

# Pedagogy and Authority in Sixteenth-Century German Music Theory Textbooks

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## ABSTRACT

This article addresses one of the most significant impacts which the printing press has had on music theory: the emergence of the genre of the textbook. It examines that genre from three different angles. First, it investigates the nature of sixteenth-century textbooks by examining the characteristics of a representative group, a family of texts related to Wollick and Schanppecher's *Opus aureum musicae*, which was first published in Cologne in 1501. Thereafter, the article explores some of the unique features of these early textbooks, such as the pedagogically motivated revisions which the printing process enabled, and the curious attitudes towards authorship and authority which these texts display. Finally, it considers how textbooks from the later sixteenth century, such as Faber's *Compendiolum musicae* (1548), continued and departed from the patterns established by that earlier family of treatises, such as the greater specialization of texts and the increased manipulation of typographical space.

In this age of rapid technological development and societal fracturing, it is tempting to believe that digitization is transforming Western culture in an unprecedented manner. While the pace of change may be faster than ever, scholars in print and media studies, like Marshall McLuhan, Elizabeth Eisenstein, and Adrian Johns, have demonstrated that the introduction of the printing press catalyzed societal changes that are arguably just as profound.<sup>1</sup> The intellectual and commercial developments that the printing press enabled also extended to music theory: at the turn of the sixteenth century mass production made it newly economical for students to acquire personal copies of

<sup>1</sup> See McLuhan 1962, Eisenstein 1979, and Johns 1998, for example.

introductory music theory treatises, or textbooks. By investigating an important family of early German textbooks, this article demonstrates that interest and meaning may be found even in “unoriginal” texts by considering their intellectual style, intended audience, and organization. In particular, it pursues two overlooked features of these texts: the pedagogically motivated revisions which the printing process enabled, and the curious attitudes towards authorship and authority found in textbooks. The article concludes by considering how later-sixteenth-century textbooks continued and departed from the patterns established by that earlier family of treatises.

#### In the Orbit of the *Opus aureum musicae*

Table 1 lists six works, comprising around twenty-five print editions. Although these works were printed over the span of twenty years and across a wide swath of northern Europe, they cohere based on close textual similarities as well as personal connections between their authors. These treatises emerged in the milieu of the University of Cologne: the foundational text is the *Opus aureum musicae* (henceforth *OAM*), which was first published in Cologne by Heinrich Quentel in 1501 and was co-written by two students at the university, Nicolaus Wollick and Melchior Schanppecher. Schanppecher arrived at the university in 1496, two years before Wollick, and, according to Karl Fellerer, Schanppecher was Wollick’s music teacher (Fellerer 1969, 121). Johannes Cochlaeus was also a student at the University of Cologne, where he began studying in 1504, and in time he became Heinrich Glarean’s teacher (*ibid.*, 123–24). A similar student-teacher relationship lies behind the two treatises published in eastern Germany: although Michael Koswick did not publish his *Compendiaria* until after he had moved to Leipzig, he studied at the University of Frankfurt an der Oder, where Johannes Volckmar, author of the *Collectanea*, was the music professor (Kaufmann and Bauch 1907, 48, 55).

Table 1. Theory publication in the *Opus aureum musicæ* orbit

Nicolaus Wollick and Melchior Schanppecher	<i>Opus aureum musicæ</i>	Cologne, 1501, 1504, 1505, 1508, 1509 <sup>2</sup>
Johannes Cochlaeus	<i>Musica</i>	[Nuremberg?, c. 1503]; [Cologne, c. 1506], Cologne, 1507, 1515
Nicolaus Wollick	<i>Enchiridion musices</i>	Paris: 1509, 1509, 1512, 1521
Johannes Cochlaeus	<i>Tetrachordum musices</i>	Nuremberg: 1511, 1512, 1514, 1516, 1520
Johann Volekmar	<i>Collectanea quedam musicæ discipline</i>	Frankfurt a. d. Oder: 1513
Michael Koswick	<i>Compendiaria musicæ</i>	Leipzig: 1516, 1516, 1517, 1518, 1519, 1520

To modern scholars the *OAM* may look unremarkable, even unoriginal, for much of it was generated by reworking or simply copying material by authors such as Gaffurio and Adam of Fulda (Niemöller 1956, 248–66). Yet it was evidently seen as a valuable work in its day: not only was it reprinted multiple times, it also served as a model for the other five treatises,<sup>3</sup> which will be referred to as existing in the orbit of the *OAM*. Each of the six treatises has the same basic organization of a single volume which

<sup>2</sup>No copies of the 1509 edition are known to have survived past World War II (Niemöller 1956, 320).

<sup>3</sup>It was also the model for the 1508 Strasbourg edition of Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica nova*, which copies the entirety of books three and four of the *OAM*. Yet the *Margarita* as a whole is a multi-disciplinary encyclopedia, not a theory textbook, so it is not included in Table 1.

includes sections dedicated to both plainchant and mensural polyphony. Within each of those sections the six treatises address almost identical theoretical topics in largely the same order (some exceptions will be discussed below). Most tellingly, the treatises in the *OAM* orbit often paraphrase or directly copy other treatises in the family and share the same musical examples.

Other noteworthy features of these treatises become evident when one follows the three lines of inquiry that Lawrence Gushee proposed for investigating questions of genre in medieval music theory: 1) the demands and problems of the musical repertory which the treatises address, 2) the institutional goals and methods to which they respond, and 3) the treatises' "intellectual style"—what he calls "the sum of overt and covert beliefs and traditions as to what is knowable, how it is knowable, and what knowledge is most worthwhile, significant, or interesting" (Gushee 1973, 366). Of these lines of inquiry, the first is the easiest to pursue for the treatises in the *OAM* orbit: all of them devote a constituent book or two to teaching solmization and the eight modes, and another to instruction in reading rhythmic notation. Many of them also address how to sing the melodic formulas used for intoning Scriptural passages, such as the historical books. Consequently, it is clear that the musical repertory in view comprises both monophonic liturgical music and rhythmically notated polyphony. Indeed, Johannes Cochlaeus explicitly notes that his employer, the prior of St. Lorenz in Nuremberg, charged him to teach church music (*ecclesiasticus cantus*) and not to neglect mensural polyphony (*figurabilis concentus*) in the church's school (Cochlaeus 1511b, A1v), which suggests that the issue of musical repertory overlaps at least in part with that of institutional demands. (As for the University of Cologne, little evidence survives concerning the nature of music theory instruction there, but circumstantial evidence supports the contention that the *OAM* was used by students attending music lectures.<sup>4</sup>) These treatises' general tendency toward being comprehensive and conservative can also be explained by institutional pressures. As is still obligatory with textbooks, the *OAM*-related texts appear intended to summarize all the pertinent knowledge in a circumscribed area of inquiry. (This circumscription can be based on the boundaries of a discipline or sub-discipline or the demands of a given audience or employer.) Because summarization is the main purpose, the authors of the *OAM* texts

<sup>4</sup>Beyond concerns of print runs, which will be addressed below, Wollick also concludes the *OAM* with a letter of praise addressed to Adam of Boppard (Popardiensis), the regent of the university's *Cornelianer* College, to which Wollick belonged (1501, H5v). Additionally, the statutes governing the university's founding in 1388 stipulate that regular lectures on music should last a month (Bianco 1855, 130).

were not concerned with proposing new ideas. Innovations affecting how material was presented were fully permissible, and perhaps even expected in some cases, but the content itself generally does not break significant new ground.<sup>5</sup>

Schools and universities were not the only institutions to affect treatises in the *OAM* orbit: the profusion of editions surely demonstrates the influence of the nascent printing industry as well. The printing houses newly established in cities across Europe needed orders to remain solvent, and based on the number of print runs shown in Table 1 alone, they evidently found a sizeable market for music theory texts.<sup>6</sup> Since “by the beginning of the sixteenth century books were normally printed in editions of 1,000 to 1,500 copies” (Gaskell 2009, 161), it is entirely feasible that at least 25,000 copies of the books listed in Table 1 were in circulation across northern Europe by 1520. Before the printing press the time or great expense required to acquire books would have meant that ownership of music theory texts was largely restricted to learned professionals and the wealthy. By contrast, as Table 1 shows, Michael Koswick’s *Compendiaria musice* was published annually in Leipzig for five straight years, which indicates that far more people were purchasing theory treatises than ever before. Based on the treatises’ pedagogical orientations and their authors’ educational affiliations, it seems plausible to suppose that theory teachers were exhorting their students to purchase these books as a supplement for their classes, much in the way that textbooks are required even today.

Gushee’s third line of inquiry—into the intellectual style of the treatises—provides an important argument for grouping together the treatises shown in Table 1. In addition to their organizational similarities, they all share a highly pragmatic pedagogical orientation. One expression of this characteristic is their tendency to minimize

<sup>5</sup>A major exception to this is the account of cadences contained in the *OAM* (see Mutch 2015, 72–139). Yet the rest of the *OAM* is profoundly indebted to traditional music theory. (Indeed, it may be of some significance that the chapter on cadences is the last one in the treatise, tacked on to the end of what would otherwise be a collection of rather traditional music theory.) Furthermore, the treatise’s final section is the least indebted to centuries-old theoretical topics: it is dedicated to “the manner of composing, or simple counterpoint,” and draws heavily upon the kind of contrapuntal theorizing exemplified in Franchino Gaffurio’s work.

<sup>6</sup>Indeed, Niemöller claims that of the texts printed by Quentel, only two *Lehrbücher* on rhetoric received more printings than the five editions of the *OAM* (Niemöller 1956, 74, n. 4). (For a list of all the works published by Quentel until 1501, see Voullième 1903, cxvi–cxxvi.)

mathematical explanations of intervals in favor of giving notated examples of them,<sup>7</sup> a tendency also adopted by later treatises in the *OAM* orbit. Indeed, they take this pragmatic character even further by dispensing with much of music theory's traditional Greco-Roman lore and terminology in favor of a very efficient account of what students need to know in order to perform music competently.<sup>8</sup> By contrast, Heinrich Glarean, who studied under Cochlaeus at the University of Cologne beginning in 1507 (Fellerer 1969, 123–24), wrote a putatively introductory text whose erudite subject matter and prose strongly distinguish it from the other Cologne-educated theorists' works. His *Isagoge in musicen*, published in Basel in 1516, delves deep into the Greek scale systems (an obvious foreshadowing of his later interests) and is filled with Greek terminology in both Roman and Greek characters. Pragmatic matters of mensural notation and solmization are never broached: clearly Glarean has a different aim and intellectual style.

Pursuing Gushee's three lines of inquiry has led to some insights into the shared characteristics of the *OAM*-related treatises, such as their coverage of both monophony and polyphony, their role in helping to keep printing houses solvent, and their pragmatic intellectual style. Yet because Gushee proposed these lines of inquiry for medieval manuscripts, not printed books, it comes as no surprise that they fail to attract attention to some of these treatises' most intriguing features: the pedagogically-motivated revisions enabled by successive print runs, and the curious relationship to authorship and authority found in this family of texts. We will consider each feature in order.

<sup>7</sup>Note that this tendency could be related to Wollick's definition of music as "the liberal art of harmony, resulting from the regular and modulated divisions of sounds, voices, modes, and tones" (*Musica est liberalis ars harmoniae ex sonorum, vocum, modorum tonorumque divisionibus regulariter ac modulative resultans* [*ibid.*, I.4, A4v]), a definition that avoids any reference to music's traditional status as a member of the quadrivium liberal arts, which held a somewhat tenuous place in the university curriculum. The combination of these two points could be interpreted as a foreshadowing of the later-sixteenth-century *musica poetica* movement, which sought newly to associate music with the verbal liberal arts rather than mathematical ones. (For a supporting view, see Niemöller 2003, 79–83).

<sup>8</sup>Consider the first edition of Cochlaeus's *Musica*, which offers one brief paragraph of introductory material before it launches into teaching note names and solmization (n.d., A1v).

### Pedagogically Motivated Revisions

We now turn to a closely related cluster of treatises by Johannes Cochlaeus, which depend heavily on the *OAM*.<sup>9</sup> In contrast to the successive editions of the *OAM*, whose four extant issues are simple re-settings of the same material,<sup>10</sup> Cochlaeus submitted his treatises to a series of genuine revisions: two smaller ones between the first three editions of his *Musica* (the third of which dates to 1507), and one more substantial revision to create the *Tetrachordum musices* of 1511.<sup>11</sup> These successive revisions give us insight into Cochlaeus's efforts to make his textbook more responsive to the needs of its intended audiences.

The first edition of the *Musica*, which was published about 1503, departs from the paradigm established by the *OAM* in three significant respects. First, it is much shorter: whereas the *OAM* is 84 pages long, the first *Musica* is only 28. There are some components of the *OAM* that Cochlaeus cuts altogether, like the traditional lore about the inventors of music and the brief section on how to intone lectionary readings, but most of the shorter length is simply a result of condensing Wollick and Schanppecher's relatively verbose text. The second way in which Cochlaeus departs from their model is by adding new material. Most notably, Cochlaeus dedicates an entire chapter to *musica ficta*, a topic that Wollick and Schanppecher barely mention.<sup>12</sup> The third departure from the *OAM* lies in the ordering of major sections. In the first edition of the *Musica*, he displaces the chapters dedicated to *musica mensurabilis* to the end of the treatise, after the section on counterpoint. In one sense this change makes sense: the *OAM* family's contrapuntal doctrine is restricted to simple note-against-note successions,<sup>13</sup> so the

<sup>9</sup> While I find it most likely that Cochlaeus based his undated *Musica* upon the *OAM*, a position shared by Clement Miller, Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller holds the opposite view (*Grove Music Online*, s.vv. Cochlaeus and Wollick).

<sup>10</sup> Minor typographical discrepancies between the issues demonstrate that the book was indeed re-set each time: for instance, the heading of Book IV, Chapter 1 (H2r) is abbreviated differently in all four issues.

<sup>11</sup> An additional edition of the *Musica* was issued in Cologne in 1515 by Heinrich von Neuß. Klaus-Jürgen Sachs reports that it is identical with the 1507 edition except for its third section, which is condensed (2015, 57).

<sup>12</sup> Cochlaeus also expands the section on the modes by adding a chapter on psalm intonations, and he shuffles the content to bring more attention to proper modal beginnings and endings by dedicating chapters to those topics.

<sup>13</sup> Their term for this type is *contrapunctus simplex*.

ability to notate complex rhythmic relationships is entirely unnecessary to Cochlaeus's text.<sup>14</sup> Yet ultimately this reordering did not prove satisfactory: for whatever reason, in the second edition Cochlaeus restored the contrapuntal section to the ending position it held in the *OAM*, and kept it there through the remainder of his editions.

The following two editions of the *Musica* retained all the content of the first, as well as the sectional ordering of the *OAM*. Their chief interest lies in their gradual expansion. Whereas the first edition's treatment of *musica mensurabilis* had been very brief, a mere five pages, the second devotes over nine pages to that topic. Similarly, the section on counterpoint expands from four pages in the second edition to sixteen in the third. Much of the material added in this latter expansion was not found in the *OAM*, but is copied very closely from Gaffurio's *Practica musice* of 1496. While Cochlaeus did consult the *Practica musice* while drafting the first edition of his treatise,<sup>15</sup> the third edition suggests that he felt that Gaffurio's treatise had yet more to offer to his readers than he had initially assumed. As for the second edition's expansion of metrical theory, a similar explanation is possible with respect to the *OAM*, which is the source for practically all the added material. I speculate that Cochlaeus learned through experience that the first edition of the text left readers with too many questions about mensural matters, and that he attempted to meet his readers' needs better in his revisions for the second edition of the *Musica*. Yet another impetus for issuing a second edition lies in print technology: the first edition was printed with many blank staves, some of which have been filled in by hand in the one extant copy; the second edition, in contrast, is furnished throughout with complete musical examples in woodcut. Cochlaeus himself appears to have owned the original wood blocks used for these examples, since many of them reappear not only in the third edition of the *Musica*, but also in his last music treatise, which was produced by a different printer in another city.<sup>16</sup> It is to this treatise that we now turn.

<sup>14</sup> More complex rhythmic relationships do occur in some of the examples in Cochlaeus's treatment of counterpoint, but his text does not engage with these parts of the examples (see *Tetrachordum*, E6r, for instance).

<sup>15</sup> See Sachs 2015, 32, for an example of Cochlaeus borrowing a quotation from Gaffurio that is not found in the *OAM*.

<sup>16</sup> For some cases of reused examples, see the *solfizandi exercitium* example: first published at the end of the second edition (C5v–6r), then reused in the third (B5v–6r), and then in the *Tetrachordum* (B6r); and the *introductionum musice* figure: first published at the start of the second edition (A1v), reused in the third (A2v), then appearing later in the *Tetrachordum* (B3r).



After the third edition of the *Musica* was published, Cochlaeus's next music-theoretical publication did not arrive for another four years. In the meantime, he had left Cologne and relocated to Nuremberg, where he became a teacher in the parish school of St. Lorenz (Cochlaeus 1511b, A1v). Cochlaeus evidently felt that his *Musica* was not a good fit for his new duties, since the most drastic of his revisions occur in the *Tetrachordum* musices (1511),<sup>17</sup> which he had published “chiefly for instruction of the youth at the church of St. Lorenz, but also for the more profitable and uncomplicated instruction of others who are beginners in the art of music” (Cochlaeus 1970, 16). Cochlaeus's intended audience for the *Tetrachordum* clearly did not overlap entirely with that of the *Musica* treatises: readers of the *Tetrachordum* would have found in it considerably more information concerning music's nature and its cultivation in previous ages, while being offered far less practical detail about musical composition and mensural notation.<sup>18</sup> For instance, the *Tetrachordum* is the only one of Cochlaeus's treatises to mention the Ancient Greek genera or to describe the ancient instruments referred to in the Bible and other texts from Antiquity (Cochlaeus 1511b, A5r–B1r). It also contains explanations and examples of Greek poetic meters, as well as Cochlaeus's only discussion of the acoustical foundation of music (Cochlaeus 1511b, F2v–4v, A4r).

Cochlaeus's revisions of the *Musica* to create the *Tetrachordum musices* were not restrained to including or excluding content, however. Several of the alterations he made in the *Tetrachordum* indicate that he paid careful attention to increasing its pedagogical effectiveness. For instance, Cochlaeus recasts the entirety of the treatise from the straight expository style found in the *Musica* treatises into a dialogic form. Each chapter opens by recasting its title as a question: “What is mutation?” “How many final notes of the modes are there?” and so on. Such questions often occur at later points within the chapters as well. To be sure, this is a far cry from penetrating Socratic

<sup>17</sup> At least four later issues appeared, in 1512, 1514, 1516, and 1520. (Robert Eitner erroneously lists an edition of 1526, which should be 1520 [1900, vol. 3, 1; cf. Weckerlin 1885, 82–84]. Eitner also locates an edition from 1517 at Einsiedeln, but no such work may be found there [1900, vol. 3, 1; cf. Müller 2010, 395–96].) Only the 1511 issue contains Glarean's poem extolling music (B1r), and the dedicatory letter to Bilibald Pirkheimer last appears in the 1514 issue.

<sup>18</sup> Cochlaeus refers his readers to the “tract on counterpoint that we published in Cologne” for more information on simultaneities, and states that the *Tetrachordum's* contrapuntal rules are merely excerpted from those in the *Musica* texts (1511b, E6r).

dialogue, but the effort which this reworking entailed suggests that Cochlaeus felt it had greater pedagogical appeal than did straight exposition.<sup>19</sup>

Another of Cochlaeus's alterations pertains to a curious redundancy in the *OAM* and the *Musica* treatises when it comes to intervals: these texts raise the topic once in the context of chant (focusing on successive intervals), and then later reintroduce the topic when discussing polyphony (focusing on simultaneous intervals). In the *Tetrachordum* Cochlaeus reworks this situation in an unexpected way: in the treatise's opening section, which concerns the elements of music, he first addresses the concepts of consonance and dissonance, defining them by listing the members of each class. Two chapters later, he returns to the subject of intervals, and this time describes them all in approximately the order of increasing size. Thus, melodic successions are removed from their Gregorian context, simultaneities from their contrapuntal home, and both are reconceived as basic elements of music.

Although introducing simultaneous and successive intervals in quick consecution was not unprecedented in the music theory,<sup>20</sup> it was original within the orbit of the *OAM* texts. What might have motivated this departure from tradition? Moving the two chapters on intervals closer together may seem to reduce the effect of redundancy, but they are not combined into one chapter, and other material does intervene. Rather, it seems most probable that Cochlaeus's unusual striving for organizational neatness is responsible. Unlike any of the *Musica* editions, which are rather haphazard in organization, the *Tetrachordum musices* (literally, "Tetrachord of Music") is divided into four parts, each of which comprises ten chapters.<sup>21</sup> Whereas all previous publications in the *OAM* orbit dedicated a constituent book (or equivalent section) to counterpoint, the *Tetrachordum* does not. To compensate, Cochlaeus expands the traditional prefatory material to a full section, on equal footing with the other three, which

<sup>19</sup> Indeed, this was not Cochlaeus's only textbook for the students of Nuremberg to feature questions: a few months before the appearance of the *Tetrachordum musices*, Cochlaeus had published a grammar textbook, the *Quadrivium grammatices* (1511a), which he described as a companion text to the *Tetrachordum* (1511b, D4v). In the grammar text, however, only a third or so of the chapters feature prominent questions. (To take some arbitrary samples from a large treatise, five of the eleven chapters in the first *tractatus* have prominent questions, and in the fifth *tractatus* seven of sixteen do.)

<sup>20</sup> For instance, Johannes Keck, writing in the first half of the fifteenth century, discusses consonances and dissonances immediately after his chapter dedicated to successive intervals (Keck 1963, 323–327).

<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, Cochlaeus's companion grammar textbook contains no semblance of such structural neatness, despite having a similarly numeric name, the *Quadrivium grammatices*.

address Gregorian chant, the modes, and mensural music, to which a few contrapuntal principles are appended in a bit of structural sleight of hand. Faced with the task of filling ten chapters dedicated to the elements of music, Cochlaeus evidently decided intervallic successions and simultaneities would serve his purposes nicely.

By stepping back and considering Cochlaeus's music-theoretical publications and the treatises in the orbit of the *OAM* as a whole, it begins to appear that the essence of a textbook is merely a set of agreed-upon topics in a conventional order, along with explanatory strategies and even specific musical examples. (Consider the re-used and copied block prints in the *OAM* family, or how frequently modern textbooks discuss the first movement of Mozart's Piano Sonata in A major, K. 331, for example.) Seen in this light, the particular contribution of a given textbook's author lies not in revolutionary insights that secure a place in the field's pantheon, but in ascertaining an effective way to instill knowledge of those topics in the reader. But do juggling the order of presentation and tweaking traditional explanations of concepts actually amount to authorship?

#### Authorship and Authority

The first fifty years of the printing era display a markedly different conception of the author than is found in later decades. In early sixteenth-century Cologne indications of authorship seem to function more as marketing devices than as claims of intellectual ownership. When books were attributed to authorities, like Virgil or Saint Bernard of Clairvaux, printers displayed the authors' names prominently on the title pages.<sup>22</sup> Less distinguished writers also received title-page billing, such as Peregrine of Opole (born c. 1260) and Henry of Gorkum (c. 1378–1431);<sup>23</sup> most minor authors to receive such treatment had been dead for several generations, which suggests that time had lent them a patina of authority. Authors still living or relatively recently deceased, however, typically went unacknowledged. Consider the *Lauacrum conscientie*, which, like the *OAM*, was printed in Cologne by Quentel in 1501 (Example 1). Although the text was written by Jacobus de Gruitrode, who was active from 1440–75, one cannot tell this from the published book. The book's colophon provides more information, such as the date and place of publication, but the only name it indicates is that of the printer,

<sup>22</sup> For examples printed in the same year and by the same printer as the *OAM*, see Virgil 1501 and Bernard of Clairvaux 1501.

<sup>23</sup> See Peregrine of Opole 1501; Henry of Gorkum 1501.

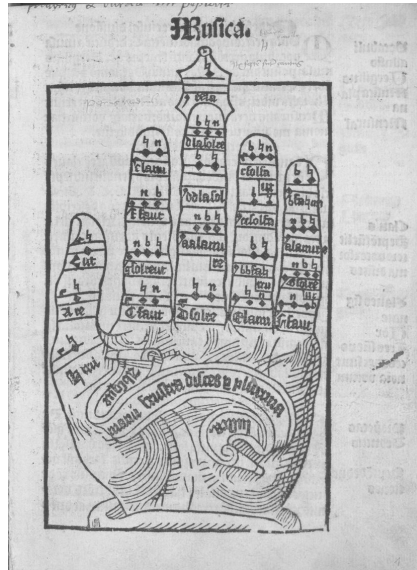
Quentel. The first and second editions of Cochlaeus's *Musica* (Examples 2a and 2b) are even less informative: their title pages contain only one word, *Musica*, and there are no colophons at all, so the publications' author, date, place of printing, and printer are all unspecified. We can be confident that they are indeed by Cochlaeus only because of their unmistakable resemblance to the 1507 edition, which does indicate the author and publication information.<sup>24</sup>

Example 1. [Jacobus de Gruitrode], *Lauacrum conscientie* (Cologne: Quentel, 1501), Alr

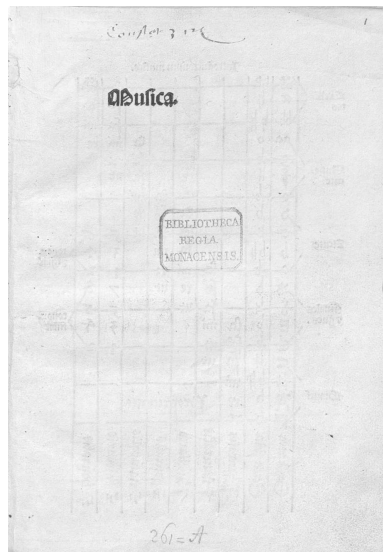


<sup>24</sup> It is possible that scholarly mores at the time discouraged bachelor-level students from publishing, and that Cochlaeus waited until 1507, the year when he completed his master's degree, before claiming responsibility for his work. (For the dates of Cochlaeus's educational milestones, see Otto 1874, 5, 9.) Alternately, the work's anonymity may be a holdover from an older tendency to view a work's respectability as being undermined if it is attributed to an unestablished author, as Rüdiger Schnell has argued of medieval German culture (2001, 105–106).

Example 2a. [Johannes Cochlaeus], *Musica*, 1st ed. (n.p.: n.p), Alr



Example 2b. [Johannes Cochlaeus], *Musica*, 2nd ed. (n.p.: n.p.), Alr



Other books by contemporary writers do indicate authorship, but only via the book's dedication. Jacobus Magdalius's *Erarium aureum poetarum*, first published by Quentel in 1501, features the name of an unrelated poet on the title page, and the colophon has only publication information. One must turn to the dedicatory letter, printed on the verso of the title page, to find any indication of the book's actual author, and even that indication is far from prominent. Moreover, a dedicatory letter need not be the same thing as a claim of authorship. Magdalius's *Erarium aureum poetarum* shares more than just a similarity of title with Wollick and Schanppecher's *Opus aureum musicæ*: neither has any indication of authorship on the title page, and both colophons simply list the printing details. Yet in the *OAM* the dedicatory letter is signed solely by Wollick, and one has to read carefully to learn that Melchior Schanppecher wrote the entire second half of the treatise!

This lack of concern for claiming authorial responsibility is accompanied by a lack of concern for originality. As we have seen, much of the *OAM* was generated by reworking or simply copying earlier books, and Cochlaeus continued this process vis-a-vis the *OAM*. Similarly, large sections of Michael Koswick's *Compendiaria musicæ* essentially consist of a condensation of the second edition of Cochlaeus's *Musica*, and many of its woodcut examples are copied note for note from the *Musica*. Nonetheless, later editions of the *Compendiaria musicæ* feature Koswick's name on their title pages as the apparent author.<sup>25</sup> This strongly suggests that the concepts of originality and authorship simply did not have the same meaning in the early sixteenth century as they do today.

Is there a better way to understand the notion of authorship operative at that time? An intriguing possibility is provided by the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian Saint Bonaventure. In his commentary on Peter Lombard's *Libri sententiarum* (which Bonaventure wrote around 1250–52), he describes four possibilities that are implicitly arranged on a continuum from less originality to more:

The method of making a book is fourfold. For one person writes the materials of others, adding or changing nothing: this person is said to be merely the scribe.

<sup>25</sup> The fourth, fifth, and sixth editions feature Koswick's name on the title pages. The first two editions, from 1516, include a dedicatory letter by Koswick, but lack any name on their title pages. I have been unable to consult the third edition.

Another person writes the material of others, and adds (but nothing of his own): this person is said to be the compiler. Another writes both the materials of others and his own, but the materials of others are the principal materials, and his own are for the purpose of clarifying them: this person is said to be the commentator, not the author. Another writes both his own materials and those of others, but his own are the principal materials, and the materials of others are for the purpose of confirming his own: such must be called the author.<sup>26</sup>

How might the writers in the *OAM* orbit fit into this model? They largely recycle and reword existing theoretical ideas, adding little that is original. As Klaus Niemöller has pointed out, the lengthy title of the *OAM* concludes with the words “drawn from various sources” (*ex diversis excerptum*), and overall the work is essentially a compilation (Niemöller 1956, 249). Consequently, the text’s writers are far from being authors and perhaps ought to be considered mere compilers. On the other hand, our theorists do add new explanatory statements to the excerpts and newly paraphrased expository sections, in which respect they more closely resemble commentators. Yet commentary (the context in which Bonaventure wrote the quoted passage) is a genre that makes explicit which ideas are principal and which merely clarify or confirm; our theorists, by contrast, rarely use quotations or citations to support their claims. From this perspective none of Bonaventure’s categories seems right on its own.

A further complication lies in our texts’ relationship to intellectual authority. In the medieval period writers invested ideas with power and respectability by associating them with authoritative figures from the past.<sup>27</sup> These attributions often took the form of quotations or paraphrases of important texts, like the Bible, the Church Fathers, or the Aristotelian corpus. For example, Bartolomeo Ramos de Pareia, in his *Musica utriusque cantus practica* of 1482, which Cristal Collins Judd has described as a textbook (2000, 19), frequently refers to Boethius, along with other authorities, such as Aristotle, Philolaos, and more recent notables, like Guido, Marchetto of Padua, and Tinctoris.

<sup>26</sup> “... quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur *scriptor*. Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste *compilator* dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tamquam principalia, et sua tamquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur *commentator*, non *auctor*. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tanquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem; et talis debet dici *auctor*” (Prooemii, quaestio 4, conclusio; in Bonaventure 1882, 14–5). Translation adapted from Minnis 1988, 94.

<sup>27</sup> For more on this subject, see A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988).



Even when he invokes authors merely to disagree with them, those references still signal to his readers that he is an expert, well versed in the writings of the authorities.

Medieval writers often assert that an idea comes from an authority, like Boethius or Guido, even when that is not actually the case. This practice sometimes proceeded from the conviction that modern discoveries were, in fact, rediscoveries, since the ancients had already possessed all truly valuable knowledge.<sup>28</sup> In other cases authors were motivated to cite authorities for more utilitarian reasons, as is suggested by a tongue-in-cheek passage from the prologue to *Don Quixote*, where the book's supposed author is recounting an advisory speech which a friend gave him:

Let's turn now the citation of authors, found in other books and missing in yours [*Don Quixote*]. The solution to this is very simple, because all you have to do is find a book that cites them all from A to Z, as you put it. Then you'll put that same alphabet in your book, and though the lie is obvious it doesn't matter, since you'll have little need to use them; perhaps someone will be naive enough to believe you have consulted all of them in your plain and simple history; if it serves no other purpose, at least a lengthy catalogue of authors will give the book an unexpected authority. Furthermore, no one will try to determine if you followed them or did not follow them, having nothing to gain from that (2003, 7).

In contrast to these pragmatic, even cynical approaches to invoking authority, the authors in the orbit of the *OAM* often eschew the benefits of citations. While the first of the *OAM*'s four books affects an air of erudition by parading the customary classical allusions and appeals to authority, the remaining three books make practically no reference whatsoever to other authors, even as they largely function as a compilation of older texts. For instance, when the text paraphrases Franchino Gaffurio, as it does for lengthy stretches of its contrapuntal doctrine, Gaffurio's name is entirely absent. This tendency to omit appeals to authority is further amplified in later texts: Johann Volckmar begins his *Collectanea quedam musice discipline* (1513) with a relatively learned prologue and first chapter, but then dispenses with all references to authorities for the remainder of the treatise. In an even more extreme case, the first two editions

<sup>28</sup> For more on the logic behind misattributions and forgeries, see Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), and Constable, "Forgery and Plagiarism in the Middle Ages," 1–41, esp. 38–39.



Cochlaeus's *Musica* briefly refer to Virgil in their opening chapters, but thereafter include not a single proper noun!<sup>29</sup>

The picture of authorship which emerges from this situation is rather unsettling: treatises are published anonymously, or have authorial attributions that appear practically plagiaristic. The theorists neglect to credit the sources from which they borrow and thereby forgo the display of expertise and authority which would come from acknowledging those sources. What lies behind these practices? A diagnosis of plagiarism would seem to be too simplistic, not only because many of these texts downplay authorial claims, but also because it is far from evident that those writers would have recognized the concept of intellectual ownership upon which charges of plagiarism depend. (Indeed, Giles Constable points out that Bonaventure's description of the four ways of making a book "makes no reference to the possibility that a book could be entirely a writer's own work" [Constable 1983, 28].<sup>30</sup>) Fortunately, a helpful interpretive strategy for these problems of authorship may be found in Michel Foucault's article "What is an Author?" In it, Foucault isolates a number of different functions which the concept of the author usually serves for us, such as classifying (by associating groups of texts with a single name), relating (by associating diverse texts with each other, even when penned by different writers, such as the Aristotelian corpus), and conferring of respectability (by elevating "authored" words to a status not granted to normal speech) (Foucault 1977, 123). I suspect that part of what makes authorship so different in the *OAM* texts is that their authorial function is split between two different people. Although authors' names anchor these books in library catalogues and scholarship—indeed, we feel compelled to impute names to anonymous publications—it is precisely these texts' native anonymity that suggests a quite different attitude toward authorship on the part of both the "authors" themselves and their intended readers. Their audience evidently did not require an author's name to consider the book worth purchasing; nor should we assume that the printer's imprimatur was seen to guarantee quality, since sixteenth-century printers responded to their buyers, not to peer-review processes.

<sup>29</sup> The third edition elevates the intellectual style with learned prologues to each of the three main parts and more classical references in the treatise's first chapter, but otherwise largely maintains the lack of references to authorities (with the exception of one quotation each by Baccheus and Aristotle, which Cochlaeus copies verbatim from Gaffurio [E1v, F1r]).

<sup>30</sup> Constable explores this theme further in *ibid.*, 27–39.

I suggest that for textbooks, then and today, the music instructor takes on part of the authorial function.<sup>31</sup> Appeals to Pythagoras, Rameau, Riemann, or Forte would be meaningful to theory instructors, but not to textbooks' primary readership: beginning music students. As a result, these works have few ways to convince their intended audience of their learnedness or value. Likewise, a given music theorist's name on a book's cover scarcely imbues the book with more respectability in students' eyes than would any other name, even while it classifies the work and helps shoppers ensure they have found the right book. Rather, students rely on their teachers' authority for assurance that their money is being spent on a worthwhile book. Consider that many modern university bookstores primarily organize textbooks by course and instructor, so in this case the instructor's authorial function of classifying takes primacy over the writers who originally penned the texts. We could also extrapolate from Foucault and postulate yet another authorial function: ascription of intellectual content's origin. In the case of the treatises in the *OAM* orbit, this function seems to be expressed by neither candidate and instead is absent. (One could also ponder the extent to which today's textbooks express original intellectual content.) When seen in this light, the apparent flimsiness of authorship in many of the books in the *OAM* orbit instead draws attention to the continued importance of personal relationships for the instruction of music theory even amid rapid technological changes.

#### Epilogue - Later Developments in German Textbooks

Let us now consider what became of some of these characteristics of the treatises in the *OAM* family in later decades. By the second half of the 1520s the paradigm established by Wollick and Schanppecher had lost its sway, and a greater variety of textbooks began to be published across northern Europe. While many of these still occasionally borrow elements from the *OAM* and related texts, treatises like Martin Agricola's *Rudimenta musices* of 1539 and Nicolaus Listenius's *Musica* of 1541 exhibit different organizational schemes, interest in new theoretical issues, and fresh descriptions of traditional topics.<sup>32</sup> Starting in the 1550s, however, a new textbook paradigm of sorts begins to take hold

<sup>31</sup> Seen in this light, these dual-authored texts might avoid one of the faults which Plato ascribes to writing: that it does not have its parent to protect it from misunderstanding or abuse (Plato, *Phaedrus*, 275e–f).

<sup>32</sup> Agricola, for instance, addresses all eight modes at once and discusses transpositions of the modes (1539, B7v–8r). Listenius proceeds directly from his introductory explanation of the divisions of music to the topic of the scale, an organizational scheme not found in the *OAM* orbit (1541, A3v–4v).

in German areas: Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum musicae pro incipientibus*. This text was first published (at least in dated form) in 1551 and was reissued no fewer than forty-six times over the following century in careful re-printings, German translation, and even parallel Latin-German editions to serve a range of institutional needs (Weiss 2010, 242).<sup>33</sup> By the mid-sixteenth century the concept of authorship appears to be functioning in a more familiar way, as Faber's name is featured on all the editions I have encountered. Yet older practices endured, too: in 1553 a lightly paraphrased version of the treatise was published under the title *Elementa musicae practicae*, whose preface attributes the book to Johann Reusch (Reusch 1553, A2r).

Faber's *Compendiolum musicae* has much in common with the textbooks in the *OAM* family. Its intellectual style shares their emphasis on practical concerns and lack of concern for the heritage of Ancient Greek music theorizing, and it makes no appeals at all to authoritative figures. Like Cochlaeus's *Tetrachordum musices*, the *Compendiolum* is composed in question-and-answer format throughout. The musical repertory to which Faber is responding partially overlaps with that of the *OAM*: the *Compendiolum* gives detailed instruction in solmization and reading rhythmic notation, but the modal system and contrapuntal concerns are absent. The profusion of print editions and the elementary nature of the book's contents strongly suggest that the intended market was still students, and further research into the circumstances surrounding the translated and bilingual editions could reveal yet more about the institutional demands to which later editors and publishers were responding.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For a list of the reprint editions, see Faber 2005, 99–101.

<sup>34</sup> This work has already begun: Patrick Fitzgibbon argues compellingly that the treatise's brevity was a significant factor in its popularity (2018).

Example 3. Tabular classification of intervals from the major seventh to unison  
Wollick and Schanppecher, *Opus aureum musice* (Cologne: Quentel, 1501), Dlv.

		Comma ē grad <sup>9</sup> q̄ nouē vnū faciūt tonū	
	Min <sup>9</sup> p̄ncipales et sunt q̄nqz	Scisma ē dimidiū commatis.	
		Dyasis ē spaciū icludēs q̄ttuor p̄mata. nec nō semitoniū min <sup>9</sup> d̄r qd̄ unē p̄uictas orif.	
		Dyasisma est duplex comma.	
		Apothome. ē spaciū icludēs q̄nqz cōmata d̄r q̄z semitoniū mai <sup>9</sup> fitqz inter mi ⁊ fa	
Et sunt duplices	Lōpōsite	Dytonus cū dyapente 7.	
		Semidyton <sup>9</sup> cū dyapente 7b	
		Tonus cū dyapente 6.	
		Semitoniū cū dyapente 6b	
		Semidiapason 8.b.	
	Inusitate	Semidyapente 5.b.	
		Tritonus 4.	
p̄ncipales et sunt q̄n decim	Simplices	Dyapason 8.	
		Dyapente 5.	
		Dyateseron 4.b	
		Dytonus 3.	
	Lōmunes	Semidytonus 3.b.	
		Tonus 2.	
		Semitoniū 2.b	
		Unifonus 1	

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Faber's *Compendiolum* is the fusion of pedagogical effectiveness and typographical awareness which it displays.<sup>35</sup> The treatises in the *OAM* orbit occasionally laid out information in a tabular format, such as in Example 3, but these forays usually seem indebted to older scribal practices: clarity is sacrificed for greater compactness of space (and more economical use of paper or parchment). Solid blocks of text were the ideal, and the *OAM* texts often achieve that ideal. Faber and his printers, by contrast, seem to have an aversion to blocks of text. Line breaks and careful spatial arrangement of words abound. For instance, compare his treatment of the solmization syllable, or *vox*, with Wollick's (see Example 4, with its annotations). They cover most of the same bases, starting with a definition of the word *vox* (a), an

<sup>35</sup> For more on the intellectual and pedagogical background of sixteenth-century typographical manipulations, see Ong 2004, esp. 199–208.

explanation of their number (b), and their names (c). Later they divide the syllables into low and high ones (d), and associate them with the different types of scales (e). Wollick's account does provide more information, but Faber's version is much easier to comprehend. Curiously, modern textbooks tend to resemble the older page layout of the *OAM*, with blocks of text alternating with musical examples. Their typographical efforts are directed not so much toward assisting comprehension as toward helping students locate information on the page via frequent subject headings, boldface and italicized type, and textboxes.

Example 4. On the left: Wollick and Schannpecher, *OAM* (Cologne: Quentel, 1501), B1r; on the right: Faber, *Compendiolum musicae* (Nuremberg: Neuber, 1564), A4r-v.

**Clor** eff aer spū vitali ponē mediātibz miffa sbratna. Torres multales viti nostro aptabiles. *vt, re, mi, fa, sol, la.* Et hoc ce eis in generali rōcāndo p̄mto q̄ solā voce ab inuicē sunt distīcte. Simāntē pp̄te quidē z naturalr sermone p̄tendo, p̄m̄to nō z cantu distīnguuntur t̄m̄o salēz vocibz. **¶** Musica cantat, videlicet *vt, re, mi, vel fa, sol, la.* Quas q̄dē septies iteratas in scala nostra cōfīrmitus. P̄is itaq̄z vocibz in diebus p̄teritis cuiusq̄z generis cantica reponuntur. p̄ crebriā stīmūm̄q̄z harūm v̄t̄m̄t̄m̄.

¶ P̄to quoz intellectū supponit p̄mo. q̄ hic vox nō p̄ vera voce s̄ p̄ signo vocis capis. **¶** Cōdo autē p̄ dicendoz serie supponit q̄ cātus in voces reciprocē distīdūtur quonīā quēdamodum loq̄ sunt voces tres sunt cātus.

vt	re	mi
fa	sol	la

¶ Hāc q̄cūq̄z posside  
 b molles naturales  
 dur.e duriales p̄fīrītē

**Caput Secundum, de Vocibus.**

**Quid est vox?**

*Est syllaba qua clauium Tenor exprimitur.*

**Quot sunt voces?**

*Sex.*

*Vt, re, mi, fa, sol, la.*

**Quotuplices sunt voces?**

*Duplices.*

*Inferiores & Superiores.*

**Quæ sunt inferiores?**

*Quibus utimur quando Cantus ascendit, & sunt:*

*Vt, re, mi.*

**Quæ sunt superiores?**

*Quibus utimur quando Cantus descendit, & sunt:*

*La, sol, fa.*

**In quotuplici sunt differentia?**

*In triplici.*

ni, fa,	}	molles	}	mollem	}	red-	
re, sol,		naturales		quæ		mediocrē	dunt
mi, la,		dur.e		durum		sonū.	

**Sufficiunt ne hæ voces ad omnem cantum modulandum?**

*Ita, quia in mutationibus subinde repetuntur.*

By way of conclusion, I would like to turn from the University of Cologne at the start of the sixteenth century, where this paper began, to the Strasbourg Academy at the turn of the next century. That academy was founded in 1538 under the impetus of Johann Sturm, an important scholar and pedagogue, and under his auspices it developed a curriculum that was exceptionally rigorous even by the standards of the day (Engel 1900, 25, 159–61). Within that program, practical instruction in singing was an obligatory element (Chrisman 1982, 255–256). Although the school's revised statutes of 1604 called for an expanded faculty including one or two masters of music (Engel 1900, 283), it appears that mathematics professors were often saddled with the responsibility of overseeing music education (Schindling 1977, 256–58). David Wolckenstein (1534–92) was one such mathematician-musician at Strasbourg, and pertinently for us, he also authored a textbook for use at the Academy.<sup>36</sup> This was the *Primum musicum volumen scholarum argentoratensium*, or *First Volume of Music for the Students of Strasbourg*, whose fourth edition was published in 1585. (No trace of any later volumes appears to exist, and even this edition is now very obscure.) This book furnishes a point of comparison with another, far better known treatise, Johannes Lippius's *Synopsis musicae novae* of 1612, which was also likely intended for use by students at the Strasbourg Academy.<sup>37</sup> What can these two texts reveal about the state of musical education in Germany at the turn of the seventeenth century?

Unlike the *OAM* family of texts, which share most of their content and were all pitched at a fairly similar level of audience (though with differences in emphasis), the publications by Wolckenstein and Lippius barely overlap at all. Wolckenstein's text is slight: it comprises a mere 55 pages, of which 24 are examples for singing, both four-voice and monophonic. The remaining 31 or so pages clearly are aimed at musical

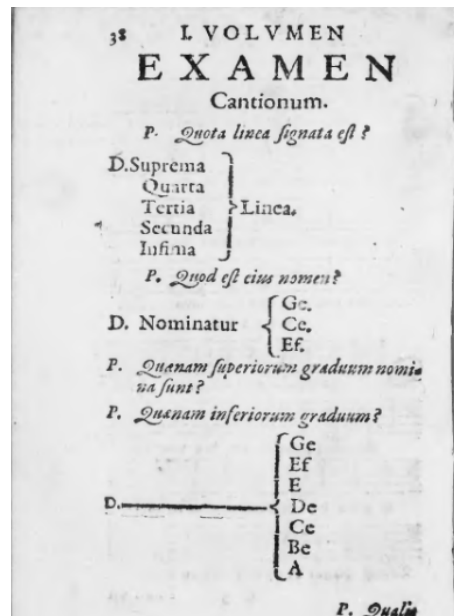
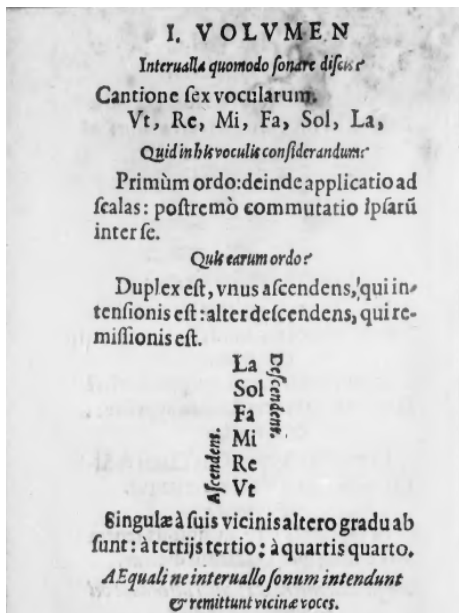
<sup>36</sup>Concerning Wolckenstein's life, see Sitzmann 1910, 1011.

<sup>37</sup>In his dedicatory letter to the various powers and principalities of the Strasbourg region, Lippius suggests that his dedicatees were demanding to be educated in Lippius's new, compendious method of teaching music and music theory (Lippius 1612, ff.): (sic] 5v–6r). It is unclear how plausible this claim is; in any case, if his intended audience were merely the local nobility, the effort and expense which printing required would have been unnecessary. Lippius surely had a larger audience in mind, and, as I have argued elsewhere, Lippius appears to have had an agenda of attempting to secure a greater place for music theory in university curricula (Mutch, forthcoming). Since the Strasbourg Academy in Lippius's day trained students through the end of the master's degree, his instructing duties at the Academy could well have accommodated his musical agenda. A newly important place for musical studies at the university level would have called for a newly amplified curriculum, and Lippius's *Synopsis musicae novae* would have served well as a textbook for precisely that situation. Thus, it is no stretch to consider both Wolckenstein's and Lippius's texts as intended for use by students of the same institution, though at different educational levels.



beginners, as they focus on instilling basic musical literacy. For example, the details of both pitch and rhythmic notation are explained, so it may have functioned as a prerequisite to reading Faber's *Compendiolum*, which was also printed in Strasbourg in 1596. From a pedagogical perspective, it resembles that work quite closely, being in dialogue format and exploiting visual space for ease of communication (Example 5a). Moreover, between a section of sample polyphonic pieces and another of monophony, Wolckenstein inserts a seven-page quiz with multiple-choice questions (Example 5b). Clearly Wolckenstein and his publisher, Antonius Bertram, took pains to ensure that the content would be as easy to digest as possible. Consequently, it seems reasonable to assume that this textbook was intended for young students, perhaps even of elementary-school age.

Example 5a and 5b. David Wolckenstein, *Primum musicum volumen scholarum argen-  
toratensium*, 4th ed. (Strasbourg: Antonius Bertram, 1585), A4v (left) and C3v (right).



Lippius's *Synopsis*, on the other hand, is for a more discerning readership. The presence of untranslated, untransliterated Greek in the first sentence of the treatise's main body clearly indicates this, and Lippius's engagement with Aristotelian concepts of causation and form supports that initial impression.<sup>38</sup> Lippius's treatment of speculative music theory is also more erudite than that found in the *OAM* family of treatises, let alone in Wolckenstein's book. In the *Synopsis* Lippius dives into the qualities of numbers and numerical proportions long before addressing music's sonic properties. Furthermore, even when sounding intervals are finally discussed, Lippius does so in reference to the monochord and numerical ratios, and uses their Greek names (in Greek characters) while he is at it (Lippius 1612, B7v). Thus it is clear that readers should already know what musical intervals are (and how to read music, for that matter), and that Lippius is explaining the principles behind the elementary phenomena. With respect to pedagogy, Lippius's text is not distinguished by scrupulous typography, since it is typeset much more conventionally than Wolckenstein's. Rather, Lippius's most significant pedagogical intervention in the *Synopsis* may be the extent to which he structured his treatise according to the Philippo-Ramist methodology of definition and division<sup>39</sup> which Howard Hotson has shown was then popular in northern German gymnasia (2007, 101–108). (In this method a given subject is systematically explained by defining it, enumerating its constituent parts, and then repeating the process of defining those parts and subdividing them into further parts.) Overall, it is clear that Lippius was aiming at readers far beyond the level of Wolckenstein's instruction. Students were not expected to be proficient in Greek until the final years of the Academy's gymnasium curriculum, so the level of linguistic competence Lippius assumes indicates that he likely intended the text for students in the equivalent of our modern upper-secondary or undergraduate schools (Schindling 1977, 179–80, 192–93).

Our comparison of northern European textbooks from across the sixteenth century enables us to make a number of observations. Whereas the early sixteenth-century works modeled after the *OAM* were intended for a fairly uniform student readership, by the turn of the seventeenth century music theory textbooks had moved away from a single paradigm and had become more diverse and specialized. In Strasbourg alone,

<sup>38</sup> For more on the *Synopsis*'s Aristotelianism, see Howard 1985, 525–34.

<sup>39</sup> According to John Brooks Howard, Lippius's method follows the dictates of Johann Sturm (Howard 1985, 536–39). This reading, however, holds up poorly to examination, and I have argued elsewhere that Lippius's *Synopsis* better reflects the Philippo-Ramist methodology (Mutch, forthcoming).



there was Wolckenstein's brief book, which was intended for beginners, and Faber's, for more advanced students. There was also Lippius's *Synopsis*, which was aimed at a more learned audience, while yet another theory text had been published in Strasbourg the year before: the mensuration-focused *Musicae figuralis praecepta brevia* by Christopher Walliser.<sup>40</sup> We have seen pedagogical experimentation expand from Cochlaeus's relatively primitive reordering of content and superficial dialogic structuring to the sophisticated use of visual space and formatting in Faber's and Wolckenstein's texts, and Lippius's implementation of definition-and-division methodology in the *Synopsis*. We have also observed authors balancing the competing demands between presenting a comprehensive overview of music theory and winnowing out traditional elements that are deemed irrelevant or poorly fitted to a given audience's needs: from the *OAM*'s minimization of mathematical theory to Lippius's embrace of Greek terminology and simultaneous omission of the rudiments expounded in Wolckenstein and Faber's texts. Anonymous publications and onymous revisions have also directed our attention to a markedly different concept of authorship and led us to question the pertinence of originality in textbooks. As a result, it has become clear that there is much we can learn about the history of music theory even from texts as humble as pedagogically-oriented compilations and textbooks.

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<sup>40</sup>Walliser (1568–1648) taught music at the Strasbourg Academy from 1600–1634 (Sitzmann 1910, 945).

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