsen 2006a, pp. 35–39.

15 This is also documented for the Berlin Akademie der Wissenschaften in the 18th century; see Nickelsen 2018b.

16 See Müller-Ahrndt 2021, chapter 3.

As to the background, I leave this to the judgement of the artist, but for those plants that have pale-green leaves or a white flower, I am of the opinion that a brown background will make the painting clearer. In any case, however, I will ask again for nature to be expressed as clearly as possible and, wherever possible, for the fruit or the seed to be added. [...] On each sheet of paper, there should be no more than a single plant, and, if it is small, it shall be placed right in the centre. If, however, there are some species of small plants that vary only in the colour of the flower, e.g. in the case of the violet, *Bellis hortensis*, etc., one could be placed at the top and the other at the bottom of a sheet, and they should be paid, nonetheless, as two items. But I do not want to have two plants entwined together, as in some already drawn paintings of *Paraveribus* and *Caryophyllis*.¹⁷

Trew had very set ideas not only of what a picture had to look like to meet his demands, and he was also clear on the different roles of draughtsman and botanist. He left purely aesthetic questions, such as the colour of the background, to the artist and merely noted that a contrasting colour would make the illustration easier to grasp. By contrast, the composition of the plant depiction itself was entirely up to the botanist. Details of the fruit and seeds were always to be included as essential characters of the species; furthermore, each species was to be drawn on an individual sheet of paper. Only variations in colour of the same plant species were permitted to appear on the same sheet.¹⁸ Even in this case, however, they were also to be drawn neatly separated from one another, probably in order to present the morphology of the variants as clearly as possible. Decoratively intertwined plants were unacceptable to Trew, although this was a popular method of representation at the time. Even when, a little later, Ehret delivered an illustration in which the two sexes of a plant species were drawn on one sheet, Trew advised him to be notified in the future “when two [plants] should appear on one sheet.”¹⁹

Artistic creativity was of secondary importance to successful botanical illustration. This is apparent, for example, from a letter of the draughtsman Andreas Friedrich Happe (1733–1802) to the Berlin Academy of Sciences from September 1769. In the letter, Happe asked for an official diploma as a painter of natural history from the Academy, for whose members he had already worked on several occasions. He enclosed some examples of his work with his letter, presumably as evidence of his expertise (Fig. 2).²⁰ It can be assumed that Happe wanted to show his best side with these exam-

17 Trew to Beurer, letter no. 35, 16 February 1732 (UBE Briefsammlung Trew). This letter responded to an inquiry by Beurer to Ehret, “whether, then, your Excellency also requires some to be painted on a brown ground, for although this painter learned drawing and painting from a famous Dutchman and can thus deal with both brown and white grounds, he still thinks it better and more artful to depict a flower on a white ground than on a brown.” See Beurer to Trew, letter no. 27, 23 January 1732 (UBE Briefsammlung Trew).

18 The isolation of the species on individual sheets offered the advantage of classifying them according to their taxonomic position or other criteria in a compilation system, if necessary, even in a suitably constructed cabinet, as Müller-Wille 2002a shows for Linnaeus.

19 Trew to Beurer, letter no. 38, 21 June 1732 (UBE Briefsammlung Trew).

20 ABBAW: PAW (1700–1811), I–III-81, leaf 81^v. The drawings are filed as leaves 82–86.

ples in order to demonstrate his qualifications convincingly. It is thus highly interesting that the drawing was not his own design but a copy. Happe even explicitly indicated the source on the sheet: he copied the motif from the renowned *Plantae Selectae*, probably the most magnificent volume of plates to result from the collaboration between Trew and Ehret (Fig. 3).²¹

We know that copying prestigious and well-known pieces was part of the training of draughtsmen at academies of art and in workshops.²² Yet naturalists like Trew also made recourse to this technique: the eye and the hand were trained on the model.²³ Trew regularly had copies drawn up of particularly successful (or particularly rare) illustrations. This served the purpose of training, while Trew also let the engravers work from copies in order to protect the valuable originals. Trew also gave away copies of drawings of rare plant species to friends and colleagues and, conversely, had copies made for himself of images that colleagues had sent him for this purpose. Yet even the draughtsmen trained in this way were subject to close control by the botanist, especially in view of the scientific content of the plates: the characteristics of plant species were defined in botany, not in art. What these characteristics were was discussed extensively in the 18th century; at the same time, people contended over suitable standards for species descriptions, both in word and image.

The system and principles of the Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) ultimately prevailed. In the *Genera Plantarum* (1737), Linnaeus had determined how the diagnosis of plant genera should be undertaken; in the *Philosophia Botanica* (1751), he outlined the same for plant species.²⁴ This primarily concerned the form and content of the text; however, in the appendix to the *Philosophia Botanica*, there were also a series of model plates on simple and compound leaves, leaf positions, root organs, etc. Figure 4 shows an example. Arranged in rows, small and schematic sketches visualized different leaf forms, and a legend provided each of these forms with a technical term (Fig. 5). In this way, Linnaeus laid down which terms were to be used for which leaf forms and how

- 21 Trew: *Plantae Selectae*. On the production of this work, see Nickelsen 2006a, chapter 2; Schnalke 1996. In Trew's estate, there is Ehret's original drawing of the buckthorn, which looks even more like Happe's sheet than the slightly different printed version. It is unclear, however, how Happe could have known the original drawing.
- 22 The educational paths of artists in the early modern period were extremely diverse; see, for example, Dickel 1987; Boerlin-Brodbeck 2004/2005. For universities, as well as the 19th century, see Schulze 2004.
- 23 This was not only the case in Europe. Raj 2005 shows, through the example of a 17th-century floral work produced in India and belonging to a French surgeon, that the draughtsmen, who were not familiar with European botanical conventions, oriented themselves using the plates of the renowned *Hortus Malabaricus*.
- 24 Linnaeus: *Genera plantarum*; Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*. See also Müller-Wille 2002b; Müller-Wille 2007; as well as Müller-Wille/Reeds 2007; on Linnaeus, see further, for example, Koerner 1999.



Fig. 2. Drawing of a boxthorn branch by Andreas F. Happe (ABBAW: PAW 1700–1811, I–III–81, leaf 81^v).



Fig. 3. Coloured copperplate engraving following a sketched original by Georg D. Ehret: *Lycium foliis linearibus, flore fructuque minori*, in: Christoph Jacob Trew: *Plantae Selectae*. Dec. III 1752, Tab. XXIV. Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nuremberg, 2 RAR.A 51.

one should represent these forms pictorially. He defined a technical vocabulary in word and image, almost in the sense of a scientific notation. Botanical texts should be plain and unambiguous, and the same applied to the visual language of botanical illustrations: they should present the characteristics in a clearly recognizable fashion and in accordance with the textual description of the same plant species. This was a challenge, especially in view of the often delicate parts of the flower and the fruit, and Linnaeus' model plates provided assistance.

Against this background, let us consider anew the illustration of the autumn crocus from Sandberger's collection (Fig. 1). It shows the plant in two life stages: the leafstalk as it is seen in spring on lush meadows; and the flower with root tuber as it appears in autumn. To the right are the three free pistil branches of the autumn crocus, separated from the flower. On the left, we see the capsule fruit and the seeds as they can be seen in summer. The capsule of the autumn crocus forms in the funnelled leaves and opens upwards when the fruit has ripened. Rarely are they seen in the form shown here, that is, brown and ripe, but closed.

How did the draughtsman know what an autumn crocus looked like? The obvious answer is from observing nature, and this is what many botanists claim in the introductions to their volumes of plates. We can safely assume that botanical illustrations did in fact rely on extensive observation, but not always outside in the fields. More often, the images would be drawn on the basis of collected specimens at home, and usually, botanists and draughtsmen would examine more than one exemplar. For his illustration of the fine-leaved water-dropwort (*Oenanthe aquatica*, etc.), which later appeared in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society, Ehret had so many fennel plants brought to him that he became ill from the essential oils that this species secretes. After this experience, Ehret changed to examining one specimen at a time.²⁵ In addition to fresh material, herbarium sheets were also regularly consulted. This was particularly important for processing species collected on research expeditions when only brief sketches could be produced on site, while the illustrations had to be finalized at home.²⁶

Finally, botanical illustrators used the available specialist literature for their work. This becomes clear if one compares the autumn crocus from the Sandberger collection with the printed plate (Fig. 6, 1797) in the multi-volume work *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen* (Germany's Flora in Illustrations) by Jacob Sturm (1741–1848).²⁷ The flower and leaves differ, but the freestanding pistils are similar, and the capsule and seeds

25 Watson: *Critical Observations*, pp. 239f. The illustration can be found in table IV of the same volume of the *Transactions*.

26 See Nickelsen 2000, p. 87. Hans Walter Lack and David Mabberley have also reconstructed impressive examples of this practice for the production of the grandiose *Flora Graeca*; see Lack / Mabberley 1999.

27 Sturm: *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen*.

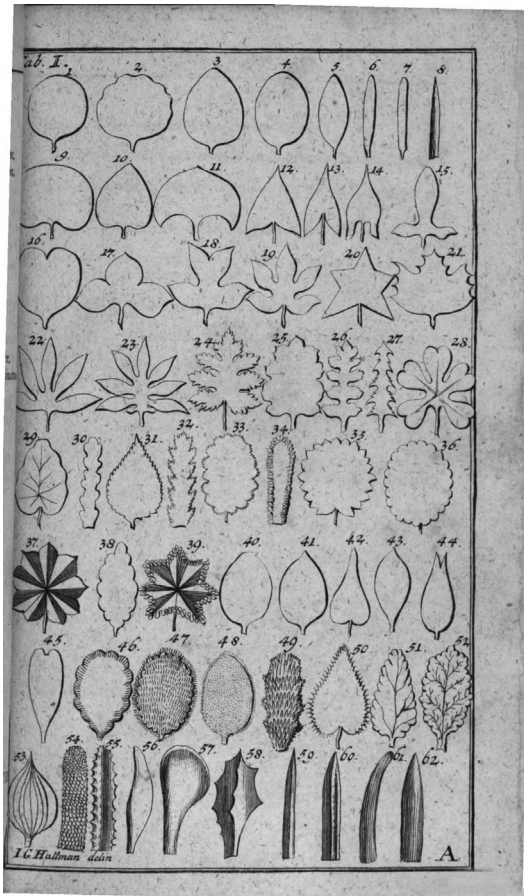


Fig. 4. Sample board from Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*, plate 1 (simple leaves). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Phyt. 386.

are almost identical. Figure 7 shows these details in comparison: the original on the left, the copied version on the right. Almost everything has been faithfully copied over; only the proportions of the capsule and seeds have been selected somewhat differently. The draughtsman of the sheet copied these details from Sturm's work, as Happe did in his version of the buckthorn from the *Plantae Selectae*. The reason is unclear; maybe the draughtsman had no ripe fruit of the autumn crocus at hand (or none in a suitable condition) and thus resorted to other sources. In any case, the example shows that, in addition to real plants, specialist literature was consulted for the illustrations and used as a model. I will return to this finding later.

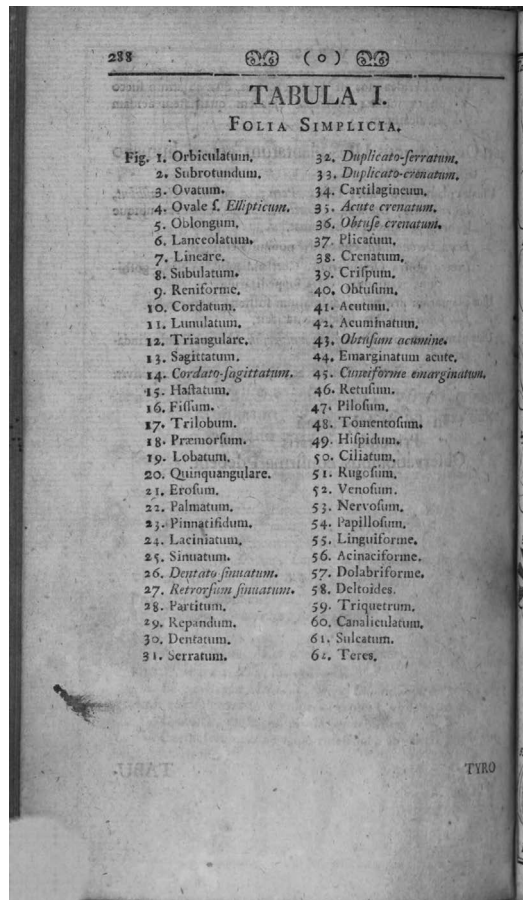


Fig. 5. Sample board from Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*, legend to plate 1 (simple leaves). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Phyt. 386.

3. Botanical Illustrations and Their Authors

Before we examine the practice of copying, however, we need to move from drawings to printed plates. In the 18th century, these mostly appeared as copper engravings, as is also the case for the plate in Sturm's work. Producing these engravings required a whole series of steps, and this increased the number of actors involved considerably. The drawings made under the supervision of the botanist were generally available as aquarelle or in watercolours. These were transferred to copper plates and engraved in outline; the plates were then printed and finally, in many cases, 'illuminated,' as it was called at the time, that is, hand-coloured. As a rule, the process was designed on a division of labour, meaning that each step was carried out by a different person, sometimes by several people alternately and in different workshops. At times, the only constant in this process was the botanist, who endeavoured (not always successfully) to control

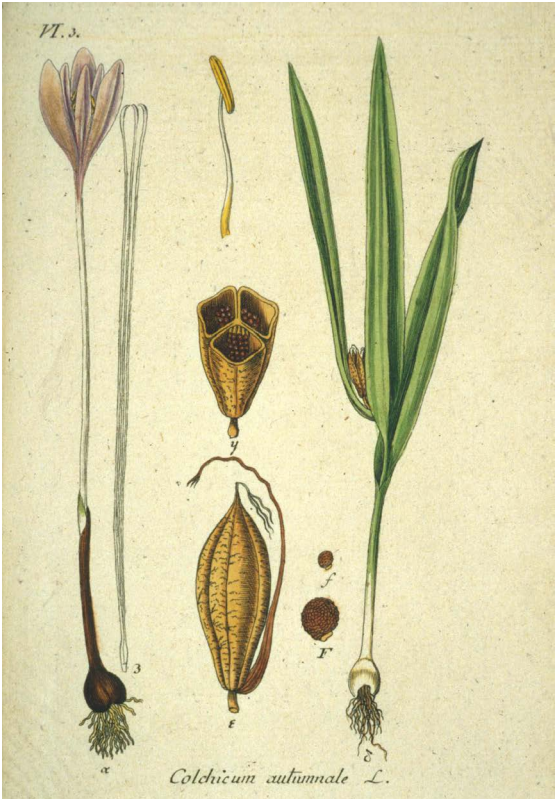


Fig. 6. Autumn crocus (Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*), Sturm: Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen, vol. 1 (1797), book 3, p. 8, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 8 HN Bot V, 2110.



Fig. 7. Autumn crocus (Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*), details of the fruit in comparison. Left: depiction by Sturm (1797); right: depiction by Sandberger.

each step as closely as possible, so that everything was implemented as he wanted.²⁸ Linnaeus had already encapsulated the challenges of this configuration: “A draughtsman, an engraver, and a botanist are equally necessary for a praiseworthy image; if one of them errs, the image will be flawed.”²⁹

In an ideal situation, all contributors involved were eminently qualified and worked without mistakes, with continuous payment of wages and without disruptive interferences. In reality, this was rarely the case; in fact, all sides regularly suffered for some reason. Complaints from botanists about the alleged incompetence and unreliability of their draughtsmen, engravers, and illuminators are commonplace in printed works and in correspondence. As early as in the 16th century, the botanist Otto Brunfels complained about the unauthorized decisions of the draughtsmen and woodcutters of his herbal books.³⁰ Two hundred years later, Nikolaus Joseph Jacquin (1727–1817) made a similar complaint in the preface to his *Hortus Botanicus Vindobonensis* (1770–1776):

Very often, I spent several hours, sometimes whole days, at the painters’ sides, instructing them or comparing all my plant descriptions with the illustrations. I swallowed this disgust with pleasure. Nobody would believe what I experienced in vexation in earlier years from many colourists of both genders.³¹

Botanists tried everything to maintain control over the execution of the details.³² The ‘painter of natural history’ (“Naturahlien-Mahler”) of the Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin, for example, appointed at the end of the 18th century, was contractually obliged to be instructed and corrected by his commissioners, that is, the members of the academy, and to restore incorrect drawings as they demanded.³³ Jan Kops, editor

28 A detailed reconstruction of the practices can be found in Nickelsen 2006, chapter 2.

29 Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*, § 332: “Pictor, Sculptor & Botanicus aequae necessarii sunt ad figuram laudabilem; Si alter horum peccet, evadit figura vitiosa.” Unless otherwise noted, translations from Latin sources correspond to the author’s translations in the German original of this chapter. Pamela Smith coined the term ‘artisanal knowledge’ for the indispensable technical knowledge that e.g. draughtsmen and engravers brought to the production of botanical illustrations; see, for example, Smith 2008.

30 See Brunfels: *Contrafayt Kreüterbuch*, preface.

31 Jacquin: *Hortus botanicus vindobonensis*, preface.

32 This is the case regardless of the fact that the draughtsmen played an essential role in the process. The scrutiny will also have served to confirm social hierarchies, but concerns about flawed execution were not unfounded. There were outstanding, exceptional talents who were thus particularly sought after, but as a rule, botanical expertise could not be assumed among draughtsmen and engravers.

33 See ABBAW: PAW (1700–1811), I–III-81, fol. 88: *Conditionen unter welchen dem Dessinateur Hopfer die Bestallung als Dessinateur der Academie der Wissenschaft zu geben* [undated, unsigned]. For a transcription, see Nickelsen 2000, p. 82.

of the magnificent *Flora Batava*, emphasized that he had explained all the plants to his draughtsman beforehand and had made the dissections himself so that the details could be depicted correctly in their natural size.³⁴ This work was particularly difficult with small flowers, and Kops obviously did not want to take any risk. After the drawing, it was necessary to check its implementation in the engraving. “I have supervised the engravers with the greatest precision,” assured Jacquin in the preface to another of his works: “In this way, I ensured that the engravings correspond to the drawings.”³⁵ The English botanist William Curtis apologized for the delayed publication of his *Flora Londinensis* by referring to time-consuming correction processes. Like Kops and Jacquin, Curtis considered these steps indispensable – also in the future, if necessary – in order to ensure the quality of the work: “[The author] is however determined never to sacrifice the accuracy or utility of the work to hurry – on this principle he has been at the expense of having some of his plates engraven twice, and even three times over before he could venture to publish them.”³⁶ These are only a few examples of recurrent complaints that botanists brought forward.

In light of this situation, some botanists decided from the outset to forego collaboration with artists and craftsmen and to produce the plates for their works themselves.³⁷ This was also Linnaeus’ preferred option, as he noted in the same paragraph of the *Philosophia Botanica* quoted above.³⁸ The botanist Johann Jacob Dillenius (1684–1747), for example, proceeded in this way: in the preface to his *Hortus Elthamensis* (1732), Dillenius explained that he had taken on not only the drawings but also the engraving himself, so that the plates would perfectly correspond to his ideas.³⁹ Fifty years later, this served as a model for the botanist Johann Daniel Leers (1727–1774). Leers was so dissatisfied with the engraver of the plates of his regional flora that he (with reference to Dillenius) learned the craft specifically for this purpose and asked the public for forbearance with regard to any aesthetic deficits: “Since this is the case, you will not expect artfully elab-

34 Kops: *Flora Batava*, preliminary report, vol. 2 [without pagination].

35 Jacquin: *Selectarum Stirpium Americanarum Historia*.

36 Curtis: *Flora Londinensis*, preface [without pagination].

37 Kemp 1979 shows that drawing lessons were increasingly part of the educational canon in the 18th century.

38 Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*, § 332: “Hinc Botanici, qui una exercuere artem & pictoriam & sculptoriam, pastantissimas figuras reliquerunt” (‘Thus, those botanists who have also practiced drawing and engraving have left behind the most outstanding illustrations’). Linnaeus himself was excellent in drawing; see Charmentier 2011. In addition, it may be that Linnaeus is referring here to his knowledge of the practice of Dillenius (explained in the text), with whom he maintained a very good relationship.

39 Dillenius: *Hortus Elthamensis*, preface, p. VII: “Me quidem, ut essent accurate, omnem adhibuisse operam, mihi conscius sum: sane quum eas accurate designatas persuasus essem, ut & tales curae prostarent, me non piguit calchographiae laborem, quamvis molestum, subire.”

orated samples from me, an autodidact in the art of copper engraving, but will rather, I hope, be satisfied with these drawings, which represent nature at its simplest.”⁴⁰

Draughtsmen and engravers, for their part, were not always happy with their commissioners either. In Trew’s correspondence, there are numerous letters from artists and craftsmen who complained bitterly about his practice of repeatedly correcting drafts and printing proofs; they found Trew’s demands excessive and claimed that the required degree of precision could not be realized with existing techniques. Trew was also tardy in his co-operation. Engravers and publishers regularly waited for his response (sometimes for years). As a result, the progress of the publications came to a standstill – at the expense of the publishers, who had to pay for proofs in advance and rely on being able to recoup the expenses later on through sales. The procrastination of his commissioner Trew drove the engraver and publisher of the *Plantae Selectae*, Johann Jacob Haid (1704–1767), to the brink of financial ruin. It is therefore unsurprising that botanically knowledgeable draughtsmen and engravers in return attempted to do without the botanist and publish their own plates themselves. These included, for example, the engraver John Miller (1715–1790), who primarily worked as an illustrator but also published a volume of plates on his own authority (*Illustratio systematis sexualis Linnaei*, 1777). Jacob Sturm also initially made a name for himself as a botanical draughtsman and engraver in the Nuremberg area before publishing the aforementioned *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen*.

Botanical illustrations, it can be summarized, required both botanical expertise and artistic as well as technical skills and talent. They were often the result of close, rarely seamless collaboration between botanists, draughtsmen, and engravers. As Linnaeus emphasized, these groups were equally responsible for the result, for both content and aesthetics; and in this sense, we should certainly speak of multiple authorship here. There were exceptions, as I have mentioned: some illustrated works in botany were made and published by one person only. In this case, it was necessary to combine the various roles and to acquire all necessary competencies in a personal union; one might therefore consider this a form of multiple authorship, too.

Different skills and kinds of expertise were required in order to do justice to these illustrations’ dual nature, as described above. The same dual nature requires a view beyond local contexts and direct collaboration. What the relevant characteristics of plant species were and how they were depicted rested not (only) on the individual decision of draughtsmen and botanists but referred to the collective. Botanical illustrations were part of a wide-ranging pictorial discourse that remains hidden if one confines

40 Leers: *Flora Herbornensis*, preface [without pagination]: “Quae cum ita sint, [...], non a me, ut autodidacto in arte Chalcographica, artificiosa specimina multaque arte exornata exspectabis, sed histce iconibus, simplicissimam naturam repraesentantibus, ut spero, contentus eris.”

oneself to the analysis of individual plates and works. This practice is not mentioned or discussed in textual sources but only is apparent in the images themselves. This is why I will now return to the example of the autumn crocus.

4. Pictorial Discourse in the Collective

The draughtsman of the Sandberger collection, as mentioned, had consulted Sturm's work and adopted its depiction of fruit and seed (see Figs. 1, 6, 7). In this regard, he was no exception. Copying was a widespread practice in 18th-century botanical illustrations.⁴¹ Figure 8, for example, shows the depiction of autumn crocuses by the renowned French artist Pierre-Joseph Redouté (1759–1840) in his splendid work on the lily family. The work appeared in folio format and was produced using the then new technique of colour printing; and nearly all of France's prestigious engravers were involved in transposing the drawings into copper engravings.⁴² At first glance, the ornate plate bears no resemblance at all to Sturm's modest illustration, which appeared in the small duodecimo format. The flower and leaves of the autumn crocus look rather different, but the depiction of the fruit is strikingly similar. Both plates portray the closed capsule identically, and the same applies to the cross-section of the fruit. The version of an autumn crocus' capsule that is open at the top is equally recognizable.

Let us compare this with the illustration of the autumn crocus in a handbook of medicinal plants by Friedrich Gottlob Hayne (1763–1832), botanist and apothecary from Berlin (Fig. 9, 1817). The pointed, opened capsule and the cross-section on Hayne's plate are very similar to the motifs in Redouté's plate. Yet Hayne shows the closed capsule not as a detail but inserted into the leaf funnel, as one often sees the plant in the meadow. Did Hayne copy the fruit capsule from Redouté's work? This seems rather unlikely if we include the illustration of the autumn crocus (Fig. 10, 1791) in the botanical handbook by Christian Schkuhr (1741–1811). Schkuhr was a trained gardener but worked as a university mechanic in Wittenberg. Nevertheless, Schkuhr pursued botanical studies throughout his life and, for the publication of his book, learned not only to draw, engrave, and use a microscope (with instruments he made himself), but also to print: he was one of those botanically proficient artists who decided against collaborating with a naturalist. Here, we see not only the capsule and the seed of the autumn crocus in the same form as in Hayne's work, but also the leaf funnel with the embedded fruit, the strangely defoliated depiction of the bulb and shoot axis, and finally the detail of the flower petals. The flower itself is varied: in Schkuhr's work, it opens to the front, while Hayne shows it

41 I am basing this statement on a systematic analysis of the illustrations of ten plant species in the period from 1700 to 1830; see Nickelsen 2000.

42 See Nissen 1966.



Fig. 8. Autumn crocus (Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*),
Redouté: Les Liliacées, vol. 4, plate 228 (1808).
Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen;
2 Bot IV, 3692, Rara.

from the outside. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Hayne copied the image, even if, at first glance, his picture looks completely different from Schkuhr's.

Yet perhaps Hayne did not use only Schkuhr's version as a model. The most probable origin of the capsule and the seed's depiction is found elsewhere, namely in a standard work on fruit and seeds (Fig. 11, 1788) by Joseph Gärtner (1732–1791). Gärtner was the first botanist to occupy himself in detail with the morphology of seeds and fruit, and to work out the systematic value of these organs.⁴³ Gärtner lived to see the publication of the first part of his carpology; the second part appeared posthumously, edited by his son (who even wrote a supplementary third part). It seems that all depictions of the capsule in the plates shown so far trace back to Gärtner's motif of the autumn crocus, either through direct adoption or mediated through the copies of other works (for instance, via Schkuhr's version), but this can no longer be determined on the basis

43 While renowned botanists before Gärtner, e.g. John Ray, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, Linnaeus, and others, had also taken into consideration the character of the fruit in their taxonomy, they always subordinated it to the flower, and above all for the determination of species, not for higher taxa.



Fig. 9. Autumn crocus (Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*), Hayne: Getreue Darstellung und Beschreibung der in der Arzneykunde gebräuchlichen Gewächse, vol. 5, plate 45 (1817). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 4 Mat med 170/5.

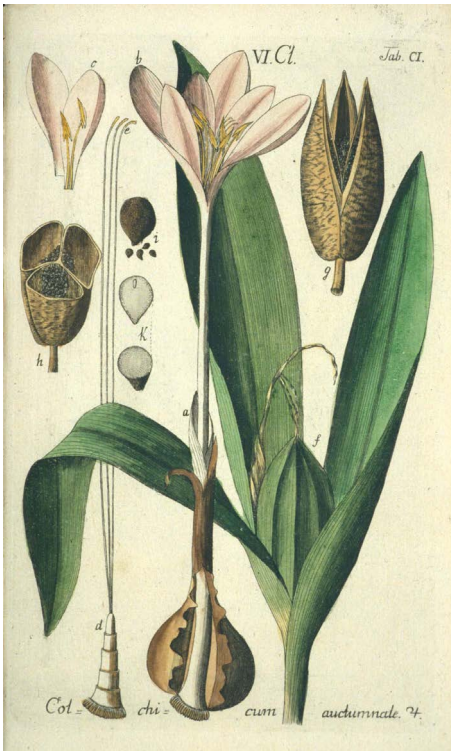


Fig. 10. Autumn crocus (Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*), Schkuhr: Botanisches Handbuch, vol. 1, plate 4 (1791). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 8 Bot IV, 1000.

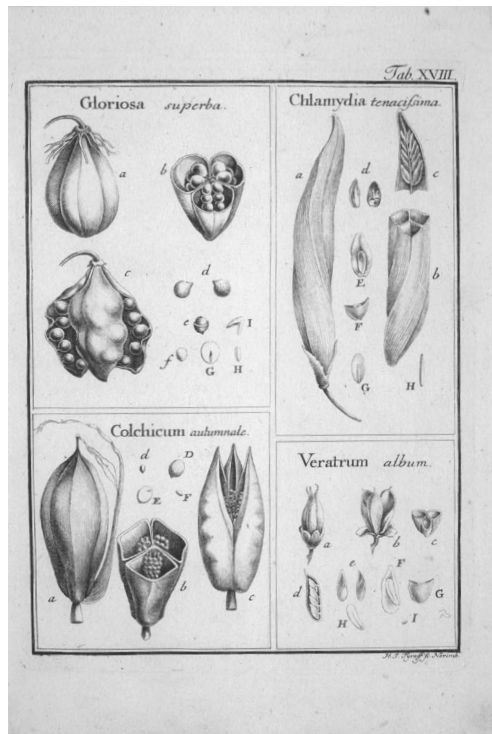


Fig. 11. Autumn crocus
(Lat. *Colchicum autumnale*), Gärtner:
De fructibus et seminibus plantarum, vol. 1,
plate 18 (1788). Staats- und Universitäts-
bibliothek Göttingen; 4 Bot II, 3060.

of the sources established thus far. Not one of these copying links was commented on or even referenced in the text.

We find the copying of individual elements from earlier plates very often in botanical illustrations from the 18th century, and not only in depictions of the autumn crocus. Yet the extensive copy of the autumn crocus in Hayne's work is an exception. On the one hand, entire panels were rarely copied. On the other hand, it is unusual that the motif be given more space in the copy than in the model. Typically, the motifs of the original were condensed, and often also simplified, in later versions. Hayne, by contrast, clearly takes more space for his autumn crocus than Schkuhr and does not draw the pictorial elements in a staggered manner but rather next to one another. Furthermore, Hayne adds the whole root tuber beside the unfurled version. A look at two illustrations of the vine stock is instructive here. Let us compare, for instance, the large-format depiction from a volume of plates by the aforementioned botanist Jacquin with the portrayal of the same species in an illustrated work on economic plants by the less famous Johann Simon Kerner (1755–1830), teacher of botany and plant illustration in Stuttgart (Fig. 12, 1781; Fig. 13, 1796). At first glance, nothing seems to connect the plates. At second glance, however, we see that Kerner copied from Jacquin, but in a very intelligent



Fig. 12. Grapevine (Lat. *Vitis vinifera*), Jacquin: *Icones plantarum rariorum*, vol. 1, plate 51 (1781). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 2 Bot III, 855.

manner. In contrast to Jacquin, Kerner refrained from redundancy, instead showing each element only once: only one forked branch, only one leaf from above and from below, only one inflorescence, and only one grapevine. In contrast to Hayne's expansion of his model of the autumn crocus, Kerner's work condensed the earlier version without losing information. Kerner also intervened by rotating the motif of the grapevine. In his version, the vine now (correctly) hangs downwards, whereas on Jacquin's panel, it (strangely) grows upwards. Presumably this was a mistake that occurred in the printing of the copper plates, which Kerner corrected in his adaptation. Clearly, Kerner did not mechanically copy the model version, but he used Jacquin's book in a highly intelligent manner.

Botanical illustrations of the 18th century were integrated into a wide-ranging network of copying links along these lines. If we consider how carefully the elements for copying were selected, examined, and sometimes even corrected, incompetence or laziness on the part of later actors can be discarded as an explanation. Rather, the deliberate use of copying techniques can be understood as part of the endeavour for the best possible botanical illustration: copying was undertaken for epistemic reasons. Difficult or rarely available details of the flower and fruit were copied especially frequently, and



Fig. 13. Grapevine (Lat. *Vitis vinifera*),
Kerner: Abbildungen oekonomischer
Pflanzen, vol. 8, plate 751 (1796). Staats-
und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen;
4 Oec I, 1045.

standard works, such as Gärtner's carpology, often served as models. Yet the elements were not copied unaltered but were aesthetically adapted and newly inserted into one's own image. Like in Kerner's case, the motifs were often condensed, so that the characteristics of the plant species were depicted more efficiently and clearly, without the content being lost.

This practice was not explained, reflected upon, or even criticized, either in publications or in the (surviving) correspondence of the botanical protagonists. There is no reference at all to the works from which copies were made. On the contrary, it was often asserted that the illustrations were entirely new and produced according to nature. It seems unlikely that these assertions were intended to deceive the public. Copying was so prevalent, and motifs were adopted from especially renowned (standard) works: experts with a rich library would most probably have recognized the copied elements. I rather interpret these statements as evidence of the fact that copying was a widely accepted practice: apparently it was well known that, in addition to fresh and dry material, specialist literature as well as earlier illustrations served as sources of information as a matter of course, so that even illustrations that contained copied elements were (often justifiably) perceived as "new." As with textual descriptions, botanical illustra-

tions emerged in a process of collation,⁴⁴ on the shoulders of giants, so to speak: in the interplay of individual and collective achievement.⁴⁵

5. Conclusion: Who is the ‘Author’ of a Botanical Illustration?

Who, then, is the author of a botanical illustration? As this contribution shows, the question is not simple to answer. The botanist was and is mostly addressed as the ‘author’ of printed plates, and the works are still found today under this name in the catalogue. If one conceives as ‘author’ all those who made an essential contribution to the production and design of the work and plates, however, we must define the answer more broadly – in many cases, also for unprinted sheets.

This applies initially at the level of the actors. Draughtsmen and botanists worked closely together, or at least engaged intensively with one another. Both sides contributed knowledge and skills that were indispensable for the design and content of the illustrations: botanical knowledge on the one hand, artistic and artisanal knowledge on the other. In the case of printed plates, there also came into play engravers, publishers, printers, and, where appropriate, illuminators, whose contributions to the image significantly influenced its aesthetics and value. Botanical illustrations emerged in a collective based on the division of labour, even if it was not always formally indicated.⁴⁶ Within this collective, the social hierarchy was clear: academically trained botanists and naturalists were superior to craftsmen and artists. In the few cases where the source situation allows for a reconstruction of these practices, as in the case of Trew, this is documented, for example, in the salutation at the beginning and ending of a letter. Furthermore, the naturalists were often the commissioners; they thus always retained the final say, as they were responsible for approving the proofs for distribution.

At the same time, naturalists were reliant on the expertise of the draughtsmen, engravers, and publishers – at least when they did not master the craft themselves. Even Trew was prepared to leave aesthetic decisions to the artists, as long as they did not alter the botanical content of the image. This collaboration corresponded to the dual purpose of the genre as a form of functional art. The images were permitted to be

44 Analogous to Linnaeus’ ‘collation’ on the definition of plant species; see Müller-Wille 1999; Müller-Wille 2007. For the transposition of this term to the illustration of species, see Nickelsen 2006a.

45 This is not only the case for illustration. Bettina Dietz has instructively elaborated the character of botanical literature in the 18th century; see Dietz 2012; Dietz 2017.

46 Draughtsmen, engravers, and printers often belonged to the group of ‘invisible technicians’; see Shapin 1989; Hentschel 2008. There are certainly works, however, in which the artists and artisans made an appearance alongside the botanists, either through being mentioned in the preface or by their signature on the plates. In Trew’s *Plantae Selectae*, all three main actors, i.e. Trew himself, Haid, and Ehret, are depicted in portraits.

beautiful, and talented artists were highly sought out as a result; above all, however, the images had to be useful, and artistic talent alone was therefore not sufficient. The illustrations primarily had to be botanically correct in their content and purposive in their design.

How the images were to be designed to meet these criteria, however, was not decided by the botanist alone, but rather by part of the scientific community. The collective relevant to the design of botanical illustrations went far beyond the persons directly involved in them. The comparison of depictions of one species proves that there was an intensive pictorial discourse about how one should represent bodies of botanical knowledge in an appropriate manner. Especially in the case of demanding and complex motifs, the invention of original modes of representation harboured a considerable risk of error; by contrast, the copying of proven elements, sometimes adopted from several works and newly constituted, offered a safe alternative. If we compare the illustrations of one species with another, we can see how virtuously copied pictorial elements were combined with new observations and perspectives: this can also be interpreted as a variety of multiple, perhaps even “collective,”⁴⁷ authorship in the image. The “artistic worth of botanical painting”⁴⁸ invoked by Ludwig is only the smallest part of what comprises the content and the aesthetics of these illustrations; and perhaps even the least interesting one.

Bibliography

Archival and Unprinted Sources

ABBAW = Archiv der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: PAW (1700–1811), I–III–81: Acta betr. die Bestellung einiger Künstler bei der Akademie (1705–1777).

Sandberger Collection = 14 Mappen mit ca. 2 500 losen Aquarellen vorwiegend einheimischer Pflanzen (ca. 20 × 35 cm); nachträglich nach Familien geordnet und nummeriert. Einzusehen in der naturhistorischen Abteilung des Landesmuseums Wiesbaden.

UBE Briefsammlung Trew = Nachlass von Christoph Jacob Trew; einzusehen in der Handschriftenabteilung der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen (UBE). Die Briefe werden zitiert unter Angabe des Autors, des Adressaten, der Datierung sowie der Nummer gemäß dem veröffentlichten Katalog der Sammlung von Schmidt-Herrling 1940.

47 Mader 2012; see especially the introduction, pp. 7–19.

48 Ludwig 1998, p. 152.

Primary Literature

- Brunfels: Contrafayt Kreüterbuch = Brunfels, Otto: Contrafayt Kreüterbuch [...], Grünwald near Munich 1975 [Reprin of the edition Strassburg: Schott, 1531].
- Curtis: Flora Londinensis = Curtis, William: Flora Londinensis, or, Plates and Descriptions of Such Plants as Grow Wild in the Environs of London [...], London: White, 1777–1798.
- Dillenius: Hortus Elthamensis = Dillenius, Johann Jacob: Hortus Elthamensis [...], vol. 1, London: Sumptibus Auctoris, 1732, DOI: <https://bibdigital.rjb.csic.es/idurl/1/10700> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Gärtner: De fructibus et seminibus plantarum = Gärtner, Joseph: De fructibus et seminibus plantarum, Stuttgart: Academiae Carolinae, 1788–1807, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.53838> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Hayne: Getreue Darstellung und Beschreibung der in der Arzneykunde gebräuchlichen Gewächse = Hayne, Friedrich Gottlob: Getreue Darstellung und Beschreibung der in der Arzneykunde gebräuchlichen Gewächse, wie auch solcher, welche mit ihnen verwechselt werden können, Berlin 1805–1837.
- Jacquin: Hortus botanicus vindobonensis = Jacquin, Nikolaus Joseph: Hortus botanicus vindobonensis [...], Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1770–1776, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.531> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Jacquin: Selectarum Stirpium Americanarum Historia = Jacquin, Nikolaus Joseph: Selectarum stirpium americanarum historia, 2nd ed., Vienna: Leopold Johann Kaliwoda, 1780.
- Jacquin: Icones plantarum rariorum = Jacquin, Nikolaus Joseph: Icones plantarum rariorum, Vienna: Christian Friedrich Wappler et al., 1781–1793, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.329> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Kerner: Abbildungen oekonomischer Pflanzen = Kerner, Johann Simon: Abbildungen oekonomischer Pflanzen, Stuttgart: Christoph Friedrich Cotta, 1786–1796.
- Kops: Flora Batava = Kops, Jan: Flora Batava, of afbeelding en beschrijving van Nederlandsche gewassen. Afgebeeld (naar het leven geteekend, gegraveerd en gecoulleerd), Amsterdam: Jaan Christian Sepp en Zoon, 1800–1849.
- Leers: Flora Herbornensis = Leers, Johann Daniel: Flora Herbornensis [...]. Auctoris manu ad vivum delineatae aeriue incisae, Herborn 1775 (VD18: 15304795).
- Linnaeus: Genera plantarum = Linnaeus, Carl: Genera plantarum, eorumque characteres naturales secundum numerum, figuram, situm & proportionem omnium fructificationis partium, Leiden: Conrad Wishoff & fil., 1737, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.70902> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Linnaeus: Philosophia botanica = Linnaeus, Carl: Philosophia botanica, in qua explicantur fundamenta botanica cum definitionibus partium, exemplis terminorum, observationibus rariorum, adjectis figuris aeneis, Stockholm: Gottfried Kiesewetter, 1751, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5962/bhl.title.37652> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Miller: Illustratio systematis sexualis Linnaei = Miller, John: Illustratio systematis sexualis Linnaei. An Illustration of the Sexual System of Linnaeus, London 1777.
- Oeder: Abbildungen der Pflanzen = Oeder, Georg Christian: Abbildungen der Pflanzen, welche in den Königreichen Dännemark und Norwegen, in den Herzogthümern Schleswig und Holstein, und in den Graffschaften Oldenburg und Delmenhorst wild wachsen: zu Erläuterung des unter dem Titel Flora Danica auf Königl. Befehl veranstalteten Werkes von diesen Pflanzen, Copenhagen: Nicolaus Möller, 1766–1883.
- Redouté: Les Liliacées = Redouté, Pierre Joseph: Les Liliacées, Paris 1802–1816.

- Schkuhr: *Botanisches Handbuch* = Schkuhr, Christian: *Botanisches Handbuch der mehresten theils in Deutschland wild wachsenden, theils ausländischen, in Deutschland unter freyem Himmel ausdauernden Gewächse*, Wittenberg, 1791–1803.
- Sturm: *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen* = Sturm, Jacob: *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen nach der Natur mit Beschreibungen*, Nuremberg 1798–1855 [since 1849 continued by Johann Wilhelm Sturm].
- Trew: *Plantae Selectae* = Trew, Christoph Jacob: *Plantae Selectae*, Augsburg: Johann Jacob Haid, 1750–1773.
- Watson: *Critical Observations* = Watson, William: *Critical Observations Concerning the Oenanthe aquatica, succo viroso crocante of Lobel*, in: *Philosophical Transactions* 44 (1746), pp. 227–242, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1098/rstl.1746.0047> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).

Secondary Literature

- Boerlin-Brodbeck 2004/2005 = Boerlin-Brodbeck, Yvonne: *Die Künftlerausbildung in der Schweiz des 18. Jahrhunderts. Versuch einer Übersicht*, in: *Georges-Bloch-Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Instituts der Universität Zürich* 11/12 (2004/2005), pp. 77–99.
- Bleichmar 2012 = Bleichmar, Daniela: *Visible Empire: Botanical Expeditions and Visual Culture in the Hispanic Enlightenment*, Chicago 2012.
- Calmann 1977 = Calmann, Gerta: *Ehret. Flower Painter Extraordinary. An Illustrated Biography*, Oxford 1977.
- Charmentier 2011 = Charmentier, Isabelle: *Carl Linnaeus and the Visual Representation of Nature*, in: *Historical Studies in the Natural Sciences* 41.4 (2011), pp. 365–404.
- Cooper 2007 = Cooper, Alix: *Inventing the Indigenous. Local Knowledge and Natural History in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, UK 2007.
- Daston 2015 = Daston, Lorraine: *Epistemic Images*, in: Alina Alexandra Payne (ed.): *Vision and its Instruments. Art, Science, and Technology in Early Modern Europe*, Philadelphia 2015, pp. 13–35.
- Daston/Galison 2007 = Daston, Lorraine/Galison, Peter: *Objectivity*, Princeton 2007.
- Dietz 2012 = Dietz, Bettina: *Contribution and Co-production. The Collaborative Culture of Linnaean Botany*, in: *Annals of Science* 69.4 (2012), pp. 551–569.
- Dietz 2017 = Dietz, Bettina: *Das System der Natur. Die kollaborative Wissenskultur der Botanik im 18. Jahrhundert*, Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 2017.
- Dickel 1987 = Dickel, Hans: *Deutsche Zeichenbücher des Barock. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Künstlerausbildung*, Hildesheim/New York 1987 (*Studien zur Kunstgeschichte* 48).
- Dickel/Uhl 2019 = Dickel, Hans/Uhl, Almut (Mitarbeit): *Die Bildgeschichte der Botanik. Pflanzendarstellungen aus vier Jahrhunderten in der Sammlung Dr. Christoph Jacob Trew (1695–1769)*, Petersberg 2019.
- Egmond 2017 = Egmond, Florike: *Eye for Detail. Images of Plants and Animals in Art and Science, 1500–1630*, Chicago 2017.
- Hentschel 2008 = Hentschel, Klaus (ed.): *Unsichtbare Hände. Zur Rolle von Laborassistenten, Mechanikern, Zeichnern u.a. Amanuenses in der physikalischen Forschungs- und Entwicklungsarbeit*, Stuttgart 2008.
- Hentschel 2014 = Hentschel, Klaus: *Visual Cultures in Science and Technology. A Comparative History*, Oxford 2014.
- Kastinger Riley 1996 = Kastinger Riley, Helene M.: *Georg Dionys Ehrets bisherige Lebensumstände. Die (Auto-)Biographie des Gärtners, Malers und Wissenschaftlers Aemilius Macer II.*, in: *Hoppea* 57 (1996), pp. 511–537.

- Kemp 1979 = Kemp, Wolfgang: "... einen wahrhaft bildenden Zeichenunterricht überall einzuführen." Zeichen und Zeichenunterricht der Laien 1500–1870. Ein Handbuch, Frankfurt a.M. 1979.
- Klein 2015 = Klein, Ursula: Humboldts Preußen. Wissenschaft und Technik im Aufbruch, Darmstadt 2015.
- Klein 2016 = Klein, Ursula: Nützliches Wissen. Die Erfindung der Technikwissenschaften, Göttingen 2016.
- Klonk 2003 = Klonk, Charlotte: Science, Art, and the Representation of the Natural World, in: Roy Porter (ed.): The Cambridge History of Science, vol. 4: Eighteenth-Century Science, Cambridge, UK 2003, pp. 584–617, DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521572439.026> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Koerner 1999 = Koerner, Lisbet: Linnaeus. Nature and Nation, Cambridge, MA / London 1999.
- Kusukawa 2012 = Kusukawa, Sachiko: Picturing the Book of Nature. Image, Text, and Argument in Sixteenth-Century Human Anatomy and Medical Botany, Chicago / London 2012.
- Lack 2000 = Lack, Hans Walter: Ein Garten für die Ewigkeit. Der Codex Liechtenstein, ed. by the Kunststiftung der LGT Bank in Liechtenstein and the Sammlungen des Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Wabern-Bern 2000.
- Lack / Mabberley 1999 = Lack, Hans Walter / Mabberley, David J.: The Flora Graeca Story. Sibthorp, Bauer, and Hawkins in the Levant, Oxford 1999.
- Ludwig 1998 = Ludwig, Heidrun: Nürnberger naturgeschichtliche Malerei im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Marburg a.d.L. 1998 (Acta Biohistorica 2).
- Mader 2012 = Mader, Rachel (ed.): Kollektive Autorschaft in der Kunst. Alternatives Handeln und Denkmodell, Bern et al. 2012 (Kunstgeschichten der Gegenwart 10).
- Marr 2016 = Marr, Alexander: Knowing Images, in: Renaissance Quarterly 69.3 (2016), pp. 1000–1013.
- Müller-Ahrndt 2021 = Müller-Ahrndt, Henriette: Die Künstler der Naturgeschichte. Eine Studie zur Kooperation von Kupferstechern, Verlegern und Naturforschern im 18. Jahrhundert, Petersberg 2021.
- Müller-Wille 1999 = Müller-Wille, Staffan: Botanik und weltweiter Handel: Zur Begründung eines natürlichen Systems der Pflanzen durch Carl von Linné (1707–1778), Berlin 1999 (Studien zur Theorie der Biologie 3).
- Müller-Wille 2002a = Müller-Wille, Staffan: Carl von Linnés Herbarschrank. Zur epistemischen Funktion eines Sammlungsmöbels, in: Anke te Heesen / Emma C. Spary (eds.): Sammeln als Wissen: Das Sammeln und seine wissenschaftsgeschichtliche Bedeutung, Göttingen 2002, pp. 22–38.
- Müller-Wille 2002b = Müller-Wille, Staffan: Text, Bild und Diagramm in der klassischen Naturgeschichte, in: *kunsttexte.de* 4 (2002), pp. 1–14, URL: <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/127599915.pdf> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Müller-Wille 2007 = Müller-Wille, Staffan: Collection and Collation: Theory and Practice of Linnaean Botany, in: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 38.3 (2007), pp. 541–562.
- Müller-Wille / Reeds 2007 = Müller-Wille, Staffan / Reeds, Karen: A Translation of Carl Linnaeus's *Introduction to Genera Plantarum* (1737), in: Studies in History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences 38.3 (2007), pp. 563–572.
- Nickelsen 2000 = Nickelsen, Kärin: Wissenschaftliche Pflanzenzeichnungen: Spiegelbilder der Natur? Botanische Abbildungen aus dem 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert, Bern 2000 (Bern Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science).
- Nickelsen 2006a = Nickelsen, Kärin: Draughtsmen, Botanists and Nature: The Construction of Eighteenth-Century Botanical Illustrations, Dordrecht 2006 (Archimedes. New Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology 15).

- Nickelsen 2006b = Nickelsen, Kärin: Von Bildern, Herbarien und schwarzen Abdrücken. Repräsentation von Pflanzenarten um 1800, in: *Haussknechtia* 11 (2006), pp. 149–166.
- Nickelsen 2018a = Nickelsen, Kärin: Image and Nature, in: Helen Anne Curry / Nicholas Jardine / James A. Secord / Emma C. Spary (eds.): *Worlds of Natural History*, Cambridge, UK 2018, pp. 221–236.
- Nickelsen 2018b = Nickelsen, Kärin: Johann Gottlieb Gleditsch und der zeichnende Gärtner: Botanische Abbildungen an der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften zwischen 1740 und 1780, in: Johanna Bleker / Petra Lennig / Thomas Schnalke (eds.): *Tiefe Einblicke. Das Anatomische Theater im Zeitalter der Aufklärung*, Berlin 2018, pp. 55–69.
- Nickelsen 2021 = Nickelsen, Kärin: Zierrat und Nutzen: Die *Plantae Selectae* von Christoph Jacob Trew und andere botanische Tafelwerke um 1800, in: Hans Dickel / Elisabeth Engl / Ursula Rautenberg (eds.): *Frühneuzeitliche Naturforschung in Briefen, Büchern und Bildern. Christoph Jacob Trew als Sammler und Gelehrter*, Stuttgart 2021, pp. 291–310 (Bibliothek des Buchwesens 29).
- Nissen 1966 = Nissen, Claus: *Die Botanische Buchillustration. Ihre Geschichte und Bibliographie*, 2nd ed., rev. and imp. reprint of the two-volume first ed., with a supplement, Stuttgart 1966.
- O'Malley / Meyers 2008 = O'Malley, Therese / Meyers, Amy R. W. (eds.): *The Art of Natural History. Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400–1850*, New Haven / London 2008 (Studies in the History of Art 69).
- Pirson 1953 = Pirson, Julius: Der Nürnberger Arzt und Naturforscher Christoph Jakob Trew (1695–1769), in: *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 44 (1953), pp. 448–576.
- Popplow 2010 = Popplow, Marcus (ed.): *Landschaften agrarisch-ökonomischen Wissens. Strategien innovativer Ressourcennutzung. Zeitschriften und Sozietäten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Münster et al. 2010.
- Raj 2005 = Raj, Kapil: Surgeons, Fakirs, Merchants, and Craftspeople: Making L'Empereur's Jardin in Early Modern South Asia, in: Londa Schiebinger / Claudia Swan (eds.): *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, Philadelphia 2005, pp. 252–269.
- Schmidt-Herrling 1940 = Schmidt-Herrling, Eleonore: Die Briefsammlung des Nürnberger Arztes Christoph Jacob Trew (1695–1769) in der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen, Erlangen 1940, URN: <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:bvb:29-bv007329242-0> (last accessed: 16 December 2024).
- Schnalke 1995 = Schnalke, Thomas: Das genaue Bild. Das schöne Bild. Trew und die botanische Illustration, in: Thomas Schnalke (ed.): *Natur im Bild. Anatomie und Botanik in der Sammlung des Nürnberger Arztes Christoph Jacob Trew. Eine Ausstellung aus Anlaß seines 300. Geburtstages, 8. November bis 10. Dezember 1995*, Erlangen 1995 (Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg 27), pp. 99–129.
- Schnalke 1996 = Schnalke, Thomas: Vom blumenmalenden Gärtner zum botanischen Meisterillustrator. Georg Dinoy's Ehret (1708–1770) in Regensburg, in: *Hoppea. Denkschrift der Regensburgischen Botanischen Gesellschaft* 57 (1996), pp. 483–510.
- Schug 1978 = Schug, Dieter: Christoph Jakob Trew, in: *Fränkische Lebensbilder* 8 (1978), pp. 130–146.
- Schulze 2004 = Schulze, Elke: *Nulla dies sine linea. Universitärer Zeichenunterricht – eine problemgeschichtliche Studie*, Stuttgart 2004.
- Shapin 1989 = Shapin, Steven: The Invisible Technician, in: *American Scientist* 77.6 (1989), pp. 554–563.
- Smith 2008 = Smith, Pamela H.: Artisanal Knowledge and the Representation of Nature in Sixteenth-century Germany, in: Therese O'Malley / Amy R. W. Meyers (eds.): *The Art of Natural History. Illustrated Treatises and Botanical Paintings, 1400–1850*, New Haven / London 2008 (Studies in the History of Art 69), pp. 15–31.

Figures and Charts

Annette Gerok-Reiter, Stefanie Gropper, Anna Pawlak, Anja Wolkenhauer, Angelika Zirker
Introduction

Figs. 1 and 2: © Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz,
Photo: Karen Bartsch.

Fig. 3: Julius Lessing/ Adolf Brüning: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, Berlin 1905, plate III.

Fig. 4: Julius Lessing/ Adolf Brüning: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, Berlin 1905, plate XXIV.

Fig. 5: Julius Lessing/ Adolf Brüning: Der Pommersche Kunstschränk, Berlin 1905, plate XXX.

Fig. 6: © Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Matthias Bauer, Sarah Briest, Sara Rogalski, Angelika Zirker
Give and Take. Reflections on Collaborative Authorship in Early Modern English
Literature

Fig. 1: Pennsylvania State University. Special Collections Library, URL: <https://digital.libraries.psu.edu/digital/collection/emblem/id/386> (last accessed: 14 January 2025).

Fig. 2: Library of Congress, URL: <https://www.loc.gov/resource/rbc0001.2006rosen0004/?sp=15> (last accessed: 14 January 2025).

Frank Bezner
E pluribus unum? On the Aesthetics of Latin-German Poetry in the *Carmina Burana*

Fig. 1: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Clm 4660 (Codex Buranus), fol. 68^r.

Dirk Werle
Multiple Authorship in 17th-century German Lyric Poetry – the Example of Constantin
Christian Dedekind's *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* (1657)

Fig. 1: SLUB Dresden, URL: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/526845/11> (last accessed: 14 January 2025).

Fig. 2: SLUB Dresden, URL: <https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/526845/9> (last accessed: 14 January 2025).

Mara R. Wade

Martin Opitz signs a *Stammbuch*. Multiple Authorship and a 'Different Aesthetics' in the Emblematic *album amicorum*

Figs. 1, 3, 4: Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelf. 225 Noviss. 8°.

Fig. 2: Emblematica Online, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. <http://emblematica.library.illinois.edu/detail/emblem/E020902> (last accessed: 14 January 2025).

Andrea Worm

Multiple Authorship and Diachronic Hybridity. The Seven-branched Candelabrum of Brunswick Cathedral and its Historical Reconfiguration

Fig. 1: © PtrQs, [https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siebenarmiger_Leuchter_\(Braunschweig\)#/media/Datei:20190501_BraunschweigerDom_Menora_DSC08178-2_ISO_PtrQs.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Siebenarmiger_Leuchter_(Braunschweig)#/media/Datei:20190501_BraunschweigerDom_Menora_DSC08178-2_ISO_PtrQs.jpg) (last accessed: 14 January 2025), Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC-BY-SA 4.0), URL: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/>.

Fig. 2: Martin Gosebruch: *Der Braunschweiger Dom und seine Bildwerke*, Königstein im Taunus 1980, p. 65.

Figs. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg.

Fig. 5: Otto von Heinemann: *Das Königreich Hannover und das Herzogthum Braunschweig dargestellt in malerischen Original-Ansichten ihrer interessantesten Gegenden [...]* von verschiedenen Künstlern. Historisch und topographisch beschrieben, 3 vols., Darmstadt 1857–1858 (Reprint Hildesheim/New York 1977), vol. 3, plate 15.

Fig. 7: Wilhelm Anton Neumann: *Der Reliquienschatz des Hauses Braunschweig-Lüneburg*, Vienna 1891, p. 55.

Fig. 10: © Wolfgang Gülcker.

Fig. 12: Otto Homburger: *Der Trivulzio-Kandelaber. Ein Meisterwerk frühgotischer Plastik*, Zurich 1949, Fig. 13.

Fig. 14: Constantin Uhde: *Braunschweigs Bau-Denkmäler. Kurze Erläuterungen zu den photographischen Aufnahmen*, Braunschweig 1892, plate 10 (J. Schomhardt).

Fig. 15: Jochen Luckhardt/Franz Niehoff (eds.): *Heinrich der Löwe und seine Zeit. Herrschaft und Repräsentation der Welfen 1125–1235. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig*, 4 vols., Munich 1995, vol. 3, p. 239, H 120.

Fig. 16: Anton Legner, *Deutsche Kunst der Romanik*, Munich 1982, Fig. 302.

Konrad Schmid

The Torah as Multi-Authorial Literature of Discussion. The History, Aesthetics, and Hermeneutics of a Product of Collaborative Writing

Fig. 1: © Sailko, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ortigia_duomo_facciata_01.JPG (last accessed: 14 January 2025), Attribution-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported (CC BY-SA 3.0), URL: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/deed.en>.

Lorenz Adamer

Reflections on the Concept of Authorship in Musicians' Motets

Fig. 1: © The author.

Katharina Ost

Goltzius and Estius Read Ovid: *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1593)

Fig. 1: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, CC0 1.0, URL: <https://creativecommons.org/publicdomain/zero/1.0/deed.de>.

Martin Baisch

Reproductive Authorship in the Courtly Novel

Fig. 1: Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Cgm 19, fol. 49^r.

Kärin Nickelsen

Artwork, Craftwork, Science – and Who Is the Author? The Case of 18th-Century Botanical Illustrations

Fig. 1: Sandberger Collection, No. 1576 (Landesmuseum Wiesbaden).

Fig. 2: ABBAW: PAW 1700–1811, I–III–81, fol. 81^v.

Fig. 3: Christoph Jacob Trew: *Plantae Selectae*. Dec. III 1752, plate XXIV. Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen–Nürnberg, inv. no. 2 RARA 51.

Fig. 4: Carl Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*, plate 1 (Einfache Blätter). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Phyt. 386.

Fig. 5: Carl Linnaeus: *Philosophia botanica*, caption of plate 1 (Einfache Blätter). Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Munich, Phyt. 386.

Fig. 6: Jacob Sturm: *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen*, vol. 1 (1797), issue 3, p. 8. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 8 HN Bot V, 2110.

Fig. 7: Left: Detail from Fig. 1. Right: Detail from Fig. 6.

Fig. 8: Pierre Joseph Redouté: *Les Liliacées*, vol. of plates 4, plate 228 (1808). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 2 Bot IV, 3692, Rara.

Fig. 9: Friedrich Gottlob Hayne: *Getreue Darstellung und Beschreibung der in der Arzneykunde gebräuchlichen Gewächse*, vol. 5, plate 45 (1817). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 4 Mat med 170/5.

Fig. 10: Christian Schkuhr: *Botanisches Handbuch*, vol. of plates 1, plate 4 (1791). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 8 Bot IV, 1000.

Fig. 11: Joseph Gärtner: *De fructibus et seminibus plantarum*, vol. of plates 1, plate 18 (1788). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 4 Bot II, 3060.

Fig. 12: Nikolaus Joseph Jacquin: *Icones plantarum rariorum*, vol. 1, plate 51 (1781). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 2 Bot III, 855.

Fig. 13: Johann Simon Kerner: *Abbildungen oekonomischer Pflanzen*, vol. of plates 8, plate 751 (1796). Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen; 4 Oec I, 1045.

Index

The index lists persons and works discussed in the individual contributions; selected notes have also been indexed. In accordance with the idea underlying this volume, all works that are ascribed to one or more authors are listed under these, even if authorship is unevenly distributed or contested. Whenever no authorship is known, the works are listed under their title; whenever there is no title given either, codices are listed under the umbrella term ‘manuscripts and papyri,’ objects under their location.

- Abdi-Heba 163
Abraham 169f.
Adorno, Theodor W. 72
Aegidius Romanus 56
Agesander XXIX
 – *Statue of Laocoön* XXIX
Albrecht of Scharfenberg 290f.
 – *Jüngerer Titulel* 290f.
Alciato, Andrea 39–41, 96
 – *Emblematum Liber* 96
Alexander Magnificus 190
Alexander of Hales 56
Alexander the Great 167f.
Alma polis religio 187
Anna Catharina of Brandenburg (Queen of Denmark and Norway) 98
Antoine de Longueval 190f.
Anton Ulrich (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg) 131
Apelles XIX
 – *Calumnia Apellis* XIX
Apollonius of Athens
 – *Belvedere Torso* 214f., 218
Aretin, Johann Christoph (Baron of Aretin) 58
Argi vices Poliphemus / Tum Philemon rebus paucis 185, 194
Aristotle 64
 – *Analytica posteriora* 64
Ari Þorgilsson 259, 263
 – *Íslendingabók* 263
 – *Schedæ* 263
Arnaud of Saint-Martin-du Ré 186f.
Árni Magnússon 254, 256, 260f., 263f., 267–269
Arnobius 207
Athenodorus from Rhodes XXIX
 – *Statue of Laocoön* XXIX
August the Younger (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel) 98
Ausonius (D. Magnus Ausonius) 40
Bakhtin, Mikhail 247
Barthes, Roland XX, 54
 – *La mort de l’auteur* XX
Basiron, Philippe 190
Baudelaire, Charles XVIII
Bauer, Ferdinand Lucas
 – *Flora Graeca* 313
Baumgartner, Ulrich XIV
Baur, Johan Wilhelm 202
Beaumont, Francis 35
Benjamin, Walter XVIII, 72
Bergen, Gimel II 78
Bernard of Cluny XXXI, 181, 186–189, 194
 – *Apollinis eclipsatur / Zodiacum signis* XXXI, 181f., 187f., 192, 194f.
Bernegger, Matthias 115
Bernoneau, Hilaire 190
Björn Jónsson á Skarðsá 264
Boccaccio, Giovanni 34
 – *Teseida* 34
Bocchi, Achille XXXI, 95, 97, 99, 101, 104–106, 108, 111, 113
 – *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri* XXXI, 95, 97, 99, 106
Boethius (Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius) 64, 183, 187–189, 194
Bonaventure 56, 277
 – *In primum librum Sententiarum* 277
Book of Common Prayer 35
Brandkrossa þáttur 262
Bronzino (Agnolo di Cosimo) 204–206
 – *Pygmalion and Galatea* 204

- Brueghel, Jan, the Elder XXVII
- Brumel, Antoine 190
- Brunfels, Otto 317
- Brunswick XXXI
- Cathedral
 - Group of triumphal crosses 128, 131, 136, 139, 143, 145f.
 - Mary Altar 128f., 146
 - Murals 131, 143, 146
 - Seven-branched candelabrum XXXI, 121–138, 140, 142f., 145f., 149f.
 - Tomb of Henry the Lion 121, 128–130, 146
 - Wheel chandelier 135, 143, 146
 - Dankwarderode Castle 127, 145
 - Monument of Henry the Lion 127, 129
- Busnoys, Antoine 190
- Canterbury, Saint Augustine
- Seven-branched candelabrum 127
- Carmen Buranum* (169) 53, 60f., 67, 69
- Chaucer, Geoffrey 31, 33–35, 40, 46
- *The Knight's Tale* 35
- Chrétien de Troyes XIX, 11, 54
- *Erec et Enide* XIX, 279
- Christian IV (King of Denmark and Norway) 98
- Claude de France (Claudia of Valois, Queen of France) 191
- Clemens of Alexandria 207
- Compère, Loyset 191f.
- *Omnium bonorum plena* 192
- Curtis, William 318
- *Flora Londinensis* 318
- Dach, Simon 81, 85
- Damaskios 215
- Dante Alighieri 54, 57
- David 163f.
- Dedekind, Constantin Christian XXXI, 77, 80, 82f., 85–87, 89–91
- *Aelbianische Musen-Lust* XXXI, 77–83, 85–87, 89–91
- De Févin, Antoine and Robert 190
- Denis le Grand (Dionysius Magnus) 186f.
- Dillenius, Johann Jacob 318
- *Hortus Elthamensis* 318
- Divitis, Antonius 190
- Dohme, Heinrich Wilhelm 146
- Donne, John 36
- *La Corona* 36
- Dorothea von Anhalt-Zerbst (Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg) 98
- Duchamp, Marcel XX
- Dufay, Guillaume 190, 192
- Ebner, Christine 7
- Egidius de Murino (Gilles de Théroutanne) 186–188
- Ehret, Georg Dionysius 307, 309–311, 313, 326
- Eiríkr Oddsson 257f.
- Eloy d'Amerval 190f.
- Essenwein, August v. 143
- Estius, Franco XXXI, 199–202, 205, 209–212, 218f.
- *Pygmalion and Galatea (Sculpsit ebur)* XXXI, 199f., 218
 - *Roman Heroes* 202
- Euripides 34
- *Suppliants* 34
- Eyrbyggja saga* 245, 247, 263
- Farnabius, Thomas 207
- Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Emperor) 115
- Finckelthaus, Gottfried 80, 85, 87–89
- Flatexjarbók* 260f., 267
- Fleming, Paul 80, 85, 88f.
- *Will sie nicht / so mag sie lassen* 88
- Fletcher, John XXX, 31, 33, 35, 46
- *The Two Noble Kinsmen* XXX, 31, 33, 35, 40, 46
- Forestier, Mathurin 190
- Foucault, Michel XVI, XXII, 23, 54
- *L'archéologie du savoir* 23
 - *Les mots et les choses* 23
 - *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?* XVI, 23
- Friedrich, Andreas 98
- *Emblemata Nova* 98
- Friedrich Wilhelm (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and of Oels) 132
- Friedrich Wilhelm Nikolaus Albrecht of Prussia (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel) 136, 145
- Fürstenwalde
- Seven-branched candelabrum 129

- Galfredus de Vino Salvo (Geoffroi de Vinsauf) 285–287
- *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi* 286
 - *Poetria nova* 286f.
- Gärtner, Joseph 321, 325
- Gerhard of Steterburg 128
- *Annales Steterburgenses* 128
- Gertrude of Helfta (Gertrude the Great) 4, 7, 16
- Ghizeghem, Hayne van 190
- Giselinus, Victor (Victor Gislain) 216
- Gísli Jónsson 268
- Gissur Hallsson 260
- Gläser, Enoch 80
- Godefroy de Baralle (Gaufridus de Barilio) 186f.
- Goltzius, Hendrick XXXI, 199–202, 204–206, 208, 210, 212f., 215–219
- *Apollo of Belvedere* 215, 219
 - *Pygmalion and Galatea* 203
 - *Pygmalion and Galatea (Sculpsit ebur)* XXXI, 199f., 218
 - *Roman Heroes* 202
 - *The Annunciation* 202
 - *Venus ex balneo* 215
 - *Venus felix* 214f., 218
 - *Venus pudica* 215
- Görge, Friedrich 132, 143
- Gottfried of Strasbourg 11, 288
- *Tristan* 288
- Gottsched, Luise Adelgunde 78
- Gregory the Great (Gregory I, Pope) 189
- Grimmelshausen, Hans Jacob Christoffel v. 90
- *Nachtigallenlied* 90
- Grube, Friedrich 133
- Guarin 186f.
- Guillaume de Machaut 186f.
- Haid, Johann Jacob 319, 326
- Hainhofer, Philipp IX, XIII–XV
- Hálfdan Einarsson 268
- *Sciagraphia Historiae Literariae Islandicae* 268
- Happe, Andreas Friedrich 310f., 314
- Hartmann of Aue 291
- Haukr Erlendsson 257
- *Landnámabók* 258, 263, 265
- Hayne, Friedrich Gottlob 320f., 323f.
- Heiðarvígá saga* 265f.
- Heinrich of Halle 6
- Heinrich of Morungen 57
- Heinrich of Veldeke XIX
- *Eneasroman* XIX
- Held, Heinrich 85
- Henri d'Hélène 186f.
- Henry of Ghent 56
- Henry the Lion (Duke of Bavaria and Saxony) 121, 123, 127–133, 136, 143, 145f., 149f.
- Herbert, George 31, 35–37, 46f.
- *A Wreath* 31, 35–37, 46f.
 - *Dialogue* 47
- Hermeling, Gabriel 136, 149
- Hildegard of Bingen 55
- Hildesheim, Cathedral
- Baptismal font 139f.
- Homer XIX, XXIV, 173
- Hooft, Pieter 98
- *Emblemata Amatoria* 98
- Horace (Q. Horatius Flaccus) 40, 110
- Hrafnkels saga* 230, 247
- Isaac, Heinrich 190f.
- Ísfirðinga saga* 263
- Jacquín, Nikolaus Joseph 317f., 323f.
- *Hortus botanicus vindobonensis* 317
- Jaufre Rudel 57
- Jenner, Anton Detlef 131
- Johannes de Garlandia 286
- *Parusiana Poetria* 286
- Johannes de Muris (Jehan des Murs) 186–188
- Johann Georg I (Elector of Saxony) 98
- Jón Guðmundsson 261
- Jón Loftsson 260
- Jón Ólafsson of Grunnavík 254, 256–262, 264–267, 269
- *Apparatus ad Historiam Literariam Islandicam* 254, 256f., 260, 262, 269
 - *Catalogus Librorum Arnæ Magnæi* 267
- Jón Þorláksson 261
- *Ármanns saga* 261, 266, 268
- Josquin des Prez (Pratensis) 190f.
- Jubal 188f.
- Julia Flavia (Daughter of Emperor Titus) 205

- Julius (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg) 130
 Julius II (Pope) XXI
 Junius, Franciscus, the Younger 215, 217
 Junius, Hadrianus 106
- Kerner, Johann Simon 323–325
 Kolberg
 - Seven-branched candelabrum 129
 Konrad of Würzburg XXVI, 278
 Kops, Jan 317f.
 - *Flora Batava* 307, 318
 Krahe, Friedrich Maria 136
 Krahe, Peter Joseph 143
Króka-Refs saga 244, 262, 264
 Küsthardt, Friedrich 121, 134–137, 140f., 143, 149f.
- Lachish Ostraca* 163
 Lachmann, Karl 281, 292f.
 Lactantius (L. Caecilius Lactantius Placidus) 216
 Langenbucher, Achilles XIV
 Langmann, Adelheid 17
 - *Gnadenvita* 17
 La Rue, Pierre de 190f.
 Laßberg, Josef v. 78
Laxdæla saga 230, 238f., 242, 263
 Leers, Daniel 318
 Leuthold of Seven 60, 66
 Linnaeus, Carl 310f., 313, 317–319, 321, 326
 - *Genera Pantarum* 311
 - *Philosophia Botanica* 311, 318
 Longo, Alberigo 105f., 111
 Lorck, Melchior 97
 Lourdault 190
 Lucae, Andreas 111
 Lucan (M. Annaeus Lucanus) 63
 Lucian of Samosata XIX, 207, 214
 - *Calumnia Apellis* XIX
 Ludolf of Volkmarode 130
 Ludovicus, Valentin 99
 Lydgate, John 34
 - *Siege of Thebes* 34
- Magdalena Sibylle of Brandenburg (Electress of Saxony) 98
 Mander, Karel van 215, 217–219
- Manuscripts and papyri
 - *Codex Buranus* XXXI, 57–61, 64, 66–69, 71
 - *Codex Einsidlensis* (277) 5
 - *Codex Leningradensis* 161f.
 - *Codex Medici* 190f.
 - *Codex Sinaiticus* 161
 - *Codex Upsaliensis* 256, 258
 - *Papyrus Nash* 161
 - *Papyrus Rylands* 458 167
 Martial (M. Valerius Martialis) 205
 Marvell, Andrew 36
 - *The Coronet* 36
 Matilda Plantagenet (Duchess of Bavaria and Saxony) 128, 145f.
 Matthew of Vendôme 285f.
 - *Ars versificatoria* 286
 Mechthild of Hackeborn 7
 Mechthild of Magdeburg XXX, 3, 6–9, 16f., 55
 - *Das fließende Licht der Gottheit* XXX, 3–11, 13, 15, 17–19, 21f., 24f.
 - *Lux divinitatis* 25
 Meißner, Antonius 78f.
 Milan, Cathedral
 - Seven-branched candelabrum 141f.
 Miller, John 319
 - *Illustratio systematis sexualis Linnaei* 319
 Miller, Joiß XIV
 Montenay, Georgette de 98
 - *Emblemata christiana* 98
 - *Stamm Buch/Darinnen Christlicher Tugenden Beyspiel* 98
 Morel, Gall 5f.
 Moses 125, 159f., 167, 170
 Moulu, Pierre XXXI, 181f., 184, 190f., 194
 - *Mater floreat* XXXI, 181f., 184, 190–192, 194
 Mouton, Jean 190f.
 Mozart, Anton IX–XI, XIII–XVI
 - *Die Übergabe des Pommerschen Kunstschranks* Xf.
- Napoleon Bonaparte 131f.
 Neidhart of Reuental 58, 278
Nibelungenklage 281, 288
Nibelungenlied XIX
 Nietzsche, Friedrich 23, 173

- Ninot 190
- Njáll Þorgeirsson 238, 241
- Njáls saga* 229–231, 233–237, 241, 247, 249, 263
- Obrecht, Jacob 190f.
- Oddr munkr Snorrason 260
- *Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar* 260–262
 - *Skjöldunga saga* 260
 - *Yngvars saga víðförla* 260
- Oehlenschläger, Adam 231
- *Guldhornene* 231
- Ólafur Einarsson 268
- Ólafur Þórðarson hvítaskáld 258
- Opitz, Martin XXXI, 80, 85, 87, 95, 99–101, 104, 106, 108, 110–116
- *Acht Bücher Deutscher Poematum* 115
 - *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* 87, 115
 - *Ich empfinde fast ein Grauen* 87
- Ortelius, Abraham 97, 118
- Otfrid of Weissenburg XIX
- *Evangelienbuch* XIX
- Otto IV (Holy Roman Emperor and German King) 128
- Ovid (P. Ovidius Naso) XIX, XXIX, XXXII, 63, 169, 199f., 202, 205–218
- *Heroides* XXIX
 - *Metamorphoses* XIX, 63, 205, 207–209, 211, 216–218
- Páll Vídalín 260, 263f.
- Passe, Crispijn de, the Elder 202
- Paulus of Tarsus XXIX
- Pentateuch *See* Torah
- Phidias 205
- Philippe de Vitry 186f.
- Philipp II (Duke of Pomerania-Stettin) IX, XIII, XV
- Philostephanos 207
- Pierre de Bruges (P. von Brügge) 186f.
- Plantin, Christophe 40, 106, 201, 216
- Plato 63, 111
- Pliny the Elder (C. Plinius Secundus Maior) 209
- Polydorus of Rhodes XXIX
- *Statue of Laocoön* XXIX
- Pontanus, Jacobus 216f.
- Pontormo (Jacopo Carucci) 202, 204–206
- *Pygmalion and Galatea* 204
- Praxiteles 207
- *Aphrodite / Venus of Knidos* 207, 215
- Prioris, Johannes 190
- Prynne, William 45
- *Histrio-Mastix* 45
- Pseudo-Lucian *See* Lucian of Samosata
- Pythagoras 187–189, 194
- Quensen, Adolf 143
- Raphael (Raffaello Sanzio) XXI
- Ray, John 321
- Redouté, Pierre-Joseph 320
- Regaudus de Tiramonte 186f.
- Regis, Johannes 190
- Reid, Elizabeth 98
- Reinmar 278
- Reusner, Nicolaus 96
- *Icones* 96
- Reykðæla saga* 247
- Ribbentrop, Philipp Christian 131
- Rist, Johann 81, 83, 85f.
- Robert du Palais 186
- Rösch, Konrad v. 96
- Rubens, Peter Paul XXVII
- Rudolf August (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg) 98, 131
- Rupert of Deutz 55
- Sæmundr Sigfússon inn fróði 260
- Salmasius, Claudius 109
- Salomon, Bernard 202
- Sambucus, Joannes 97, 106
- *Emblemata* 97
- Sandberger, Johann Philipp 308f., 313, 320
- Sarah (Abraham's wife) 169
- Scaliger, Joseph Justus 109
- Schirmer, David 85
- Schkuhr, Christian 320–323
- *Botanisches Handbuch* 320, 322
- Schnütgen, Alexander 136, 149
- Scholze, Johann Sigismund (Sperontes)
- *Singende Muse an der Pleiße* 90
- Schonaeus, Cornelius 201f.
- Schütz, Heinrich 83
- Schwarzwälder Predigten* XXVI
- Senarclens, Claude de 96

- Seneca (L. Annaeus Seneca) XXIX, 34
Septuagint 162, 167
 Servius (Maurus Servius Honoratus) 287
 Seyffert, Wolfgang 78
 Shakespeare, William XIX–XXI, XXX, 31, 33, 43–46, 230 f.
 – *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 31, 41, 43
 – *The Tempest* 31, 41, 45
 – *The Two Noble Kinsmen* XXX, 31, 33, 35, 40, 46
 Shalmaneser III (King of Assyria) 167
 Sibthorp, John
 – *Flora Graeca* 313
 Sidney, Philip XXVI
 Sieber, Justus 83, 85
 Sigurður Jónsson á Knor 268
 Silius Italicus (Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus) 210
 Smith, James E.
 – *Flora Graeca* 313
Sneglu-Halla þáttur 234
 Snorri goði Þorgrímsón 241
 Snorri Sturluson 232, 246, 258–260, 263
 – *Egils saga* 232, 266–268
 – *Heimskringla* 232
 – *Prose Edda* 232, 234, 256, 258 f.
 Solis, Virgil 202
 Solomon 163
 Speeckaert, Hans 202
 Statius (P. Papinius Statius) 34, 210, 216
 – *Thebaid* 34
Stjörnu-Odda draumr 237
 Stockholm
 – Seven-branched candelabrum 129
 Stricker, der 278
 Sturla Þórðarson 258, 263–265
 – *Grettis saga* 260, 263–265
 – *Hákonar saga Hákonarsonar* 264 f.
 – *Háttalykill* 265
 – *Landnámabók* 258, 263, 265
 – *Magnúss saga lagabætis* 265
 Sturm, Jacob 313–315, 319 f.
 – *Deutschlands Flora in Abbildungen* 313, 319
 Styrmir Kárasón (the Learned) 258
 – *Landnámabók* 258, 263, 265
Sub Arturo 187
 Sustermann, Johann 96
Svarfðæla saga 263
 Tannhäuser 278
 Tertullian (Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus) 45
 Theognis of Megara 111
 Thomas Aquinas 56
Torah 159–161, 164 f., 167–170, 172–175
 Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de 321
 Trew, Christoph Jacob 307, 309–311, 319, 326
 – *Plantae Selectae* 311, 314, 319, 326
 Troschel, Peter 83
 Tscherning, Andreas 85
 Ulrich von dem Türlin 285
 Van Rhee de tot Drakestein, Hendrick Adriaan
 – *Hortus Malabaricus* 311
 Vasari, Giorgio 204, 217
Vatnsdæla saga 263
 Vaughan, Henry 36
 – *The Wreath* 36
 Virgil (P. Vergilius Maro) XIX, 112, 115, 208, 210, 287
 – *Aeneid* 208
 – *Eclogues* 112
 Walther von der Vogelweide 57 f., 60, 68–71
 – *Mailed* 60, 66, 68 f.
 Weigel, Christian 95, 99–101, 107–109, 111–116
 Whitney, Geoffrey 31, 38–41, 46
 – *A Choice of Emblemes* 31, 38 f.
 Wiehe, Ernst 136
 Wilhelm August Ludwig Maximilian Friedrich (Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg) 135, 143, 145
 Wolfram of Eschenbach XXXII, 11, 275, 278, 280, 284 f., 290–296
 – *Parzival* XXXII, 275, 291–296
 – *Titarel* 294
 Xenophon of Athens 111