

Who Can Write An Opera? F.C. Bressand and the Baroque Opera Libretto

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I. Operas without Music: The Case of the Lost Scores

Friedrich Christian Bressand wrote operas—or so he would have us think. A celebrated figure at the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel in the 1690s, Bressand left an extensive legacy of operas and singspiels. His *Narcissus* of 1693, for example, bears the following inscription on its title page: “NARCIS-SUS,/ Sing-Spiel/ auf dem Braunsch. Schauplatz/ vorzustellen/ [. . .] Untertänigst zugeschrieben/ Von F. C. Bressand.”¹ The work calls itself a “Singspiel,” implying that music is crucial to its performance, and its sole creator appears to be Bressand. The catch: there is no music. There is also no mention of a composer in what remains of *Narcissus*, though further research quickly proves that the text was indeed set by the composer Georg Bronner. Nonetheless, not a note of Bronner’s setting has survived, and mention of the composer in scholarship is rarely longer than a brief subordinate clause within a subsection on “Bressand’s operas.” By itself, this mystery might not carry enough weight to merit investigation. However, *Narcissus* is not alone in its peculiar circumstance: the vast majority of operas written in Germany, from the birth of the genre in the early seventeenth century through the time of Bressand, have followed the same pattern. While numerous libretti have been preserved, only a scant number of scores have survived. And yet it is evident that opera as an art form was already greatly esteemed in the German Baroque. Why has only half of the operatic union of text and music been preserved? Does this render Bressand by default the *author* of his operas?

The problem of authorship is particularly acute in the realm of opera, from its beginnings in the Baroque and beyond. Opera is by nature a multi-dimensional artistic experience combining music, text, dance, art, architecture, and any number of additional artistic elements. In a given operatic performance, there are at least five individuals who have some claim to “authorship” over the experience: not only the composer and the librettist, but also the stage director, the choreographer, and the scenic designer, among

others. Of these, however, only the contributions of the composer and the librettist are typically preserved for future performances, and in the modern day the composer is almost uniformly credited with as the work's primary author. The composer transforms a libretto, adding psychological depth to the librettist's characters through musical colors and moods. In the operatic canon there are few librettists who are recognized for their outstanding contributions, and even those who were prominent literary figures in their own right are less acknowledged than their collaborators: even Hofmannsthal fades in the public eye next to Strauss, and Auden next to Stravinsky.

The glorification of the opera composer has left the libretto for the most part an unexplored genre. One of the most extensive surveys of the opera libretto on the whole is Patrick J. Smith's *The Tenth Muse*, a genuine attempt to illuminate the history of opera from the librettists' point of view. Smith stops short of redeeming the independent literary value of the libretto, however:

The opera libretto itself, shorn of the magic of the stage, is in essence a negative or, at best, weakly positive form. Strong music can dominate a libretto, can elevate it in our estimate of its qualities, can even survive as music without the words. Very few, if any, librettos have survived without music (except those which were carried over practically intact from the stage).[.]²

There is a great deal of truth in Smith's assessment, in particular with reference to the Italian opera libretto and to nineteenth century opera in general, but it is based on a construct that was not necessarily in place in the German Baroque. Opera, in its radical newness, was not yet considered primarily a form of music, but rather of poetry: "das galanteste Stück der Poesie."³ Furthermore, though it is true not many libretti have survived without their scores in the history of opera, this is clearly not the case in the German Baroque, a time when opera scores were rarely preserved beyond the run of the performances. This era is the major exception to Smith's observation.⁴

The preservation of Baroque opera libretti, however, and the absence of their musical settings, are not the only indicators that an unusual dynamic of authorship was at work in Germany in the seventeenth century. The librettists of these early operas were in most cases prominent literary figures, whereas Hofmannsthal and Auden are notable exceptions in the modern repertory, and in many cases the fame of the librettist overshadowed that of the composer. In this paper I shall consider the circumstances of operatic production in the seventeenth century and investigate what was expected of an *Operndichter*. Is there an element of musicality implicit in the idea of the "Dichter" itself? What factors might contribute to the comparative valuation and preservation of music and text in early German operas? And finally, what literary value should we attribute Bressand's operatic output, and to what extent should he be considered the *author* of an opera? I shall argue that it is indeed appropriate to speak of "Bressand's operas" sooner than Bronner's, for opera was as prominent a literary genre in the German Baroque as it was a musical one.

At the heart of this argument is the role of the author, already a complex and variable issue in Baroque literature on the whole, and rendered doubly complex by the unusual compound genre of opera. For the purposes of this argument, I define “author” as the name to which the *primary creative effort* of a work is attributed. The author of a text—or an opera—is also the party that holds the greatest degree of influence over the final product. Careful attention to the literary and artistic constructs specific to the late seventeenth century is of extreme importance in evaluating authorship of early German operas. In determining the authorship of such a work, one may be tempted to fit it into the mold of contemporary opera criticism, and to label the composer as the opera’s author without further consideration. This study also requires a careful evaluation of the operatic circumstances of the *German* Baroque, for the popular trend of assuming that the opera in Germany merely mirrored developments in Italy in France results in overlooking developments in operatic authorship that were specific to Germany and its literary history.

The author in question for my study is one F. C. Bressand, who, despite his prominence during his time as *Hofdichter* at the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, has not received a great deal of consideration in recent scholarship. This may be due in part to his short life, only a decade of which he spent in literary and operatic production, and to the dearth of biographical information that has survived the centuries. Specific interest in the librettist seems to have faded after the first half of the twentieth century. However, although Bressand is a nearly forgotten name, the Baroque opera libretto as a genre has enjoyed a minor resurgence of discussion and reevaluation in recent decades. An early voice in this investigation is that of John D. Lindberg, who in 1972 recognized the German Baroque opera libretto as an important literary genre, citing in particular the libretti of Barthold Feind and Christian Heinrich Postel.⁵ Leading the discussion more recently is Judith P. Aikin, who offers a great deal of insight into the genre, its poetic value, and the state of text-music relations;⁶ her analysis focuses upon the first blossoming of opera in Germany, however, and does not pursue it into the time of Bressand. Gerald Gillespie comments upon the assimilation of Italian innovations in opera libretti of the German Baroque and situates them within a tradition extending back to Humanism,⁷ and Bodo Plachta considers the political and social dimension of Baroque operas and their libretti.⁸ Bressand, however, has yet to resurface in current scholarship, though he deserves acknowledgment as one of the key proponents of the genre at the end of the seventeenth century.

II. The Role of the “Dichter” in the Early Years of German Opera

The work generally considered the first German opera, *Dafne* of 1627, suffered the same fate as Bressand’s *Narcissus*. Although its composer, Heinrich Schütz, remains a superstar of early Baroque music whose surviving pieces have enjoyed continuous performance to the present day, the score to *Dafne* is

lost. However, his “Geistliche Chormusik,” which comprises the bulk of his output, was typically engraved and published much as a book would be, with an elaborate title page and a substantial foreword by the composer.⁹ Judging from their material appearance, it seems that these choral works were considered not unlike literary texts. Schütz’s opera, despite marking a momentous occasion in the history of German music, did not receive the same treatment. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht suggests that this may have been in part the decision of Schütz himself, who considered his secular pieces to be inconsequential—“*Nebenwerk*”—and possibly he did not feel the work could offer much competition to those of his Italian counterparts.¹⁰ However, Schütz’s decision alone would not likely account for the pattern of lost scores that was established and rarely broken until the time of Handel.

A more satisfactory speculation on the disappearance of Baroque opera scores is that transience was implied in the nature of the genre.¹¹ Operas were composed for specific occasions, and the music was treated much as the scenery was—enjoyed as part of the spectacle and then torn down when the production closed. Libretti were considered reusable, not unlike hymn texts, and new settings of the same texts were composed when occasions called for them. Though the idea of discarding an opera score, particularly one by Schütz, may offend modern sensibilities, the treatment of music as ephemeral in Baroque opera is not intended to devalue it: as ever, without music, opera could not have existed. However, that the work of the librettist remained, while the composer’s contribution perished at the opera’s final curtain, does speak to the prominence of the librettist in the scheme of Baroque opera-making. The collaborator in the first German opera must therefore not go unmentioned here, particularly as he was none other than Martin Opitz, the self-proclaimed Father of German Literature.

Dafne appeared three years after Opitz’s seminal work, his *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey*, marking the 1620s as particularly charged years not only for opera but also for German culture on the whole. It is a serendipitous note of cultural history that Opitz can be attributed with the first successful German poetics as well as the first German opera libretto. It is important to note, however, that the German *Dafne* was essentially a “remake” of the original Italian version of 1594, with a libretto from Ottavio Rinuccini and music by Jacopo Peri.¹² Considered the first opera of all time, the Peri/Rinuccini *Dafne* set the tenor for most operas in the coming century, among which mythological and pastoral themes prevail overwhelmingly. The choice made by Opitz and Schütz to reinvent opera using the same materials as its original Italian creators is revealing of the imitative nature of German opera in the seventeenth century, even in the hands of such strong forces of German culture. However, the importance of imitation should not entirely overshadow the elements of early German opera that were descended specifically from German culture, in particular the relation between text and music.

Opitz's involvement in the birth of German opera invites his thoughts on the role of words and music in such a novel genre, as well as who should be considered the author of such a work. Although Opitz did not write specifically on the topic of opera, some related opinions can be gleaned from the *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* (1624). In this manifesto of the possibilities of the literary value of the German language, a key passage appears on the topic of music in the discussion of the Sapphic ode:

Die Saphischen gesaenge belangend / bin ich des Ronsardts meinung / das sie / in vnseren sprachen sonderlich / nimmermehr koennen angenehme sein / wenn sie nicht mit lebendigen stimmen vnd in musicalische instrumente eingesungen werden/ welche das leben und die Seele der Poeterey sind.¹³

Opitz aligns music naturally with poetry: the musical performance of poetry is what instills it with “life” and “soul.” Crucially, however, the person who creates this living, feeling art is not a composer but a *poet*. The poetry is the body to be instilled with life; it is the element of the performance that remains intact when the music has once again died away. The music must have a spontaneous flavor, whereas the verse is steadfast, regardless of the number of subsequent revitalizations through musical settings. This is the same dynamic that we observe in seventeenth century German opera.

Though the terms “opera” and “singspiel” have diverged in meaning since the seventeenth century, they were initially used interchangeably in Germany to describe a work of theater with a strong musical component. However, the etymology of the term “singspiel” does shed some light on the functions of music and text within such a production. The development of the Baroque opera coincided with the first appearances of German dictionaries, and thus the word “singspiel” is to be found in Kaspar Stieler's *Der Teutschen Sprache Stammbaum* of 1691. Stieler classifies the word under other types of “*Spiel*”: *Lustspiel*, *Schauspiel*, *Trauerspiel*, etc. As Mara R. Wade points out, because root of the word is “*Spiel*,” the “singing” element is secondary. Furthermore, Stieler defines the singspiel as a play whose text is *spoken or sung* to an instrumental accompaniment,¹⁴ thus even the “sing” of the singspiel could be applied loosely. The music was indeed what differentiated a singspiel or an opera from a straight drama, but the role of the music, it seems, could at times be kept to a minimum.

That the text should precede the music in value—the opposite of the oft-quoted line “*prima la musica e poi le parole*”—is confirmed in Martin Opitz, but is in fact a far older German convention. An earlier case of poetry's preservation versus the absence of surviving musical settings can be found in the Minnesingers, of whom Opitz makes only small mention. Many of Walther von der Vogelweide's texts survive, to use Opitz's example of a *Minnedichter*,¹⁵ though only a few of the surviving melodies can be attributed to Walther with any confidence. As is the case with opera, this cannot be taken to mean

that music was of little importance to Minnesingers; as their name suggests, performance was a vital element of their art. The poet of *Minne* did not fulfill his role simply by writing down his verse or reciting it aloud, but by invigorating it with melody. And similarly, the melody was considered a transient thing, that which gave the text life in the moment of performance. Even planned music should have the air of an impromptu, breathing fresh life into the text. Opitz could as readily have illustrated Walther as Sappho when he suggested that music is the very life and soul of poetry.

The importance of the “opera poet” is a noteworthy divergence of German from Italian opera, where the seeds of the *bel canto* style had already been planted.¹⁶ Italian opera favored composer above librettist, but the composer was beholden to the singer, whose virtuosic abilities took center stage, and to whom the composer primarily directed his talents. In the early German tradition, however, the text carried a far greater responsibility in the experience of opera on the whole. This is also evident in the shift from isorhythmic polyphony, typical of madrigals and choral music to date, whereby the *harmony* was the primary musical focus, to a text-focused *monody*, in which melodies were tailored to suit the dramatic and needs of the poet’s phrases. It was the composer’s new task to complement or enhance the preexisting psychological nuances of the text, which, in its own right, had to resonate deeply enough to merit musical setting. The aria, as Aikin points out, became a virtuosic showpiece not only for the composer, but also and indeed primarily for the librettist.¹⁷ The *Dichter* was not responsible solely for the text, but also in some respects for the music.

When words met music in the time before the ideal of the modern composer was constructed, the text was a solid body, and the music only an ephemeral experience. The role of the *Dichter* in German opera, therefore, with Opitz as the first, is central. Ideally, the *Dichter* would be the sole creator behind an opera, for, following the model of the Minnesingers, poetry implies music and is enlivened through music. However, in most cases (including that of Opitz), the poet is not a strong enough musician to perform this dual function, and an outside agent is necessary. The role of that musician is to imbue the text with a temporary soul, a powerful but nonetheless ephemeral contribution. Poetry maintained the privileged position, and the product of the poet’s craft was preserved in writing. It is only suitable that this genre was explored by such prominent literary figures as Opitz, Harsdörffer, and Hofmannswaldau. An inheritor of the medieval tradition of *Minnesang*, the Baroque librettist was responsible for creating a body that would be fit for vivification through musical performance.

III. F. C. Bressand: Renowned Poet, Faded Star

Though his celebrity has waned since the time of his operatic activity at the end of the seventeenth century, Friedrich Christian Bressand was a renowned librettist and literary figure in his day, and he affords us an interesting study

of the dynamics of authorship in the budding art form that was German opera. Ellen T. Harris sums up the lukewarm sentiment conveyed in most scholarly accounts of Bressand: "Clearly he was highly esteemed."¹⁸ Bressand's productivity and prominent status on the late seventeenth century opera scene have not infrequently received mention, but further investigation into his operatic output has been scarce. This may be in part because his works are simply considered typical for the era,¹⁹ not exceptional or forward-looking specimens of the genre, in contrast to the libretti of Postel and Feind. It is true that Bressand's work did not change the course of *Librettistik*, to use Degen's word, but rather exemplifies the general trend of German opera libretti in the late German Baroque. Precisely for this reason, however, it is useful in trying to establish an idea of authorship in early German opera. It is also not entirely accurate to dismiss Bressand's output, as Smith dismisses the entire genre of the German Baroque opera libretto, as simply shadowing the developments of the Italian opera. Although imitation and translation are crucial elements of early German opera, the text-music dynamic in Germany was not merely a satellite of the ground-breaking developments in Italy. The German opera librettist, with Bressand as a very apt example, was a more powerful player in the operatic experience on the whole than his Italian counterpart.

Not a great deal is known about the life of F.C. Bressand. Only a brief and fragmented biography can be pieced together for him, not only due to the dearth of scholarship devoted to him, but also due to the scarcity of extant primary documents that could illuminate the events of his life for those who do chose to pursue it. He was born in roughly 1670 in Durlach, where his father, Claudius Bressand, is known to have worked as a cook. Nothing is known of Bressand's youth, as the entirety of the town's documents was consumed in flames when the local church burned in 1689.²⁰ The town itself fared little better and soon fell under siege, an event that would cost Bressand the lives of both of his parents. Precisely how the young poet came to the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel is a matter of speculation, but the link may have been Bressand's acquaintance with a daughter of Duke Anton Ulrich, the court's influential and artistically inclined sovereign.

Anton Ulrich was a key figure in the performing arts in the second half of the 17th century, not only in his patronage but also in his own capacities as a poet and librettist. The Duke's positive assessment of Bressand holds yet more sway when one considers that the Duke himself was critically engaged with this emerging art form. The degree of friendship and trust that developed between Ulrich and Bressand speaks to the young librettist's abilities, both as a talented author and as a charismatic court personality. Their relationship did indeed grow to be quite intimate: as one source describes, though Bressand's official title was that of "Kammerschreiber," he in fact served as the right hand of the Duke, and was granted the full powers of a private secretary overseeing the court at large.²¹ The respect was mutual: one of the few surviving personal documents pertaining to Bressand is a collection of "Hochzeits-Briefe" (from

the occasion of Bressand's wedding) containing a poem of sincere thanks to the Duke: "Mich kränket / daß ich nicht freywill'ger Sclav kan heissen/ und dir mehr dienen sol aus Noth/ als aus Begier."²² The young poet had indeed found in Anton Ulrich's court a climate very supportive of his own artistic talents.

Heinz Degen, whose article on F.C. Bressand from 1935 is probably still the most substantial available, provides an entertaining and revealing account of courtly life and intrigue in Brunswick, particularly where Bressand and the court composer, Johann Sigismund Kusser, were concerned. Kusser's presence in Brunswick predated Bressand's, and he was naturally irked by the increasing sway that his literary colleague held over the court. By his account, Bressand occasionally infringed upon the composer's territory, imposing his own ideas in purely musical matters. This may have come as particularly vexing behavior, as one source suggests that it was Kusser who had urged Anton Ulrich to hire Bressand in the first place.²³ Kusser also found certain of Bressand's recitatives "long-winded" and intentionally unfriendly to musical settings.²⁴ It may not be merely a matter of petty intrigue that Kusser, often a collaborator of Bressand, frequently found himself beholden to the librettist, but rather a microcosmic instance of a larger and more prevalent phenomenon. At least this one librettist wielded an uncanny amount of power.

Bressand's reputation extended beyond the court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel; he also had strong connections with the flourishing opera house of Hamburg, which would soon be an important locale for the early career of Handel. Although one source credits Bressand with only twenty-four operas,²⁵ another lists over thirty of them, nearly twenty of which were performed in Hamburg.²⁶ J. S. Kusser, though he did set seven of Bressand's operas, was by no means the librettist's only musical collaborator; rather, he is linked to several of the most prominent composers of the region, including Keiser, Krieger, and Bronner, who composed the setting of *Narcissus*. If Kusser indeed found Bressand's style to be "unfriendly" to musical setting, it certainly did not hinder him from finding composers and venues for his productions.

Kusser's complaint could conceivably be reinterpreted to suggest that Bressand's texts leave little to the composer's imagination; that is to say, they make specifically *musical* demands and do not confine themselves to the realms of the poetic and dramatic. Smith points out that, in a great deal of opera, the composer is capable of taking a trivial contribution from the librettist and translating it into a phrase of musical transcendence, as Mozart did with the three plain words "*per lui, pietà*" supplied by da Ponte (who, even in Smith's assessment, was one of opera's most celebrated librettists).²⁷ Kusser's unease and Bressand's relative fame suggest that the opposite dynamic is taking place in their collaboration: the librettist is not supplying syllables simply as raw tools for his composer, but rather making conscious decisions and in part dictating the musical trajectory as well as the dramatic. That Bressand "meddled" in the composer's territory can in fact be read in his libretti them-

Echo. doch die Sonn' und mein vergnügen
wollen noch im schlafe ligen/ [...]²⁹

Echo's employment of the personal pronoun "*mein*" suggests that she is perhaps not even aware of her individuality from this trio. They are united in their common desire, their common rhetoric, and, almost necessarily, their common music.

Further audible manipulations of the opera's musical component continue to abound in Bressand's printed text. He calls upon the natural musicality of the story's setting, such as the fanfare of the hunting horn that jars Narcissus from his slumbers in the second scene. Awakening to find his dog (among other possessions) stolen, he calls out in pure, musical syllables: "Té, Lelaps! té, té, té!"³⁰ Bressand uses syllables here rather than words, moving from a linguistic statement to a purely aural, and likely a musical, pronouncement. The librettist also specifies in some instances that two characters sing different text simultaneously, as in the tenth scene:

Cil.v	du scheidest uñ nimmest	mit dir.
à 2.		mein herze
Pir.	ich scheide doch lass' ich	bey dir.³¹

The simultaneous text strongly suggests that these lines should be harmonized, allowing each line to be more distinctly heard. This is a maneuver similar to that of the first line of the singspiel, though reversed: Bressand emphasizes the *differentiation* of these two characters in providing them simultaneous, but not identical, text. In his manipulation of the drama, he dictates the musical experience as well.

Perhaps the most intriguing blurring of the musical and the dramatic in the *Narcissus* libretto occurs at the beginning of the second act in Doriclea's extended monologue. Once again the hunting horn makes an appearance:

zusammen ruffen aus dem grunde:
tu! tu! tu! tu! hiff! hiff!
(hält die hand vor den Mund/ und thut als bliese sie auf einem
Jägerhorn.)
Mein Jägerhorn
hat fast aus heischerkeit den Schall verlohren [...]³²

Here, in addition to the purely musical sounds of "tu!" and "hiff!," is a curious charade: Doriclea pretends to blow into a mimed hunting horn, and then describes it as if it has in fact produced a sound, albeit a weak one—"it has *almost* lost its sound." Bressand stretches the limits of the libretto as he dictates pure sounds, to the point of rendering ambiguous whether the sound should even be heard. He takes the sound of a musical instrument and puts it in the hands of his character, removing musical responsibility from the composer and appropriating it for his own drama.

been completed: the composer at this point, and not the librettist, was the author of the opera.

The German Baroque, despite the major obstacle of the absence of surviving opera scores, is an unusual and fascinating time in the history of opera, precisely because of the surprising reversal of authority between librettist and composer. It is of course anachronistic to consider this a “reversal,” as the opera in fact grew out of poetry, and the reversal that took place was the privileging of the composer over the librettist, which in Germany would only take place after the literary Baroque era. Librettists such as Bressand cannot be considered the *sole* authors of their operas, for drama without music cannot truly be opera. However, they can indeed be attributed the *primary* authorship of their operas, a role which for the bulk of operatic history can only be claimed by composers. In the tradition of Opitz and the Minnesingers, the Baroque librettist created a body of dramatic poetry that was substantial in its own right, which would be exalted but not overpowered by its musical setting. The German Baroque is a remarkable period in the history of music, for then, and perhaps only then, did poets write operas.

¹Friedrich Christian Bressand, *Narcissus*. Fulltext available at the website of the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel (2005) ,<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm>.

²Patrick J. Smith, *The Tenth Muse: A Historical Study of the Opera Libretto* (NY: Knopf, 1970) xxi–xxii. Emphasis mine.

³Erdmann Neumeister’s formulation, quoted from Judith P. Aikin, *A Language for German Opera: The Development of Forms and Formulas for Recitative and Aria in Seventeenth Century German Libretti* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002). The term “galant,” however, was not necessarily a positive assessment, but rather a reflection of its novelty, which in many critics of the day would likely inspire a lack of trust in the genre.

⁴Smith almost entirely skips over the German Baroque opera libretto in his otherwise very detailed study, moving from the first German opera to the operas of the mid 18th century in a matter of two paragraphs (*The Tenth Muse* 246–247).

⁵John D. Lindberg, “The German Baroque Opera Libretto: A Forgotten Genre. *The German Baroque: Literature, Music, Art*. Ed. George Schulz-Behrend. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972). F. C. Bressand receives only fleeting mention in this essay; the librettist’s insignificance in Lindberg’s argument is further compounded by his appearing as “Christian Friedrich Bressand” in the text (91) and as “Heinrich Christian Bressand” in the index (160).

⁶Judith P. Aikin: see note 3.

⁷Gerald Gillespie, “Humanist Aspects of the Early Baroque Opera Libretto after the Italian Fashion (Opitz, Harsdörffer, Anton Ulrich).” *Chloe: Beihefte zum Daphnis, Band 9: Beiträge zur Aufnahme des Italienischen und Spanischen Literatur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Alberto Martino. (Amsterdam: Rodopi BV, 1990) 151–170.

⁸Bodo Plachta, “Die Barockoper und ihre Libretti vor dem ‚Kunstrichter.‘” *Chloe. Beihefte zum Daphnis, Band 33: Das Berliner Modell der Mittleren Deutschen Literatur*. Ed. C. Caemmerer, W. Delabar, J. Jungmayr, and K. Kiesant. (Amsterdam: Rodopi B.V., 2000) 325–328.

⁹Many of the original title pages and dedications of these works, as well as the texts (though not the music), can be viewed online through the International Heinrich Schütz Gesellschaft, (2005), <http://www.schuetzgesellschaft.de>.

¹⁰Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, *Heinrich Schütz: Musicus Poeticus*. (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofen’s Verlag, 1984) 19. Eggebrecht writes: “Daß das theatralische Werk von Schütz (Ballette, ‘Aufzüge,’ auch seine Oper Dafne von 1627) nicht gedruckt wurde und daß es insge-

samt verloren ist, scheint kein bloßer Zufall zu sein. Es wird berichtet, daß Schütz die weltliche Musik nur als ‚Nebenwerk‘ ansah (s.u.), und es besteht kein Zweifel, daß er auf diesem Gebiet die italienischen Vorbilder nicht annähernd erreicht hat.”

¹¹For a discussion of scholars’ opinions on this point, see Aikin, *A Language for German Opera* 12.

¹²Aikin, *A Language for German Opera* 15. Peri’s music, like that of Schütz, does not survive.

¹³Martin Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey, Studienausgabe*, ed. Herbert Jaumann (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2002) 61.

¹⁴This information paraphrased from Mara R. Wade, *The German Baroque Pastoral Singspiel* (NY: Peter Lang, 1990) 8. Wade discusses the history of the term “singspiel” in depth beginning on page 7.

¹⁵Opitz, *Buch von der Deutschen Poeterey* 24.

¹⁶Aikin, *A Language for German Opera* 17.

¹⁷See in particular Aikin’s conclusion, “Opera as Poetic Genre and Source of Poetic Forms,” 293 - 308.

¹⁸Ellen T. Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1980) 71.

¹⁹Harris suggests this, though not with the intention of undermining Bressand’s output: “Bressand’s librettos, in fact, preserve a very interesting picture of the ‚common practice period‘ of German baroque operas” (*Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* 72).

²⁰Heinz Degen, “Friedrich Christian Bressand: Ein Beitrag zur Braunschweig Wolfenbütteler Theatergeschichte,” *Jahrbuch des Braunschweigischen Geschichtsvereins*, 2:7 (1935) 78.

²¹Reinhart Meyer, *Die Hamburger Oper 1678 - 1730: Einführung und Kommentar zur dreibändigen Textsammlung* (Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1984) 90.

²²Degen, “Friedrich Christian Bressand” 78.

²³Erich Rosendahl, *Geschichte der Hoftheater in Hannover und Braunschweig* (Hannover: Helwingische Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1927) 8.

²⁴Degen, “Friedrich Christian Bressand” 78.

²⁵Harris, *Handel and the Pastoral Tradition* 71.

²⁶Meyer, *Die Hamburger Oper* 374-375.

²⁷Smith, *The Tenth Muse* xviii.

²⁸Bressand, *Narcissus* image 10/86 <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm?image00010>>.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Bressand, *Narcissus* image 13/86 <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm?image00013>>.

³¹Bressand, *Narcissus* image 29/86 <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm?image00029>>.

³²Bressand, *Narcissus* image 41/86 <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm?image00041>>.

³³Bressand, *Narcissus* image 66/86 <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm?image00064>>.

³⁴Bressand, *Narcissus* image 85/86 <<http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/textb-402/start.htm?image00083>>.