THE NORTH GERMAN CHORALE FANTASIA: A SERMON WITHOUT WORDS

by

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A DISSERTATION

Presented to the School of Music and Dance
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

June 2013

DISSERTATION APPROVAL PAGE

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Title: The North German Chorale Fantasia: A Sermon Without Words

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Degree awarded June 2013

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DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

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Doctor of Philosophy

School of Music and Dance

June 2013

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Heinrich Scheidemann and Jacob Praetorius (ii), young organ students from Hamburg, traveled to Amsterdam around the turn of the seventeenth century in order to study with the Dutch organist Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. While there, they learned not only the basics of counterpoint and voice-leading, but also how to create new kinds of musical texture, which were derived from improvisational practice. Scheidemann and Praetorius took those musical textures back to Hamburg, where they used them in increasingly long and complex chorale fantasias. This study traces those musical textures from their appearance in Sweelinck's chorale variations, through Praetorius and Scheidemann's chorale fantasias, and finally in the virtuosic showpiece, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, by Scheidemann's student, Johann Adam Reincken. In that piece, Reincken uses Sweelinck's musical textures, as well as his own teacher's expansion of the Dutch keyboard style to produce a work that reflects the text of the chorale on which it is based. And, like a sermon, the musical textures in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* give rise to a nuanced narrative that works to take both the performer and listener on an aural journey.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to extend a hearty thanks to the members of my dissertation committee, who expended much time and energy in order to help me produce a quality project. I thank Professor David Luebke, for his kindness and good humor, Professor Marian Smith, for always asking the question I should have thought of, and Professor Lori Kruckenberg, for having high standards but also warm encouragement. I am especially grateful for my advisor, Professor Marc Vanscheeuwijck, who, in addition to providing invaluable knowledge and wisdom during this study's preparation, is the word "*sprezzatura*" incarnate. The late Professor Anne Dhu McLucas inspired me with her intellect, her humanity, and her generosity. I also thank Julia Heydon, and the Oregon Humanities Center, for allowing me to take an extended leave of absence in order to complete my degree. I could not have completed this project without the support of Dr. ElRay Stewart-Cook and Central Lutheran Church, both of which have supported me through many years of study, and have provided me a quiet place to work during the final months of work. I was lucky enough to enjoy this simple desk in the shadow of John Brombaugh's magnificent organ, a constant source of inspiration. I am forever indebted to Dr. Kraig Scott, for introducing me to the organ, for giving me a solid foundation in music history, and for inventing the phrase, "You'll make the right decision!" My family has encouraged me with their love of learning, their appreciation for a good argument, and their unremitting support. I am not eloquent enough to describe my gratitude for Steve, who is everything. And, finally, I thank Sam, for having all the motivation I needed in his little sweet grin.

For Dr. Scott, who told me I could
For Steve, who never doubted
and
For Sam, who helped me finish

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

If asked to point to musical elements that most clearly exemplify the essential characteristics of North German Baroque organ music, many people might include the following: symmetrical structures, clean contrapuntal logic, and complex harmonic constructions. These elements, however, really have their roots in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italy and Flanders, and they actually do little to explain what is distinctively German about the music. For example, the use of complex fugal forms can be seen as a type of fluid outgrowth of Corellian models mixed with counterpoint such as that found in Italian ricercares. A more accurate list of North German elements in seventeenth-century organ music might include:

(1) the use of Lutheran chorale tunes

(2) the embrace of a variety of musical textures in sacred music, including complex polyphony and dramatic monody

(3) an emphasis on the comprehensibility of the texts associated with music

(4) a preference for complex organ music as the ideal abstract musical performance for a bourgeois audience

(5) complex polyphonic keyboard improvisation

(6) large pipe organs capable of a wide range of colors

Many of these particularly North German elements are a consequence of the Lutheran approach to music. Luther's support of congregational music and his embrace of complex polyphony resulted in elements 1-3 (above) and paved the way for the rise of organ music as one of the central forms of North German music.

Although few people outside of the organ world know the repertoire of pre-Bach North German composers, it was indeed an important influence on Bach's compositional process, and through him, an important part of the heritage of much subsequent music in the classical tradition.[1]

The North German composers who were most involved in the creation of the chorale fantasia have in common their education under the guidance of the "Orpheus of Amsterdam," Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. Despite the fact that he never left the Low Countries, Sweelinck is often considered the father of North German organ music thanks to his formative influence on German students including Andreas Düben, Samuel and Gottfried Scheidt, Melchior Schildt and Paul Siefert, as well as Ulrich Cernitz, Jacob Praetorius (ii), Johannes Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann.[2] Sweelinck's music is especially important for this study, as his style became a key component of Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann's music, and subsequently that of Scheidemann's student Johann Adam Reincken, who is the focus of Chapter V.

Sweelinck as Teacher

In order to answer my central questions – How does the chorale fantasia form a dramatic whole? How do we situate it in a North German musical and religious environment? – I begin by exploring Sweelinck's chorale variations and

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[1] Among others, David Yearsley argues this convincingly in his book, *Bach's Feet: The Organ Pedals in European Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[2] See Chapter 4 for a complete list of Sweelinck's students and the cities in which they lived and worked.

they way they functioned in his teaching life.[3] Sweelinck's reputation must have been so remarkable that Northern European church communities who wanted their young organists to become musical leaders knew that he was the complete musician (the performer and teacher) for the task. Two of the most important of these students were the Hamburg organists Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann. Through their music, and performing life, each one carried on a part of Sweelinck's personality and legacy. We do not have much specific information about the method of education that Scheidemann and Praetorius received in Amsterdam, but we can see the remnants of Sweelinck's training in the music of his students, and their compositions, especially the chorale fantasias, can help us understand what they absorbed during their studies with him.

The Chorale Fantasia in the Lutheran Service

Lutheran services allowed for complex vocal and instrumental polyphony but for practical reasons, this polyphony was sometimes replaced by organ music, such as contrapuntal motet intabulations, or chorale-based improvisations. In addition, the organist often improvised on chorale tunes, usually as a way of alerting the congregation to the melody and encouraging them to participate. Of course, as musicians are wont to do, organists were soon not satisfied with simple preludes or *alternatim* verses, and improvisation soon became a way for them to demonstrate and explore their artistic skills. This kind of complex improvisation would not have been allowed in the Calvinist tradition in Sweelinck's Amsterdam (where all song

[3] More accurately, these are "variations on sacred melodies," because the group also includes some Calvinist psalm tunes, but I will use the term "chorale variation" as a short hand.

was unaccompanied) and was only occasionally allowed in the Catholic services of France or Italy. Frescobaldi might have improvised during the elevation, but in Rome, organ music was generally subordinate to the liturgical procedures. In addition, the growth in the size and scope of the organs in North Germany allowed players to create elaborate and colorful pieces, something not possible on smaller Italian or French organs or in Calvinist churches, where the organs were often destroyed or relegated to civic functions. These chorale-based improvisations, modest at first, but later expanded and integrated with the structure of Sweelinck's chorale variations, became one of the most distinctive genres of North German organ music – the chorale fantasia. All the elements we recognize as characteristic parts of North German music are present in the chorale fantasia form. Arnfried Edler calls it "the genre of organ composition that most specifically expresses the idea of organ music in the Lutheran area of North Germany."[4] By allowing sacred music to participate in the church service with an intellectual complexity similar to the spoken sermon, the Lutheran church enabled genres such as the organ chorale fantasia to reach their height.

Written and Unwritten Music

In considering the above-mentioned repertoire, one of the important issues in this dissertation will be determining what exactly the existing musical notes tell us about the music. In order to explore seventeenth-century organ music, which was

[4] Arnfried Edler, "Organ Music within the Social Structure of North German Cities in the Seventeenth Century," in *Church, Stage, and Studio: Music and Its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, ed. Paul Walker (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1990), p. 34.

rarely published and only survives in manuscript and tablature, this dissertation will deal with many issues surrounding the existing sources and the extent to which scholars can see the remnants of unwritten music in them. My dissertation will also deal with the extent to which these pieces are a final, finished composition, or a written-down version of a worked-out improvisation. If the answer is the latter, then we do not need to treat every small motive as if it were put there following a specific decision by the composer – we may decide instead that some of the notes might be a record of some sort of keyboard passagework utilized to get from one place in the music to another. Harald Vogel acknowledges this when he writes, "It is impossible to use identical musical turns and structural correspondences as proof for an unequivocal attribution of anonymously transmitted works to Sweelinck" but *also* "It is also impossible to ascribe to another composer works from Sweelinck's substantiated output through a listing of correspondences with compositions from the Sweelinck school."[5] In fact, he is stating that the type of motivic and formal analysis that we might use to identify a work of Beethoven or Brahms will likely not produce a satisfactory attribution in the seventeenth-century North German organ repertoire. In short, a score of a Beethoven piano sonata provides a different kind of information to the scholar than the score of a Sweelinck chorale variation.

We know that the organ compositions of Sweelinck and his students came out of their activities as practicing musicians. In their role as church organists, they

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[5] Harald Vogel, *The Sources - Attribution, Sources and Stylistic Characteristics*, ed. Pieter Dirksen and Harald Vogel, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck - Complete Keyboard Works (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf and Härtel, 2005), p. 19.

spent a great deal of time playing without any notes in front of them.[6] As William Porter and Karin Nelson have found, and as I will discuss further in Chapter II, unwritten music ("improvisation") did not imply unplanned music. Unfortunately, before the age of audio recordings, that kind of music is virtually lost to history. We can, however, see its remnants in contemporary written-down music, especially in those genres that most often served as "useful" or "filler" music, such as chorale-based works. In other words, there is a limit to the concrete information we can get from examining dusty manuscripts in the archives. In order to fully understand how the music was heard and understood, we will need to be willing to use information from other areas of historical inquiry, such as the visual arts (contemporary paintings), religious studies, and political and material histories.

In addition to information from those disciplines, we can also learn from recent findings in historical performance practice, and even some aspects of the modern musical experience of practicing church organists. After all, despite the fact that we are separated by centuries, thousands of miles, and many cultural intricacies, I share with Sweelinck, Praetorius, and Bach some very similar occupational demands. I must rehearse copious amounts of music for multiple services every week of the year; show up, rain or shine, and be prepared to present music appropriate to the liturgical calendar; work effectively for a sometimes fickle audience (both the clergy and the congregation); and cover up glitches in the service with a competent level of improvisation. Organists are also often asked to compose

[6] Of course, this is not an idea unique to church organist-composers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Generations of jazz musicians, among many others, can testify to the work and planning that goes into producing music that is unwritten in its performance.

new music for the church service. In the seventeenth century, this meant composing motets and other vocal and instrumental music for Sunday services and for special occasions. These days, organists are more likely to eschew complex composing and instead, arrange already-composed music for vocal and/or instrumental performance, or compose simple hymn descants.

Another bit of evidence that can help us reconstruct the experience of listening to a chorale fantasia is an understanding of the instruments on which Sweelinck and his students played, and the different timbral effects and musical color that would have arisen from those specific instruments. There were many similarities between the types of organs used in Amsterdam and Hamburg, and Dutch organ builders became well-known for their work in Hamburg and other parts of Germany. For our purposes, the main difference between the instrument in the Oude Kerk and those in Hamburg was size. Sweelinck's organ did not have a pedal tower and would have had more limits on the volume of sound, while the Hamburg organs were famous for their scale and scope, particularly Johann Adam Reincken's instrument in the Katharinenkirche.[7] These instrumental differences would, indeed, have affected the sound of Sweelinck's chorale variations, and his students' chorale fantasias. A thorough consideration of registration possibilities would require its own book, so for the purpose of this study, we will assume that

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[7] More information about the specifications of Sweelinck's organ can be found in Pieter Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence* (Utrecht: Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiednis, 1997).

A classic source for details about the instruments in Hamburg can be found in Gustav Fock, *Hamburg's Role in Northern European Organ Building*, trans., Lynn Edwards and Edward C. Pepe (Easthampton, MA: Westfield Center, 1997).

accompanying voices and solo voices would have been accorded the appropriate stop, without defining what exact sound that would have been.

By their very nature, the conclusions based on extra-musical evidence may be somewhat speculative, but, particularly when considering music that has so many unknowns, it is essential to look beyond the parsing of individual notes to broader questions about the tensions between composition and improvisation in order to fully understand how the music fit in its context. That said, any discussion of this music must start with the notes themselves because they are still the best entrance into the sound world of Northern Germany in the seventeenth century.

Status Quaestionis

For my study, I drew upon the work of those who have contributed research in the areas of biography, analysis, performing editions, and social and political history. A clear picture of life in seventeenth-century North Germany has been painted by scholars such as John Butt (Bach and the German Baroque), Arnfried Edler (the place of the organist in seventeenth-century society), and Frederick Gable (sacred music in Hamburg).[8] An assessment of the complex web of social, political

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[8] Edler, as above.

John Butt, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Bach* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

Frederick Gable, ed. *Dedication Service for St. Gertrude's Chapel, Hamburg, 1607*, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, vol. 91 (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1998).

and religious forces at work in Amsterdam and Hamburg can be found in the work of R. Po-chia Hsia and Joyce Irwin, among many others.[9]

David Yearsley's work engages not only organ music (by Bach and others), but also other kinds of sacred music from the German Baroque.[10] Yearsley's approach to the music of the seventeenth century remains a model for my study. In his article, "Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude's funerary Counterpoints," he not only carefully analyzes the music and considers its associated text but also gives a vivid picture of the contemporary audience and elegantly suggests possibilities for understanding the music as an allegory.

Several important biographies of Sweelinck and his students have been completed, notably Kerala Snyder's *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, and Frits Noske's *Sweelinck*.[11] Snyder's extensive monograph on Buxtehude's life expands beyond a simple sketch of his life and works, and she also served as editor

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[9] R. Po-chia Hsia and Henk F. K. van Nierop, *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

R. Po-chia Hsia, ed. *A Companion to the Reformation World* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2004).

Joyce Irwin, *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone: German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: P. Lang, 1993).

[10] David Yearsley, *Bach's Feet: The Organ Pedals in European Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

David Yearsley, "Towards an Allegorical Interpretation of Buxtehude's Funerary Counterpoints," *Music & Letters* 80, no. 2 (1999).

David Yearsley, "Alchemy and Counterpoint in an Age of Reason," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 51, no. 2 (1998).

[11] Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lubeck*, 2 ed. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007).

Frits Noske, *Sweelinck* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

for *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time: North European Reflections, 1610-2000*, an important collection of essays on specific organs and their environments in North Germany, Denmark, and Sweden, which effectively describes the instruments and society surrounding the composers of chorale fantasias in seventeenth-century North Germany.[12] Frits Noske's work on Sweelinck focuses less on a thorough examination of the social and religious environment surrounding the organist in Amsterdam, instead concentrating on the presentation of an analytical framework for understanding his music. I reference his ideas, which he calls *forma formans*, in Chapter III.

The bulk of this study will involve the analysis of chorale-based pieces by Sweelinck and his students in Hamburg, for which I drew upon the work of Dietrich Bartel and Eric Chafe. Bartel's book, *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*, is especially important for its treatment of German Baroque music from a rhetorical perspective, especially focusing on musical-rhetorical figures.[13] Also, and especially helpful for this study, he considers how Luther's theological views were eventually intertwined with the uniquely German concept of *musica poetica*. Chafe's book, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J.S. Bach*, represents a culmination of his earlier studies, which explore the possibility of the overall key structure in Bach's music having a theological meaning.[14] Although his

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[12] Kerala J. Snyder, ed. *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time: North European Reflections, 1610-200* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

[13] Dietrich Bartel, *Music Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

[14] Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J.S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

book has been criticized for taking these associations between theology and key structure too literally, I think that Chafe's general approach helps to understand North German organ chorale fantasias.

Particularly in recent years, performing editions of North German organ music have multiplied, primarily thanks to the work of Klaus Beckmann. Most of his work lies in editing musical scores, including those by Heinrich Scheidemann, Jacob Praetorius, and Johann Adam Reincken, but also by Michael Praetorius, Vincent Lübeck, Dietrich Buxtehude, Georg Böhm, Johann Nicolaus Hanff, and Nicolaus Bruhns, among many others. His most recent book, *Die Norddeutsche Schule: Orgelmusik in protestantischen Norddeutschland zwischen 1517 und 1755* (2 volumes) is a comprehensive compendium of historical information relating to North German organ music for more than two centuries.[15]

In his comprehensive and encyclopedic monograph, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence*, Pieter Dirksen explores all aspects of the keyboard music of Sweelinck, including performance practice and instrumental considerations. His attention to detail is impressive and allows him to consider all of Sweelinck's keyboard music in real depth. In addition to this book, Dirksen has produced several other articles on Sweelinck's music,[16]

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[15] Klaus Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule: Orgelmusik in protestantischen Norddeutschland zwischen 1517 und 1755*, 2 vols., vol. 1 - Die Zeit der Gründerväter (Mainz: Schott Musik International, 2005), and Klaus Beckmann, *Die Norddeutsche Schule: Orgelmusik in protestantischen Norddeutschland zwischen 1517 und 1755*, vol. 2 - Blütezeit und Verfall (Mainz: Schott Musik International, 2009).

[16] Dirksen's articles on Sweelinck include:
Pieter Dirksen, "Sweelinck's Opera Dubia. A Contribution to the Study of His Keyboard Music," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 36, no. (1986).

and co-edited the most recent complete urtext edition of his keyboard music.[17] Most recently, Dirksen completed *Heinrich Scheidemann's Keyboard Music*, which, like his book on Sweelinck, considers all aspects of Scheidemann's organ music, including chorale cycles, chorale fantasias, and intabulations.[18] Clearly, Dirksen's extensive work on the music of Sweelinck and his students deserves a thorough consideration, and, indeed, I relied on it a great deal in preparing the following chapters of my study. Because Dirksen is such an authoritative voice on the topic, I will begin by considering and challenging a few of the overriding themes in his research, especially his ideas about the scope of Sweelinck's oeuvre, questions about the genuineness of his authorship, and the exact order in which the pieces were composed.

In *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence*, Dirksen primarily asks the following question: why did Sweelinck start writing keyboard music when he was already a successful composer of vocal music

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Pieter Dirksen, "Vater Unser Im Himmelreich: On Sweelinck and His German Pupils," in *From Ciconia to Sweelinck*, ed. Albert Clement, and Eric Jas (Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1994).

Pieter Dirksen, "The Sweelinck Paradox: Researching, Analysing and Playing the Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck," in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU (Foundation for Historical Performance Practice), 1999).

Pieter Dirksen, "Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck - Humanist Composer," *Historični seminar: Zbornik izbranih predavanj* 5 (2004).

[17] Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Complete Keyboard Works*, ed. Pieter Dirksen and Harald Vogel, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2004).

[18] Pieter Dirksen, *Heinrich Scheidemann's Keyboard Music: Transmission, Style and Chronology* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007).

and a performing organist?[19] For example, Dirksen writes, "[Sweelinck] must initially have seen his musical activities at the organ – where he obviously relied on improvisation – as something basically different from his activities as a composer. Composition and organ playing were accordingly two totally detached fields of creativity."[20] I believe, along with scholars such as William Porter and Karin Nelson, that the line between the two fields (composition and performance) was actually rather blurry, and that Dirksen underestimates the role improvisation played in the creation of Sweelinck's keyboard music, especially his chorale-based pieces. Dirksen's stark distinction between the two fields affects his analysis, causing him to overanalyze each turn or trill in order to determine its compositional heritage. And, as I argue in Chapters III, IV, and V, understanding the role improvisation plays in the creation of musical texture is a key to understanding how chorale variations and chorale fantasias can function as musical narratives.

Sweelinck may indeed have viewed his work as a vocal composer differently from that which he accomplished at the organ bench, and I agree that his vocal music represents a more formal kind of composition. However, I do not follow Dirksen in his claims concerning the extent to which his keyboard music also represents a fully-formed, written-down composition. Dirksen asserts that Sweelinck's contact with the work of English composers John Bull and Peter Phillips

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[19] It should be noted that not one keyboard piece in Sweelinck's own hand has survived, and that he never published his keyboard music, so any discussions of his compositional-process should acknowledge that even those pieces that we can firmly ascribe to him have already been transmitted through the hand of a student or friend.

[20] Dirksen, p. 519.

gave him the idea to write down his keyboard music.[21] While Bull and Phillips may have been composers Sweelinck respected, I posit that for him, "organ improvisation" and "composing for the organ" were part of the same impulse.

Dirksen works from the premise that Sweelinck composed all his keyboard music late in his life. He writes, "Sweelinck, who was a generation younger than Byrd and who moreover *forged his keyboard style apparently much later in his career*, started in a fundamentally different position."[22] It may be true that Sweelinck's extant music was written down later in life (Dirksen has certainly explored the original manuscripts extensively). But, if he worked as an organist from the age of fifteen, then he had likely been "forging" his style throughout his life. Dirksen could only make the above statement if he believed that Sweelinck was not "composing" for the keyboard until he started putting the notes on paper, a view that considerably downplays the role of improvisation in Sweelinck's keyboard music.

If one does believe, as Dirksen does, that Sweelinck composed only when he wrote something down, it follows that the music we can look at now should be his longest, most complex, most thoroughly worked-out compositions. That is to say, music that he could not possibly have improvised, or music that was an example of his best work for use by his students. I contend that Sweelinck may have viewed all the music he created at the keyboard as "compositions." It is possible that he only decided to write it down around the turn of the seventeenth century, when he started training several students and needed to provide them with keyboard models

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 519.

[22] *Ibid*., p. 525, italics mine.

to copy. If that is true, then Sweelinck's "compositional activity" may have effectively begun when he was fifteen and first became the organist at the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam.

Dirksen's ideas that Sweelinck's compositional activities were distinct from improvisation, and his claim that Sweelinck's extant music is his *only* music,[23] lead him to be very concerned with questions of authenticity. One of his favorite phrases relating to Sweelick's organ music is "authenticity problems."[24] I believe he may be focusing on the wrong questions. After all, this music is definitely authentic Dutch/North German music, even if it was never published or edited by the composer. It was not a copy made by a nineteenth-century composer, nostalgic for the past, and, if no autograph copy exists, then it is just a different kind of authentic music. In this case, it seems to be an authentic copy of a piece/improvisation by Sweelinck or some other organist that works particularly well for teaching/learning. Dirksen's thinking can be summarized thus: if all of Sweelinck's music is written down, then we must be able to clearly determine what extant music is his and what did not come from his pen. Dirksen spends a lot of time questioning whether written music ascribed to Sweelinck actually came from his pen or from a known student or other, unknown composer. He often remarks that motives or figural passages seem derived from this or that composer. He treats each motive of each keyboard piece in great detail, pausing to question which composer Sweelinck might be referencing.

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[23] An idea expressed most cogently on page 96 of Dirksen, "The Sweelinck Paradox: Researching, Analysing and Playing the Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck."

[24] Dirksen, p. 170.

Moreover, Dirksen is particularly concerned when the musical passage in question might actually resemble something by one of his students. For example, "The whole subject gives us a particularly varied and instructive example of how entwined with his pupils the Amsterdam master can appear in transmission."[25] With this, Dirksen makes the important point that many of the pieces, which now exist in manuscript are not clearly from the hand of one single composer. He gives various ways of determining the differences between composers, but they are often small things, such as subtle differences in solo melismas, or different configurations in the accompaniment. At the end of these discussions, Dirksen often admits that it is impossible to know exactly who wrote which variation because of the subtlety of the differences in compositional styles.

Many of these concerns could be avoided if we instead take the view that written compositions were for teaching purposes and that notating them was meant for learning how to improvise in real time. If, because of unclear notation in the music and/or inconclusive manuscript details, we cannot determine who wrote a particular chorale variation, for example, then we could simply designate them as part of Sweelinck's "circle." This kind of designation would do more to help a scholar focus on the overall music itself and would help make the point that Sweelinck and his students likely collaborated and improvised toward the piece as a whole, instead of quietly writing them down in their solitary studies.

[25] *Ibid*., p. 170.

Finally, Dirksen prioritizes the creation of a chronology, both for the music of Sweelinck and for that of his student Heinrich Scheidemann.[26] In each case, he divides the composer's music into "early," "middle," and "late" periods, with the understanding that the "simplest" pieces originate from an early period, and the more complex come from a late period. His characterization of their music suggests a linear development of compositional techniques. For example, in his discussion of Scheidemann's music, he uses the words "maturity," "evolution," "innovation," and "compositional naïveté," to describe how his music becomes more complicated over time.[27] While there is nothing inherently wrong with this approach (and, indeed, it works quite well when discussing the music of Beethoven or Brahms), it glosses over the possibility that the earlier composers may have used a collaborative, improvisational approach to composition.

All three problematic issues (the number of compositions in a composer's oeuvre, the authenticity of those compositions, and the order in which they were composed) proceed out of Dirksen's understanding that the music of Sweelinck and his students did not come from a performing and improvising tradition. Unfortunately, despite all the useful information in Dirksen's scholarship, these matters cloud his analysis of the music.

One of the best pieces of scholarship to present an alternative view of the compositional process in the North German organ repertoire comes from the

[26] Dirksen discusses the chronology of Sweelinck's keyboard music throughout *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence*, and he includes a fully chronology of Scheidemann's music in Appendix A of *Heinrich Scheidemann's Keyboard Music*.

[27] Dirksen, p. 99 and 109.

performer, improviser, and scholar, William Porter. His short chapter, "Hamburg Organists in Lutheran Worship," describes the working environment of seventeenth-century organists in Hamburg, and details a kind of compositional process that Porter calls *a mente*.[28] In it, Porter eloquently presents the case for music that was presented "quasi-spontaneously" in the liturgy. He writes that the "organist's training enabled him to compose in performance the same kind of music that we find preserved in the repertoire."[29] Porter's own virtuosic work as a performer (improvising a trio sonata in seventeenth-century style, with completely independent right hand, left hand, and pedal lines, for example) proves that this is true. His essay, which references the music of Sweelinck and his students, as well as writings by Zarlino, Tomas de Santa María, and the work of Milman Perry and Albert Lord, states that "for the tradition of the North German organists, the written work can serve as a means of transmission between performances, and even as a means of 'practicing' for performance."[30] If we are freed to see the music of Sweelinck and his students this way, we can view the similarities between the extant music from this period as part of a continuum of improvisation and performance, instead of discrete moments of independently written composition. Also, as I will show in the following chapters, Porter's view more accurately reflects the environment for which the music was created, the job descriptions of the composers, and the music itself.

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[28] William Porter, "Hamburg Organists in Lutheran Worship," in *The Organ as a Mirror of Its Time: North European Reflections, 1610-2000*, ed. Kerala Snyder (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 60-77.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Several other organist-scholars have made also important contributions to the literature, and all exhibit the indelible print of a performer's intimate knowledge of the music.[31] Hans Davidsson has written about, and edited, the music of Matthias Weckman.[32] Harald Vogel is well known as a scholar of historical performance practice and has edited music by Sweelinck and Nicolaus Bruhns.[33] Also, Karin Nelson, active as a performer and teacher, has written convincingly about the tension between composition and improvisation in the Magnificat settings of Heinrich Scheidemann.[34] I draw on her work in my discussion of Sweelinck's chorale variations, in Chapter II.

This Study: Looking Ahead

My study is divided into three main parts, which are preceded by a two-part introductory chapter. The first chapter will set the stage by describing the religious environment in turn-of-the-seventeenth-century Amsterdam and Hamburg. The next three chapters will consider chorale-based organ music by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Jacob Praetorius, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Johann Adam Reincken. I

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[31] According to his website (http://www.pieterdirksen.nl/), Pieter Dirksen is also a very busy harpsichord and organ performer, although that part of his musical life, surprisingly, does not seem to have had a profound effect on his scholarship.

[32] Matthias Weckmann, and Hans Davidsson, *Matthias Weckmann: The Interpretation of His Organ Music. A Practical Edition of the Free Organ Works.*, vol. 2 (Stockholm: Gehrmans Musikförlag, 1991).

[33] Nicolaus Bruhns, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Harald Vogel (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2008).

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Complete Keyboard Works*. 4 vols., ed. Pieter Dirksen and Harald Vogel. (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2004).

[34] Karin Nelson, *Improvisation and Pedagogy through Heinrich Scheidemann's Magnificat Settings*, Skrifter från musikvetenskap (Göteborg, Sweden: Göteborgs universitet, 2010).

will explore the ways in which Sweelinck's use of musical texture in his chorale variations helped him to create a subtle narrative within the repetitive structure, and how his students, Praetorius and Scheidemann, maintained elements of that unique musical texture in their own chorale fantasias. Finally, in the last chapter, I will examine one of the longest and most complex chorale fantasias of the North German Baroque period, Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, showing how Reincken uses musical texture in a way that reaches back to Sweelinck while also creating an innovative and thoroughly dramatic chorale fantasia that prefigures those of his younger colleague J. S. Bach. The kind of musical story that Reincken created in his chorale fantasia was prefigured by his predecessors, Praetorius and Scheidemann, and by Sweelinck, although each presented the narrative with a different level of literal reflection of the text. Sweelinck's chorale variations employ musical texture to create not a word-for-word equivalent of the chorale text, but a more abstract collection of patterns that create a balanced image, much like viewing a landscape through an unfocused lens. Sweelinck's students tighten the focus, and their use of musical texture brings about chorale fantasias that often reflect the text more concretely. As I will show in Chapter V, Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, while not a verbatim reflection of the chorale text, utilizes musical texture to create an aural scene with clearly defined hills and valleys.

Note:

In order to simplify matters, I will refer to "measures" and "measure number" in the music as it is printed in modern editions, even if the original manuscript had

no such designation. Likewise, I will refer to note values as they appear in the modern score from which the musical examples come, not the original "breves" or "semi-breves," or so on.

CHAPTER II

AMSTERDAM AND HAMBURG

Part 1: Amsterdam

In order to set the stage for the study of the chorale-based works by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Jacob Praetorius, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Johann Adam Reincken, it is necessary to get a sense of the general cultural, religious, and musical context in Amsterdam and Hamburg, two cities where the composers lived, studied, and worked. I will consider not only the religious environment of the churches in which they worked, but also the role of the organist in the musical life of the church. Sweelinck likely took the post of organist at the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam's oldest parish church in 1577, when he was fifteen years old. He worked there for his entire life, never leaving Amsterdam for any significant amount of time. Almost all of Sweelinck's Hamburg students came to study with him during the first decade of the seventeenth century.[35] Part of understanding the chorale-based pieces of Sweelinck's students will be considering how they reacted to the environment of their formative apprenticeship years and how that environment differed from the Hamburg to which they returned. In Amsterdam, the young men who came to study with Sweelinck would have found some reminders of their Lutheran heritage but also new and characteristic elements of Dutch life.

[35] I will proceed to a more complete examination of the events in the lives of Sweelinck and his students in Chapters III and IV.

Much of this section will focus on the musical environment inside the walls of Dutch churches, but I should acknowledge that the secular song-world in the streets, taverns, and homes was certainly more colorful. Frits Noske notes that the average citizen had an extensive knowledge of liturgical, semi-liturgical, and secular melodies songs, and, even though these melodies had no part of the official church liturgy, they were often used as part of private devotions.[36] Dutch instrumental music, even keyboard music, was strongly influenced by song. In her article, “Pharmacy for the Body and Soul: Dutch Songbooks in the Seventeenth Century,” Natascha Veldhorst writes about the pervasive song culture present on the streets, in the homes and at the markets in the Netherlands. Veldhorst’s research concludes that the large number of extant songbooks proves that singing was a part of everyday life. She writes, “the Dutch of the Golden Age sang from the cradle to the grave, and for the time being there was no one who could get them to abandon this energetic and comforting activity.”[37] Books of secular songs were numerous and important in the development of literature, but they were outsold by religious songbooks, many of which were aimed at the young. These songbooks, really collections of well-known melodies and verse, were for singing or reading, alone or together in groups. The melodies in Dutch songbooks became so popular that they transcended confessions and became a kind of universal language among ordinary people. The importance and popularity of secular and devotional song among the Dutch citizenry may give us some clue as to why Sweelinck’s chorale-based pieces

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[36] Noske, p. 104.

[37] Natascha Veldhorst, "Pharmacy for the Body and Soul: Dutch Songbooks in the Seventeenth Century," *Early Music History* 27, no. 1 (2008), p. 285.

were sets of variations. In chorale variations, the tune was prominent and audible, a feature that would have been appreciated in melody-mad Amsterdam.

Church Life in the Amsterdam of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck

During Sweelinck's tenure as organist, the Oude Kerk was civic building that hosted Calvinist worship services. His father, Peter Swybbertszoon, was the organist there until his death in 1573. After several interim organists, Sweelinck assumed the organist position around 1577. This means that although he had experience with the church under the Catholic liturgy as a very young man, the Calvinist transition (the *Alteratie* of 1578) happened around the time that he became the official organist. The Calvinist "alteration" changed many aspects of the church and its makeup, including the music. The state now owned the building and its instruments, and paid and approved the ministers. At the beginning, these new Calvinist clergy were not trained at the university, but instead were laymen taken from the congregation. In time, the Calvinist minister became one of the most respected members of the community. By the mid-seventeenth century, the minister was more influential than the successful businessman or regional ruler.[38]

Despite the sweeping nature of the Calvinist reformation, it did not catch every citizen in its net. Many different religious sects managed to exist rather harmoniously in Amsterdam around the turn of the seventeenth century, including the Remonstrants, the Lutherans, the Mennonites, the Collegiants, the Socinians, the

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[38] Willem Frijhoff, and Spies, Marijke, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, trans., Myra Heerspink Scholz, vol. 1 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan Ltd., 2004), p. 360.

Rationalists, the Spiritualists, the Chiliasts and Hebraists, the Jews, the Muslims, and, of course, the Catholics. It seems that although there was a certain amount of tension in the beginning of the Alteration, Amsterdammers soon became much more tolerant. Some priests became pastors, and some convents were allowed to continue (as long as they paid a fine). From April 1580 until 1589, restrictions against Catholics increased, including the outlawing of baptizing, preaching, and marrying, and finally private gatherings were banned. In Amsterdam, though, the restrictions were not always enforced and secret Catholic meetings continued to take place, even as the monasteries were confiscated and transformed into a hospital and orphanages.[39]

While there were plenty of discordant moments between the various groups, the kind of widespread open warfare that existed in other parts of Europe mostly floated over and around Amsterdam. The calm came for many reasons, but mostly from a general sense of pragmatism amongst the Amsterdammers and the fact that a majority of the population were not full members of the state church. In other words, the number of Calvinist "sympathizers" greatly outnumbered fully involved church members. In his book, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe*, Andrew Spicer writes that "the membership of the Church no longer equated to the population of the parish as it had previously, and in fact represented only a minority of the community, estimated at less than 10% in Holland in 1587."[40] So although the

[39] Jurjen Vis, "Sweelinck and the Reformation," in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU (Foundation for Historical Performance Practice), 1999), p. 42.

[40] Andrew Spicer, *Calvinist Churches in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 121.

Calvinists held the political power, their numbers did not constitute a true majority and they were forced to compromise with many different groups in order to maintain power. In addition, Christine Kooi writes that the Reformed Church "refused to missionize extensively or to allow easy access membership in its congregations."[41] In fact, there was no requirement to join the church and as Spicer adds, "the Church itself sought to confine membership and hence admission to the Lord's Supper to those who submitted themselves to consistorial discipline."[42] Kooi goes on to say that the clergy asserted that, "all were free to hear the preaching of God's word…but entrance into the communion of the Saints demanded a rigorous and daunting examination of life and belief."[43] Even if some congregants wanted to enjoy full membership, maintaining the level of personal conduct required to join the communion table required effort they may not have wanted to expend.

The strict obligations of the official church may give the impression of an isolated and narrow-minded town, but Sweelinck's community of Calvinists was quite cosmopolitan, partly because the group was a "transnational" one, used to moving about to escape religious persecution. In his article, "The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and Its Significance for Calvinist Identity and

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[41] Christine. Kooi, "Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland," in *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 95.

For more discussion of this topic, see Christine Kooi, "Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age : Heretics and Idolaters " (Cambridge University Press, 2012). http://orbis.eblib.com.libproxy.uoregon.edu/patron/FullRecord.aspx?p=880769 (accessed 30 May 2013).

[42] Spicer, p.121.

[43] Kooi, p.95.

Interaction in Early Modern Europe," Ole Peter Grell traces the trans-European travels of a Calvinist family, the Calandrinis, who find themselves in Amsterdam. They moved around Europe, mostly to escape persecution, and ended up taking on the culture and language of several different nations, creating what Grell calls a "transnational" confessional identity. While in Amsterdam, they became involved in the local religious and musical life of the city, even hosting Sweelinck and the young poet and composer, Contantijn Huygens, at a small concert.[44] For this family (and likely other Calvinist families with similar histories), Amsterdam became an open religious space. This may help us understand why Sweelinck did not find it imperative to leave behind all elements of his Catholic heritage, while successfully fulfilling the obligations of a Calvinist civic organist, who taught devout Lutheran students from Hamburg. Sweelinck's confessional space was very broad and non-confrontational, due in part to the experiences of families like the Calandrinis.

Our understanding of Sweelinck's personal religious sympathies is still somewhat murky. Most scholars have come to the conclusion that there are no clear conclusions. Sweelinck's family was Catholic and scholars have wondered if he retained Catholic sympathies, even as he was employed by the Calvinist civic authorities. Various records have been used to bolster the idea that he held on to the Catholic faith (his children's baptismal records, and his settings of texts for the Catholic liturgy, for example) but because of the variety of "tolerated" religious sects, and the fact that Sweelinck never made an issue of it himself, his personal

[44] Ole Peter Grell, "The Creation of a Transnational, Calvinist Network and Its Significance for Calvinist Identity and Interaction in Early Modern Europe," *European Review of History—Revue européenne d'histoire* 16, no. 5 (2009), pp. 630-631.

confessional choice seems peripheral to the research questions that I am seeking to answer. Some scholars have suggested that Sweelinck was probably able to bridge the confessional divides within his city, and that between his own situation and that of his Lutheran students, because he was personally ambivalent about the situation.[45]

The Lutheran students who came to study with Sweelinck would have found some reminders of home in Amsterdam, since it had one of the highest percentages of Lutherans in the Low Countries. (An overview of the Lutheran presence in Amsterdam can be found in Table 1.) Lutherans were more highly concentrated in Amsterdam than in any other city in the Dutch Republic. By 1650, Lutherans consisted of about 15% of the population of Amsterdam and were most often transplanted Germans from Hamburg.[46] And, the young students would have been familiar with the cosmopolitan mix in Amsterdam, since Hamburg housed the largest Dutch community in northern Germany.

[45] For a full discussion of this topic, see Jurjen Vis' article, "Sweelinck and the Reformation." In *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium*, edited by Pieter Dirksen, 39-54. Utrecht: STIMU (Foundation for Historical Performance Practice), 1999.

[46] Frijhoff, p. 395.

Table 1. A Brief History of Lutherans in Amsterdam[47]

1529	The 'Hamburg' chapel of the Oude Kerk (purchased by merchants from Hamburg) is a center of Reformation activities
1578	'The Alteration' in Amsterdam – Lutherans played small but important role
1588	The first Lutheran congregation established in Amsterdam
1588-1600	A period of opposition from Calvinist majority
1604	Lutherans receive official approval to worship as a sanctioned parish
1605	First Lutheran Synod of the Republic held in Amsterdam
1606	Sweelinck's first German students arrive (Paul Siefert and Jacob Praetorius)

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Dutch was the predominant commercial language in Hamburg and the local dialect there was a combination of Dutch and German, called "Niederdeutsch."[48] This would have been helpful for Sweelinck because, as Dirksen mentions, "the Lutheran church wardens were only willing to give leave to their promising youthful organists to study in Amsterdam at their expense when it was guaranteed that these parishioners were able to continue the Lutheran faith and attend services there."[49]

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[47] Dirksen, p. 180.

[48] *Ibid*. p. 179.

[49] *Ibid*., p. 180.

Indeed, the Reformed and Lutheran communities often overlapped, both geographically and liturgically. Official Reformed hymnbooks often included German hymns, and Calvinist church services were tolerated in parts of Northern Germany.[50] In some places in North Germany, the whole town was Calvinist.[51] So, even if Sweelinck was a closet Catholic, his familiarity with Calvinist authorities and liturgy, and his interactions with Lutherans in Amsterdam would have blurred any barriers between himself and his students based on religious grounds.

Inside the Churches of Amsterdam

Seventeenth-century Dutch artists often included musicians in their pictures of everyday life in Amsterdam and its environs, but their images are mostly of people playing lutes, flutes, violins or virginals in taverns or at home, not of the organist at work in church. Of course, the lack of depictions of Dutch organists also may result from the destruction of art during the iconoclasm of the Alteration. Iconography representing secular musicians often has a rustic and homemade aesthetic, underscoring the middle-class environment in which that music was made.

Several artists of the Dutch Golden Age focused on the simplicity of Amsterdam's post-Reformation church interiors. The paintings and drawings of church interiors by Emanuel de Witte, Peter Jansz Saenredam, and their contemporaries can give us some idea of what went on in the church during services

[50] Jan R. Luth, "The Music of the Dutch Reformed Church," in *Sweelinck Studies: Proceedings of the Sweelinck Symposium*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: STIMU (Foundation for Historical Performance Practice), 2002), p. 30.

[51] Frijhoff, p. 370.

and the rest of the day. (Table 2 includes a selected list of the art to which I am referring. A selection of images referred to in Table 2 can be found in Appendix A.) These works form a body of art that is sometimes called Dutch perspective art, or Dutch classicism. As one would expect, the paintings by de Witte and his colleagues are creative works by artists and are not documentary photographs, although the architectural details are generally very accurate. But, even as subjective works of art, they can help us understand what might have been happening during the time that Sweelinck was performing.

Because the elements included in these paintings were not exact representations of the literal space, we know that the artists' inclusion of an individual element (the organ, for example) was deliberate.[55] Many of these paintings date from the mid-seventeenth century, shortly after Sweelinck's life, but we can assume that many of the things that he depicts would have been representative of Sweelinck's environment.

[55] Angela Vanhaelen, "Iconoclasm and the Creation of Images in Emanuel de Witte's 'Old Church in Amsterdam'," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 2 (2005), p. 249.

Table 2. A Selected List of Depictions of Church Interiors Around Amsterdam

Artist	Date	Title
Emanuel de Witte	1650-52	Interior of the Old Church in Delft
	1657	Interior of Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam
	1659?	Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam
	1668	Interior of a Protestant Gothic Church
	1669	Church Interior
	1669	Interior of a Church
	1670	Church Interior
	1675-85	Interior of a Protestant Gothic Church
	1677	Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam
	1680	Interior of a Church
	1686	Interior of an Amsterdam Church during Sermon
	mid 1600s	Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam
	No date	Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam During a Sermon
Pieter Jansz Saenredam	No date	A Church Interior
	No date	Interior of the Church of St. Bavo at Haarlem
	No date	Interior of Chapel Church at Alkmaar
	1661	Church of Saint Lawrence in Alkmaar
Anthonie Van Borssom	mid 1600s	Interior of a church
Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde	1673	Interior of the Grote Kerk, Haarlem
Hendrick van Streeck	c. 1690	Imaginary Interior of a Protestant Church
Hendrick Cornelisz van der Vliet	No date	Interior of a Church
	No date	Interior of the Oude Kerk, Delft
Cornelis de Man	No date	The Oude Kerk, Delft
Gerard Houckgeest	1651	The Interior of a Church (With Figures by the Pulpit)

Angela Vanhaelen claims that part of de Witte's interest in painting the Oude Kerk may have stemmed from the fact that it contained many different kinds of visual references in one building – it was multilayered. She mentions that the "presence of military armor, monuments, and inscriptions within the church were all linked to the transformation of this space from Roman Catholicism to Protestantism, for they indicate that such a shift did not occur smoothly but resulted after a long period of military conflict with the Spanish."[57] In addition to the armor, monuments and inscriptions, the visual history in the space also included the pipe organ. By including an organ in his paintings, de Witte is not only showing the reality of the whitewashed walls and bare chapels, as well as the remnants of the conflict present in the military objects, but also the liturgical history of the space. The organ remains one of the only visual reminders of the church's Catholic heritage. The presence of the organ in these pictures extends and reinforces the continuum of history represented by the objects in the space. These instruments remain one of the few clear visual records of what was in the church before its religious transformation. During the period of reform, when many organs were destroyed, Sweelinck's organ in the Oude Kerk survived – even though all the walls were whitewashed and the sculptures removed. Vanhaelen asserts that "as the gap between signs and their referents widened, images and material objects were stripped–sometimes violently–of their status as powerful points of contact with the divine, and their place within the religious interior was radically redefined."[58]

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[58] *Ibid*., p. 253.

Because the organ remained in the church, even though it was not permitted to function in the service, it may have been one of the only remaining liturgical objects that maintained part of its pre-reformation symbolism.

Before the reformation, the organ served not only as a functional musical instrument, but also as a vivid representation of the workings of the church community, and of the harmony of the whole universe. When pipe organs were first allowed in the church (as early as the 10th century), they were primarily extra-liturgical curiosities, occasionally used in simple *alternatim* with chant. At that time, organs, along with astronomical clocks, were among the most complex machines ever designed in Europe. Both clocks and organs functioned as useful instruments (producing both time and tune), but were also important symbols of cosmological harmony. Even as the church incorporated organs more fully into the services, they still maintained this symbolic heritage. And, as the size of the instruments grew, and the music for them became more complex, the objects themselves became symbols of the idea of small parts working toward the greater whole.

In many of the paintings, de Witte's bare buildings and whitewashed walls are the backdrop for not only a large pipe organ, but also a very prominent pulpit. The altar area is rarely featured in the paintings and this fits into the local liturgical practices, for which communion occurred quarterly. [59] De Witte depicts various activities in the church, including grave digging, businessmen talking, women nursing babies, dogs frolicking (and relieving themselves against interior pillars), and, of course, preachers giving sermons to crowds of townspeople. Because the

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[59] Spicer, pp. 123-124.

general aesthetic of the buildings is somewhat austere, one might assume that the artist is depicting a peaceful, quiet, and reverent space. However, almost every image includes people who are engaged with each other. In other words, the space seems expansive and imposing, but there are almost always lively townsfolk and animals interacting in it. This speaks to the sense of life within the church and its dual purpose of a place of worship and a large civic gathering space in which Dutch citizens could come out of the cold and chat with their neighbors or finalize business transactions.

Based on the paintings by de Witte and others, it seems that the gathering around the pulpit reflected some of the social organization in the city. Wealthy and powerful citizens rested in high-backed seats set against the pillars in the nave, facing the pastor standing in a pulpit covered by an acoustic canopy. The ordinary citizens sat on benches facing the pastor, while a few stragglers walked around the outside of the seated area. According to Spicer, this area, defined by benches and used for listening to the spoken word, became known as the *preekkerk*. The *preekkerk* was the space around the pulpit in which the pastor's voice carried.[60] This small area became the focus for church services and the rest of the church building was usually not used for worship purposes. The larger space, (excluding the choir, which was used occasionally for communion), that is, the aisles, the transept, and the ambulatory formed the *wandelkerk*, which was, as Spicer writes, "an area of secularized space which could be used by the townspeople for recreation and

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

socializing."[61] Although all of this wandering around could be disruptive, it was also a chance to bring in unbelievers and convert them through the sermons that they might hear while walking around.

The high point of the Reformed service was the sermon, even if in the beginning many preachers came from lay backgrounds because a clerical training system had not yet been set up. The sermons of these men were not filled with exegesis or scholarship, but with passion and emotion. In an article on the education of Dutch Reformed Ministers, Fred Van Lieburg tells us that these lay-preachers were chosen for "inborn rhetorical talent," "capacity for empathy," and their ability to "put emotion in their own language, but also rouse it in their hearers, bringing them to tears and touching their longings and passions."[62] As we will see in the next chapter, this personal and emotional style strongly contrasts with Sweelinck's serene and tightly controlled chorale variations.

When the preacher was not in his pulpit, the civic organist often provided music for the enjoyment of those meeting or walking through. Those listening to the organ music in the Oude Kerk would have been a mix of local elites, the bourgeois public, and workers looking to find shelter during the time when the local tavern was closed. The audience was not a well-educated clerical elite or the courtiers of a regional sovereign, as it might have been elsewhere in Europe. Because of the relatively new class of middle-class tradesmen particular to the Dutch Republic and

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[61] *Ibid*., p. 124.

[62] Fred Van Lieburg, "Preachers Between Inspiration and Instruction: Dutch Reformed Ministers Without Academic Education (Sixteenth-Eighteenth Centuries)," *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 83, no. 1 (2003).

because of the class-equalizing effects of the reformers (only recently these church-goers had been meeting in fields and pastures), Sweelinck would have needed to present music that would be satisfying to an audience that was not overly complicated or sophisticated.

The Organ in Amsterdam

My description of the church life in Amsterdam has so far centered on the spoken word, and, indeed, accompanied church music would have formed little or no part of Sweelinck's workload. The English writer John Evelyn described the use of the organs in Dutch churches this way: "[I] could not find they made any use of [organs] in Divine-Service or so much as to assist them in their singing of Psalms (as I suppos'd) but onely for shew, and to recreate the people before and after their Devotions'."[63] Spicer agrees, and writes "recitals were performed as a form of public entertainment, often as people used the *wandelkerk* for recreation both during the day and also during the evenings, when candles were lit inside the church."[64] Spicer's assessment harmonizes with that of Constantijn Huygens, noted Dutch poet and politician, who wrote one of the most significant texts for scholars of church music in the early to mid-seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic. His treatise, *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van't orgel in de kercken der vereenighde Nederlanden* (Use and Nonuse of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands), outlines Huygens' resistance to any kind of non-liturgical organ music in church (sacred or

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[63] Spicer, pp. 151-152.

[64] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

otherwise), but also his grudging acceptance of organ accompaniment to congregational psalm singing, mostly because the congregation sang badly when unaccompanied.

In *Gebruyck of ongebruyck van't orgel in de kercken der vereenighde Nederlanden*, Huygens describes the kinds of music and church activities that he objects to.

> The organ is playing while the congregation leaves in throngs, while friends talk to teach other, while some are speaking about the comforting things heard together through God's grace, or about people using their capabilities well or badly: as it goes with most people, inquiries about health and news are made; new fashions are shown; tattle tales are told about the joys and sorrows of the neighbours; one sets dates and hours for parties; and a thousand other things… I do not think that of the whole consistory anyone stays behind out of devotion to listen until the organ playing stops. In all probability, the psalm has ended after its three or four verses have been performed in all the possible art forms, and have been adorned and embellished in all kinds of ways. And if the organist is not in the mood to play a second one, it would be best expressed by saying that his fantasies follow again. They are also called madrigals, of all kinds, as one finds them published in the books.[65] Finally, a closing follows which is like the introduction, to which only the sexton and a few cripples listen. In this way, the unchristian show ends." [66]

[65] Huygens is likely referring to intabulations.

[66] Constantijn Huygens, *Use and Nonuse of the Organ in the Churches of the United Netherlands* (New York: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), p. 15.

As Huygens describes it, the organist played what he wanted, as long as it was not during the service, and the assembled congregation did their best to ignore the music as they left the church after the sermon. Huygens certainly employs hyperbole, but at least by mid-century it is difficult to reconcile the organ concerts as portrayed by Spicer with the lack of attention to organ music that Huygens describes. Surely if the church was employing an organist to give regular concerts, someone must have been listening.

Upon closer inspection, Huygens' disapproval does not just rest with the inattention of the audience, but also the inappropriate nature of the organ music. And, this would suggest that Huygens is complaining because some of the audience is listening (and enjoying) music that is not suitable for the church space. Huygens complains that this frivolous organ music does not offer or match the logic or intellectual food of the sermon and spoken word. When he further considers the organ music that he has heard, he writes "we are guilty of the faults of those who offer the simple people an irrational instead of a rational religion; selling stubbles and husks for the real food, and to say it shortly, offering the people such a show, that they mistake the shadow for the substance."[67] It is not clear whether Huygens thinks that all organ music is frivolous or just the kind he often hears before and after the service. In other words, would he be happier with a complex fugal work, instead of madrigal intabulations or chorale variations, or would he just prefer silence?

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[67] *Ibid*., p. 23.

Huygens does suggest that music directly based on sacred words might be more acceptable than music based on popular tunes or on free fancy. He writes the following about the value of music created by an organist from his own imagination:

> At the end of the sermon, the prayer, and the hymn, we use the organ, usually with an introduction after the master's fancy, to prepare himself for the key in which he has to play. I do not believe one can maintain that anybody might receive edification from this introduction, a human fantasy, blown out by pipes. As a matter of fact, that prelude is really a postlude, and its big difference will be explained later. One should find edification in the music. That music is first of all the tune of the psalm, which was sung last. I ask, what is the use of that sound? What effect have those wordless tones on our minds? [68]

Here we can see that Huygens is worried about the audience's ability to receive "edification" from freely-composed instrumental music in church. His final question reveals his belief that this kind of music may incite the pious parishioners to some kind of unholy thoughts or actions. In Huygens' view, it does not provide enough rational or logical material for churchgoers. The tension between the word and pure music is obvious here. The Calvinist insistence on the word as the sole purpose of the Sunday service does not allow for any kind of keyboard music because it does not convey enough rational material.

Huygens himself was a music lover and he mentions that he can understand how people might like to sit and listen to an organ recital outside of the time allotted

[68] *Ibid*., p. 13.

for church, particularly if they did not have an instrument at home, as he did. He writes, “I am not such a strict admirer of lifeless things that I am offended by honest people who want to listen to the music of an organ master, and who come to the church after church hours to enjoy especially the sound of a precious instrument, which not everybody has the opportunity to possess.”[69] And, in the end, he concedes that psalms sung during the church service ought to be accompanied in order to increase the musicality and tunefulness of the liturgy, but he warns that he still wants to have “all clever playfulness eliminated from our church singing.”[70]

Huygens wrote his treatise in 1641, twenty years after Sweelinck’s death, but his descriptions of the tensions between public use of the church building and the performance of organ music still ring true. In the paintings by de Witte, the artist often includes the organ in the frame of the image and it usually is pictured with its doors open, signaling its active use. However, in none of the paintings listed in Table 2, did the organ play the main role in the picture. Either the preacher is in the middle of his sermon and the congregation is gathered around listening to him, or there are just a few people in the image who seem to be talking to each other or working (digging a grave, for example). Granted, the size of Sweelinck’s instrument in the Oude Kerk did not match those of his Hamburg students, and it lacked a grand pedal tower, so the sound may not have penetrated every part of the church and

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[70] *Ibid*., p. 63.

likely would not have commanded complete attention when it was played.[71] It is not clear how the audience would have listened to Sweelinck's frequent organ concerts, but likely not as we do in the 21st century, quietly sitting in rows in pews.

Sweelinck's pieces for the organ at the Oude Kerk had purely musical goals. They were not meant to accompany the liturgy or lead the congregation in song. It does not seem that he was worried about the clergy's approval or in fitting the pieces into a predetermined form or length. There is some suggestion that he incorporated secular music into his concerts. Paintings by Emmanuel de Witte (and others) suggest that the church was a gathering place for all sorts of people. Mostly people were there to listen to the preaching – the music was a pleasant afterthought.

Noske writes that the Reformed Church used the church buildings only on Sundays, leaving the building open to "secular" purposes during the rest of the week. He continues: "The organist was appointed and paid by the magistrates and, although in some cases he used to preludize to the psalms during Sunday services, his main task was to give daily recitals in order to keep people out of the public houses."[72] The concerts may have had a kind of *Muzak* quality, in other words, background music for people who were not wealthy enough to have their own musicians or instruments for music at home. And, because Huygens complained about it, we know a certain number of people must have stayed around gossiping, making business decisions, watching after children, and avoiding barking dogs. The

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[71] A complete description of the instrumental resources available to Sweelinck in the Oude Kerk can be found in Dirksen, *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence.*

[72] Frits Noske, *Music Bridging Divided Religions: The Motet in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (New York: C.F. Peters, 1989), p. 4.

concerts provided some of the first opportunities in Europe for a bourgeois public to listen to abstract instrumental music, played solely for a secular purpose.

Because of the growing importance of Amsterdam's commercial activities, and the advances in organ building made by Dutch builders, the daily recitals were an important part of Amsterdammers' identity and pride. Huygens writes "while princely courts had employed musicians as status symbols for centuries, the idea of a public musician representing the rising middle class was quite new. Thus Sweelinck can be seen as one of the major figures in the historical development of the modern concert tradition."[73] Arnfried Edler agrees that the organ recital was one of the first musical events to exist solely for the performance of "autonomous" instrumental music, writing, "at this time [in Amsterdam] we read that among these attractions were two favorites: the so-called anatomies (i.e., public autopsies, which were celebrated like feast days) and organ recitals."[74] Edler says that Sweelinck's Lutheran students would have had a hard time reconciling their Lutheran contexts for organ music and those that were available to Sweelinck in Amsterdam. He writes, "New forms and styles of organ composition had to be found that could mediate between Sweelinck's achievements and the conditions of organ playing in the Lutheran sphere of the epoch."[75] One kind of musical composition that allowed for the German students to balance the concertizing of Sweelinck's job description with

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[73] John Butt, ed. *Germany and the Netherlands*, ed. Alexander Silbiger, Keyboard Music Before 1700 (New York: Routledge, 2004), p. 167.

[74] Edler, p. 27.

[75] *Ibid*., p. 28.

the frequent and demanding liturgical routine of the Lutheran church in Hamburg was the chorale fantasia.

Part 2: Hamburg

Some of the cultural and economic power that Amsterdam held in the early seventeenth century was transferred to Hamburg and London around the turn of the next century. In his article, "The Rise of Hamburg as a Global Marketplace in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective," Erik Lindberg describes why that city became such an important center of commerce, especially in the trade of grain, as well as wood, flax, hemp, iron, tar, copper, and other commodities. In contrast, he shows that another Hanseatic city, Lübeck, used very different approaches to diversity and immigration, which caused that city to lose relevance in the European marketplace. Lindberg proposes that the policy of applying the same stable property rights to foreigners and locals, reasonable religious tolerance, and a unique political constitution were more important in creating Hamburg's civic powerhouse than was its geographical location.[76] He shows that while Lübeck's influence was waning, Hamburg rose in prominence as the politics surrounding the Hanseatic cities began to change at the turn of the seventeenth century. Hamburg's population grew slowly at the beginning of the century and then, as the population of Lübeck remained somewhat stable, Hamburg's dramatically increased. Whereas Lübeck began to enforce protectionist

[76] Erik Lindberg, "The Rise of Hamburg as a Global Marketplace in the Seventeenth Century: A Comparative Political Economy Perspective," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 50, no. 3 (2008), p. 641.

and defensive strategies in order to protect the home market, Hamburg developed more fair, outward-looking business policies. An English traveler, William Carr, proposed the cause of Lübeck's downfall this way:

> "And the reason of [the decay of the trade in Lübeck] was chiefly the inconsiderate zeal of their Lutheran ministers, who persuaded the magistrates, to banish all Roman Catholicks, Calvinists, Jews and all that dissent from them in matter of religion, even the English Company too, who all went and settled in Hambourg, to the great advantage of that city and almost ruine of Lübeck…"[77]

Lindberg notes that Hamburg was the first Hanseatic city to allow foreign businessmen to live within the city limits, a condition that meant a better economic climate for all involved.[78] This growth in Hamburg's ability to succeed in the marketplace coincided with the years that many of the young organists left to study with Sweelinck in Amsterdam. The citizens of Hamburg, always worried about maintaining a Lutheranism untarnished by outside forces, were wary of foreigners (despite Hamburg's relatively open business climate) but they were less concerned about the Lutheran Dutch, who soon gained full citizenship.[79] Perhaps because of the heady sense of expansion and progress, the church fathers saw an opportunity for their own talented musicians to travel to Amsterdam (already a major economic and cultural center) and learn from its most celebrated musician.

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[77] *Ibid*., p. 659.

[78] *Ibid*., p. 656.

[79] *Ibid*., p. 659.

Like Amsterdam's, Hamburg's vigorous musical culture extended beyond the heavy doors of the churches. Music was a part of all elements of pre-industrial society and involved all different kinds of people and each contributed a unique part of the city's musical experience: mothers, schoolteachers, workers, weavers, miners, shepherds, travelers/entertainers, street performers, wanders, sailors, soldiers, beggars, and journeymen.[80] While average citizens would not have performed music during the regular mass, except for a special festival or procession, they would have had significant exposure to music during the church service.[81]

Lutherans and Music

Martin Luther's encouragement and appreciation of church music is well known. Hymn singing was one of the most important activities a Lutheran community did together in order to reinforce theology and devotion. Despite recent scholarly debate about the extent to which congregational singing was a joyful and tuneful expression of the whole community's collective faith, or a necessary requirement of the liturgical order producing halfhearted participation, most scholars agree that the chorale was an important symbol of Lutheran life.[82] R. Po-

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[80] An in-depth discussion of the social and political tensions present in Hamburg during the seventeenth century can be found in Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529-1819* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985). For a discussion of how politics and musical practice interacted in other parts of Germany, see Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650-1750* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007).

[81] Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 41-2.

[82] For a proponent of the former, see Christopher Boyd Brown, *Singing the Gospel: Lutheran Hymns and the Success of the Reformation.* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005). And, for a clear explanation of the latter point of view, see Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

chia Hsia writes, “in any event, the hymn became an indispensible form of personal piety, the hymnal and hymn singing symbols of Lutheran confessional identity.”[83] Whereas in Sweelinck’s Oude Kerk, the “word” was promoted to the exclusion of music, in the churches of his Lutheran students, melody and text found a new collaborative purpose. Given the importance of music in the Lutheran service, the Lutheran organist became a kind of preacher. Hsia states that the Lutheran pastor “stood at the frontier of the confessional territorial state, expanding the boundary of discipline, morality, piety, obedience, and sobriety.”[84] As we will see in the music of Scheidemann, Praetorius, and Reincken, the Lutheran organist also widened the bounds of musical order and organization as he reflected the chorale texts in his music. Dietrich Bartel describes the importance of the rhetorical discipline in the Lutheran service, both to prepare the heart of the listener to receive the Biblical scriptures, and by augmenting the text itself to greater meaning and strength. He also claims that, under Luther’s direction, “Music is therefore not just a passive reflection of the text but a tireless advocate of the text.”[85] From this point of view, a chorale fantasia would not just be an exact translation of text into music, but rather an interpretation of the text using musical means. And, an organist’s performance of such a work would be not unlike a pastor’s sermon delivery.

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[83] R. Po-chia Hsia, *The German people and the Reformation* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 107.

[84] *R. Po-chia Hsia, Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750, Christianity and Society in the Modern World (New York: Routledge, 1989)*, p. 20-21.

[85] Bartel, p. 7-8.

The differences between the Lutheran, Catholic, and Calvinist approaches to sacred music served to shape the music created in the regions corresponding to those different confessions. Although Catholics and Lutherans differed more on theological issues than on worship styles, some disagreements are important to highlight. For example, Luther's insistence that sacred music be accessible to the common person resulted in the ubiquitous chorale tune and its incorporation into the music of generations of German composers.

Another difference between Catholics and Lutherans was perhaps more subtle: while Catholics had always held a somewhat conflicted opinion on the benefits or detriments of sacred music – St. Augustine's worried comments about his own enjoyment of chant come to mind – from the very beginning of his theological revolution, Luther embraced complex sacred music as a gift from God and a reflection of a Christian community working together. In response to St. Augustine's concerns, he wrote that:

> Music is the best gift of God. Quite often it has so aroused me and spurred me on that I gained the desire to preach. But St. Augustine had such scruples that he supposed he had sinned through delighting in music. He was a fine man. If he lived in this century, he would be of our opinion.[86]

Despite the fact that some differences existed between Catholics and Lutherans on the subject of sacred music, the real conflicts flared between Lutherans and their reformer brethren, the Calvinists. As I noted in the description

[86] Irwin, p. 26.

of Amsterdam's musical climate, in their quest for a literal application of worship prescriptions as laid out by the New Testament, Calvinists outlawed all but unaccompanied psalm singing in their services. Within the Lutheran confession, those who embraced Luther's opinion of music often clashed with those who aligned themselves with a more Calvinist approach, the Pietists. Of the views held in common by the Pietists and Calvinists, the most important for this study is an emphasis on the practical benefits of clearly comprehensible music expressing simple truths. While in Pietism these concepts often proceeded from a desire for worship to be a real and regular part of people's everyday lives, Joyce Irwin writes that "in Calvinism they tended to spring from theological principles such as the subordination of the senses or superiority of the New Testament." Irwin explains that "the pragmatic question, 'Can the people understand it?' was for Pietists the first test of music's acceptability for public worship." For that reason, they objected to "Latin texts, choral music where the words could not be discerned, and organ music, which conveyed no meaning."[87] Orthodox Lutherans were also concerned with intelligibility, but as Irwin points out, they did not require the same literal level of understanding. The clergy's position was: "It is enough if they [the people] understand its *genus*."[88] Expanding music's goals beyond the grasp of the common congregation allowed Orthodox Lutheran church musicians to create complex multi-referential pieces (such as chorale fantasias), as long as some basic trace of the original intent could be perceived.

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[87] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

[88] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

We can see that the principal characteristics of North German music (as mentioned on page 1 of the Introduction) are allowed for in Orthodox Lutheran music in a way that does not fully fit into either Catholic music or Calvinist worship.[89] The use of chorale tunes falls into the Protestant insistence on the inclusion of the congregation. Also, the emphasis on understanding the text is a Protestant idea that was stressed even more by the Pietists. Those two concepts would not have been important in the same way in the Roman Catholic tradition. The other three elements – embrace of complex polyphony, support of abstract organ music as performed on large, innovative instruments, and a place for complex improvisation, would not have been accepted in the Calvinist worldview. They would, however, have been a vital part of Lutheran worship. It seems that some of the students coming to study with Sweelinck might have been in the middle of a confessional tug-of-war.[90] The Catholic heritage before the Reformation/Alteration was interested in sensual and mysterious symbols of God, represented by complex polyphonic music. Jean Calvin's whitewashing of the musical landscape created music that was simple, unaccompanied, congregational song. Sweelinck stood in the chasm between these two approaches to church music. Perhaps this is why he found so many successful German Lutheran students, for the Lutheran stance on music was also in the middle.

[89] They are: the use of chorale tunes, a variety of musical textures (including polyphony and monody), an emphasis on the comprehensibility of the texts, complex organ music, complex keyboard improvisation, and large pipe organs.

[90] Butt, p. 15.

Organ Music in Lutheran Service

All these varying tensions found a home in intricate organ music, whether chorale-based or freely composed. The mid-seventeenth century Grossgebauer/Mithobius controversy exemplifies some of the issues. The problems started with the publication of "*Wächterstimmen*," a pamphlet written in 1661 by Theophil Grossgebauer, professor of theology at Rostock. Grossgebauer presented what was an essentially Calvinist position on music. As William Porter explains: for Grossgebauer "the problem was not simply the misuse of art music in the church, but rather its presence there in the first place."[91] Grossgebauer criticized organists specifically for using too much virtuosity in their playing. He laments the extended one-man show of noisy organ music. Heinrich Scheidemann felt personally attacked by Grossgebauer's critique and convinced his brother-in-law, Hector Mithobius (a pastor, also from Rostock) to write a response. The resulting manuscript, *Psalmodia Christiana*, was not published until two years after Scheidemann died (1665), but it presented a convincing case that virtuosic music helped those in the congregation to receive the word of God and assisted them in learning the chorales. Mithobius asserts that: "The organist sits there not in order to exhibit his art but to praise God in an artificial manner and by his lovely harmony to move himself as well as primarily the whole congregation to rest in God, to an ardent devotion, to spiritual thoughts, and to joy in the Lord, and to awaken the spirit and to make the congregation sprightly, gay, and joyful for the service."[92] Not only does this

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[91] Porter, p. 67.

[92] Edler, p. 29.

convincingly refute the claims of Grossgebauer, but it also presents clear evidence of the fact that long and complicated pieces (like the ones we will consider in Chapters IV and V) were important parts of worship in Lutheran Hamburg.

Although the organ was more integrated into German services than in Sweelinck's Calvinist services, chorale fantasias did not really fit into a Lutheran *Gottesdienst* either. As Kerala Snyder writes in her comprehensive monograph on Dieterich Buxtehude, solo organ music did not have a regular place in the normal liturgy of the Northern Lutheran churches. Johann Lorentz (1610-1689), organist at the Sanct Nikolai Kirke in Copenhagen gave three concerts a week, from 3-4 p.m., during which "many beautiful pieces and hymns are played, at which times, winter and summer, many distinguished people go to and listen with pleasure."[93] Chorale fantasias would not have fallen into Buxtehude's official duties in Lübeck, and Snyder suggests that he probably presented them after the church service or "in private concerts for the business community."[94] She also mentions that "extended improvisations…were known to have been performed during Saturday Vespers in Hamburg" and so we can assume that Scheidemann and Reincken would have had similar opportunities.[95] Snyder mentions that these extended improvisations that were part of Saturday Vespers were a possible place for these chorale fantasias, but that they could have been a part of concerts for businessmen that often traveled to

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[93] Snyder, p. 22.

[94] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

Amsterdam.[96] Those businessmen might have become used to the church concert setting, similar to those Sweelinck provided many years earlier. Because these pieces do not hold a specific liturgical purpose, their meaning is not necessarily tied in a literal way to Lutheran doctrine. On the other hand, because the pieces are not free of sacred music, they maintain a solid link to a biblical and spiritual journey.

The importance of the organ in the music of North Germany cannot be overstated. In a sermon by Johann Münstermann in Otterdorf in 1662, the instrument is characterized this way:

> "Unser Leib soll das Corpus solcher Orgel sein, unser Mund soll an derselbigen die Pfeife und unsere Zunge in der Pfeife das Zünglein sein. Der Odem oder der Wind, so drein geblassen wird, soll Gottes Wort sein, das Clavier und Pedal solcher unserer geistlichen Orgel soll unser Herz sein, die Register an derselben unseres Herzens, Gemütes Affekte und Begierden sein; der Organist ist der H. Geist, welcher da ist mit Gaben siebenfalt und der Finger in Gottes rechter Hand… Der soll mit seinen göttlichen, kräftigen Fingern das Clavier unseres Herzens schlagen und sie durch den heilsamen Wind seines Wortes bewegen, damit dadurch unser Leib, unsere Füße und unsere Hände, unsere Sinne und Gedanken und alle unsere Affekte eine regelmäßige geistliche und liebliche Harmonie und Resonanz geben und dadurch mit den Saiten, Clavier und Klang die Herzen und mit dem Glauben die Werke und Taten zusammen (stimmen) mögen."[97]

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[96] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

[97] Johann Münstermann's *Orgelpredigt in Otterdorf 1662,* in Arnfried Edler, "Die Königin und das Herz aller musicalischen Instrumenten: Zur Rolle der Orgel im Zivilisationsprozess des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *375 Jahre Scherer-Orgel Tangermünde*, ed. Christoph Lehmann (Berlin: Verlag Freimut & Selbst, 2005), p. 8-9.

> Our body will be the main part of this organ, our mouth the pipes and our tongue the pipe's languid.[98] The breath or wind, blown through, will be God's word, the keyboard and pedal of our spiritual organ will be our heart – the registration of the same is our heart, pleasant affect, and desire. The organist is the Holy Spirit, who is there with sevenfold gifts and the finger of God's right hand. He should, with his godly, powerful fingers play the keyboard of our heart and move us through the holy wind of his word, so that through our bodies, our feet and our hands, our senses and thoughts and all of our emotion gives a continuously holy and lovely harmony and resonance, and thereby the strings, keyboard and sound are attuned with the hearts, just as faith is attuned with works and deeds.[99]

Here, the organ is presented as an instrument which functions literally as the body of the faithful, who responds to the "wind" of God's word through the guidance of the Holy Spirit/organist. The organist allows the congregation to be moved and to become a "continuously holy and lovely harmony."

Especially in North Germany, organists used their instruments as an instrumental ensemble or like a vocal chorus, playing with the different possible timbres and the different divisions of the organ to create a piece that did not just exist in the dimension of time, but also in the three-dimensional space of the church building. Often the solo verses were played on the *Rückpositiv*, a division closest to

[98] A languid is a plate of metal or wood, installed horizontally into the mouth of the pipe, which helps to direct the wind out of the mouth of the pipe.

[99] Translation mine.

the congregation, while the other voices accompanied the melody from the *Hauptwerk* or *Brustwerk*.

The Role of the Lutheran Organist

Those musicians employed by the church were lucky that their positions were fairly stable. Unlike a court or other patron, the churches in Hamburg had a naturally steady source of revenue that was not as affected by wartime rationing.[100] Two of the principal positions for a church musician were "organist" and "cantor." Jacob Praetorius, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Johann Adam Reincken all served as organists. Arnfried Edler thoroughly considers the differences between these terms and asserts that the organist/cantor position became much more professional, and not just a "spiritual" office as it had been before the seventeenth century. In the new paradigm, the organist and the cantor separated into different positions. Originally, the cantor, a superior of the organist (just under rector and conrector), lead all the church music, taught in the Latin school, held a baccalaureate, and gave lessons in music theory. The organist represented the town instrumentalists, he was not necessarily a scholar, and he held the social status of a *Spielmann*.[101] By the seventeenth century, however, the Lutheran church changed the status of the organist and at that time "the members of the congregation had to listen to his music as attentively as to the sermon of the preacher, even if the music was without

[100] Gisela Jaacks, "Kunst contra Krieg? Die Kultur der norddeutschen Hansestädte zwischen religiösen und politischen Auseinandersetzungen in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," in *375 Jahre Scherer-Orgel Tangermünde*, ed. Christoph Lehmann (Berlin: Verlag Freimut & Selbst, 2005), p. 33.

[101] Edler, p. 25.

words… The cantor, placed with his choir on the opposite side of the church, performed figural music, i.e., the great works of polyphony, only in high solemn services."[102] This new and important role for the organist frames our understanding of the role of the chorale fantasia, as an artistic and theological statement that was intended to be listened to. Unlike Sweelinck's chorale variations, which accompanied Amsterdammers' promenading, talking, and relaxing, the Lutheran organist's chorale fantasia was a musical testimony meant for quiet contemplation.

Sweelinck's musical role remained wholly outside of the liturgy, but the organists in Hamburg had many different responsibilities. Fredrick Gable states that "the Lutheran liturgy in the main churches of Hamburg and other large cities generally adhered closely to the practices established in the years shortly after the Reformation." The liturgies included: Johannes Bugenhagen's *Kirchenordnung* (1529), a document by Johannes Aepin (1556), and Franz Eler's *Cantica sacra* (1588). The clergy used at least one of the three of these in Hamburg until a new liturgy was ordered in 1699.[103] In his chapter "Hamburg Organists in Lutheran Worship," William Porter outlines the musical responsibilities in liturgy as established by Johannes Aepin (see Table 3). Gable comments that the service itself would have been "be viewed as a kind of *Gesamtkunstwerk*, affecting the listeners at the intellectual, artistic, emotional, sensual, and spiritual levels. In Lutheran worship the congregation not only listens but participates and thus becomes even more fully

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[103] Gable, ed., p. xiii – xiv.

immersed in the experience."[104] In other words, in the Lutheran church, the "sensual appeal" of Roman Catholicism was focused almost entirely on music.

Table 3. The Order of Service in Hamburg[105]

The Order of the Mass in Hamburg	
German psalm	Organist played once or twice between verses
Latin motet	(Only on feast days)
Kyrie	Organist
Gloria	Organist
Alleluia or German psalm	(Sung)
Gospel	Organist played between verses
Sermon	
Vater unser	(Sung) - organist played afterward
Communion hymn	Organist played between verses
The Order of Matins and Vespers	
Responsories	Organist
Hymns	
Benedictus	
Magnificat	
Benedicamus	

Porter suggests that the organists probably played even more than was officially dictated by the liturgy, given the large body of motet intabulations and *praeludia*, and also because the organist played whenever the choir was not present, and since there was only one choir for the four principal churches in Hamburg, the keyboardists must have had to fill in a lot.[106] Fredrick Gable's evidence for improvisation in the Lutheran liturgy arises from the existing musical record of the performance of Magnificat settings, which suggests that organists likely improvised

[104] *Ibid.*, p. xxi.

[105] Porter, p. 62.

[106] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

between the choral verses because many of the extant settings do not include organ parts for all of the verses for which the organist would have been responsible. The composers left many "incomplete" Magnificat sets, suggesting that something other than written music happened in between the choral verses.[107]

In his discussion of the order of service for the dedication, Gable cites Michael Praetorius to suggest moments in the service where the organist may have improvised. Almost all of these happen before large choral pieces, as short preludes. They are usually in the mode of the following piece and are meant to introduce and give the notes of the opening intonation. Gable puts the free or improvised organ music before the Kyrie, before the Alleluia, after the Sermon, before the Te Deum, before the communion motet, and before the final chorale. Edler suggests that organists would not have written down the entire musical work to be improvised, writing that "it was generally considered a disgrace for an organist to execute pieces 'from the tablature' instead of improvising upon the tunes of the occasion."[108] Although the longest examples of chorale-based music that we will examine would probably not have been possible without some kind of notation, many of the figurations included in the music have their origins in these improvisatory moments in the Lutheran church service.

So, what were people supposed to be doing during these long sessions of largely improvised organ music? Mithobius, who was, as mentioned above, a

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[107] Frederick Gable, "Alternation Practice and Seventeenth-Century German Organ Magnificats," in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Hamburgs vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH, 2001), p. 134.

[108] Edler, p. 31.

staunch defender of organ music, explained in 1665 that: "While the organ is playing, each student in the choir must read sermons, meditations, or little prayers, and not be otherwise seen or heard."[109] This suggests that students were supposed to be quiet and meditative, even if they were not completely focusing on the music. Adults were likely encouraged to do the same. Criscuola de Laix writes that: "For adult congregants who chose to follow this example, the psalms and canticles of the offices, conveniently printed in the hymnbook, would have made appropriate reading material. Like the books of hours that Catholics brought to church to pray from during Mass, the hymnbook, too, could be used for silent devotion during a sung liturgy – even if the printed text did not quite match the service being sung."[110] In contrast to the hubbub of Sweelinck's Oude Kerk, where his chorale variations mingled with many other kinds of activities, the Lutheran organists presented solo chorale-based organ music to a (mostly) quiet audience, who were expected to listen and ponder the music as they might a pastor's sermon. The size of the instruments, often including a *Hauptwerk*, a *Rückpositiv*, a *Brustwerk*, and a large pedal tower, would have helped to drown out whatever peripheral noise might have been generated by a restless congregation. The difference between the environments in Hamburg and Amsterdam has a profound effect on the organ music created for them, as we will see in the following three chapters.

[109] Gable, p. 144.

[110] Esther Victoria Criscuola de Laix, "Cultures of Music Print in Hamburg, ca. 1550-1630" (Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2009), p. 106-7.

CHAPTER III

JAN PIETERSZOON SWEELINCK

In order to fully understand the "North German Chorale Fantasia" of this study's title, we need to start with the keyboard music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. In this chapter, I will briefly survey Sweelinck's entire oeuvre, discuss the role of improvisation in his music, describe the musical elements of his chorale variations, and analyze several of these sets of variations in order to determine how Sweelinck employed musical texture in his compositions.

History has preserved Sweelinck's vocal music much better than his keyboard music, mostly because he was compelled to publish the former, while the latter only survived through copies scribbled down, likely as improvisational templates for the benefit of his many talented students. In Table 4, we see that the extant vocal music outweighs the keyboard music by more than three to one. This does not necessarily mean that he considered vocal music more important. His fame as the "Orpheus of Amsterdam" resulted largely from the number of important organists who came to prominence after studying both composition and keyboard with him.

Table 4 – Sweelinck's Oeuvre[111]

Sweelinck's Oeuvre	Number	Genre Type
Vocal	254	Chansons (33) Madrigals (19) Motets (39) Psalms (153) Canons (8)
Keyboard	c.70	Echo Fantasias (5) Fantasias (13) Ricercar (1) Toccata (14) Sacred Variations (12) Secular Variations (10)

Secular Vocal Works

Sweelinck's chansons and madrigals are contrapuntal and emphasize musical lines over extreme text painting, although the compositions often reflect a basic and simple reference to the text. Sweelinck picks from a variety of different kinds of poems, from light and teasing to dark and introspective. The texts deal with predictable themes: love, nature, the senses, youth and death. The pieces are in Italian and French, but never in Dutch. This is not particularly unusual for a composer from Amsterdam, and shows that although Sweelinck rarely traveled outside of the city, he considered himself a cultured musician, able to keep up with both the local composers in Amsterdam and other continental composers. On the

[111] Because so little remains in Sweelinck's hand (only four canons are known in autograph), there has been considerable debate over the years about a body of music with some association with his legitimate compositions but not enough to escape the attribution of "dubious." This makes a definitive tally of Sweelinck's keyboard music nearly impossible. The part of this table dealing with vocal works comes from the works list in the Sweelinck entry in Grove Music Online, written by Randall F. Tollefson and Pieter Dirksen. The keyboard portion of the table comes from the more recent research found in Pieter Dirksen's *The Keyboard Music of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: Its Style, Significance and Influence.*

surface, these vocal works do not seem to have much to do with his keyboard music but a closer examination shows that Sweelinck used the same compositional philosophy in all of his music. A brief survey of his sacred and secular vocal music can help us to situate his keyboard music within his total output and help us further understand what he might have offered students as a teacher and a composer.

One typical example of Sweelinck's secular vocal music is *Un sol bacio ti dono,* an Italian madrigal from his *Rimes françoises et italiennes* (1612), his last secular publication.[112] Using only two to three voices, these pieces were designed to be lighter and easier than his sacred compositions from the same period, which were mostly psalm settings. Sweelinck may have been writing these lighthearted pieces to get practice in the style or to provide examples for his students. Many of Sweelinck's Italian *Rimes* are reworkings of preexisting pieces by such composers as Luca Marenzio, Domenico Ferrabosco, Giovanni de Macque, and Andrea Gabrieli. *Uno sol bacio ti dono* does not seem to be based on an earlier model. Because many of his *Rimes* are lighter and simpler than his more complex vocal psalms, they provide a good point of comparison for his variations on sacred tunes, which are also somewhat simple, didactic pieces.

In *Un sol bacio ti dono*, Sweelinck's compositional style seems to be quite different from his keyboard music in some ways, but similar in others. Four of the elements of his vocal style as evidenced by this piece do not translate to the more

[112] Although Sweelinck does not use the terms "chanson" or "madrigal," the *Rimes* contain 12 and 15 of each, respectively. Dirksen suggests that Sweelinck avoids the more commonly used terms to emphasize the "airy" nature of this collection. Pieter Dirksen, "The Secular Vocal Works of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck," in *Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: The Secular Vocal Works (CD Liner Notes)* (San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Spain: Glossa, 2009), p. 18.

improvisational style of the keyboard music. (Appendix B contains the full score for *Un sol bacio ti dono.*) First, as with many of Sweelinck's vocal pieces, *Un sol bacio ti dono* opens with a contrapuntal section that uses a point of imitation for each voice (measures 1-3). In contrast, Sweelinck's keyboard pieces tend to open with a single chord, or with a very simple *bicinium* texture. Second, Sweelinck's use of direct text painting for phrases like "Ingrata, e ti lamenti" or "di che?" (measures 7-14) differs from his keyboard music, which rarely, if ever refers to the text. It seems he was much more interested in the sacred tunes as basic building material, than in referring explicitly to the text.. This is particularly true in his sacred variations, where textual references would have been almost impossible to make, given the strophic nature of the tunes on which they were based. Third, because he was not reacting to text, Sweelinck's keyboard pieces seem to have much longer sections of similar texture than quick changes between sustained and active phrases more common in his vocal music (compare the musical styles employed in measures 25-31). Finally, in his vocal music Sweelinck uses thick contrapuntal textures, even in a "light" piece (in this case, three voices). In contrast, Sweelinck's keyboard music tends to have only short sections of thick four-voiced texture.

Having just illuminated some of the unique aspects of Sweelinck's vocal ensemble writing, I contend that many of the compositional elements in his keyboard and choral music are similar. Some of the similarities between the two groups include: simple harmonic progressions (throughout *Un sol bacio ti dono*); melismatic flourishes near the ends of phrases (measures 36 to the end); pedal points with upper voices in flourishes (measures 40-42); staggered voice entries at

the beginning of the piece (measures 1-3); and, finally, brief switches to triple meter, often about three-quarters of the way through the piece (measures 25-26). Table 5 gives an overview of Sweelinck's *Rimes françoises et italiennes* and shows how and where the metrical change takes place.

Although *Un sol bacio ti dono* provides a general example of Sweelinck's secular vocal writing, a fuller picture comes with an example from a French chanson included in the *Rimes.* As it is the case in most of the French texts Sweelinck set, *Marchans qui traversez* comes from the pen of Philippe Desportes, a leading court poet in the court of Henry III. The poem is included in *Les Amours de Diane*, a collection of Petrarchan sonnets by Desportes published in 1573. The chanson, arranged for two voices makes use of long melismas to highlight the words "traversez" (travel, cross) and "les filets d'or" (golden tresses). Although the word painting is appropriate for an aural depiction of sea travel or flowing hair, it is also possible to perform this piece with two treble instruments (such as recorders), and in this context, the elements of the piece that emphasize the text are more purely musical elements. One can tell that this music is not a part of a keyboard improvisation on a chorale tune because the counterpoint between the voices is too complex, but the individual voices are similar to the kind of freely moving passagework in one of Sweelinck's chorale variations.

Table 5. Sweelinck's *Rimes françoises et italiennes (1612)*

Title	**Length (in measures)**	**Meter change (and approximate point in the piece that the change occurs)**
Voicy du gay printemps	77	54 (70%)
Io mi son giovinetta	54	None – slower notes around ms 30
Morir non puo'l mio cor	62	None
Che giova posseder	57	None
Lascia filli mia cara	56	32 (57%), 43 (77%)
Facciam, cara mia File	45	None
Per te rosa gentile	44	26 (59%), 35 (80%)
Un sol bacio ti dono	45	25
Vaga gioia amorosa	39	5
Dolci labri amorosi	40	24 (60%), 38-40 (95%)
Qual vive Salamandra	45	None
Amor, io sent'un respirar	33	None
Dolcissimo ben mio	42	None
Jamais n'avoir	47	12, 16, 35 (74%)
Ricco amante son'io	37	None
Pater noster	57	None

Sacred Vocal Works

Sweelinck published two principal collections of sacred vocal works, a polyphonic setting of the Genevan psalter[113] and a set of Latin motets titled *Cantiones Sacrae* (Antwerp 1619). Published near the end of his life, the *Cantiones Sacrae* consist of 37 settings of Latin texts from the Catholic liturgy.[114]

The pieces within the *Cantiones Sacrae* are not connected through text sequence, modal relationships, or chronological development but they do exhibit some common compositional elements that are also found in Sweelinck's keyboard music. In his thesis, "Sweelinck's '*Schwanengesang*': A Study of Style and Transition in the *Cantiones Sacrae* (1619) of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck," John Dieter Bowman suggests that the compositional writing of the *Cantiones Sacrae* seems to show influences of Sweelinck's keyboard music. He writes: "it is not surprising that Sweelinck's writing in the *Cantiones sacrae* should reflect the synthesis of vocal and instrumental influences which he had already refined in his compositions for organ."[115] In other words, the skills that Sweelinck refined as an organ composer filtered through to his later compositions for vocal ensembles. This is a possible

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[113] The psalm settings were published in four volumes, the last posthumously: *Cinquante pseaumes de David, mis en musique* (Amsterdam 1604); *Livre second des pseaumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique* (Amsterdam 1613); *Livre troisieme des pseaumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique* (Amsterdam 1614); *Livre quatriesme et conclusionnal des pseaumes de David, nouvellement mis en musique* (Haarlem, 1621).

[114] The existence of this collection has been used to suggest that Sweelinck secretly held on to his Catholic faith, even though he was not allowed to practice it in Amsterdam. In any case, the *Cantiones Sacrae* provoke some interesting questions about performance practice, since they would not have been part of the service at the Oude Kerk. The motets may have been performed at musical gatherings organized by Sweelinck and his friends.

[115] John Dieter Bowman, "Sweelinck's '*Schwanengesang*': A Study of Style and Transition in the *Cantiones Sacrae* (1619) of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck" (The University of Cincinnati College-Conservatory of Music, 1972), p. 139.

conclusion about the compositional process, although another plausible explanation for similarities between the vocal and keyboard music is the fact that composers' brains are not as compartmentalized as scholars' genre boxes.

Because Sweelinck held his position as organist of the Oude Kerk throughout his whole life, we can assume that he produced organ music throughout his career, even if it existed in manuscript or as an unwritten, aural improvisational template. For this reason, we cannot assume that he composed organ music as a young man and then switched to vocal music near the end of his life. As is clear from the publication of the four volumes of Genevan Psalms (in the years 1603, 1613, 1614, and 1621), he composed vocal music throughout his life, so it only seems plausible that all of his musical impulses cross-pollinated one another. Sweelinck likely viewed all his music through a single lens, with some distinctions between instrumentation, either vocal ensembles or keyboard. All this is to state that similarities we can hear in the Sweelinck's music are probably not part of a cause-and-effect sequence, but rather a reflection of his general compositional process.

One important compositional feature that seems shared between both kinds of compositions is the way Sweelinck defines important cadences. Bowman mentions five basic ways in which Sweelinck defines his important cadential moments in the *Cantiones Sacrae* – and they seem to mirror the cadential approaches found in his keyboard music.[116]

1. Use of a pedal point
2. Slowing down of the harmonic rhythm

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 66.

3. Rhythmic figuration in one or two voices with no harmonic change
4. Ornamented suspension in one or two voices
5. Completion of text and strong point of repose – followed by obvious extension

All these treatments of the vocal texture can also be found in Sweelinck's keyboard music. For example, the final cadence of the set of variations on *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott*, displays the same cadential techniques (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Sweelinck, *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott* (mm. 265-269)

Although none of these compositional elements are exclusively found in Sweelinck's music, they show that he was remarkably consistent in the way that he set up cadences in both his keyboard and vocal music. In addition, these similarities may tell us something about the way Sweelinck approached the composition of his choral and vocal music. It may even suggest that we ought to focus less on the chronology of Sweelinck's works than on his compositional technique.

Sweelinck was the first Dutch composer to set the Genevan psalms (both texts and tunes) polyphonically. Other composers, including Clemens non Papa, Gherardus Mes, and Cornelius Boscoop, set the *Souterliedekens*, the first metrical translation of the psalms in Dutch, which was probably made by Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt, and then set to music and published by Simon Cock in 1540.

In his pieces based on the French metrical Psalter by Marot and Bèze, Sweelinck treats the psalm tune in three different ways: (1) as verses with cantus firmus in one or more parts, (2) with freely treated cantus firmus, or (3) without cantus firmus. Of all the psalm settings, he only leaves out the cantus firmus five times. Although this music would have been approved by the Calvinist clergy in Amsterdam (because of the text), there would have been no place for it in the service, as polyphonic music was not allowed during Sweelinck's time. Frits Noske suggests that adults (likely amateurs) performed the psalms and that a female voice held the top line. Records from later in the seventeenth century suggest that rehearsal around the choir organ was common, perhaps with Sweelinck or one of his students at the bench.[117]

Perhaps one of the best ways to compare Sweelinck's compositional vocal and keyboard approaches is to look at his settings of Psalm 23. (The full scores for both the vocal and keyboard setting of Psalm 23 can be found in Appendix E.) Sweelinck did not set very many psalms both for voice and for the keyboard, (or

[117] Noske relates a passage from a letter from Olivier de Raffelis (French minister in The Hague) to Constantijn Huygens from September 1641: "Last Thursday Mr. Milleville tried [the newly built organ in the Koosterkerk] for the first time in our presence, that is, ten or twelve people, and we joined our voices to the instrument, which sounded well.'" Noske, p. 65.

there are not many remaining, anyway) but his settings of Psalm 23 are an exception.[118] The keyboard setting of Psalm 23 is one of a few chorale-based pieces that have survived "anonymously," but Pieter Dirksen and Harald Vogel have concluded that it can be attributed to Sweelinck.[119] In general, it seems that Sweelinck did not overtly refer to the text of the chorale tunes he used for his sets of keyboard variations. But, by comparing the two settings, we can see whether any of the obvious text-painting from his vocal settings found their way into a more subtle presence in the keyboard music.

Both pieces include three full statements of the chorale tune, corresponding to the three verses of the Genevan psalm:

> Mon Dieu me paît sous sa puissance haute
> C'est mon berger, de rien je n'aurai faute.
> En toict bien seur, joignant les beaux herbages,
> Coucher me fait, me mene aux clairs rivages,
> Traite ma vie en douceur tres-humaine,
> Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers me mene.
>
> Si seurement, que quand au val viendroye,
> D'ombre de mort, rien de mal ne craindroye
> Car avec moy tu es à chacune heure:
> Puis ta houlette et conduite m'asseure.
> Tu enrichis de vivres necessaries
> Ma table aux yeux de tous mes adversaries.

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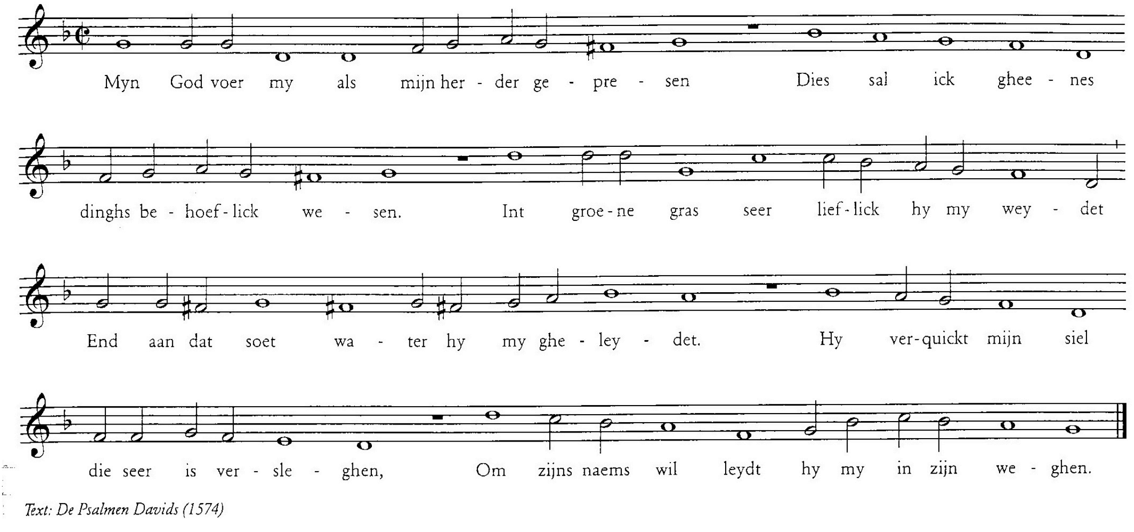
[118] There are two other pieces loosely connected by text, but comparing them is not much help. Sweelinck set a version of the Lord's Prayer in the style of a madrigal (*Pere de nous, qui es là haut és cieux*) but it does not use a psalm or chorale tune so it is not comparable with the keyboard setting of *Vater unser im Himmelreich,* which, in any case, Dirksen and Vogel have concluded, is spurious.

[119] The tablature for *Psalm 23* is found in a manuscript in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, *Lynar B2* (LyB2). It is found in a group of works, which also includes *O Lux Beata Trinitas*, *Psalm 60,* and *O Gott du unser Vater bist,* which are sandwiched between two authenticated works, *Psalm 116* and *Die 10 Gebott Gottes*. Because of the stylistic similarities between this music and Sweelinck's general style, and because of the reliability of the two works bookending the group, Vogel and Dirksen have concluded that they are very likely authentic. Vogel, p. 19-22.

Tu oings mon chef d'huiles et senteurs bonnes,
Et jusqu'aux bords pleine tasse me donnes:
Voire et feras que ceste faveur tiene
Tant que vivray compagnie me tiene:
Si que tousjours de faire ay Esperance
En les maison du Seigneur demeurance.

Sweelinck's chorale variation setting of Psalm 23 for keyboard, *Psalm 23 Mein Hüter und mein Hirt* is very straightforward in each variation, even in those where the melodic notes of the chorale tune are linked by melismatic motives. (See Figure 2 for the psalm tune on which the variations are based.)

Figure 2. ***Psalm 23***[120]



Although embellished in the first and last variations of the keyboard set, the chorale tune remains unembellished in the middle variation. The middle verse of the

[120] Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Volume 3: Variations on Chorales and Psalms*, ed. Pieter Dirksen and Harald Vogel, 4 vols., Complete Keyboard Works (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2004), p. 157.

choral version is also the only version to use an unembellished iteration of the chorale tune. This special treatment of the second verse may be related to the text, which is from the second part of the poetic version of the psalm, where the text is most poignant, referencing "valley of the shadow of death," and "thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me." Because he chooses to set this iteration of the chorale tune without any ornament or embellishment in both the choral and keyboard versions, it is possible to surmise that Sweelinck may have been alluding to the plain and desolate quality of death in those sections.

As it is in all his psalm settings, the choral version of Psalm 23 relies heavily on imitative textures. The choral piece begins with a four-voice texture, with each successive verse of the text adding one more voice part. The first two verses are very sensitive to the text, not in that they are overtly painting the text, but the music here closely reflects the grammatical structure. For example, Sweelinck makes the first statement of "C'est mon berger" in the cantus and altus voices quite audible above the activity of the lower voices by setting them in half notes (see Figure 3).[121] He later treats the phrase "Traite ma vie" similarly, emphasizing the text in the cantus and bassus voices (see Figure 4). The musical structure created through this kind of attentiveness to the text is what sets Sweelinck's choral music apart from the music of his keyboard chorale variations. The independence of the voice parts is rarely found in the keyboard variations, and I believe this only emphasizes the idea that Sweelinck created the variations through improvisations, not through a

[121] Given the many different types of notational systems used by Sweelinck and his students in their vocal and keyboard music (including tablature), I will refer to the note values as they are presented in the modern edition of the music as noted in the footnote.

compositional process that would have allowed for complicated working out of counterpoint.

Figure 3. Sweelinck, *Pseaume 23: Mon Dieu me paît sous sa puissance* (mm. 5-7)[122]

The third verse of the keyboard version begins with a staggered, fugue-like entrance of the voices before the third voice (and melody) begins. Those four measures are imitative, although the rest of the piece is basically homophonic. Like the third verse of the keyboard version, the third verse of the choral piece emphasizes the counterpoint of the various vocal lines over the grammar of the phrases. The texture is very thick and smooth, and unlike the first two verses, there is rarely a break to hear the text clearly.

[122] Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *Opera omnia, editio altera quam edendam curavit*, vol. 3. Livre second, des Pseaumes de David (Amsterdam: G. Alsbach, 1960), p. 51.

Figure 4. Sweelinck, *Pseaume 23: Mon Dieu me paît sous sa puissance* (mm. 23-25)[123]

Although there are many differences between the vocal and the keyboard versions of Psalm 23, there are also some subtle links between them that suggest that Sweelinck may have thought about their construction as being related to each other. The vocal psalm was published in 1604, and while we cannot know for sure when Sweelinck wrote down his keyboard version, the similarities in organization (three sections, corresponding to three verses, with full cadences at the end of each section, the middle verse uses an unembellished chorale tune, and the third verses are the most contrapuntally set of the three) suggest that he may have had the organization of the choral version in mind when improvising on the same tune on the keyboard. This could be true, even if the motives embellishing the chorale tune are not the same between the two pieces. If the keyboard piece grew from an improvisation, it would not have had the same motives as the chorale, but may have had a similar overall organization.

[123] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

A comparison of Sweelinck's keyboard and vocal versions of Psalm 23 shows that the kinds of musical elements common to both his vocal and instrumental writing were largely structural or formal. It does not seem that he was interested in copying identical motives, melodies or rhythms from one piece to the other, but may have used a similar kind of template when organizing pieces that incorporated chorale tunes. This is key because it suggests that Sweelinck may have considered these elements important when teaching his students. Through their study of his written-down music (such as the sacred and secular vocal works) and his improvisations (such as those reflected in the extant chorale variations), his students were able to see how Sweelinck used musical texture and discrete musical sections to create musical drama.

Sweelinck's Keyboard Music

Sweelinck's compositions for keyboard fall into two basic types: free works (toccatas and fantasias), and variations (based on either sacred or secular tunes), as we can see in Table 6.

Table 6. Sweelinck's Keyboard Music

Toccatas	Fantasias	Echo Fantasias	Secular Variations	Sacred Variations
14	16	8	10	16

There are clear differences between the types, despite their similarities in stylistic details. Sweelinck's more than a dozen toccatas exhibit a mix of virtuosic

passagework and fugato sections that may have been a useful source of pedagogical material. It is worth mentioning that although the toccatas are the best represented among any of Sweelinck's genres, his students rarely contributed to the genre.[124] Perhaps this is due to the difference between Sweelinck's job description and that of his students: whereas Sweelinck had to produce a lot of background music before and after services, his students needed to contribute liturgically appropriate and chorale-based music for each service throughout the week.

Sweelinck's fantasias contain more strictly fugal passages separated into several discrete sections and Tollefson and Dirksen have suggested that these pieces are important forerunners to the monothematic fugue.[125] The echo fantasias are a distinctive Sweelinckian genre that uses florid passagework in the right hand, accompanied by a rather static chordal structure in the left hand. The right-hand passages are repeated on a different manual, creating an echo effect.

Sweelinck's secular keyboard variations are usually based on the expansion and manipulation of a part of the tune on which the piece is based. The alteration of this melodic idea helps to form the connective material between each separate variation. As with the sacred variations, Sweelinck creates a series of related variations on the same tune, not a potpourri of discrete musical sections. Unlike the sacred variations, the secular pieces have been preserved without too many errors

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[124] Heinrich Scheidemann and Samuel Scheidt are the exceptions, although fewer than five toccatas remain from each composer. Dirksen, p. 100.

[125] Randall H. Tollefsen, and Pieter Dirksen, "Sweelinck, Jan Pieterszoon," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 10 April 2013. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27206.

in transmission.[126] It is possible that because Sweelinck's secular variations were intended for private concerts for music aficionados, they would have been worked out more carefully in advance and would have shed some of their improvisatory characteristics. In other words, the secular works are better transmitted because they were individual artistic statements of the author, thought out and written down. Sacred variations, even in Sweelinck's non-liturgical context, had a distinct purpose and audience. Organists improvised these chorale-based pieces for the congregation and then reproduced the musical experience every week. His students, who may have copied the notes to the variations, would have used them even more during the liturgical services in Hamburg.

A few general hallmarks of Sweelinck's style in his keyboard works include: simple harmonic patterns, florid figuration, and repeated patterns. This is especially true in his sacred variations. Unlike the fantasias and the secular variations, which can use more complex contrapuntal writing, the sacred variations generally employ a much more practical and simple style. Many of them seem to use the sacred tune only as a vehicle around which to construct an uncomplicated, improvisatory accompaniment. Sweelinck's free works reflect his knowledge of those by Italian composers like Claudio Merulo and others, although Sweelinck's passagework is not as flashy as that of the Italians.[127] Sweelinck's chorale variations draw on music by the English composers Peter Phillips and John Bull, and we can see some of the influence of their figural patterns, especially the long sections of simple scale-work

[126] Dirksen, p. 108.

[127] Tollefsen, accessed 30 May 2013.

and sequences of short melodic ideas, in his keyboard music.[128] Despite this, his chorale variation form, with its ordered grouping of individual variations is unique to his style, as we will explore later.

The chorale variations are generally less tightly organized than the fantasias, perhaps because they are built around longer, more song-derived subjects. The counterpoint is thicker in the fantasias because Sweelinck was not worried about including a long chorale tune or featuring its melody above the texture of the other voices. The fantasias are generally much more chromatic, as they are not bound by a (mostly) diatonic chorale melody. In contrast, the sacred variations are much simpler in construction.

According to the descriptions provided by Huygens and others, most of Sweelinck's keyboard music would have been appropriate for the duties he performed as an organist, so it is clear that he did not reserve a simple style for sacred music and a more complex, contrapuntal style for extra-ecclesiastical purposes. Noske writes that "keyboard settings of sacred tunes were quite common in the sixteenth century, but there can be no doubt that Sweelinck was the first to compose variation cycles on liturgical melodies. As these had no function in the Calvinist service, he must have written them for performance during his daily concerts."[129] While the pieces may have been sacred by virtue of their borrowed material, they had no real liturgical purpose. Nevertheless, a performance of these kinds of pieces would have been part of Sweelinck's job at the Oude Kerk.

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[128] Noske, p. 68.

[129] *Ibid.,* p. 104.

Sweelinck probably did not create the chorale variations according to a strict formula, but they have a clear pedagogical purpose. For, the many students who came to study with Sweelinck would have been interested in learning from a wide variety of his work, it is possible that one of their first tasks was to learn how to create a chorale variation. In her book, *Improvisation and Pedagogy through Heinrich Scheidemann's Magnificat Settings*, Karin Nelson suggests that the varying styles present in these compositions could have been a kind of written pedagogical method. She compares this idea with Conrad Paumann's *Fundamentum organisandi,* which gives a series of exercises as a pedagogical method. Nelson writes, "If Sweelinck followed a method similar to Paumann's, the progression of compositions would have been determined from a pedagogical perspective. Given the students' differing abilities, each would have been assigned an individual progression, and therefore the teacher Sweelinck would have needed pedagogical material to present at the lessons."[130] Whether he presented that material as written notes or as verbal instructions during lessons, this theory does more to explain the mix of complexity levels found in Sweelinck's variation sets than Pieter Dirksen's theory that the different styles/piece lengths correspond to "early, middle, and late" periods of his compositional life.[131]

[130] Nelson, p.110-111.

[131] Dirksen, p. 501. I give a more thorough discussion of Dirksen's ideas in the Introduction, pp. 10-16.

Improvisation and Form

One of the most important questions that my study is concerned with is the degree to which improvisation influenced the creation of Sweelinck's chorale variations. How might our modern ideas about improvisation differ from Sweelinck's understanding of the concept? What role would improvisation have played in his own music production? How might he have incorporated those ideas into his teaching? How can we find written-down traces of improvisation in the music of Sweelinck and his students? Finally, how does the idea of improvisation change the way we look at Sweelinck's music?

First, it is helpful to define what I mean when I am discussing improvisation. Some scholars consider it mostly on a small-scale level, such as the ornamentation on top of the contrapuntal texture, such as written-out trills or turns. John Butt, for example, writes about the analysis of German Baroque music in such a way as to suggest that he views the improvisational aspects of the music to be limited to ornamentation. He writes:

> The conception of the compositional style as heavily influenced by ornamental figures is certainly an interesting view of the relationship between the roles of composer and performer in the German Baroque. If music can indeed be viewed from the standpoint of its status in that relationship, modern concerns for historical performance can more profitably be directed towards that which lies notated in the music itself. Analysis would play a more important part in the determination of a legitimate interpretation, since much of the desired historical

> performance style lies already encoded in the music, itself a distillation of 'original' performance practices.[132]

Here, he is writing about the roles of the "composer" and "performer" as distinct but connected by "ornamental figures." He states that we can learn how to create music like that of those composers by studying the ornaments as they are realized in the notated music, and use them to creatively embellish other compositions from the same period. I believe that in order to fully understand the way Sweelinck and his students created and performed music, we have to use a broad definition of improvisation that includes the creation and organization of larger musical blocks. Indeed, much of the improvisational heritage of chorale fantasias is not just in the motives and figurations, but in the large-scale form as well. Analysis of this kind of music generally seems to suggest that if improvisation did happen, it was at the level of the motive, but "composition in performance" would likely not have been restricted to just trills and ornaments. In his chorale variations, Sweelinck builds the compositions from groups of small motives into larger blocks of music that can be moved to create varying sequences of kinetic and static musical motion.

Partly due to the nature of multi-part vocal music, composers made clear differentiations between writing and improvising the music in those genres. There were, of course, some kinds of vocal improvisation, but in general, the complicated demands of the music required the composers to commit their thoughts to paper in order for performance to take place. In her book *Composers at Work,* Jessie Ann

[132] Butt, p. 150.

Owens has written about the traces of unwritten music that we can see in manuscripts before the seventeenth century. [133] The vast majority of the music she assesses is vocal music, not solo instrumental music. Because complex contrapuntal improvisation is less possible with a large group of performers, such as a choir or instrumental ensemble, some of the limitations she sees in creating the music at the instrument do not apply to organists. In her chapter "Composing Without Writing," she acknowledges that trying to tease out the traces of unwritten music in extant compositions is difficult but that trying to do so can be profitable because it helps us to understand the music better.

Owens includes two short passages from Vincenzo Galilei's *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna* that describe what happens when composers use an instrument in composition. In them, Galilei contrasts two kinds of performers. The first is one who can "make a mark both with the pen and with their playing." In order for a person to be excellent in both areas, he says they need the following: excellent education with a great master; diligent study of excellent music, including counterpoint; devoted study of the instrument; extensive travel; experience playing with other talented musicians; imagination; good judgment; excellent memory; healthy hands; and the patronage of wise and wealthy princes.[134] Galilei contrasts this well-rounded musician-composer with the performer who is not as adept at writing down that which he plays. He admits that these musicians might display a

[133] Jessie Ann Owens, *Composers at Work: The Craft of Musical Composition 1450-1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

[134] *Ibid.,* p.71.

certain "confidence" or "pride," (*fierezza)* but that "when they set themselves to writing down what they know go so slowly to put on paper that which they played earlier that some who look at and examine afterward what they have written judge it to be written by someone else."[135] In both of the descriptions, it is clear that Galilei recognizes the process of composing both at and away from an instrument, and prefers a musician who can do both with efficiency and excellence. Sweelinck would certainly have met with Galilei's approval. But, perhaps Sweelinck's students came to him possessing only the skills of the second performer in the description, and he tried to teach them all of the skills of the first. Many of those skills would have been necessary as a keyboard performer-composer: a thorough study of the instrument, excellent memory, healthy hands, imagination, and judgment. The fact that so many of his students became more well known for their organ music than their choral music also suggests that, while they studied formal composition with Sweelinck, they were also learning how to become efficient and effective players.

In fact, a skilled player could have improvised most of Sweelinck's variation sets and many of the pieces seem to form their own "microcosmic" composition school. For example, Psalm 140 works as a kind of catalog of small motives that organists might have learned as part of their training in improvisation. Many of the motives last for about two measures (for example, mm.11-12,) although some sequences spin out over a longer period. Sweelinck's chorale variations often begin

[135] *Ibid*., p.71.

with a *bicinium* texture, whether they are simple or complex pieces.[136] This kind of simple texture pits an unembellished chorale tune against a motivic accompaniment. Once the player was able to reproduce a variety of the appropriate patterns and play them in sequence, he could easily improvise this kind of texture. A student easily could have improvised the simple two-voiced variations and even the three-voiced variations usually rely on simple patterns such as chains of sixths and thirds against a slow-moving bass line.

A more intermediate-level piece for students would have been one that used some sort of "crescendo" form, where the variations become increasingly more complex. In these pieces the variations begin with two voices, build to three and might end with four. A good example of this kind of piece is *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*, which begins in a way that would have been easy to improvise, and then builds to a four-voice variation where the chorale tune remains unembellished but the accompaniment involves more complicated rhythms and contrapuntal voice entrances, as well as a brief shift to triple meter. The final variation would have been much more difficult to perform without a written guide, but would not have been impossible. After all, these people could read tablature!

Finally, Sweelinck composed a few variation sets in which the accompaniments are quite extensive and may have required some advance planning, either through writing some of it out, or by practicing the patterns thoroughly. Two

[136] *Die 10 Gebote Gottes* and *Psalm 116* are examples of simpler variation sets, while *Erbarm dich mein* is an example of a complex set.

good examples of pieces at this level include *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*, and *Allein zu dir Herr Jesu Christ*.

Sweelinck's set of six chorale variations on *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* is his most extensive work incorporating a chorale tune (see Figure 5 for the chorale tune). Of the six variations, the first is a *bicinium*, the second and fifth are bicinia with a chorale tune serving as a cantus firmus, the third and fourth incorporate four voices, (including a cantus firmus) and the final variation includes three voices passing around motives derived from the chorale tune. This piece is an excellent example of Sweelinck's usual textures, including fast figures that are actually the chorale tune in diminution, and a constantly varying flow of motive types and textures.

Figure 5. *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*[137]

[137] Sweelinck, p. 152.

Although *Erbarm dich* starts in the traditional *bicinium* texture, the second variation already presents a somewhat complex version of the three-voice form. The three voices are sometimes in chains of sixths over a pedal point, which would not be difficult to improvise, but those sections also mix sections that have imitative entrances. Then, in the third and fourth variations, Sweelinck writes in a grand and majestic style, which uses the chorale tune as a solo voice in the bass. This section would definitely have needed some planning, and enough experience at the organ that someone could have used the pedals in a contrasting way with the hands at the manuals, while using sixteenth-note embellishments. The fifth and sixth variations return to a somewhat less complicated three-voiced texture (the chorale melody against a series of thirds and sixths) although the rhythm gets much more challenging here, alternating between duple and triple meter.

Sweelinck's chorale variations can give us a clearer idea of how he might have organized music, from the small-scale detail to a larger, multi-variation structure. This organization is often ordered to incorporate a gradually more difficult series of textures that could have been improvised. But, in order to more fully understand the music, we need to see what kind of musical point Sweelinck was making with it.

How to Understand Sweelinck's Chorale Variations

Karin Nelson's book on Scheidemann offers some of the most helpful recent work in understanding the keyboard music of Sweelinck and his students. In her study, Nelson contends that one of the best ways to grasp Scheidemann's music is to

analyze it by classifying it into seven different "styles." Nelson bases her "styles" on Michael Praetorius' description of twelve compositional styles found in his own works. She distills them down to seven and then catalogs all the verses of the Magnificat settings according to the order and number of times that Scheidemann uses each different style.

Before I delve further into Nelson's analysis, I will mention a brief word about terminology. Nelson's use of the word "style" comes from her English translation of Michael Praetorius' introduction to Chapter VIII of his *Syntagma Musicum III*. The original German text reads as follows (the emphasis is mine):

> Ob zwar vnmüglich /alle vnnd jede mancherley **Arten** / jtziger zeit Componisten auff zuzeichnen vnd describiren: So hab ich doch gleichwol alhier nur etliche sonderlich diese / deren ich mich in meinen jsigen newen zwar geringen Operibus, Alß nemblich in den Polyhymniis gebraucht / notificiren vnd erklern wollen.

Nelson's translation reads:

> It is practically impossible for composers to describe every **style** of composition they use these days; nevertheless, I would like to explain several I have used, especially those found currently in my modest works, the *Polyhymnia*. Although there are others, the twelve principal styles are as follows:

While her use of the word "style," as a translation of the German "Arten," makes sense in the translation, it is less useful as a term for analysis. In truth, Nelson's use of the word "style" is a way of describing the different types of *musical texture* that

composers create in their music. In my opinion, the use of the word “style” invites a level of complexity that does not clarify the analytical purpose. For instance, Robert Pascall begins his definition of the term “style” this way:

> A term denoting manner of discourse, mode of expression; more particularly the manner in which a work of art is executed. In the discussion of music, which is orientated towards relationships rather than meanings, the term raises special difficulties; it may be used to denote music characteristic of an individual composer, of a period, of a geographical area or centre, or of a society or social function.[138]

This definition invites a whole host of issues that are not directly related to the present study. In contrast, Grove Music Online defines the term “texture” as the “sound aspects of a musical structure,” going on to specify that the term “may apply either to the vertical aspects of a work or passage, for example the way in which individual parts or voices are put together, or to attributes such as tone color or rhythm, or to characteristics of performance such as articulation and dynamic level.”[139] From this description, the term “texture” more accurately suits the present discussion, which basically deals with the combinations of various blocks of musical material in the music of Sweelinck and his pupils. As will be obvious from the

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[138]Robert Pascall, "Style," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 5 March, 2013.
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27041

[139] According to this unsigned article, the English word “texture” does not have an exact equivalent in any other language. "Texture," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 5 March, 2013.
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/27758

following charts, I will focus on the vertical and horizontal aspects of musical texture, more than on the performative aspects of articulation or dynamics. Henceforth, I will use the term "texture" where Nelson would use the term "style." Table 7 shows Nelson's classification system, and Table 8 proposes three additional musical texture types.[140] Following the prose descriptions in Tables 7 and 8, I have given musical examples of each texture type in Figure 6.

Table 7. Karin Nelson's "Styles" (Textures)[141]

The First Texture	*Insinuatio* – imitated voices [This idea is based in rhetorical studies, where the *principium* (an overt introduction) is counterbalanced with an *insinuatio,* which is a more subtle and covert introduction designed for "hostile audiences." Fugues are naturally part of this texture.]
The Second Texture	The *cantus firmus* in the bass voice in long note values. Motives in imitation in the top two voices, sometimes in canon or echoes. [This is usually a three-voiced texture. I am not limiting the *cantus firmus* to the bass voice, it also appears in the alto or soprano lines. In those cases, the florid voices swirl around or below an unembellished tune, which is in whole or half notes.]

[140] Nelson's short descriptions of the styles are clarified later in her book, using musical examples. I have distilled the important elements of those musical excerpts, and my comments (in brackets) follow her original descriptions.

[141] Nelson, p.183.

Table 7. Karin Nelson's "Styles" (Textures), continued

The Third Texture	Ostinato figures [Although Nelson is referencing the literal definition of ostinato – the repetition of a musical idea many times in succession – in practice, she is really referring to *stretto.* All of her musical examples show short musical ideas that are repeated in an overlapping fugal style, usually in a three- or four-voiced texture. This texture is similar to Texture 1, but is usually less strict.]
The Fourth Texture	Embellished melody, usually in the soprano voice, but may also be in the tenor voice. The other voices have the character of a *basso continuo* accompaniment. Usually two middle parts in the left hand and pedal. [This texture becomes very common in the chorale preludes of Sweelinck's Hamburg pupils.]
The Fifth Texture	One or more motives repeat as echoes, either on another manual or in another octave. [Sweelinck's echo fantasias make extensive use of this texture.]
The Sixth Texture	Sequential treatment of figures, for instance up a fifth [My use of this texture will include any continued repetition of a discrete musical motive, not just those that are treated in strict harmonic sequence.]

Table 7. Karin Nelson's "Styles" (Textures), continued

The Seventh Texture	Finale/coda – similar to the fourth style (texture), but with more of the character of a finale. The last measures may contain scales over the range of one or several octaves. [Often used as a short coda to slow the kinetic motion of the previous passage.]

Although Nelson uses this classification system to analyze music by Scheidemann, they turn out to also be useful in analyzing Sweelinck's chorale variations. There are some differences between the two composers, but in general all seven textures apply to Sweelinck's music. In order to provide a fuller picture of how this kind of classification system could help us to understand Sweelinck's chorale variations, I propose three additional musical textures:

Table 8. Additional Textures

The Eighth Texture	Metric change (usually duple/triple), or distinct change in the overall rhythm (for example, the introduction of dotted rhythms). Sweelinck's chorale variations often make a metric switch, usually in the final or penultimate variation.[142]

[142] Although meter and rhythm are more strictly musical parameters that produce a change in the texture, the sections to which I am referring here are discrete disruptions in the musical fabric and for that reason, I am including them amongst the types of musical texture. Because Sweelinck (and his students) primarily use duple meter and avoid dotted rhythms, these disruptions strike the ear as much as a change between a homophonic or melodic texture.

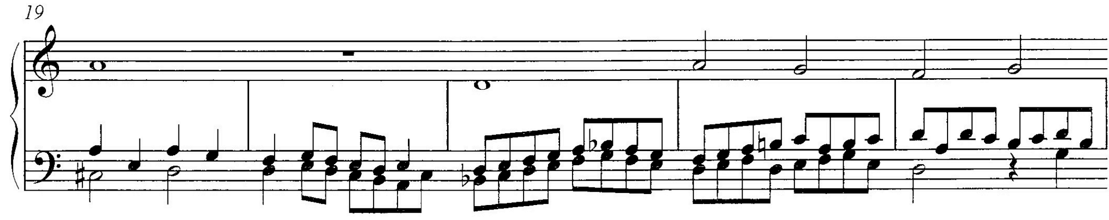
Table 8. Additional Textures, continued

The Ninth Texture	Scales. This texture often coincides with Texture 9 (the two-voiced texture), and is characterized by long scalar passages in one hand, with some kind of accompaniment pattern in the other hand.
The Tenth Style	Embellished homophony. Occasionally, Sweelinck simply moves from chord to chord, while using short embellishing passages between the harmonies.

Figure 6. Texture Types[143]

Texture 1. *Insinuatio – O Gott du unser Vater bist* (mm. 1-6)

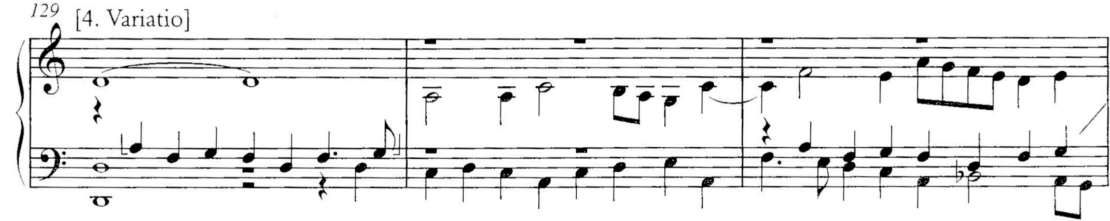
Texture 2. Cantus firmus - *O Gott du unser Vater bist* (mm. 19-23)



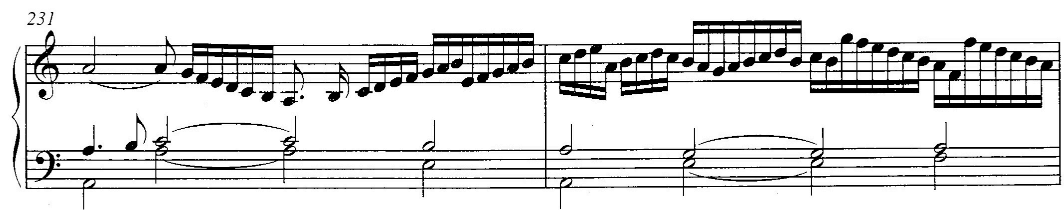
[143] All examples from Sweelinck, *Volume 3: Variations on Chorales and Psalms*.

Figure 6. Texture Types, continued

Texture 3. Ostinato – *Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ* (mm. 129-134)



Texture 4. Embellished melody – *Erbarm dich mein* (mm. 231-234)



Texture 5. Echoes – *Psalm 116* (mm. 117-120)

Texture 6. Sequences – *Psalm 23* (mm. 11-13)

Figure 6. Texture Types, continued

Texture 7. Coda – *Erbarm dich mein* (mm. 267-269)

Texture 8. Metric change – *Ich ruf zu dir* (mm. 267-269)

Texture 9. Scales – *Psalm 60* (mm. 64-66)

Texture 10. Embellished homophony – *Allein Gott in der Höh* (mm. 1-5)

In her analysis, Nelson summarizes each Magnificat verse measure by measure, showing how Scheidemann puts together the pieces by linking musical

sections using different textures. This is interesting, but she does not go on to explore how the sequence of textural styles might sound to the listener, or why these sequences might be important. To build on Nelson's work, I believe that it is helpful to look at her different textural classifications and to assess to what degree each one of them is static or dynamic. This means that I will try to describe the extent to which the textures propel or stop the action of the music. With this in mind, the textures seem to divide into two basic categories, as summarized in Table 9:

Table 9. Static and Dynamic Textures

Static	Texture 2 (Cantus firmus) Texture 4 (Embellished melody) Texture 5 (Echoes) Texture 6 (Sequences) Texture 7 (Coda) Texture 9 (Scales)
Dynamic	Texture 1 (Insinuatio) Texture 3 (Ostinato/stretto) Texture 8 (Metric/rhythmic change) Texture 10 (Embellished homophony)

The textures that fall into the *static* category tend to slow or stop the musical motion, either by moving through a very slow harmonic progression, or by including

melodic spinning or sequencing that repeats a similar idea.[144] In other words, the musical elements that define these textures often are: slow harmonic rhythm (usually one or two chords per bar), fast-moving accompaniment or embellishments, repeated notes, and scalar melodies. Because these textures do not rely on complicated contrapuntal rules, but rather on scalar, sequential, or repeated patterns, they are the kind that are most easily reproduced by less experienced improvisers. While the performer's brain is thinking about the next chord or harmonic progression, she can easily let her fingers repeat the same motivic pattern over and over.

The *dynamic* textures work in just the opposite way – through harmony and melody they keep the musical motion moving forward. The defining musical elements of these textures are: faster harmonic rhythm (usually every beat), contrapuntal or fugal textures, and metric or rhythmic shifts that keep the musical action moving forward. Dynamic textures are the most difficult to create in real time. In order to improvise in this style, one would need to be proficient not only in traditional keyboard "noodling" patterns, but also be able to string together imitative phrases and create logical harmonic progressions. Metaphorically speaking, if the dynamic textures are like a bicycle riding down the road, then the static textures function like a stationary bicycle, spinning and moving but not going forward or backward. (Musical examples of these styles will follow in the discussion

[144] As mentioned in the texture chart's description of Texture 6 (Sequences), this texture is not limited to a strict harmonic progression around the circle of fifths, but also includes any repeated series of similar melodic motives. Although many of the examples of Texture 6 involve both the harmony and the melody, my use of the term "sequence" refers more to a general sense of repetition, without specifying a "tonal sequence," "harmonic sequence," or so on. The emphasis on repetition in this texture allows it to function as a "static" type.

below.) These static and dynamic sections give Sweelinck's music a sense of balance, which is an essential part of his style.

This static/dynamic dichotomy is related to Frits Noske's method of organizing Sweelinck's music, which he calls *forma formans*, or "the form forming itself." In his theory, Sweelinck's music can be viewed as a growing, organic creation that is the opposite of Noske's notion of *forma formata* (the formed form), which describes music that displays a fixed, predetermined structure. The structure is, indeed, planned and yet organic at the same time. Noske believes that the organic nature of Sweelinck's music comes through his use of small musical motives, usually derived from the piece's principal theme (free works) or tune (chorale-based works). These small motives are then expanded and reduced in a way that reveals their improvisatory heritage.[145] The overall form emerges from the combination of the individual parts, rather than from conforming to a defined structure.

Noske describes three basic structural features in Sweelinck's music: acceleration, retardation, and stabilization.[146] When the music is in the acceleration phase, the small motives are placed more closely together, and if they are layered, they may start out far apart but start to overlap. In general, this seems to happen

[145] Although Noske's theory seems to fall in line with the idea that this kind of music came from an improvising tradition, where one musical section or motive might suggest the next in real time, Noske goes on to suggest that his ideas actually fall more in line with those scholars who believe that Sweelinck's extant music stems from a composed and written tradition. He writes, "Like his fantasias, Sweelinck's toccatas reveal their cunning inner organization only through analysis. When performed, they give the impression of spontaneity: a true *composition* is presented as if it were an extemporization." (Noske, p. 99.) Here, Noske is saying that he thinks that only the very easiest of Sweelinck's pieces would have been possible as improvisations and that most of them have too many internal structural complexities to have been improvised. As we will see, other scholars, especially those who are scholar-performers, such as William Porter, disagree with this idea.

[146] Noske, p. 121. Further discussion of these three structural factors follows on pp. 121-129.

proportionally. So, if the motive starts in whole notes, it will proceed in half notes and then in quarters, and so on.

Noske writes that the reverse process (where the note values seem to increase proportionally, or slow down: "retardation") happens only rarely, and this can coincide with acceleration. If the two processes happen at the same time, they are rarely in conflict with each other because they are so different – they each maintain their own integrity. In general, tension increases in proportion to the change in melodic rhythm. In "stabilization," the music's tension is extended and maintained over a long period of time. A good example of this type of writing is found in Sweelinck's "echo" passages.

Overall, Noske focuses on how small motives (defined by both their melodic and rhythmic qualities) operate in sequence with each other (in the same voice - melodically) and above or below each other (in different voices – harmonically). He proposes that Sweelinck regulates their relationships in a very careful and proportional way and, in so doing, creates not an incoherent structure but a planned one. In my categorization of the different kinds of textures into "static" and "dynamic," I am condensing Noske's "acceleration" and "retardation" into one term (dynamic), and refocusing the idea of "stabilization" into the term "static."

Arnfried Edler writes that in Sweelinck's pieces we can see the intention of "discussing" the theme, of breaking it up into small motivic particles, of deriving material from it and contrasting motives with each other" and he states that "no formal scheme makes possible the foreseeing of any event."[147] With that last

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[147] Edler, p. 34.

statement, Edler seems to have arrived at a concept similar to Noske's idea of *forma formans.* Edler's ideas are most helpful when looking at the large-scale organization of Sweelinck's chorale variations. For example, Sweelinck's chorale variation *Erbarm dich mein* (one of his longest chorale variations) does not reach the kind of textural or harmonic synthesis that one would expect from a monumental set of chorale variations. Instead of constructing the last variation as a kind of epic contrapuntal conclusion, Sweelinck seems to test out the idea of complex counterpoint, beginning with a simple *bicinium*, then adding a chorale voice, and finally incorporating all the voices before rejecting contrapuntal complexity altogether, and finishing with a largely melodic exploration of the chorale tune. If we use musical expectations derived from the common practice period, it is quite logical to agree with Edler that it is impossible to "foresee" any event in the music. Sweelinck seems to be setting up a different sort of expectative pattern that relies on a localized exploration of ideas, without the requirement of some kind of cyclical or cumulative conclusion. As we will see, this basic but fundamental concept about the construction of a large-scale chorale-based piece becomes one of the most important elements of the chorale fantasia genre.

Perhaps one of the best ways to look at Sweelinck's music, specifically his chorale variations, is to use a kind of combination of Nelson's and Noske's approaches. As I see it, Noske's approach seems to unlock a crucial part of the small-scale organization in Sweelinck's music. In other words, how the "words" and "phrases" of his music are combined, sequenced, and manipulated in time. Nelson's approach helps to see how the "paragraphs" and "pages" of Sweelinck's music are

ordered and how the different textual styles might be ordered to give a sense of purpose or balance. I think that by characterizing Nelson's styles as either dynamic (as parts of acceleration or retardation) or static (stabilizing), we will be able to see how they are put together and what musical point Sweelinck may have been aiming for.

In general, the textures that Nelson describes are not predictive of future musical action, in the way that Janet M. Levy describes in her article, "Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music."[148] Levy looks at the music of composers such as Haydn and Mozart and describes how their use of textural change helped to orient the ears of the listeners to the form of the piece. Sweelinck's use of textural changes is similar in that his use of repeated or sequencing figures (a static texture) slowed the sense of musical action in the same way that a section of Alberti bass in a Haydn piano sonata might, but because he was creating music with a much looser sense of large-scale formal organization, the shift from one texture to another did not necessarily predict what would happen next. I propose that this is part of what makes Sweelinck's music have such a strong sense of rhetorical narrative. Because we are not waiting for a recapitulation or a second theme in the "correct" key, the music is free to wander forward to an unknown destination. Even though Sweelinck is often using several statements of the same chorale tune, one variation does not seem to foresee the next.

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[148] Janet M. Levy, "Texture as a Sign in Classic and Early Romantic Music," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 35, no. 3 (1982), p. 482-531.

Finally, a complete picture of Sweelinck's use of different kinds of textures to create a musical narrative would not be complete without taking into account the number of voices he uses for each variation. The voice combinations range from a simple two-voiced, *bicinium* texture to grand five-voiced counterpoint. Unlike the chorale-based works of his students, Sweelinck varies the number of voices that he uses in each variation, and this can affect the way the piece works as a whole. For example, Sweelinck often uses a two-voiced *bicinium*, texture in which one voice is slower than the other. In the sacred variations, the slower voice is the chorale tune. This two-voiced texture is one of Sweelinck's hallmarks, and often includes scalar passages in the accompanying voice. No matter how many voices Sweelinck chooses to use in a variation, he uses that voice combination for the entire variation.

In order to give a concrete example of the approach outlined above, I will look at three of Sweelinck's chorale variations, *Psalm 116 (SwWV 313)*, *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris (SwWV 302)*, and *Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ (SwWV 305),* in order to see how he alternates between dynamic and static styles in his music.

The melody for *Psalm 116* is straightforward and uses a simple I-V-I underlying harmony (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. *Psalm 116*[149]

Sweelinck's arrangement contains four variations on the tune, and in each variation, the tune is in the highest voice. As is usually the case, he adds voices to each successive variation, concluding with 4-voiced textures in Variations 3 and 4. Table 10 gives an overview of the piece and also details where each textural change takes place.

Table 10. Sweelinck, *Psalm 116* (SwWV 313)[150]

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
Variation 1			
1-4	4	1 (Insinuatio)	
5-11	7	9 (Scales)	
12-13	2	6 (Sequences)	a 2
14-17	4	9 (Scales)	
18-29	12	6 (Sequences)	
30-32	3	7 (Coda)	

149 Sweelinck, p. 156.

150 As one might expect, Sweelinck did not always change musical textures exactly at the measure-line. These charts represent an attempt at mapping the changing musical landscape as accurately as possible, but they are a general "measure-level" assessment, rather than a precise pinpointing of the exact beat at which the music changes. These charts do not always reflect the phrases of the chorale tune or chant. Sometimes the textural quality changes do not line up with the beginnings and endings of the chorale tunes or chant melodies.

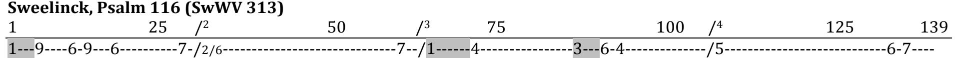
Table 10. Sweelinck, *Psalm 116* (SwWV 313), continued

Variation 2			
33-64	33	2/6 (Cantus firmus/sequences)	a 3
65-67	3	7 (Coda)	
Variation 3			
68-74	7	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
75-86	12	4 (Embellished melody)	
87-92	6	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
93-95	3	6 (Sequences)	
96-105	10	4 (Embellished melody)	
Variation 4			
106-133	28	5 (Echoes)	a 4
134	1	6 (Sequences)	
135-139	5	7 (Coda)	

This table shows that, despite the occasional interlude of dynamic texture, most of the music is composed of different kinds of static texture. In the first variation, the slow-moving chorale tune (in the treble voice) remains entirely unembellished, in the stark and plain Calvinist style. The accompanying voice alternates between passages of repeating sequences and fast-moving scales in sixteenth notes. In the second variation, the tune (again in the top voice) is accompanied by two lower voices that proceed with several short repeated patterns. Here, the psalm tune includes two very brief embellishments, but they are not complicated. The third variation begins with a segment of true imitation, but the variation itself is mostly an embellished melody in the top voice, accompanied by slowly moving chords. The final variation includes significant sections of echo, either between the hands or within one voice part but between shifting octaves. In order to more clearly show the balance of static and dynamic textures, I have

created a graph giving the approximate proportions of static to dynamic textures in *Psalm 116.* Although some of these figurations are quickly-moving sixteenth notes, none of the textures used would be particularly difficult to recreate for an organist trained to improvise in this style. And, as is obvious from the graph, the piece is composed mostly of improvisatory-type static textures, with only short sections of the more difficult dynamic textures (see Figure 8).

Figure 8. Sweelinck, *Psalm 116* (graph)



Sweelinck's setting of *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris (SwWV 302)* also includes four variations. And, just as in *Psalm 116*, he adds a voice to the second and third variations, giving the total set of variations a two-voice, three-voice and then two four-voiced framework (see Table 11).

As in *Psalm 116,* the first variation includes a series of sequences and scalar textures, and the second variation makes extensive use of the cantus firmus texture (Texture 2). But, where *Psalm 116* continues on with a series of static textures, *Da Pacem* proceeds with two longer sections of the more difficult semi-fugal ostinato/stretto texture (Texture 3), and a section that shifts the duple metric accents to triple accents.

Table 11. Sweelinck, *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris* (SwWV 302)

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
Variation 1			
1-6	6	1 (Insinuatio)	a 2
7-26	20	6 (Sequences)	
27-34	8	9 (Scales)	
35-46	12	6 (Sequences)	
Variation 2			
47-50	4	9 (Scales)	a 3
51-66	16	2 (Cantus firmus)	
67-79	13	9 (Scales)	
80-86	7	8 (Metric/rhythmic)	
Variation 3			
87-100	14	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	a 4
101-112	12	8 (Metric/rhythmic)	
113-128	16	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
Variation 4			
129-142	14	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
143-145	3	2 (Cantus firmus)	
146-153	8	9 (Scales)	
154-164	11	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
165-172	8	10 (Scales)	
173-175	3	7 (Coda)	

The final variation shows a longer *insinuatio* introduction and then another contrapuntal section surrounded by some static scalar passages. The corresponding graph shows that, while this set of variations is not extremely complex, it does contain significantly greater sections of the more demanding dynamic textures (see Figure 9).

Figure 9. Sweelinck, *Da pacem Domine in diebus nostris* (graph)

Sweelinck, **Da pacem**
1 /[2] 50 /[3] 100 /[4] 150 175
1--6-----------------9-----6---/9---2-----------9--------8----/3-----------8----------3-----------/1------------2--9-------3-----------10---7--

Finally, Sweelinck's variations on *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* includes four variations on the chorale tune, incorporating two, three, three, and four voices respectively. (See Figure 10 for chorale tune.)

Figure 10. *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*[151]

The first and last variations feature the tune in the soprano voice, the second variation uses the tune in the lowest voice and the third variation uses the tune in the middle voice. In general, the piece progresses from the simple form of a *bicinium* variation to a much more complex and "composed" variation. (See Table 12, below.)

The first variation is built on a statement of the chorale melody (with very few embellishments) in the soprano and a series of motives in the accompanying voice.[152] For example, the figuration that begins in measure 28, consists essentially of a series of three repeated notes followed by a scale. At first, the repeated d's are

[151] Sweelinck, p. 153.

[152] As Noske points out, many of the accompanying motives are derived from the chorale tune, in various stages of diminution. The figuration accompanying the sixth phrase of the chorale, is simply a diminution of the tune. When the accompaniment is combined with the chorale tune upon which it is based, Noske labels it "stretto." Noske, p. 121.

followed by a descending scale – all in quarter notes.[153] In the next measure, the repeated quarter notes (now f's) are followed by a descending scale in eighth notes. Then, in measure 30, the repeated notes and the scale are in eighth notes and the scale is ascending. Finally, the repeated eighth notes (now Bb's) are followed by a four-note descending scale in sixteenth notes. These measures illustrate how Sweelinck's combination of sequences and diminution (essentially just static textures) to create a sense of acceleration even though the music is still just spinning in place.

Table 12. Sweelinck, *Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ* (SwWV 305)

<table>
<tr><td>Measures</td><td>Number of Measures</td><td colspan="2">Styles</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Variation 1</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-3</td><td>3</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td><td rowspan="9">a 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>3-12</td><td>10</td><td>6 (Sequences)</td></tr>
<tr><td>12-17</td><td>6</td><td>8 (Metric/rhythm)</td></tr>
<tr><td>17-22</td><td>6</td><td>9 (Scales)</td></tr>
<tr><td>22-32</td><td>11</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td>33-35</td><td>3</td><td>6 (Sequences)</td></tr>
<tr><td>36-39</td><td>4</td><td>8 (Metric/rhythm)</td></tr>
<tr><td>40-43</td><td>4</td><td>9 (Scales)</td></tr>
<tr><td>44-45</td><td>2</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
</table>

[153] As I mentioned in the "Note," on page 19 of the Introduction, I will be using the note names as they are printed in the modern edition of the music, in this case, Sweelinck, *Volume 3: Variations on Chorales and Psalms*.

Table 12. Sweelinck, *Ich ruf zu dir Herr Jesu Christ* (SwWV 305), continued

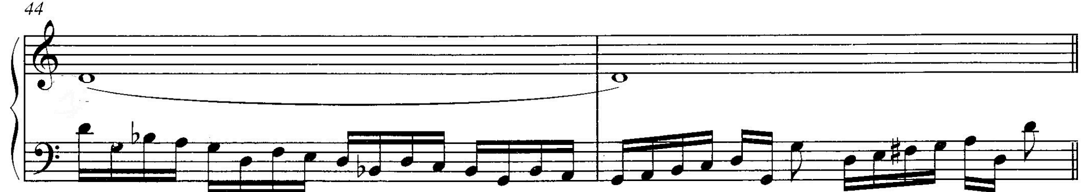
Variation 2			
46-58	13	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	a 3
59-69	11	2 (Cantus firmus)	
70-72	3	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
73-85	6	2 (Cantus firmus)	
86-87	2	7 (Coda)	
Variation 3			
88-96	9	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	a 3
97-100	4	8 (Metric/rhythm)	
101-107	7	2 (Cantus firmus)	
108-126	19	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
127-128	2	7 (Coda)	
Variation 4			
129-134	6	1 (Insinuatio)	a 3
135-139	5	10 (Homophony)	
140-150	15	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
151-153	3	5 (Echoes)	
154-159	5	8 (Metric/rhythm)	
160-168	9	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
169-176	8	2 (Cantus firmus)	
177-181	3	7 (Coda)	

This is especially noticeable because the acceleration of the accompaniment figures during the sixth verse of the chorale (measures 29-33) is followed by two measures of very static motivic motion, in which the accompanying figuration is a very common short scalar figure followed by an octave leap (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. Sweelinck, *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (mm. 34-36)

In measures 44-45, he uses a static texture to allow the energy of the first variation to slow down, but also "tread water" until the start of the second variation. Here, he uses two very common motives that proceed in sixteenth notes until the end of the variation. In addition to repeated motives, the constant series of sixteenth notes helps to further the sense of a static texture. The rhythmic motion is not stopping, but it is also not going anywhere (see Figure 12).

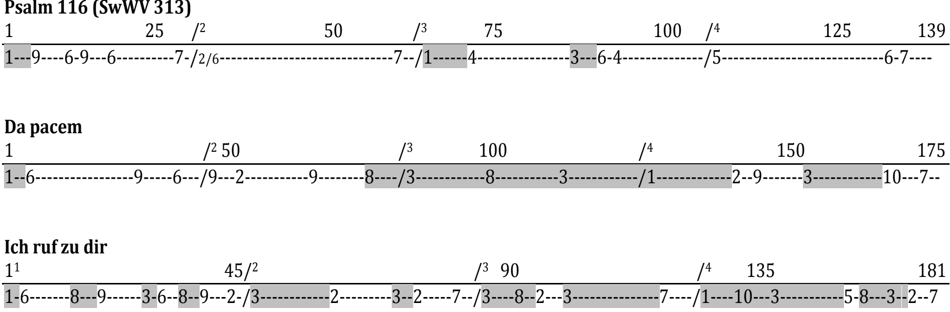
Figure 12. Sweelinck, *Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (mm. 44-45)



A comparison of Sweelinck's variations on *Psalm 116*, *Da Pacem Domine*, and *Ich ruf zu dir* with a graph shows how he alternated between static and dynamic textures to create an overall sense of balance and elegance. Although we cannot know exactly what Sweelinck's improvisations sounded like, or exactly how he taught his students at the organ, this kind of chart might help us see how he put together chorale-based pieces. The setting of *Psalm 116* is composed of long sections of scales and sequences that might have been appropriate for a beginning organist.

The setting of *Da pacem Dominum* uses longer sections of more complicated contrapuntal textures, but is still balanced with a long portion of less complex static scales and sequences. Finally, his setting of *Ich ruf zu dir* shows a much more sophisticated mix of textures, which would probably represent the most difficult level of organ improvisation. Because the mixture of textures in *Ich ruf zu dir* is so much more varied and complex, it creates an aural world that has more purpose and more narrative than the simpler *Psalm 116* (SwWV 313) as I described above. In contrast, *Psalm 116* sounds a lot like the graph might suggest – it is slow and has less forward motion than *Ich ruf zu dir* (see Figure 13).

Figure 13. Graph of Sweelinck's Chorale Variations[154]



We might look at this graph as a kind of musical topography map, letting us know where the mountains and the plains are located. *Psalm 116* is a relatively flat piece, which does not mean, however, that it is a desert. The swirling sequences and

[154] I have tried to be as accurate as possible in making this chart, but it is still a somewhat general representation of the progression of musical textures in each piece. For a more specific reference and exact measure numbers, please refer to the piece-specific tables above. (Tables 7, 8, and 9.)

fast-moving scales might be a kind of vegetation, contributing to the overal sound of the piece, but not building to any kind of summit. On the other hand, the musical texture map of *Ich ruf zu dir* shows a great deal of variation and contour, which culminates in long stretches of difficult and craggy contrapuntal writing. In the next chapter, I will consider several pieces by Sweelinck's students, Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann, and show what aspects of this textural process they incoporated into their own music. Using a similar analysis, we will see how similar the musical topography of those pieces is to that which came before them.

CHAPTER IV

JACOB PRAETORIUS AND HEINRICH SCHEIDEMANN

One of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's greatest legacies was his training of many of the leading organists in Amsterdam and northern German-speaking cities. The local students included his son, Dirck Janszoon Sweelinck, as well as Cornelis Janszoon Helmbreecker, Pieter Alewijnszoon de Vois, Jan Pieterszoon van Reynsburch, Willem Janszoon Lossy (the son of his Haarlem teacher) and Claude Bernardt. Unfortunately, very few compositions from these Dutch composers remain. More well known are his German students (see Table 13, below). In this chapter, I will focus on two of the students who became important organists in Hamburg, Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann.[155] In Chapter V, I will consider an important chorale fantasia by one of Scheidemann's students, Johann Adam Reincken. Although many of the students who lived in other parts of what is now Germany and Scandinavia made important musical contributions in their own way (notably Samuel Scheidt, with his important collection of organ music, *Tabulatura Nova* (1624)), it was Hamburg that became the most important city for organ music in seventeenth-century Northern Germany and so it is sensible to focus on two composers who were active there.[156]

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[155] Although Johannes Praetorius, the brother of Jacob, also studied with Sweelinck in Amsterdam, and was an organist in Hamburg (at the Nikolaikirche), none of his music has survived.

[156] I am limiting my musical analysis to the music of Praetorius and Scheidemann, partly because the convenience of the fact that they both live in the same city, but a further expansion of this project would likely also include Samuel Scheidt's music. His music shows a direct connection to that of Sweelinck's, except that in his chorale variations, each variation is discrete, and many of Sweelinck's are linked by connective material.

Table 13. Sweelinck's German-Speaking Students

Student	Dates	City	Dates of Study with Sweelinck	Important chorale-based works
Andreas Düben	1597-1662	Stockholm	1614-20	*Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Her*
Samuel Scheidt	1587-1654	Halle	c.1608	*Tabulatura Nova;* *Tabulatur-Buch*
Melchior Schildt	1592/3-1667	Hanover	1609-12	*Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr*; *Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn*; *Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr*
Paul Siefert	1586-1666	Danzig	1607-10	*Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*
Ulrich Cernitz	1598-1654	Schwerin, traveled to Italy	1619	No organ music survives
Jacob Praetorius (ii)	1586-1651	Hamburg (Petrikirche)	c.1608	*Christum wir sollen loben schon* *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (fragment)* *Grates nunc omnes* *Vater unser in Himmelreich* *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*

Table 13. Sweelinck's German-Speaking Students, continued

Johannes Praetorius	1595-1660	Hamburg (Nikolai-kirche)	1608-10	No organ music survives
Heinrich Scheidemann	1595-1663	Hamburg (Katharinenkirche)	1611-14	*Nun freut euch lieben Christen gmein;* *Vater unser im Himmelreich;* And many more!

In addition to living in a primary center for organ music, both Praetorius and Scheidemann inspired important students of their own. Matthias Weckmann (1616-1674) studied with Heinrich Schütz before he studied with Jacob Praetorius, who later formed important friendships with other organists, including Franz Tunder (Lübeck) and Johann Jacob Froberger (Dresden). Praetorius later filled the organist position at the Jacobikirche in Hamburg in 1655.

Johann Adam Reincken (1643-1722) studied with Scheidemann from 1654 to 1657. He became Scheidemann's assistant in 1658 and then was appointed as his successor in 1663, when Scheidemann succumbed to the plague. We have only two extant chorale fantasias by Reincken, despite his long career, in part because his interests lay more in the immediate concerns of chamber music and civic opera than in a legacy of publishing. As noted above, I will consider one of those two chorale fantasias, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon,* in the last chapter of this dissertation.

Sweelinck's German-speaking students took his ideas back to many different important centers in Germany and around the Baltic Sea (see Table 13). As

mentioned above, my decision to focus on the two who took positions in Hamburg, Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann, rests on the importance of that city in the history of organ music and in the fact that their own careers were impressive enough to attract the best young German organists as their own students. The reputation of that city and its musicians was such that a young Johann Sebastian Bach, likely the greatest organist in the history of the instrument, went to great effort to travel there several times in order to experience the music and meet the local organists.

Jacob Praetorius

Jacob Praetorius (ii) spent most of his life in Hamburg. He was born into a very musical family. His grandfather, also named Jacob, served as the organist of the Jacobikirche from 1558-1586. Not much of grandfather Jacob's music has survived, and his only extant composition is a four-voiced setting of the *Te Deum*. In addition to composing, he compiled sets of music by other composers, a set of liturgical chants and German chorale melodies, *Cantilenae sacrae,* and a collection of several volumes of sacred works by German and Dutch composers for four or more voices, *Opus musicum excellens et novum.*

The son of Jacob Praetorius (i), Hieronymous Praetorius (1560-1629), became an assistant to his father at the Jacobikirche (after a short stint in Erfurt), and succeeded him as first organist upon his death. Although he was a prolific composer, publishing a five-volume set of six parody masses, 102 motets, and a number of vocal Magnificat settings, his extant collection of organ music is much

smaller – just a set of eight *Magnificat* settings, another single *Magnificat* setting in the first tone, and two chorale settings.[157]

Jacob Praetorius (ii) and his brother, Johannes Praetorius (1595-1660) both studied with Sweelinck in Amsterdam (see Table 13, above). Johannes served as the organist of the Nikolaikirche in Hamburg from 1612 until his death, and published six wedding motets, of which only three are extant. Another brother, Michael Praetorius, is known to have published a wedding motet in Hamburg in 1619.[158] To explain why the publishing output of the sons was so much smaller than that of their father, Hieronymous, Esther Victoria Criscuola de Laix writes, "Neither Jacob nor Johann pursued careers in print as energetically as their father had, though both composed wedding motets that were printed in the occasional pamphlets so popular throughout Germany at the time."[159] This lack of a large quantity of published organ music from the junior Praetoriuses might reflect a greater interest in performing than in publishing.

The contours of Jacob Praetorius' life are still rather blurry, but we know that he went to study with Sweelinck in Amsterdam sometime before 1608.[160] Before

[157] Frederick Gable, "Praetorius," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed on 21 March, 2013.
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/22244pg2
Gable suggests that other music in the Visby Tablature, which is where the complete set of *Magnificat* pieces are located, might also be by Hieronymus, which would greatly expand his total number of organ compositions.

[158] Although Jacob Praetorius (ii) did have an impressive family of musicians, he was not related to Michael Praetorius, the German writer and composer who is best known for his exhaustive three-volume treatise, *Syntagma Musicum* (1614-1620).

[159] Criscuola de Laix. p. 14.

[160] From here on, I will refer to Jacob Praetorius (ii) as Jacob Praetorius.

that, following the death of first organist Hinrich Thor Molen, Praetorius was appointed organist of the Petrikirche in Hamburg in 1603, at the age of seventeen. Around 1608, Sweelinck wrote a motet for his marriage to Margaretha von Kampen. Over the course of their marriage, the couple produced six children. Praetorius career in Hamburg made him quite well known, and the poet Johann Rist celebrated him with the following verse:

Kein Frembder kahm an diesen Ohrt
Der etwas von der Orgel hielte,
Der seinen Wirt nicht fragte fohrt:
Wo doch der große Schultze spielte.[161]

Praetorius' most well-known students include Jakob Kortkamp, Johann Lorentz, Berendt Petri (who compiled an important manuscript of organ music, known as the Visby (Petri) Tablature), and Matthias Weckmann, who took the organist position at one of the most important churches in Hamburg, the Jacobikirche. Praetorius also wrote a number of sacred vocal pieces, of which several wedding motets (surviving in transcriptions following destruction during World War II), three sacred motets, ten continuo songs, and nineteen settings of Lutheran chorales, remain. Praetorius' works for organ include six Magnificats, three preludes, a *Magnificat germanicae*, and seven chorale-based pieces.

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[161] Michael Belotti, "Jacob Praetorius - ein Meister des instrumentalen Kontrapunkts," *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 18, no. (1996), p. 99. "Praetorius" is the Latinized version of "Schultze." Other variations include Schulz, Schulze, and Schultz.

The motet that Sweelinck composed for Praetorius' wedding may have also signaled a close friendship and a similar personality. Praetorius acquired the reputation of a serious and dedicated musician, partly through the reports of Johann Mattheson, who commented that he was grave, refined, and somewhat odd. He wrote that Praetorius "loved the highest degree of neatness in everything he did, as is usual with the Dutch."[162] Of course, Praetorius came from a thoroughly German family, but his time in Amsterdam must have had a profound effect on his music, and perhaps his personality. His student, Matthias Weckmann, sought not to precisely copy the compositional style of his teacher but to "moderate Praetorian gravity by means of Scheidemannesque charm."[163] As described by writers such as Johann Mattheson, Praetorius' personality tended toward an old-fashioned and serious nature, while Scheidemann's demeanor showed sparks of youthful good humor. Michael Belotti writes that while Scheidemann created a synthesis of the music of Sweelinck and that of his own North German heritage, Praetorius used two styles, the music of his father's Italian cathedral-music style and Sweelinck's Zarlino-like phrasing, next to each other, without mixing them. And, in creating a kind of balance between the styles that he drew upon, his music has an important sense of equilibrium.[164]

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[162] Johannes Mattheson, *Grundlage Einer Ehrenpforte*, ed. Max Schneider (Graz: Barenreiter Verlag, 1969), p. 324.

[163] Werner Breig, "Preface," in *Jacob Praetorius Choralbearbeitungen*, ed. Werner Breig (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), p. vii.

[164] Belotti, "Jacob Praetorius - Ein Meister des Instrumentalen Kontrapunkts." p. 105.

Elsewhere, Michael Belotti cautions against creating the impression that Praetorius was a total Luddite. For example, Praetorius did not shun improvements to the organ of the Petrikirche while he was in charge there. Moreover, Praetorius became a champion of the organ builder Gottfried Fritzsche, and traveled to Braunschweig to test a new organ that was built in the Katharinenkirche there.[165]

As recorded by Johann Kortkamp—the organist and writer who took lessons with Praetorius' student, Weckmann—Praetorius' music was effective enough that he made the following impression on his congregation:

> Von diesem lieben Mann will ferner gedenken wegen seines sin- und künstlichen Spielen. Wie der Prediger in der Gemeine Herzen, so er auch durch sein Orgelspielen Andacht erwecken und bewegen konte; zum Exempel wenn er spielte ein Buß-Liedt als: "Erbarm Dich mein o Herre Gott," wie devot und andächtig er solches Liedt gespielet, wie hat er gewust die Stimmen der Orgel so in ihrer Eigenschafft zu gebrauchen, dass man nicht allein das Spielen, sondern auch die Orgel éstomiren mußte. Mit was Freudigkeit er die hohen Festage mit seinen Orgelspielen gezieret, ist nicht zu beschreiben.[166]

Unfortunately, Praetorius' *Erbarm Dich mein, o Herre Gott* has not survived to the present, but from this report we can see even if some other musicians considered

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[165] Michael Belotti, "Die Registrirung des seel. Jacob Schultzen: Zur Wiedergabe der Orgelmusik von Jacob Praetorius," in *375 Jahre Scherer-Orgel Tangermünde*, ed. Christoph Lehmann (Berlin: Verlag Freimut & Selbst, 2005), p. 43.

[166] *Ibid*., p. 39.

This dear man will also be commemorated due to his sensitive and artful playing. Like a preacher in the heart of the community, so he through his organ playing could awaken and energize devotions; for example, when he played the song of penance "Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott;" How humbly and devoutly he played such a song, as if he knew the voices of the organ, in order to use their character, so that people marveled over not only the playing, but also the organ. I cannot describe the joy with which he played on festival days, (My translation)

his music stern or pious, it was appreciated as a moving and important part of the devotional experience of a liturgical service. Also noteworthy here is Kortkamp's comparison of Praetorius to a musical "Prediger" or preacher. As we will see later, the chorale fantasia becomes one of the most important elements of the musical "preacher's" arsenal, much like a sermon.

Jacob Praetorius' oeuvre contains eight chorale-based works (see Table 14).

Table 14. Jacob Praetorius' Chorale-Based Pieces

Jacob Praetorius' Chorale-Based Pieces
Christum wir sollen loben schon
Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt (fragment)
Grates nunc omnes
Herr Gott, dich loben wir
Magnificat germanice
Vater unser im Himmelreich
Von allen Menschen abgewandt
Was kann uns kommen an für Not

Heinrich Scheidemann

Sweelinck's last student, Heinrich Scheidemann (1595-1663), came to study with him in 1611, at the age of sixteen. When Scheidemann left to go back to Hamburg, Sweelinck sent him with the gift of a piece of music, a canon - *Ter eeren des vromen Jonghmans Henderich Scheijtman, van Hamborgh*. Scheidemann became the organist at the Katarinenkirche in Hamburg in 1629, taking up the position

formerly held by his father, David Scheidemann. He remained at that position until 1663, when he succumbed to the plague. Scheidemann's student, Johann Adam Reincken, who also married Scheidemann's daughter in 1665, succeeded him.[167] Scheidemann's other students included Matthias Weckmann (from Hamburg), Werner Fabricius (of Leipzig), Wolfgang Wessnitzer (from Celle), Wolfgang Druckenmüller (of Schwäbisch Hall), and possibly Dietrich Buxtehude.

Mattheson's assessment of Scheidemann was that he was friendly, genial, and that he mixed with everyone freely and joyfully. He wrote that Scheidemann did not "make much of himself," his playing was nimble, spirited, and that he made easy-to-play, cheerful compositions.[168] (See Table 15 for a list of Scheidemann's chorale-based pieces.)

Table 15. Heinrich Scheidemann Chorale-Based Pieces

Heinrich Scheidemann chorale-based pieces[169]
A solus ortus cardine
*Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein

[167] It was customary, and sometimes mandatory, for a succeeding organist to marry the daughter of his predecessor. Refusing to enter into the marriage arrangement could jeopardize the job application process, as it did in Lübeck, where Handel, Mattheson, and J. S. Bach considered applying for the post. Unfortunately, Buxtehude's unmarried daughter stood in the way, and for whatever reason, none of the men wanted to assume the responsibility. Upon her father's death, she remained unmarried.

[168] Porter, p. 64.

[169] This list is compiled from Pieter Dirksen's "A Tentative Chronological Classification," in which he attempts a chronological ordering of all of Scheidemann's keyboard works. The asterisks indicate pieces that have an anonymous transmission, but which Dirksen believes to be by Scheidemann. Occasionally he wrote several pieces on the same tune. When those are anonymous, the Roman numeral indicating that piece has an asterisk. Dirksen prefaces his list with the warning, "The conjectural nature of many of the entries should be emphasized here." Dirksen, Appendix A.

Table 15. Heinrich Scheidemann Chorale-Based Pieces, continued

Heinrich Scheidemann chorale-based pieces
Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ
Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir
Betrübet ist zu dieser Frist
Christ lag in Todesbanden
*Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebott
*Durch Adams Falls ist ganz verderbt
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott
Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott
*Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
Es spricht der unweisen Mund wohl
Gott sei gelobet und gebenedeiet
*Herr Christ, der einig Gottes Sohn (I, *II)
In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr (I, II)
Jesu, wollst uns weisen
*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland (I, II, *III)
Komm heiliger Geist, Herre Gott
Lobet den Herren, denn er ist sehr freundlich
Mensch, willst du leben seliglich
*Nun freut euch, lieben Christen gmein (*I, *II)
Nun bitten wir den heiligen Geist
O Gott, wir danken deiner Güt
*Vater unser im Himmelreich (I, II, III, *IV)
*Vom Himmel hoch da komm ich her
*Wär Gott nicht mit uns dieser Zeit
Wir glauben all an einen Gott
*Wo Gott der Herr night bei uns hält

The Music of Praetorius and Scheidemann

The chorale-based pieces by Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann draw on several elements of Sweelinck's music, including many of the textural elements discussed in the last chapter. But, the younger composers also adapt Sweelinck's style in new ways that suit their responsibilities in the important Lutheran churches of Hamburg. One of those adaptations has to do with the way Praetorius and Scheidemann treat the chorale tune.

All of Sweelinck's chorale-based pieces are *chorale variations*. This means that they are essentially collections of compositions that each present the whole chorale tune in a different way. For example, one variation is a *bicinium*; one is in a fugato style, and so on. In his article in *Grove Music Online* on the chorale variation, Robert Marshall defines the term this way:

> A series of compositions or sections of a composition generally for the organ in which the same chorale melody is presented several times in succession, each time in a different polyphonic arrangement (e.g. as a chorale ricercare, a long-note cantus firmus surrounded by a variety of contrapuntal voices and patterns, a simple harmonized tune)[170]

This definition seems to suggest that the texture of each variation stays the same throughout, but as we have seen in Sweelinck's music, the textural styles may change within a variation, even if the basic arrangement in the number of voices does not. The Sweelinck-inspired, chorale-based pieces by Praetorius and

[170] Robert L. Marshall, "Chorale Variation," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 28 March, 2013. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/05665?q=chorale+variation&search=quick&pos=1&_start=1#firsthit

Scheidemann also break away from a strict chorale variation in various ways and become *chorale fantasias*. The definition for a chorale fantasia is much simpler – essentially, any large-scale piece based on a chorale. This means that the chorale phrase can be repeated and subjected to various different kinds of textures. The main differences between chorale variations and a chorale fantasia are the fantasia's through-composed nature (because the whole chorale is not repeated several times), and the more free treatment of the chorale phrase in the chorale fantasia.

Scheidemann's chorale fantasias form some of the most important works in the genre and they help to define some characteristics that most of these pieces have in common. According to Kerala Snyder, a chorale fantasia might include:

(1) a single exposition of the chorale melody in contrasting sections with various styles and in different voices;

(2) appearances of the chorale melody in long notes, ornamented monodic style and fragmented

(3) contrapuntal techniques, echoes, and dance rhythms;

(4) great length[171]

Scheidemann is often called the father of the chorale fantasia, having composed at least sixteen pieces in the genre. Much of Scheidemann's work survives, mostly as a result of the esteem conferred on him by his students and others.

Both chorale variations and chorale fantasias use a variety of musical textures in combination with a chorale tune. These two kinds of pieces are distinguished from a *chorale prelude* mostly by length and complexity. A chorale prelude usually involves just one, shorter, simple statement of the chorale tune, and

[171] Snyder, p. 264.

usually one basic kind of texture or compositional idea. The classic texture for a chorale prelude involves a slow-moving bass line in the pedal, two basso-continuo-like voices in the left hand, and a virtuosic melody/chorale tune as a solo in the right hand.

Another new element in the music of Sweelinck's students was the increased use of an independent pedal line. This compositional element is something that was rare in Sweelinck's music. This is partly due to the constraints of the instrument that Sweelinck used. The large organ in the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam had only two pedal stops, an 8' Trumpet, and a 2' Nacthoorn.[172] Sweelinck's music fits within these constraints, and only a few pieces call for use of the pedal Trumpet at all (most notably the extensive *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott* [SwWV 303]).

The organs of Scheidemann and Praetorius however, were much larger and included full pedal divisions. Praetorius' organ at St. Petri had forty-two ranks, three manuals and a full pedal division, including principals, mixtures, and reeds.[173] Scheidemann's pedal division at St. Katharinen was larger included a full set of principals, two mixtures, and a full set of pedal reeds.[174] These larger pedal divisions allowed for not just a simple solo pedal line, with the tune in very slow notes, but also real bass lines with either a restrained basso-continuo volume level, or a dramatic and virtuosic solo voice.

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[172] The specifications of both of the organs in the Oude Kerk can be found in Dirksen's chapter on "Sweelinck's Organs and Registration Practice." Dirksen, p. 619, and p. 633.

[173] Michael Praetorius, and Wilibald Gurlitt, *Syntagma musicum Faksimile-Nachdruck*, 3 vols., Documenta musicologica, vol. 2 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), p. 169.

[174] Heinrich Scheidemann, *Orgelwerke*, ed. Gustav Fock (Kassel: Bärenreiter 1967), p. IV.

A good example of a piece that incorporates the kinds of shifts toward the chorale fantasia that happen in the music of Sweelinck's students is *Christum wir sollen loben schon* by Jacob Praetorius. This piece is relatively short, only the length of one or two of Sweelinck's variations. It contains just one statement of the chorale tune, consistently presented in the pedal. In this case, Sweelinck's organ would have been sufficient for this pedal line, given that it is the chorale tune in simple whole notes and would have worked well as an 8' Trumpet solo with the accompaniment texture of the rest of the voices.

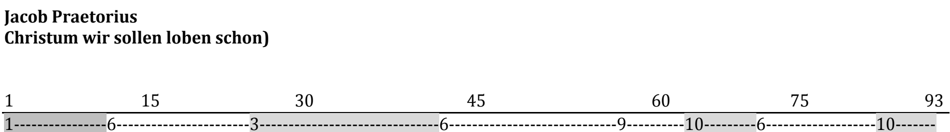
In general, the textures Praetorius uses in this piece do not deviate from the kinds that Sweelinck uses in his chorale variations. The piece begins with a slow, imitative opening section, which is followed by an alternating pattern of sequences, scales, and embellished homophony (see Table 16).

Table 16. Praetorius, *Christum wir sollen loben schon*

<table>
<tr><th>Measures</th><th>Number of Measures</th><th colspan="2">Textures</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>1-10</td><td>10</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td><td rowspan="8">a 4 throughout
--
Tune in pedal line</td></tr>
<tr><td>11-26</td><td>16</td><td>6 (Sequences)</td></tr>
<tr><td>27-41</td><td>15</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td>42-56</td><td>15</td><td>6 (Sequences)</td></tr>
<tr><td>57-65</td><td>9</td><td>9 (Scales)</td></tr>
<tr><td>66-72</td><td>7</td><td>10 (Embellished homophony)</td></tr>
<tr><td>73-87</td><td>15</td><td>6 (Sequences)</td></tr>
<tr><td>88-93</td><td>6</td><td>10 (Embellished homophony)</td></tr>
</table>

The sequential passages are quite simple, with just quarter or eighth-note motives that are repeated diatonically. If we apply the static/dynamic filter to these different kinds of textures, we can see that Praetorius creates a musical structure that is relatively balanced (see figure 14).

Figure 14. Praetorius, *Christum wir sollen loben schon*



Overall, this creates a relatively simple and elegant framework that does not diverge much from Sweelinck's chorale-based pieces, except that it does not include more than one variation, just a single statement of the chorale tune.

Scheidemann also wrote a few pieces that contain this kind of relatively simple textural balance. His version of *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* (WV 2), has two variations, which also include a fairly simple alternation of musical textures (see Table 17).

Table 17. Scheidemann, *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
Versus 1 – tune in bass			
1-46	46	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	a 4
47-49	3	7 (Coda)	
Versus 2 – tune in top voice			
1-8	8	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
9-14	6	10 (Embellished homophony)	
15-20	6	4 (Embellished melody)	
21-25	5	6 (Sequences)	
26-44	19	9 (Scales)	
45-55	11	6 (Sequences)	
56-60	5	5 (Echoes)	
61-63	3	7 (Coda)	

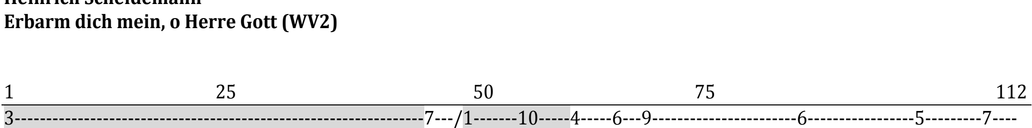
In the first variation, Scheidemann presents the tune in a straightforward manner, with just a few passing tones by way of ornamentation. The accompanying upper voices are slightly more complicated than those in the above Praetorius example. They include short suspensions and very simple eighth-note motives that are treated imitatively. In the second variation, the melody is highly ornamented, and set against a slowly moving basso-continuo-like left hand and pedal combination.[175] The ornamented voice includes not only eighth-note passages, but also sixteenth-note melodic flourishes and even a thirty-two-note trill. Because the entire variation remains in the same general arrangement (florid right hand against left hand and pedal accompaniment), the melismatic melodic sections evoke a human voice. What makes this piece sound very different from a Sweelinck composition, however, is the

[175] As mentioned above, this arrangement is typical for a stand-alone chorale prelude in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

use of a consistent number of voices throughout the whole piece, while using two very different ways of presenting the chorale tune. In the first variation, the tune is presented plainly, while in the second, Scheidemann presents it as a virtuosic solo outburst. The contrast between texture types becomes even more pronounced in some of the longer chorale fantasies of Scheidemann and Johann Adam Reincken.

Taken as a whole, Scheidemann's *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott* does not have the same frequency in alternation between static and dynamic musical textures, but the basic overall balance remains, as shown by the graph (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Scheidemann, *Erbarm dich mein, o Herre Gott*



Except for the addition of an accompanying pedal voice, the basic musical elements of these two example pieces are the same as those of Sweelinck's chorale variations. We can see his students starting to change the use of these elements in subtle ways, however. By presenting just one statement of the chorale tune as a complete, discrete piece, Praetorius' *Christum wir sollen loben schon*, is a short and simple example of the kind of format that will eventually become the monumental chorale fantasia. And, by using a variety of musical textures, and yet presenting the chorale tune in two separate and distinct ways, Scheidemann's *Erbarm dich mein, o*

Herre Gott introduces a level of drama to the chorale-based piece, which becomes even more pronounced in the chorale fantasia.

Jacob Praetorius' *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*

Jacob Praetorius' set of variations on *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* is much broader in scope than the previous examples. It is about the same length as Sweelinck's longest and most extensive chorale variation, *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott* (SwWV 303). A comparison of these two pieces shows how Praetorius learned from Sweelinck and then adapted his teacher's style to form his own. I will begin with a short discussion of Sweelinck's *Erbarm dich mein*.

One of Sweelinck's longest chorale variations, *Erbarm dich mein* is made of six variations on the chorale tune, which uses a Lenten text based on Psalm 51 written by Erhart Hegenwalt in 1524. (For chorale tune, see Figure 5.) The simple *bicinium* of the first variation is contrasted by the virtuosic duet of accompanying voices and plain chorale tune in the second variation. The cantus firmus in the second variation was probably played on the 8' pedal trumpet on Sweelinck's organ. This solo pedal voice continues in variations 3 and 4, which contain much more complicated counterpoint in the upper three voices, but still a plain statement of the chorale tune in the lowest voice. The fifth variation is a kind of reversal of the second, with the plain chorale tune in the top voice, and a duet of accompanying voices in the left hand. The sixth (and final) variation maintains an accompanying role in the left hand but expands the right hand to a virtuosic solo line that incorporates the notes of the chorale tune. The aural effect of this set of variations is

a piece that begins very simply (in Variation 1 and growing in complexity to Variation 2) then reaches a highpoint (in the denser counterpoint of Variations 4 and 5), and finally winds down in a still-virtuosic but less taxing set of variations (5 and 6), like a whirling dancer who has finished the complicated leaps but is still working out the energy of her body's motion in a series of exhausted spins.

The whole piece is organized three sets of pairs. The first two pairs (1 and 2, and 3 and 4) are linked by short melodic passages, which include a continuation of the coda texture and no final held chord. The final two pairs are less obviously connected since a half-note chord separates them, but the pause is brief enough that the beginning of the final variation sounds seamless. Sweelinck's use of an extended coda texture that leads right into the beginning of the next variation helps to create a collection of individual variations that are inextricably linked to each other, instead of a group of potentially interchangeable variations. Sweelinck's students do not adopt this technique. Instead, they create collections of variations that all end with full stops, or long chorale fantasies, which do use connective material in order to connect one statement of a chorale phrase to another, instead of one discrete statement of the whole chorale tune.

Even though Sweelinck creates connections between the variations in this set, the piece does not sound like a chorale fantasia by Praetorius or Scheidemann. One of the reasons for this has to do with his reliance on static musical textures throughout the piece (see Table 18). Although there is a fairly regular alternation of static and kinetic textures, if we see the graph, the long stretches of static musical textures are more obvious (see Figure 16). Because Sweelinck uses the chorale

tunes very literally (without repeating phrases for musical effect) the whole set of variations is structured quite symmetrically. The first three variations fill up 138 measures and the second three variations complete the set with an additional 131 measures.

Table 18. Sweelinck, *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott* (SwWV 303)

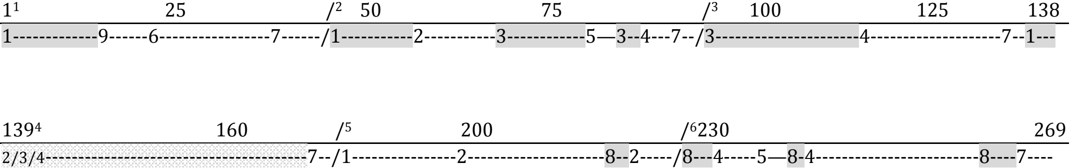
<table>
<tr><td>Measures</td><td>Number of Measures</td><td colspan="2">Styles</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Variation 1</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-13</td><td>14</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td><td rowspan="4">a 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>14-18</td><td>5</td><td>9 (Scales)</td></tr>
<tr><td>19-40</td><td>22</td><td>6 (Sequences)</td></tr>
<tr><td>41-45</td><td>5</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Variation 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>46-57</td><td>12</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td><td rowspan="6">a 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>58-69</td><td>12</td><td>2 (Cantus firmus)</td></tr>
<tr><td>70-79</td><td>10</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td>80-82</td><td>3</td><td>5 (Echoes)</td></tr>
<tr><td>83-86</td><td>4</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td>87-90</td><td>4</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Variation 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>91-112</td><td>22</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td><td rowspan="4">a 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>113-132</td><td>19</td><td>4 (Embellished melody)</td></tr>
<tr><td>133-134</td><td>2</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
<tr><td>135-138</td><td>4</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Variation 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>139-177</td><td>38</td><td>2/3/4 (Cantus firmus/Embellished melody)</td><td rowspan="2">a 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>178-179</td><td>2</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">Variation 5</td></tr>
<tr><td>180-195</td><td>16</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td><td rowspan="4">a 3</td></tr>
<tr><td>196-214</td><td>19</td><td>2 (Cantus firmus)</td></tr>
<tr><td>215-217</td><td>3</td><td>8 (Metric/rhythmic)</td></tr>
<tr><td>218-226</td><td>9</td><td>2 (Cantus firmus)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 18. Sweelinck - *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott* (SwWV 303), continued

Variation 6			
227-230	4	8 (Metric/rhythmic)	
231-236	6	4 (Embellished melody)	
237-239	3	5 (Echoes)	
240	1	8 (Metric/rhythmic)	a 3
241-261	21	4 (Embellished melody)	
262-264	3	8 (Metric/rhythmic)	
265-269	5	7 (Coda)	

Figure 16. Sweelinck, *Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott*
(Superscript numerals refer to variations)

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck
Erbarm dich mein o Herre Gott (SwWV 303)

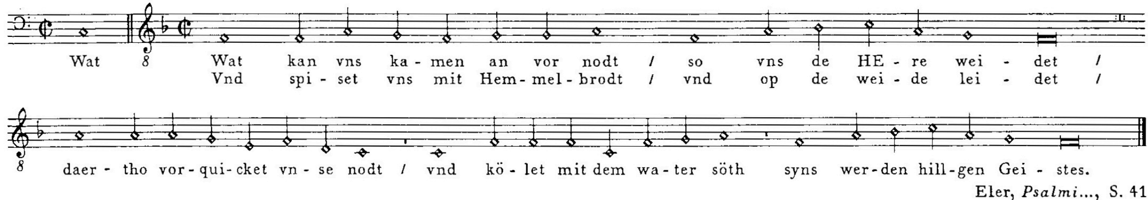


I have used a combination of textures to describe most of the fourth variation of *Erbarm dich mein*, which is the most tension-filled and complex variation of the set. Here, Sweelinck combines a virtuosic top voice, with imitative accompaniment in the middle voices and a simple cantus firmus in the pedal line. This variation is clearly the highpoint of the whole set, which even avoids a proportional coda section to allow the energy of the music to spend itself. Instead, the energy of this variation

seems to spill over into the fifth and sixth variations, which counterbalance those dynamic textures.

In his set of variations on *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*, Jacob Praetorius creates a piece that is strikingly similar in length, but gives the listener's ear (and the organist's fingers) far fewer opportunities for rest. The chorale text, in AAB bar form, is based on the 23rd Psalm is found in a collection of chorales, *Psalmi D. Lutheri et aliorum Doctorum,* made by Franz Eler in 1588. (See chorale tune in Figure 17.)

Figure 17. *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*[176]



Praetorius' *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* begins with a rather grand treatment of the tune, which includes two voices in the pedal line (see Figure 18). The chorale tune is found in the top voice (the right foot) of the pedal lines. The use of double pedal is something that both Hieronymous Praetorius and J. S. Bach used for very solemn or grave music, and one of the most well-known examples is Bach's *Aus tieffer Noth schrey ich zu dir* (BWV 686) from the *Clavierubung III*.

[176] Jacob Praetorius, *Choralbearbeitungen: für Orgel* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), p. 32.

Full text in Nikolaus Selnecker, *Der gantze Psalter des Königlichen Propheten Davids: außgelegt und in drey Bücher getheylt, nemlich die ersten fünffzig Psalmen: ordenlich nach einander, dem gemeinen Man und frommen einfeltigen Christen zu gut und in diser elenden zeit zu trost und unterricht geprediget und in Druck gegeben* (Nürnberg: Heußler, 1569).

Figure 18. Praetorius - *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* (mm. 19-27)

It is somewhat unusual for a collection of chorale variations to begin with such a majestic statement and Praetorius' setting almost obscures the tune in all of the other voices. The grand introduction is followed by the second variation, in which the tune is presented simply and plainly as a solo cantus firmus in the pedal line. This second variation is the most traditional of the four, with the A section of the tune repeated exactly, with a bar line and repeat sign, instead of a through-composed repeat of the A section with a different accompaniment.

In the third variation, the phrases of the chorale tune are repeated for musical effect, and they do not represent a singable version of the chorale tune. This results in a much longer variation—almost twice the length of Variation 1 or 2. In the fourth variation, almost every note of the tune is embellished with melismas and is accompanied in a very simple half-note accompaniment. Because there are virtually no connective accompaniment passages (meaning the chorale tune is presented end-to-end, with no connective music) this variation is very short, just thirty-eight measures long. Overall, *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* begins with the most complex variation and ends with the most simple and serene one (see Table 19).

As we can see from Table 19, Praetorius' set of variations is filled with long sections of dynamic musical textures. However, Praetorius does not use the same amount of variety of static textures as his teacher. In his lengthy *Erbarm dich mein,* Sweelinck uses almost every texture, only avoiding Texture 10 (Embellished homophony), which, in any case, is rare in his music. In *Wann kann uns kommen,* Praetorius uses all the dynamic textures, but does not use Texture 2 (Cantus firmus), Texture 5 (Echoes), Texture 6 (Sequences), or Texture 9 (Scales)—all static textures. This shift to a greater use of dynamic over static textures is typical of music by Praetorius and Scheidemann and, indeed, the firm reliance on static textures is part of what makes Sweelinck's music sound so unique.

Table 19. Praetorius, *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*

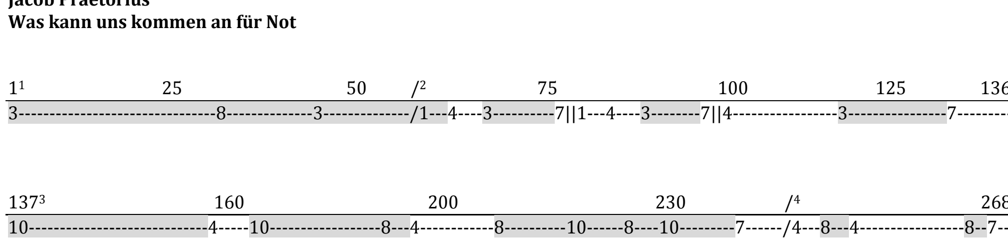
<table>
<tr><td>Measures</td><td>Number of Measures</td><td colspan="3">Textures</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Versus 1</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-33</td><td>33</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td><td rowspan="3">Tune in upper pedal voice</td><td rowspan="3">a 6 (two pedal voices)</td></tr>
<tr><td>34-45</td><td>12</td><td>8 (Metric/rhythmic)</td></tr>
<tr><td>46-55</td><td>10</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Versus 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>1-4</td><td>4</td><td>1 (Insinuatio)</td><td rowspan="8">Tune in solo pedal</td><td rowspan="8">a 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>5-9</td><td>5</td><td>4 (Embellished solo)</td></tr>
<tr><td>10-21</td><td>12</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td>22</td><td>1</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Repeat</td></tr>
<tr><td>23-38</td><td>16</td><td>4 (Embellished solo)</td></tr>
<tr><td>39-51</td><td>13</td><td>3 (Ostinato/stretto)</td></tr>
<tr><td>52-59</td><td>8</td><td>7 (Coda)</td></tr>
</table>

Table 19. Praetorius, *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*, continued

Versus 3				
1-27	27	10 (Embellished homophony)	Tune in upper solo voice	a 4
28-35	8	4 (Embellished solo)		
36-59	24	10 (Embellished homophony)		
60-63	4	8 (Metric/rhythmic)		
64-75	10	4 (Embellished solo)		
76-86	11	8 (Metric/rhythmic)		
87-94	8	10 (Embellished homophony)		
95-97	3	8 (Metric/rhythmic)		
98-107	10	10 (Embellished homophony)		
108-115	8	7 (Coda)		
Versus 4 – melody in top voice				
1-5	5	4 (Embellished solo)	Tune in upper solo voice	a 4
6-10	5	8 (Metric/rhythmic)		
11-32	22	4 (Embellished solo)		
33-35	3	8 (Metric/rhythmic)		
36-38	3	7 (Coda)		

Like his teacher, Praetorius creates symmetry in his set of variations, despite the fact that there is a great difference in length among the variations. The first two variations, including the repeated first phrase of the second variation, fill 136 measures, while the third and fourth variations add 131 additional measures. In total, this collection of variations is only one bar shorter in length than Sweelinck's *Erbarm dich mein* (see Figure 19).

Figure 19. Praetorius - *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* (Graph)



Although there are not overt or literal representations of the text in the music, I propose that Praetorius' structure in the set of variations mirrors the overall trajectory of the text. The first verse of *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* describes the "Himmel-Brod" and "Wasser-Quell" of God's refreshing spirit, and the following verses (like the well-known Psalm) describes divine leadership through "Todes Schattn und Pein" and "der Sünden Gift" before the believer's rest in "Dein Güte und Barmherzigkeit." He does not represent this textural shift in minor chords or overt text painting, but Praetorius' use of primarily complicated and dynamic textures in the first two verses of the set and the very simple chorale arrangement at the end of the set of variations, shows an awareness of the trajectory of Psalm 23. In addition, whether consciously or not, the total effect on the listener is that of a journey from grand to poor, from complex to simple. This is the sermon of the organist – one that is expressed without words, or blatant textual references, but instead an aural journey. Not every chorale fantasia or set of chorale variations works this way, but it seems that especially in the longest examples in this genre – the most complex pieces – the composers were attempting to take their listeners on an aural voyage.

Vater unser* and *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I

Scholars have debated the extent to which Sweelinck's music influenced Heinrich Scheidemann. Klaus Beckmann, for example, has questioned an over-reliance on the term "Sweelinck-Schüler," preferring the term "Norddeutsche Schule" because it also references those musical elements that Scheidemann and his colleagues absorbed from the older generation of German composers, such as Johann Steffens, and Hieronymus and Michael Praetorius.[177]

However, the musical evidence for Sweelinck's influence on Scheidemann's work is strong, especially in the chorale-based works. Dirksen and Breig write that "Though Sweelinck's influence can be seen in all his instrumental writing, it is nowhere more apparent than in the technique of his organ chorale arrangements."[178] Of course, Scheidemann did not write music that exactly mirrored that of his teacher, and he expanded the form beyond what Sweelinck wrote and what his father's generation had done.

For this reason, the musical texture framework I set up in the previous chapter on Sweelinck's music does not perfectly suit the music of Scheidemann, which is generally less traditional than that of Praetorius. That is what we might expect, since only in a very boring world would real music always fit into the analyst's frame. In general, Scheidemann uses the textural contrasts that he learned in Amsterdam, but expanded each segment of texture so that the alternation

[177] Beckmann, pp. 201-2.

[178] Werner Breig, and Pieter Dirksen, "Scheidemann, Heinrich," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online.* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 3 April, 2013. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/24781.

between textures is not as important as how each long segment fits into the whole. In those variations or sections where the composer does not change the texture at all, he may be creating tension or narrative in another way. For example, long passages of virtuosic right-hand solos might have been static in Sweelinck's music, but in Scheidemann's work, where the solos pass between the topmost voice and the tenor voice, those musical sections are more like dialogues between two singers, with brief connective passages of "ensemble" participation (Embellished homophony [Texture 10]). These solo sections closely resemble the new solo song with continuo accompaniment that was becoming more common in Lutheran churches in Hamburg. So, an organ fantasia containing a particular texture might have referenced the vocal version for the listener.

Scheidemann left us at least four settings of *Vater unser,* Martin Luther's German translation of the Lord's Prayer. The fact that four versions of this chorale remain from Scheidemann testifies to how significant the tune was in the church liturgy. The well-known tune (possibly composed by, or in consultation with, Martin Luther) is relatively long and complicated. Although it does not have any exact repetitions, and it ranges widely over the keyboard, the mostly stepwise motion of the chorale makes the melody pleasant and not too difficult for congregational singing (see Figure 20).

Figure 20. *Vater unser im Himmelreich*[179]

In his "Tentative Chronological Classification" (see Footnote 14), Dirksen proposes the following order of composition for Scheidemann's four settings of *Vater unser I* (see Table 20).

Table 20. Possible Chronological Classification for Scheidemann's *Vater unser* settings[180]

Possible Chronological Classification for Scheidemann's *Vater unser* settings	
c.1620 or earlier – Sweelinck orbit	Vater unser in Himmelreich II (WV 27) *Vater unser in Himmelreich IV (WV 92)[181]
c.1625-1630 – First maturity	Vater unser in Himmelreich I (WV 26)
Probably before c.1630	Vater unser in Himmelreich III (WV 28)

[179] Scheidemann, p.114.

[180] Dirksen, Appendix A.

[181] This version, *Vater unser in Himmelreich IV*, was long attributed to Sweelinck but Dirksen believes that several compositional details (for example, the collection of three four-part variations, or the implications of a pedal line – both rare in Sweelinck's music), and the fact that it was misattributed in a late manuscript (the Calvör tablature, 1668) point to it being part of Scheidemann's oeuvre. *Ibid*., p. 89.

Even after Dirksen's painstaking consideration of the possible chronology for these four versions of the *Vater unser*, based on his examination of the manuscripts, we can see that his dating of the pieces is quite approximate. What really distinguishes these pieces from one another, and from Sweelinck, in my opinion, is the way in which they utilize musical textures.

Scheidemann's four different versions of *Vater unser* demonstrate his ability to use all different kinds of textural arrangements with the same tune. In *Vater unser II* and *Vater unser IV*, pieces that Dirksen puts in the earliest period of his compositional life, Scheidemann alternates musical textures often, but does not explore the entire range of possible textures as Sweelinck does. Instead, he relies mostly on Texture 4 (Embellished melody). In *Vater unser I* and *Vater unser III*, Scheidemann uses much longer passages of a single musical texture. One of the most important differences between the four different pieces is whether they rely on a chorale variation format, with several versions of the complete chorale tune, or on a single statement of the chorale tune, as in a chorale fantasia.

In *Vater unser IV,* the composer (likely Scheidemann) utilizes the chorale variation format. The first variation resembles those in Sweelinck's chorale variation sets, and relies on passages of sequences and metric shifts. Unlike Sweelinck, this first variation uses a four-voiced texture, where Sweelinck might rely on a *bicinium*. The second variation relies mostly on the more complicated ostinato/stretto texture (Texture 3) with the tune in the simple half notes in the top voice. The last two variations are similar, with the third relying on a embellished solo in the top voice, and the fourth relying on an embellished solo, interspersed

with brief passages of connective material (homophonic) in the lowest voice (see Table 21).

Although *Vater unser I* also relies on the chorale variation format, Scheidemann's use of musical texture is very different. Here, each variation essentially relies on a single texture (see Table 22). The third variation is very similar to those by Sweelinck, with the *bicinium* texture and the long passages of accompaniment in sequences and scales. What distinguishes this chorale variation from Sweelinck's is that Scheidemann explores each musical texture over the course of an entire variation, instead of contrasting them within one single variation.

Clear in both these variation sets is Scheidemann's tendency to use one kind of texture for each verse of the chorale variation. This tendency was also present in Jacob Praetorius' setting of *Vater unser*. In this large chorale variation, Praetorius does not just present the tune in a variety of different textures, but he also melds several different textures into one (see Table 23).

Table 21. Anonymous (Heinrich Scheidemann), *Vater unser IV*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
Versus 1			
1-5	5	10 (Embellished homophony)	a 4
6-15	10	6 (Sequences)	
16-20	5	8 (Metric/rhythmic)	
21-31	11	6 (Sequences)	
Versus 2			
32-47	16	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
48-52	5	6 (Sequences)	
53-67	15	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
Versus 3			
68-71	4	4/8 (Embellished melody - Metric/rhythmic)	
72-104	33	4 (Embellished melody)	
Versus 4			
105-108	4	4 (Embellished solo)	
109-110	2	10 (Homophony)	
111-114	4	4 (Embellished solo)	
115-116	2	7 (Coda)	
117-120	4	4 (Embellished solo)	
121-122	2	10 (Homophony)	
123-126	4	4 (Embellished solo)	
127-128	2	10 (Homophony)	
129-133	5	4 (Embellished solo)	
134	1	10 (Homophony)	
135-138	4	4 (Embellished solo)	
139-140	2	7 (Coda)	

Praetorius' set of variations on the tune seems more like a tour through the range of possible textures, with each variation exploring one of the possible versions: like Sweelinck, Praetorius varies the number of voices in each variation, although he never uses Sweelinck's favorite two-voiced, *bicinium* setting; like Scheidemann, he relies mostly on one texture per variation, even when he seems to create his own texture combination, as in Variation 7.

Table 22. Scheidemann, *Vater unser I*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
Versus 1			
1-44	44	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	a 4
Versus 2			
45-90	46	4 (Embellished melody)	a 4
91-94	4	7 (Coda)	
Versus 3			
95-122	31	6/9 (Sequences/Scales)	a 2

Table 23. Praetorius, *Vater unser im Himmelreich*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
Versus 1			
1-40	40	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
41-50	10	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
51-65	15	6 (Sequences)	
66-91	26	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
92-97	6	7 (Coda)	
Versus 2			
98-128	31	2 (Cantus firmus)	a 3
129-131	3	8 (Metric/rhythmic change)	
132-133	2	7 (Coda)	
Versus 3			
134-171	38	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	a 3
Versus 4			
172-204	33	10 (Embellished homophony)	a 4
205-208	4	7 (Coda)	
Versus 5			
209-242	34	4 (Embellished melody – lowest voice)	a 3
243-246	4	7 (Coda)	
Versus 6			
247-253	7	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
254-289	36	4 (Embellished melody – highest voice)	
290-292	3	4/8 (Metric/rhythm change)	
293-300	8	4 (Embellished melody)	
301-304	4	7 (Coda)	
Versus 7			
305-311	7	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
312-341	30	10 (Embellished homophony)/2 (Cantus firmus)	
342-343	2	9 (Scales)	
344-371	28	10 (Homophony)/4 (Embellished melody)/2 (Cantus firmus)	
372-376	5	7 (Coda)	

In his *Vater unser III*, a shorter piece that relies on just one statement of the tune, Scheidemann alternates longer passages of embellished melody texture with short connective sections using just the accompanimental voices (see Table 24).

Table 24. Scheidemann, *Vater unser III*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
1-7	7	1 (Insinuatio)	a 4
8-12	5	4 (Embellished melody)	
13	1	10 (Homophony)	
14-18	5	4 (Embellished melody)	
19-21	3	3 (Ostinato/stretto)	
22-36	15	4 (Embellished melody)	
37-40	4	10 (Homophony)	
41-48	8	4 (Embellished melody)	

Even though this piece seems rather simple on the surface (two basic textures – embellished melody, and connective homophony), the fact that it uses just one presentation of the tune changes the overall effect and creates a stronger sense of a musical narrative. The chorale variation format has the same effect as singing multiple verses of the same hymn, while the single presentation of the chorale tune works much more like a solo, through-composed song.

Finally, *Vater unser II*, the longest of all of Scheidemann's pieces on the tune, is a real chorale fantasia (see Table 25). Although the piece does not contain a pedal line, and only three voices, the length of the piece, and the fact that the composer

repeats various phrases of the chorale at will, moves the format to the chorale fantasia. Also, Scheidemann does not just rely on one kind of texture, as in *Vater unser III*. Here, he does use significant stretches of Texture 4 (Embellished melody), but also uses Texture 6 (Sequences), and Texure 9 (Scales).

Table 25. Scheidemann, *Vater unser II*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures	
1-5	5	1 (Insinuatio)	
6-15	10	4 (Embellished melody)	
16-19	3	9 (Scales)	
20-28	9	2 (Cantus firmus)	
29-40	12	4 (Embellished melody)	
41-47	7	10 (Embellished homophony	
48-76	29	4 (Embellished melody)	
77-83	7	6 (Sequences)	a 3
84-85	2	9 (Scales)	
86-96	11	4 (Embellished melody)	
97-106	10	6 (Sequences)	
107-131	25	4 (Embellished melody)	
132-138	5	10 (Embellished homophony)	
139-151	13	4 (Embellished melody)	
152-153	2	7 (Coda)	

Both *Vater unser II* and *Vater unser III*, the two through-composed versions, rely on Texture 4 (Embellished melody) above all other textures. If we hypothesize that the use of Texture 4 suggests a kind of solo expression, like a solo singer, than each passage of Texture 4 is a different dramatic statement. In *Vater unser II*, the embellished melody shifts from the uppermost voice to the lowest voice. In that case, the two solo voices act as a duet, passing the embellished melody between them.

I have not yet referenced the static and dynamic texture proportions of these pieces, partly because as the music of Praetorius and Scheidemann becomes longer and more complex, as it does in their chorale fantasias, their use of the contrast between static and dynamic textures changes. In these longer pieces, the composers begin to use more extended stretches of a single musical texture, especially Texture 4, which focuses on melody. This emphasis on the melodic texture does not happen as frequently in other freely-composed organ pieces from the same period, but is more common in chorale-based works. Perhaps because the music is focused on a chorale tune, a melody, the composers rely on a melodic statement more than on a purely contrapuntal one. When the composers are creating music that is longer and more complex, they begin to integrate several textures together and so the lines that I so clearly drew in the previous chapter become more blurred. This more expansive approach to musical textures is apparent in Jacob Praetorius' chorale variation set on *Vater unser*. For example, in Variation 7, Praetorius combines a cantus firmus in the pedal line with accompanimental voices in the middle voices and an embellished solo in the highest voice.

An even better example of the kind of textural expansion in the chorale fantasia is Scheidemann's fantasia *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I*, which exemplifies his masterful work in the genre. The chorale text centers on the theme of Christ deflecting the scorn of God and helping the sinner out of the torments of Hell.

Jesus Christus unser Heiland,
der von uns den Gotteszorne wandt,
durch das bitter Leiden sein
halff er uns aus der Hellen Pein.[182]

Two-hundred and thirty-seven measures long, the piece shows both its lineage in Sweelinck's music, and Scheidemann's innovations. Running scalar figurations as a foil to the chorale tune, echo sections and increased melodic activity at the cadences all clearly derive from Sweelinck's music.

In Table 27, we can see that, in avoiding the repetition of the chorale variation format, Scheidemann creates a very long chorale fantasia using repetitions of the phrases of the chorale, featuring the tune in various different voices, and using a variety of different textures. Scheidemann relies on Texture 4 (Embellished melody) to such a large extent that I found that in order to accurately reflect the music, it was necessary to expand the texture definitions (see Table 26). For example, in *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I*, I expanded Texture 4 (Embellished melody) and Texture 10 (Embellished homophony) to include the following:

[182] Jesus Christ our Savior, he from us turned God's anger, through the bitter suffering, he helped us out of hellish punishment. (My translation)

Table 26. Expanded Musical Textures in Scheidemann's *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I*

Original Texture	Expanded Texture
Texture 4 (Embellished melody)	Florid soprano melody – metric change Florid soprano melody – scales Florid tenor melody – scales Florid tenor melody – sequences Melody - echoes Melody/accompaniment – echoes
Texture 10 (Embellished homophony)	Connective three-voice passage – chordal Connective three-voice passage – counterpoint

By expanding the definitions of these two textures, we can see that even though on the surface it appears that Scheidemann is using only two textures (4 and 10), he is really combining them with other textures (6/sequences, 9/scales, 5/echoes, 8/metric change) in order to create a new kind of dialogue between texture types. He alternates the use of the soprano embellished melody and tenor embellished melody in a way that allows them to sound like two soloists in a duet.

Because of the way that Scheidemann has expanded the musical textures, the roles of "static" and "dynamic" have changed. In Sweelinck's chorale variations, Texture 10 (Embellished homophony) served to move the music forward through efficient harmonic rhythm and simple keyboard figurations. In Scheidemann's music, Texture 10 is mostly used as slow, connective musical material, which allows periods of rest between the energetic segments of propelling, melismatic melody. The melodic sections are now varied and can incorporate anything from sequences

to scales to echoes. It is in the melodic passages where Scheidemann creates the tension and dynamic textures.

Table 27. Scheidemann, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I*

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures
1-17	17	1 (Insinuatio)
18-25	8	4 (Embellished solo – florid soprano melody – scales)
26	1	10 (Embellished homophony – connective passage – chordal)
27-35	9	4 (Embellished solo – florid tenor melody – scales)
36-38	4	10 (Homophony –chordal)
39-51	13	4 (Solo – Soprano – scales and echoes)
52-53	2	10 (Homophony– counterpoint)
54-71	27	4 (Solo - Tenor – sequences)
72-78	7	4 (Soprano - Solo)
79	1	10 (Homophony)
80-87	8	8 (Metric – Solo – Soprano)
88-100	13	10 (Homophony – counterpoint)
101-107	7	4 (Solo – Soprano – scales)
108	1	10 (Homophony – chordal)
109-116	8	4 (Solo – Tenor - scales)
117-121	5	10 (Homophony – chordal)
122-126	5	8 (Solo – Soprano – metric)
127-135	9	4 (Solo – Soprano)
136-139	4	10 (Homophony – chordal)
140-145	6	4 (Solo – Soprano)
146	1	10 (Homophony)
147-152	6	4 (Solo – Soprano)
153-154	2	10 (Homophony – chordal)
155-161	7	4 (Solo – Soprano)
162-163	2	10 (Homophony)
164-168	5	4 (Solo – Soprano)

Table 27. Scheidemann, *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I*, continued

Measures	Number of Measures	Textures
169-174	6	4 (Solo – Tenor)
175	1	10 (Homophony)
176-180	5	4 (Solo – Soprano)
181-188	8	4 (Solo – Tenor)
189-192	4	4 (Solo – Soprano)
193	1	10 (Homophony)
194-201	8	4 (Solo – Soprano)
202-203	2	7 (Coda)
204-224	21	5 (Echoes – sequences)
225-232	8	4 (Solo – Soprano)
233-237	5	7 (Coda)

As is demonstrated by Table 27, Scheidemann is not using the extended single texture technique he used in the shorter chorale variations. This makes sense, as a single texture over more than 200 measures would be tedious indeed. Instead, he switches between textures frequently, usually in less than ten measures. Because the alternation is so frequent, the graph that was so useful with Sweelinck's music and with the simpler chorale variations by Scheidemann and Praetorius, does not add very much to our understanding of the piece. Instead, I think it is more helpful to look at this kind of long chorale fantasia as a kind of musical narrative, not necessarily as a direct interpretation of the chorale text, but as a set of musical moments that, when put together create a distinct landscape. As we will see in the next chapter, Johann Adam Reincken's chorale fantasia *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* provides a wonderful example of how seventeenth-century composers used these long chorale fantasias as musical sermons.

CHAPTER V

JOHANN ADAM REINCKEN

Although many have overlooked him in the list of important North German composers, Johann Adam Reincken was one of the most well-known and influential organists and composers in Hamburg at the turn of the eighteenth century. Reincken was raised in Deventer, and likely born there in 1643.[183] As Ulf Grapenthin documents, Reincken's date of birth is somewhat difficult to determine. The most likely date, 1643, is based on the record of a "Jan Reinse," who was baptized in Deventer on December 10th of that year. Very little biographical information about Reincken exists outside short essays in music encyclopedias. Exceptions include information about Reincken's relationship to Buxtehude in Kerala Snyder's *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, and Christoph Wolff's article titled, "Johann Adam Reincken and Johann Sebastian Bach: On the Context of Bach's Early Works."[184] In his entry for *Grove Music Online*, Grapenthin refers to his own forthcoming monograph on the subject, but this book has not appeared.

Reincken began musical studies with the local organist, Lucas van Lennick, and then went to study with Heinrich Scheidemann in Hamburg in 1654 (at the age

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[183] Ulf Grapenthin, "Reincken, Johann Adam," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 8 April, 2013. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23126.

[184] Snyder, and Christoph Wolff, "Johann Adam Reincken and Johann Sebastian Bach: On the Context of Bach's Early Works," in *J. S. Bach as Organist: His Instruments, Music, and Performance Practices*, ed. George Stauffer and Ernest May (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986).

of eleven, if his puported date of birth can be trusted).[185] Three years later, he returned to Deventer to take the post of organist at the Bergkerk there. After only one year in his hometown, he returned to Hamburg to assist Scheidemann at the Katharinenkirche, finally succeeding him as organist upon the older man's death in 1663. Reincken married one of Scheidemann's daughters in 1665, a sure way to secure work as an organist in that era.[186] His daughter, Margaretha-Maria, later married Andreas Kellner, organist of the Hamburg Petrikirche.

Reincken's position as Scheidemann's successor at the Katharinenkirche gave him control over the largest and one of the most important pipe organs in Germany. Christoph Wolff reminds us that despite Dietrich Buxtehude's relative renown in modern times, none of Buxtehude's organs in Lübeck would have been able to match the majesty of Reincken's instrument.[187] He supervised an expansion of the instrument in 1671, to include two 32' registers in the pedal division.

Reincken's relationship with Buxtehude is now well documented, one of the prime bits of evidence being a painting by Johannes Voorhout, titled *Musizierende Gesellschaft.* As a testament to their friendship, Buxtehude and Reincken are both present in the painting, along with various anonymous and possibly allegorical figures. The two friends appear in the center of the image, with Reincken playing the

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[185] Christoph Wolff 's statement that Reincken studied with Sweelinck (in his entry on Johann Sebastian Bach in Grove Music Online) is likely a typographical error, given that Sweelinck died in 1621 and Reincken was likely born in 1643. Even using outdated research, which suggested that Reincken was born in 1623, a meeting between these two musicians would have been impossible. Christoph Wolff, et al, "Bach," in *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press, 2013). Accessed 4 April, 2013.
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40023pg10

[186] Perhaps he made an agreement to fulfill this duty before being appointed two years earlier.

[187] Wolff, p. 66.

harpsichord, and Buxtehude at his side, playing the *viola da gamba*. The addition of two amorous figures behind the harpsichord would seem to confirm Johann Mattheson's opinion of Reincken, as he wrote that Reincken was a "constant lover of women and of the Rats-Weinkeller."[188] Despite the fact that Reincken is the most prominent and visible figure in the painting, scholars are often more interested in Buxtehude's presence and, in a way, this sums up much of the modern approach to Reincken's life and music – it is interesting only insofar as it relates to Buxtehude and/or Bach.

In addition to his expertise as an organist, Reincken's position in Hamburg allowed him to be a part of one of the most vibrant music scenes in Northern Europe. He helped organize the first performances at the Hamburg Opera, events that created considerable controversy amongst the local church authorities. One of the clergy at the Katharinenkirche, Hinrich Elmenhorst, composed librettos for the stage but Reincken never contributed to the genre, of which he remained a devoted fan.[189] Outside of the theatrical realm, Reincken's knowledge of music from around the continent was well known and there is some evidence that his music was influenced by Johann Jacob Froberger, the cosmopolitan organist and composer who lived and travelled in Austria and Italy.[190]

[188] A full analysis of *Musizierende Gesellschaft* as it relates to Buxtehude and Reincken is found in Snyder, p. 112.

[189] *Ibid.,* p. 117.

[190] Butt, ed., p. 193. Butt proposes Reincken's keyboard suites and his variations on the 'Mayerin' theme as evidence for his link with Froberger.

At the end of his life, Reincken managed to secure a position for his student, H. Uthmöller, against the protests of Johann Mattheson, who wanted the position for himself, and with whom Reincken had ongoing disputes. In 1722, Reincken died a wealthy man, at least by organist standards, and was buried in a grave in the Katharinenkirche that he had purchased for himself. Even though Mattheson and Reincken had various disputes over music and matters of character (see above), in his obituary of the latter, Mattheson wrote:

> He always kept his organ uncommonly neat and well tuned and was forever talking about it, because it really has a very beautiful sound. He also knew how to play it in such a particularly clear way, that he – in the things that he had practiced – had no equal in his time.[191]

Despite Reincken's long and active musical life, only a few of his compositions remain. The two most important remaining pieces are the chorale fantasias *An Wasser Flüssen Babylon* and *Was kann uns kommen an für Noth.* The other extant music by Reincken includes two toccatas and fugues, two canons and several keyboard suites, most notably his *Hortus musicus*.

Although only two of his chorale fantasias have survived, Reincken was considered an important composer in his day. In their recent edition of the *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur*, J. S. Bach's earliest manuscripts, Michael Maul and Peter Wollny show that Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* is among Bach's earliest musical influences. They propose that this collection of chorale fantasies, which also includes Buxtehude's *Nun freut euch, lieben Christen g'mein*, and Pachelbel's *An*

[191] Snyder, p. 115.

Wasserflüssen Babylon, and *Kyrie Gott Vater in Ewigkeit*, represents the beginning of a "Thuringian tradition of north-German organ music" that begins with Bach.[192] They suggest that the young Bach may have studied with Georg Böhm at his house, indicating that if Bach had lived and studied with that family, "he would have had many opportunities to explore the north-German towns and their organs, and specifically to travel to Hamburg in order to 'eavesdrop on' the organist at St. Catherine's, Johann Adam Reincken."[193] Bach would have learned much from listening in on Reincken's chorale fantasias, especially how to use musical texture to create an affective musical narrative. And, this music was important enough to Bach that he copied it down very early in his career, (the manuscript containing the Reincken chorale fantasia dates from around 1700) and then created his own improvisation on the piece in 1722 when he applied for a job in Hamburg in the presence of Reincken.[194]

Much has been made of Reincken's approval of Johann Sebastian Bach's improvisation on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* but few know about Bach's arrangements of some of Reincken's pieces from the *Hortus musicus* dance suite. This is especially important because Bach did not arrange any works by any other North German composer – not Buxtehude or Böhm or Scheidemann, or any of the Praetoriuses. Wolff proposes that despite the emphasis on his journey to Lübeck to visit Buxtehude, Bach was probably more interested in going there to listen to the

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[192] Michael Maul, and Peter Wollny, "Preface," in *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur: Die frühesten Notenhandschriften Johann Sebastian Bachs sowie Abschriften seines Schülers Johann Martin Schubart*, ed. Michael Maul and Peter Wollny (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2007), p. xxv.

[193] *Ibid.,* p. xxx.

[194] *Ibid.,* p. xxi.

instrumental and choral *Abendmusik* than to Buxtehude's organ music. Wolff goes on to suggest that some of Bach's earliest organ music (Prelude and Fugue in g, BWV 535a – *Wie schön leuchtet der Morgenstern,* BWV 739 – chorale prelude fragment, BWV 764) might have been composed before the Lübeck trip. He writes that, "since BWV 739, especially, with its extensive virtuosic echo passages is indebted to a Reincken model rather than to a Buxtehude one (Reincken's only surviving organ chorales, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* and *Was kann uns kommen an für Not*, show numerous stylistic parallels), the organist of St. Catherine's in Hamburg moves into the foreground as a decisive mediator and catalyst for Bach during his formative years."[195]

So what was it that the young Bach was intent on learning from Reincken's organ and chamber music? Since so little of Reincken's organ music survives, the answer to that question is difficult to surmise. In his arrangement of the trio sonatas from the *Hortus musicus*, scored for two violins*, viola da gamba* and basso continuo, we can see that Bach learned about how to create closed, independent movements, the difference between thematic exposition and episode, and the expansion of melodic sequential patterns through harmonic progressions.[196] The last element in that list is perhaps most important for our purposes because the sequential patterns that Bach copied and then used as a part of a hybrid with Italian harmonic sequences are overtly evident in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*. Bach learned about those sequential patterns, but then put them through the Italian process of

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[195] Wolff, p. 66.

[196] Ibid., p. 70-72.

harmonic sequence. As we have seen in previous chapters, the use of sequences was very common in the music of Sweelinck and his students, but there, these melodic elements did not have such significant harmonic implications.

In addition to these sequential patterns, other markers of Reincken's style are: cadences with increasing numbers of voices and double pedal, echo effects, and a juxtaposition of musical textures. Chorale fantasias in general, and Reincken's pieces in specific, demonstrate one of the last examples of a written-down semi-improvised, semi-composed musical work. As I have discussed in previous chapters, so many of the ornamental flourishes in the chorale fantasias seem to come straight from a working organist's improvisations, and yet, the size and scope of the pieces necessitate a notated record. John Butt sees this as a retreat from extended pieces that cross "many stylistic and formal boundaries" and a greater focus on more "cautious" written pieces. He proposes that "notated music was becoming regarded as an individual "work," with its own internal coherences – something that was not necessarily coextensive with music that was performed, or, rather, improvised."[197] The improvisatory heritage of Reincken's chorale fantasia on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* remains in plain view as it is anything but cautious. When they exist, the internal coherences are often superseded by an overall sense of disintegration.

Reincken's *Am Wasserflüssen Babylon*

So, how can we regard Reincken's chorale fantasia on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*? Many have written about the piece in passing but few have really tried to

[197] Butt, ed. p. 200.

understand what it means or how it works. Writing in 1885, J. C. M. van Riemsduk says, “In a word, it is an artificial work that can inspire admiration for the combined talents of the composer, but it is ultimately tiring to the hearer and leaves one unsatisfied.”[198] Butt does not find it tiring but says that the “the virtuosity of the player takes precedence over the affective connotations of the text” and remarks that “Reincken does not seem to have been concerned with a large-scale formal architecture.”[199] G. B. Sharp calls it a “compendium of all the compositional and performing techniques of the school” and “a fine work in its own right.”[200] Ulf Grapenthin writes that it shows Reincken’s “self confidence” and claims that Reincken considered the piece a “self portrait.”[201] Indeed, it is possible that Reincken composed the piece as a *Meisterstück* in 1663 as he prepared to take Scheidemann’s old job.[202] One of the only scholars to undertake a serious examination of *An Wasserflüssen* is Arnfried Edler, who calls it a “prototype” of the chorale fantasia genre and writes that the piece “gives the impression of total fragmentation and disintegration.”[203]

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[198] J. C. M. van Riemsduk, "Jean Adam Reincken," *Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Noord-Nederlands Muziekgeschiedenis* 2, no. 1 (1885), p. 76.
“In een woord, het is een kunstmatige arbeid, die wel bewondering inboezemt voor het combineerend talent van den componist, maar die op den duur den hoorder vermoeit, en onbevredigd laat.”

[199] Butt, ed., p. 193.

[200] G. B. Sharp, "Jan Adam Reincken, 1623-1722," *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1570 (1973), p. 1275.

[201] Grapenthin, Accessed 8 April 2013.
http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/23126.

[202] Snyder, p. 264.

[203] Edler, p. 40.

In my research on this subject, I found only one author who seemed to engage the text of the chorale in an attempt to understand the piece. Stef Tuinstra writes that "one can follow the text word by word in the score; the music constantly expresses the 'affect' of the text."[204] And, in his article, "An Wasserflüssen Babylon - Johann Adam Reincken: Een Noord-Duitse Koraalfantasie als 'orgeloratorium,'" he proposes a very literal plot to accompany the music. For example, his description of Section II – *Da sassen wir mit Schmerzen* reads as follows:

> De verteller vertelt verder in een sfeer van verlegenheid. Ondanks de paradijselijke schoonheid zit het volk van Israël in smart bijeen: verbannen uit het eigen land, zuchtend onder de heerschappij van de Babyloniërs. Een verzuchting met opgeheven hand naar boven: waaraan hebben wij dit verdiend? Er is ook berusting: Israël heeft weet van het 'eigen schuld, dikke bult,' de zwaar drukkende zonde. Toch is er hoop aan het eind: is er misschien uitkomst.[205]

This description presents one way of thinking about those measures of music, but in his descriptions Tuinstra rarely references the notes of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* in bolstering his point of view. For example, the *opgeheven hand* (raised hand) of Tuinstra's description does not have any specific motivic equivalent in Section II of the music, which is something one might expect from a "word-for-word" translation

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[204] Stef Tuinstra, "An Wasserflüssen Babylon - Johann Adam Reincken: Een Noord-Duitse Koraalfantasie als 'orgeloratorium'," *Het ORGEL* 94, no. 2 (1998), p. 14.

The narrator further tells the story in an atmosphere of embarrassment. Despite the paradise-like beauty, the people of Israel are gathered in sorrow; banned from their own country, moaning under the oppression of the Babylonians. Sighing, with hands raised to the sky: why did we deserve this? There is also resignation: Israel knows "it is our own fault, it serves us right" of the heavily oppressive sin. Yet there is hope at the end: perhaps there is an outcome.

[205] *Ibid.,* p. 11.

of text into music. And, Tuinstra does not explain how Reincken uses this section to accomplish a more overarching idea, the transformation of resignation (*berusting*) into hope (*hoop*). While I agree with Tuinstra that Reincken's use of musical affect is very convincing, I think it is so precisely because he does not create an exact musical equivalent of the text. Instead, as I will show in the following pages, the text and music work together in a way that is both seamless and subtle.

The Text of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*

In his article about Buxtehude's funerary setting of *Mit Fried- und Freudenreiche Hinfarth*, David Yearsley describes the eighteenth-century Lutheran congregation's knowledge of, and affinity for, chorale tunes. He writes that "whether the cantus firmus was sung or played, it would have remained richly significant to a congregation in whose consciousness the chorale was so deeply embedded that its melody was inseparable from its text…"[206] If this was true for the people listening to Buxtehude's chorale tunes, it likely would have held true for Reincken's congregation as well, particularly for a tune like *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, which was less well known than the *Vater unser* for example, but familiar enough that composers such as Matthias Weckmann, Franz Tunder, and Johann Pachelbel created (far less monumental) chorale fantasias on the tune.

Wolfgang Dachstein (1487-1553), an organist in Strasbourg, wrote both the tune and text of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* in 1525. The text of the chorale is based on the first verses of the dramatic, violent and heartbreaking Psalm 137.

[206] Yearsley, p. 188.

Psalm 137

[1]An den Wassern zu Babel saßen wir und weinten, wenn wir an Zion gedachten. [2]Unsere Harfen hingen wir an die Weiden, die daselbst sind. [3]Denn dort hießen uns singen, die uns gefangen hielten, und in unserm Heulen fröhlich sein: "Singet uns ein Lied von Zion!" [4]Wie sollten wir des HERRN Lied singen in fremden Landen? [5]Vergesse ich dein, Jerusalem, so werde ich meiner Rechten vergessen. [6]Meine Zunge soll an meinem Gaumen kleben, wo ich nicht dein gedenke, wo ich nicht lasse Jerusalem meine höchste Freude sein. [7]HERR, gedenke der Kinder Edom den Tag Jerusalems, die da sagten: "Rein ab, rein ab bis auf ihren Boden!" [8]Du verstörte Tochter Babel, wohl dem, der dir vergilt, wie du uns getan hast! [9]Wohl dem, der deine jungen Kinder nimmt und zerschmettert sie an dem Stein![207]

Psalm 137

[1]By the rivers of Babylon—there we sat down and there we wept when we remembered Zion. **[2]**On the willows there we hung up our harps. **[3]**For there our captors asked us for songs, and our tormentors asked for mirth, saying, 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion!' **[4]**How could we sing the Lord's song in a foreign land? **[5]**If I forget you, O Jerusalem, let my right hand wither! **[6]**Let my tongue cling to the roof of my mouth, if I do not remember you, if I do not set Jerusalem above my highest joy. **[7]**Remember, O Lord, against the Edomites the day of Jerusalem's fall, how they said, 'Tear it down! Tear it down! Down to its foundations!' **[8]**O daughter Babylon, you devastator! Happy shall they be who pay you back what you have done to us! **[9]**Happy shall they be who take your little ones and dash them against the rock![208]

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[207] Martin Luther, *Die Bibel: oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments : nach der deutschen Uebersetzung Martin Luther's* (Berlin: Preussische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft, 1990).

[208]"The Holy Bible. New Revised Standard Edition," (National Council of Churches, USA, 1989).

The text of the chorale reads as follows:

An Wasserflüssen Babylon

(Text)

> An Wasserflüssen Babylon / Da sassen wir mit Schmerzen
> Als wir gedachten an Zion / Da weinten wir von Herzen.
>
> Wir hingen auf mit schwerem Mut /
> Die Orgeln und die Harfen gut / An ihre Bäum der Weiden,
>
> Die drinnen sind in ihrem Land /
> Da mussten wir viel Schmach und Schand / Täglich von ihnen leiden.

(English translation)

> By the waters of Babylon / There we sat in pain
> When we thought of Zion / We cried from our hearts
>
> We hang with awful courage /
> The organ and the good harp / on the trees in the meadows,
>
> That are there in their country /
> There we, with much shame and disgrace / We suffered from them daily.

Dachstein's text does not deal with all of the drama and tragedy in the original psalm, particularly verse 9, which calls for brutal infanticide. Instead, the main themes of the chorale are: yearning for a homeland (Zion), deep depression that rejects music's healing balm, despair, and sadness. The original psalm helps to flesh out the fuller meaning of the chorale text. In this case, the faithful have been

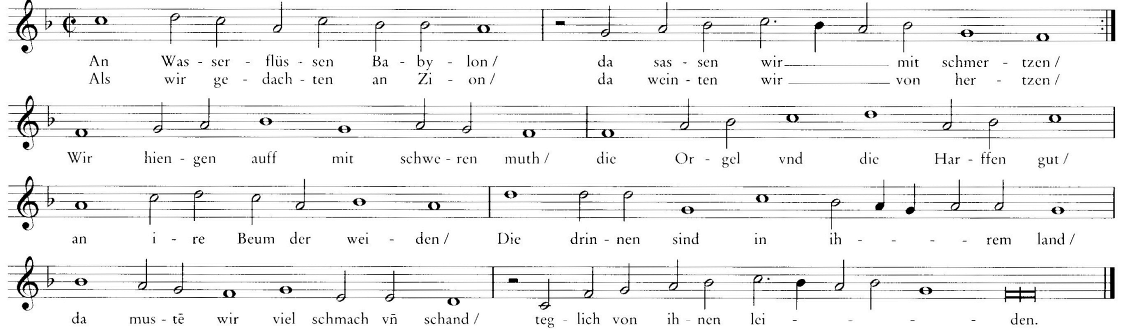
forced to take a journey, leave their homes and live in a foreign place. The captives are being asked/forced by their captors to sing songs while in bondage. In response to this injustice, the people demand righteous vengeance.

The version of the story in the chorale text is especially enticing to organists as the author adds a reference to the organ, which, together with the harp, are instruments abandoned by the exiled community. A text describing a group of believers in disarray, being made to worship against their will or in a way that felt sacrilegious might have been particularly meaningful in the decades following the Thirty-Years War. Although Hamburg did not feel the effects of the war as badly as her non-Hanseatic neighbors, many refugees or transplants from affected areas seeking a sanctuary from war might have found comfort in the words of protest found in this chorale.

Approaches to *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*

Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* is divided into ten sections, reflecting the ten phrases of Dachstein's chorale (see Figure 21).

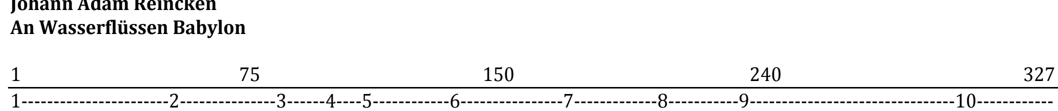
Figure 21. ***An Wasserflüssen Babylon***



Instead of an obvious presentation of the chorale tune, as we saw in most of Sweelinck's chorale variations, Reincken uses each chorale phrase as raw musical material that he sometimes presents clearly and sometimes obscures in accompanimental voices in the interior architecture of the music.

In order to make the structure of the music clearer, I have created a chart and a table that are like the ones in Chapters II and III. The first is a visual representation of the entire piece and the appropriate lengths of each section of the piece. Each section corresponds to a verse of the chorale (see Figure 22).

Figure 22. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (phrase lengths)



From this graph, we can see that, despite the relatively equal length of each chorale phrase, the chorale fantasia sections vary widely in length. Reincken concentrates the shorter presentation of the chorale phrases in the middle of the piece and because each section contains new textural ideas, this means that the greatest concentration of changes in texture is in the middle of the piece.

I have organized the textures of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* into an expanded version of the kinds of tables that I used in Chapters II and III. In the new chart, I have added a column to help describe how Reincken uses the chorale tune. This

helps to show how, unlike the chorale-based pieces by Sweelinck, Praetorius and Scheidemann, where the chorale tune's placement is usually fairly obvious, in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, Reincken integrates the chorale tune so that it becomes a part of the building blocks of the piece. I have included a tally of the number of statements of the chorale tune, along with brief descriptions of its placement in the overall musical framework. I have also included a column describing the one (occasionally more) musical idea that stands out in each section. These small nuggets of musical texture help to orient the ear and give the listener a sense of journey described in the text. Because these chunks of musical texture are almost all different – and yet prominent – they function like musical signposts that the listener can use to mark the important moments of the musical expedition. (See Table 28.)

One of the first insights that comes from organizing the piece this way, is that we can see that Reincken's creation of tension and stasis occasionally comes in the same way as it did in Sweelinck's music (i.e., through the alternation between static and dynamic textures) but more often Reincken expands his way of using the original "static" textures in order to create more drama. Most of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* is organized in Texture 4 (Embellished solo) but Reincken also combines that solo texture with many of the other textures to create hybrid textures. (I have not noted every time that Reincken incorporates Textures 6 (Sequences) or (Scales) into his embellished solos because it happens too often. Those particular mixtures became routine enough that they did not warrant special notice.)

Table 28. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*

MM.	Total	Textures			Chorale Tune	Textural Idea
1. An Wasserflüssen Babylon						
1-43	43	1-7	7	1 – Insinuatio	1 statement -half notes -in pedal accomp.	Octave leap in solo
		8-37	30	4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		38-43	6	7 – Coda – RH		
2. Da sassen wir mit Schmerzen						
44-81	38	44-45	2	3 – Ostinato/stretto	5 statements -half notes with passing tones - first four in pedal accomp. and hands - fifth in RH solo	Infusion of chorale tune in every voice
		46-47	2	4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		48-49	2	7 – Coda		
		50-52	3	3 – Ostinato/stretto		
		53-55	3	4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		56-58	3	3 – Ostinato/stretto		
		59-79	21	4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		80-81	2	7 – Coda – RH		
3. Als wir gedachten an Zion						
82-97	15	82-84	3	3 – Ostinato/stretto	2 statements - in diminution in the pedal - embellished version in LH solo, delay of final resolution note for two full measures	Rising triplet motive in solo
		85-90	6	4 – Embellished solo – LH		
		91-97		7 – Coda – LH		

Table 28. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, continued

4. Da weinten wir von Herzen.						
98-107	11	98-100	3	10 – Embellished homophony	2 statements - first in pedal in accomp. - second in embellished version in RH solo	Falling 32nd note figure in solo
		101-105	5	4 – Embellished solo - RH		
		106-107	2	7 – Coda – RH		
5. Wir hingen auf mit schwerem Mut						
108-136	29	108-136	29	4 – Embellished solo – RH	3 statements - first two in half notes in pedal - third in embellished RH solo	Three repeated notes
6. Die Orgeln und die Harfen gut						
137-176	40	137-141	5	4 – Embellished solo - RH	4 statements - first three in diminution (quarter notes) in the pedal - fourth in embellished LH solo	Falling three-note sixteenth figure Dotted eighth note figure
		142-147	5	4 – Embellished solo – LH		
		148-155	8	4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		156-157	2	7 – Coda – RH		
		158-168	11	4 – Embellished solo – LH		
		169-176	8	4 – Embellished solo – RH		

Table 28. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, continued

7. An ihre Bäum der Weiden						
177-207	31	177-191	15	5 – Echoes/ 10 – Embellished homophony	1 statement (multiple fragments) - full statement in RH solo in final measures of this section, final note of the statement is short and nebulous	Echoes between different manuals
		192-207	16	5 – Echoes/ 4 – Embellished RH+LH solo		
8. Die drinnen sind in ihrem Land						
208-235	28	208-214	7	4 – Embellished RH solo/ 10 – Embellished homophony/ 5 – Echoes	1 statement - in very embellished final RH solo/coda - statement not easily audible	Three repeated notes (from the chorale phrase) Hands crossing
		215-221	7	4 – Embellished LH solo/ 10 – Embellished homophony		
		222-228	7	4 – Embellished LH solo/ 7 – Coda – LH		
		229-235	7	4 – Embellished RH solo/ 7 – Coda – RH		

Table 28. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, continued

9. Da mussten wir viel Schmach und Schand						
236-290	55	236-245	10	4 – Embellished melody/ 3 – Ostinato/stretto	1 full statement – many fragments - full statement in augment. in pedal	Falling scale Duet in melody Echoes between different manuals
		246-263	18	4 – Embellished melody (with duet in accomp)		
		264-271	8	5 – Echoes/ 4 – Embellished RH+LH solo		
		272-284	13	8 – Metric/rhythmic 5 – Echoes/ 4 – Embellished RH+LH solo		
		285-290	6	7 – Coda – RH		
10. Täglich von ihnen leiden.						
291-327	37	291-302	12	4+ – Embellished double solo (duet)	1 statement - in RH solo - very embellished - many interruptions and extensions of melody	Duet in melody
		303-312	10	4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		313-322	10	5 – Echoes/ 4 – Embellished solo – RH		
		323-327	5	7 – Coda – RH		

Reincken also used combinations of Texture 4 with other “dynamic” textures so that the combination of slow harmonic action and florid solo line, which had been static in Sweelinck’s music, becomes an important locus of drama. For example, at

the beginning of section VII, Reincken combines Texture 5 (Echoes) and Texture 10 (Embellished homophony). (See measures 184-188 in Figure 23.) As a simple series of echoes, this section would have been rather static. But, because the echoes are actually discrete two-handed homophonic ideas that are repeated on different manuals, the difference between the first statement (on the *Rückpositiv*), and the second (on the *Hauptwerk*) is more dramatic.

Figure 23. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (mm 183-188)

Reincken's fusion of the dynamic textures from those that would have been more static in Sweelinck's music serves to create a kind of unsettled, antsy mood. Of course, Scheidemann also expanded Sweelinck's musical textures (in *Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns I*, for example) but he usually combined static textures with other static textures (refer to Table 14 in Chapter IV). Reincken's expansion of

static textures included other dynamic textures as well. For example, in Section VIII, he combines Textures 4, 10, and 5 by creating an embellished melody within a homophonic framework that is echoed between multiple keyboards. (See Figure 24, mm 208-214.)

Figure 24. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (mm 207-214)

These new textural combinations happen throughout the piece, but are concentrated in Sections VII, VIII, and IX. In those sections, the fusions help to create a tension that mirrors the text's description of a group of people who are made to stay in a foreign place but are anxious to get home.

Reincken's use of the chorale tune in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* also builds upon the work of his predecessors. Sweelinck occasionally referenced the chorale tune in the accompanying voice of his chorale variations, but this was usually limited to a short fore-imitation section, often in the *insinuatio* of Texture 1. In *An*

Wasserflüssen Babylon, Reincken uses the chorale tune in fore-imitation (as in Sweelinck), and he repeats it several times within one section (as did Scheidemann, in his *Vater unser II*), but he also uses the chorale tune as the pedal line, he uses it in augmentation and diminution, and, when it appears in an embellished solo, he interrupts and extends the melody for dramatic effect. If we look at the use of the chorale in the piece as a whole, we can see that both the first section and the final (tenth) section contain just a single statement of the chorale tune, and that single statement includes many interruptions. In Section X, the chorale tune is broken and interrupted many times. The only intact statement (measures 303-310) occurs in an embellished right-hand solo that is punctuated with trill-like "cries" and an extension of the final note in a virtuosic melisma over three full measures. The interruptions and extensions in the final statement of the chorale give a sense of thwarted resolution to the final section of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*. Because the final statement is somewhat diffuse, the piece does not seem to really end. Especially after such a long piece (more than twenty minutes), a monumental conclusion could have put a victorious exclamation point on the triumph of the downtrodden exile community. Instead, Reincken ends the piece by fading into the distance with a long and static melisma.

The information in the final column of Table 1, what I am calling the "textural idea," shows the most recognizable short musical ideas that Reincken uses in each section of the chorale fantasia. Some of these ideas are clearly referring to evocative words in the text. For example, the falling thirty-second–note figures in the solo

melodic line of Section IV are clear representations of the tears implied in "Da weinten wir von Herzen." (See Figure 25.)

Figure 25. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (mm 103-104)

Other musical ideas are not so clearly linked to the text. For example, the first disjointed and interrupted musical idea of an octave leap in Section I does not seem a logical companion to the phrase "An Wasserflüssen Babylon," which might connote a more languid or flowing musical texture. But, when put into context with the information from the chorale tune column of Table 28, we see that Reincken not only ends *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* with interruptions and extensions (as mentioned above), he also begins the piece that way. The octave leaps in the solo voice of Section I hiccup and stutter as the piece opens, and provide a textural mirror for the exhausted spinning and disappearing melismas of the final measures.

This table allows us to see that Reincken preserves a kind of dramatic organization that sometimes happens in Sweelinck's chorale variations. Just as in *Erbarm dich mein,* where the most intense and grand portions of the music are in the middle of the piece, and the beginning and the end are more restrained, *Am Wasserflüssen Babylon* does not have a massive beginning or grand flourish at the

end. In Section I, the chorale tune is first presented as a bass line (measures 8-13), later (in Section III, measure 82) it is presented in diminution as a charming soprano motive, and in Section VII, the melody is completely fractured and is passed between various manuals and incorporated into an echo pattern (measures 177-181). This piece does not start out with a fanfare or improvisatory flourish, nor does it really end with one. At some points the music seems to become completely static (such as in the coda section, mm. 233-236) and other times it seems to self-destruct (in the "hands crossing" section, mm. 222 – 224). That, along with the fact that the intensity of the texture varies dramatically and does not seem to build to a systematic climax, but rather passes through many different highs and lows, provides for a confusing experience for the average twenty-first-century listener. In short, many of the signposts we have come to expect from the freely composed (i.e., not based on a chorale) music of Bach and even Buxtehude – opening flourish in *stylus phantasticus*, alternation of lyrical, melodic sections and bouncy fugal sections, and virtuosic closing flourish – do not exist in this piece.[209] Most of the piece remains diatonic and so a comparison of key areas or harmonic relationships does not add much to our understanding of the narrative of the music.

Although *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* does not fit neatly into the neatly defined textures as found in Sweelinck, leaving our resulting table more complex, we can still see the effect of static and dynamic musical elements in creating an overall

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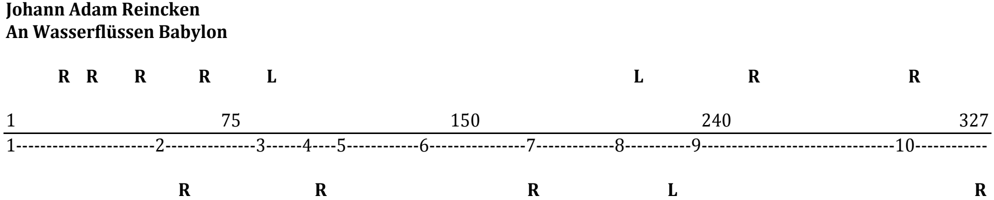
[209] Tuinstra's definition of *stylus phantasticus* is especially helpful. In his article, "An Wasserflüssen Babylon - Johann Adam Reincken: Een Noord-Duitse Koraalfantasie als 'orgeloratorium,'" he gives a lengthy list of characteristics of this style, which include "theater," "the musician as actor," "polyphonic counterpoint," "imitation of instruments," "monumental," and "the sounds of the gestures of a good orator." Tuinstra, p.6.

sense of narrative. In summary, Reincken expands the static textures as found in Sweelinck, by combining them with more dynamic textures that propel the music forward. He also uses the chorale tune and the recognizable musical textural shapes to make both the beginning and the end full of interruptions and pauses. Finally, Reincken does not put set this monumental piece in a monumental frame, as his younger colleague, J. S. Bach would have done. Instead, he situates the most dramatic portion in the middle of the piece.

Even though Table 28 makes a strong case for *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* as a chorale fantasia that sputters to begin, traverses several areas of tension, and then shudders to an end, there is even more evidence to bolster this case. Because Reincken utilizes the full range of the organ keyboard in this virtuosic piece, it is helpful to see where he uses the highest and lowest notes. I have used a graph to map where the highest and lowest notes occur, and with which hands. The highest notes in the piece are G^5 or A^5 in the treble clef, and the lowest are C_2 or F_2 in the bass clef (see Figure 26).[210]

[210] In this chart, "L" refers to left hand, and "R" refers to the right hand. The section above the timeline represents the treble clef and the section below represents the bass clef. The numbers in the timeline refer to the sections of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, which are based on the phrases from the chorale.

Figure 26. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (highest and lowest notes)



From this visual representation, we can see that Reincken often asks the organist to play notes in the extreme registers with the "wrong" hand. For example, the two L's in the top line of the chart represent notes that the organist is to play with the left hand but at the topmost range of the "right-handed," treble section of the keyboard. For example, in the excerpt found in Figure 27, the right-hand solo begins in the "normal" treble range, but quickly traverses to C_2, which would have been the lowest note of Reincken's organ keyboard. This is lower, even, than the C_3 of the pedal line. Physically, this means that the organist's right hand is crossed over across the body to the left, in an uncomfortable way, while the left hand and feet are more or less at rest and in a neutral, centered position.

Figure 27. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (mm. 46-49)

While the highest and lowest notes are fairly evenly spaced throughout the piece, the places where the hands cross over the body to play the extreme notes (for example, section III, bar 91) are mostly concentrated in the middle variations. This means that in the part of the piece where the ears are most confused by constant changes in textures (as demonstrated in Table 28), the organist's body is also in the most contorted positions. In the next chart (Figure 28), I have marked the places in the piece where the hands are forced to cross over each other. Specific measure numbers are found below, in Table 29. [211]

[211] Although some elements of this hand-crossing graph match up with the above highest-lowest-notes timeline, the body crossings do not always happen just for the sake of reaching the lowest or highest notes, and sometimes those extreme notes are played with the "correct" hand.

Figure 28. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (hands crossing)

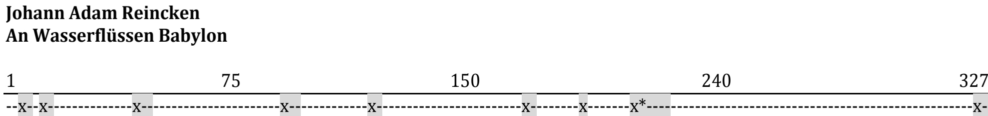


Table 29. Hands Crossing in Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*

Chorale Phrases	Measures	Number of Measures	RH or LH
I	8-9 12-13	2 2	Solo RH Solo RH
II	47-49	3	Solo RH
III	90-93	4	Solo LH
IV	106-107	2	Solo RH
VI	175-176	2	Solo RH
VII	207	1	Solo LH
VIII	223-228	6	*Solo RH and LH, and RF and LF
X	326-327	2	Coda RH

From this visual representation, it is easy to see that the majority of the hand crossings also occur in the shorter central sections. One of the crossings, in Section VIII, is a kind of "total-body crossing" in which the right hand and left hand have crossed over each other and are juxtaposed against the double pedal line that is also at the highest and lowest note of the range (see mm. 222-228 in Figure 29).

Figure 29. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (mm 219-228)

At this point in the piece, the organist's body is completely contorted – arms crossed, legs splayed. The discomfort described in the chorale text has now become a part of the performer's body. By combining these observations, we can see that the middle sections contain the most tension and friction, which gives the impression that the listener is coming upon a scene or is viewing only a part of a much larger picture.

Understanding the Narrative of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*

After having reviewed these observations based on the musical criteria I outlined in Chapter III, which are based on a combination of the ideas of Frits Noske and Karin Nelson, it is also helpful to see what other scholars might say about how we can understand chorale fantasias. Recent scholarship has attempted to engage seventeenth- and eighteenth-century music without resorting to the common harmonic or formal criteria that define music theory of the common practice period. Laurence Dreyfus and Eric Chafe have tackled J. S. Bach's music in new ways that seem pertinent to Reincken's. Dreyfus approaches Bach's music using one element, *inventio*, from the traditional discipline of rhetoric. He identifies discrete compositional ideas in Bach's music and then, like the segmenting of an orange, takes the pieces apart in order to show how Bach put them together. A literal application of his theoretical framework would not illuminate Reincken's music as much as Bach's because the former is more concerned with fleeting textural impressions and the latter operates with a cool, clear harmonic logic. Dreyfus' justification for his ideas seem quite relevant, however, as he writes, "contemporary scholarship, for all its accomplishments and methodological sophistication, so often becomes reticent when it comes to capturing some semblance of a profound musical experience [in this repertoire]."[212] Even if an analysis of *Am Wasserflüssen* using most of the "sophisticated methods" (harmonic or formal analysis) to which Dreyfus is referring does not yield much insight, his recognition of a need for a different way

[212]Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 4.

to read such pieces rings true.[213] And, indeed, a strict application of Dreyfus' ideas to Reincken's piece does not really work either, but the concept that the piece is built with a variety of smaller ideas (for our purposes, discrete textures) that interact with each other to form a whole does help to explain this piece. Like different characters that combine to form a scene of a play, Reincken's motives help to create sequence of scenarios within the piece. In that way, the ten sections might be thought of as ten scenes that narrate a kind of journey, perhaps the one referred to in the chorale text and psalm.

Similarly, the literal application of Eric Chafe's theories of tonal allegory, in other words, a focus on various key relationships within the piece, does not serve to tell us much *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, where a modal harmonic plan is in place, and the chorale tune dictates the harmonic activity.[214] However, Chafe's idea that moving through sonic changes can be an allegory of a voyage through a spiritual landscape helps to explain Reincken's piece. Instead of using key areas or "open and closed structures", as Chafe describes them, Reincken moves through musical panoramas which seem to emphasize first melody, then rhythmic gesture, then echo effect, then imitative counterpoint, etc. These different parameters create a kind of symbiotic web, which work together to create the spiritual journey of the piece.

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[213] Because *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* incorporates a completely diatonic chorale tune (as do most chorale fantasias from this time period), and because Reincken does not choose to use many chromatic variety in the chorale tune or in the harmonic progressions, a harmonic map of this piece is fairly uninteresting. The chorale tune stays firmly in F major and Reincken preserves the basic hymn-like harmonic accompaniment. Likewise, because the piece is organized around ten phrases of the chorale, its formal scheme is very predictable. Essentially, it is through-composed, with each chorale phrase getting its own section.

[214] Eric Chafe, "Allegorical Music: The "Symbolism" of Tonal Language in the Bach Canons," *The Journal of Musicology* 3, no. 4 (1984).

Sometimes these musical factors interfere with each other. For example, the active and purposeful motive beginning in bar 208 seems to be interrupted by a static harmonic and virtuosic figural flourish in bar 224 before resuming in bar 229. It seems as though the "characters" (as in Dreyfus) are interrupted by some sort of cry or outburst before doggedly continuing on. If we try to relate this to the text, we could see some of the characters trying to return to something and being interrupted before summoning a resolve to carry on.

Two even more helpful approaches are those informed by Baroque musico-rhetorical practice, such as described by Dietrich Bartel in his book, *Music Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music*, and a new way of looking at form, as Fritz Noske describes in his article on *Forma formans*.

The rhetorical approach begins with an intense focus on the chosen text and its context. In this case, that means the chorale text and the surrounding Psalm chapter. This is the *locus topicus*. As described above, a composer trying to set this text would want to invoke sadness, loss, disorientation, protest and disrupted sound. Rather than telling a specific story, the composer would attempt to figure out a "suitable" affection for the piece. Bartel writes that, "Not only could such an application of the *loci topici* furnish the composer with ideas for his composition, but it would also discourage a preoccupation with particular words which might be contrary to the governing affection."[215] By using a large-scale rhetorical approach – that is, without trying to identify each motivic type and its associations – we can see that Reincken uses the progression of musical parameters to create a kind of

[215] Bartel, p. 79.

argument or storyline. Bartel writes that rhetoric's "primary purpose was rooted in moving the listener through affective text interpretation and through a musical representation of the cosmic order."[216] Unlike Buxtehude's clean and reliable use of rhetorical prescriptions, Reincken's use of the concept here is more subtle. Just as David Yearsley describes Buxtehude's use of both *stile antico* and *stile moderno* in order to make an allegorical commentary on the text at hand, Reincken shifts between degrees of musical intensity, figural types and textures in order to shape his interpretation of the text. Instead of literally representing each connotative word in the text, as would a madrigal composer, he often chooses to represent the larger themes of the text more abstractly. For example, he avoids any musical reference to water in the first section (*An Wasserflüssen Babylon*), but in Section III, he conveys the sense of the text (*Als wir gedachten an Zion*) by writing a restless triplet motive in the solo voice, a process that then culminates in a static cry over a pedal point (see Figure 29, mm. 87-97). This cry of protest interrupts the previously steady harmonic progression and refuses to quiet for another six measures. Besides helping to translate the text into musical affect, this moment disturbs the music's calm predictability and holds the listener captive in unfamiliar territory.

[216] Ibid., p.28.

Figure 30. Reincken, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (mm 85-97)

This cry of protest interrupts the previously steady harmonic progression and refuses to quiet for another six measures. Besides helping to translate the text into musical affect, this moment disturbs the music's calm predictability and holds the listener captive in unfamiliar territory.

Fritz Noske's concept of *forma formans* was formulated with Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's music in mind (as I discussed in Chapter III), but it is also relevant to Reincken's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*. A short restatement of those ideas is helpful here. Noske begins with the assumption that music is an activity, not a product and objects to the idea that form equals content.[217] He writes,

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[217] Frits Noske, "Forma formans," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 7, no. 1 (1976), p. 44.

> The form of the completed musical work tells us very little about the process of composing. The indisputable fact that music does not really exist unless it is produced in sound implies its character of being always generative. Music is by definition a present participle. What we hear, what we sing, or what we play is not the formed form, or the *forma formata*, but the form forming itself, or the *forma formans.*[218]

Noske suggests that allowing the form to uncover itself, instead of applying a rigid structure on top, can allow us to understand a kind of coherence that was previously hidden. Specifically, he suggests that structural factors in music are often expressed as movement, and composers manipulate them to create varying kinds of "psychic deviations" that increase or decrease our perception of tension.[219] These kinds of temporal deviations often take the form of acceleration (through thematic diminution), retardation, and stabilization (either through echoes, through breaks, like those between variation sets, and through placing the melody in the bass, which dictates a very slow harmonic rhythm).[220] In Chapter III, I simplified these three elements into two – "dynamic" and "static."

Because these ideas about musical composition rely on a type of additive form, not a cyclical one, the incorporation of a chorale tune presents an compelling challenge for a composer. As we find in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, German chorales from this period often have a repeated first half and a through-composed second

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[218] *Ibid.,* p. 45.

[219] *Ibid.,* p. 47.

[220] *Ibid.,* p. 52-53.

half (AAB, bar form), so the composer must navigate through the first repeat without making it sound cyclical and move through the second half without losing some kind of coherence. In this piece, Reincken does not use the chorale tune as a formal determinate, but instead uses it as a building block in the overall language of the piece. The chorale tune appears either in diminution (measure 2) in order to accelerate the overall motion, in augmentation (in section IX) to slow down the sense of progression or as a part of an echo (section VII) or as a bass line (measures 8-13) so as to impose a sense of stasis.

So, to summarize some of the ideas above, by organizing *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* into a chart similar to those used to understand the music of Sweelinck, Scheidemann, and Praetorius, I have shown that Reincken expands the earlier composers' use of musical texture to create a more dynamic series of musical events. While Reincken expands the type of musical texture utilized by his predecessors, he maintains their organizational structure, which, unlike the free compositions of later composers such as Bach, does not rely on an opening flourish–internal development–final flourish dramatic structure. Instead, *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* works like a journey through a series of mountains and valleys, with the most challenging part of the journey happening in the middle. We can understand this type of music from a variety of different analytical lenses: Reincken reflected broad themes of the chorale text in the music of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (Bartel). This alternation between different textural changes creates tension or relaxation. (Noske). Moving through those sonic changes can be like going on a voyage (Chafe),

and the addition of all those sonic changes into a whole can help us understand the musical whole (Dreyfus).

Given the various lenses through which we can see and hear *An Wasserflüssen Babylon,* what can we learn from the piece as a whole? Given the restrained beginning (Sections I and II) and the fractured final measures (mm. 319-327), the music seems neither to start nor finish – rather, it somewhat resembles a snapshot in the middle of a larger landscape. Of course, this is what the text calls for; a depiction of a community adrift in a foreign land, without a clear way home. This is music that is still an "activity" and it finds its form as it goes along, as it adds one reference to the next. In that way, it might be seen as a "Baroque" work in the truest sense of the word. Knowing this helps to explain why the piece does not fit into our general idea of German organ music as we see it in Bach. This form is formed by the addition of references and the absence of a conclusion, not by the confirmation of musical expectations. For that reason, we need a variety of different theoretical frameworks to understand how *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* works and how Reincken accurately captured the essence of the text.

Afterword

I have concentrated on the chorale-based works by Sweelinck, Scheidemann, Praetorius, and Reincken, partly because focusing on the Amsterdam-Hamburg axis was a clean and simple way to delimit my study.[221] After Reincken, the chorale-based organ work found its most thorough expression in J. S. Bach's *Schübler* chorales, his *Orgel-Büchlein*, the third book of his *Clavier-Übung*. Following Bach, the chorale fantasia fell out of favor, until Max Reger revived it around the turn of the twentieth century. Reger's monumental and tone-poem-like chorale fantasias, *Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme* and *Halleluja! Gott zu loben* remain some of the most demanding and virtuosic pieces in the organ repertoire. Those pieces, however, had shed any remnant of relevance in the liturgical world, and were designed solely for the concert setting of an organ recital. Even Bach's chorale settings, while technically appropriate for presentation during a Sunday service or an evening Vespers, were extremely difficult and worked-out arrangements of chorale tunes, designed to show his prowess as a composer, not just as an improviser. With Reincken, the role of the chorale fantasia as a showpiece for an improviser, who deftly melded together a variety of musical textures to create an aural narrative, began to fade.

One wonders, then, what went through Reincken's head as he heard J. S. Bach's improvisation on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, during the latter's audition for an organist post in Hamburg, in 1722, near the end of Reincken's life. Did he think about the journeys of chorale fantasias past? Perhaps the elegant and proportional

[221] Further research on this topic would certainly include chorale fantasias by the contemporaries of Scheidemann and Praetorius, Samuel Scheidt and Franz Tunder.

sound-world to which Amsterdammers were transported as they ambled around the *wandelkerk* in the Oude Kerk, listening to Sweelinck improvise on Calvinist Psalm tunes? Or, the travels of Praetorius and Scheidemann, as they made the pilgrimage to study with the 'Orpheus of Amsterdam'? Did he reflect on the way Praetorius and Scheidemann explored beyond Sweelinck's musical boundaries, in order to modify the acoustic landscape he had created? Or, maybe he thought about how far he felt from that musical heartland, the music of his formative years, as Bach sat at the organ bench and began to play. Though not held in bondage, as were the Israelites in Reincken's legendary chorale fantasia, he was at the end of his life, with no way back to his youth – except, perhaps, through music. As the young man sat down to play, Reincken might have wondered whether the music that Bach played would represent a new, innovative style, or whether Bach would draw upon the musical textures of Scheidemann and Praetorius, and those of the old Dutch master. Bach's obituary records the occasion this way:

> During this time, about the year 1722, [Bach] made a journey to Hamburg and was heard for more than two hours on the fine organ of St. Catherine's before the Magistrate and many other distinguished persons of the town, to their general astonishment. The aged organist of this church, Johann Adam Reincken, who at that time was nearly a hundred years old, listened to him with particular pleasure.[222] Bach, at the request of those present, performed extempore the chorale *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* at great length (for almost half an hour) and in

[222] As noted at the start of Chapter V, the obituary's claim that Reincken lived into his late nineties has been refuted, by Ulf Grapenthin and others, who note that the records in Deventer, Reincken's childhood home, refer to his baptism in 1643. Even with this revised date, Reincken would have been about 80 when he attended Bach's impromptu recital, and certainly an elderly man.

> different ways, just as the better organists of Hamburg in the past had been used to do at the Saturday Vespers. Particularly on this, Reincken made Bach the following compliment: 'I thought that this art was dead, but I see that in you it still lives.' This verdict of Reincken's was the more unexpected since he himself had set the same chorale, many years before, in the manner described above; and this fact, as also that otherwise he had always been somewhat inclined to be envious, was not unknown to our Bach. Reincken thereupon pressed him to visit him and showed him much courtesy."[223]

By 1722, it is no wonder that Reincken thought this art was dying – it was, except for in the genius fingers of Bach. The preference for this style of musical journey declined after the passing of Reincken and those who revered him. Newer tastes called for predictability and conciseness in compositional forms and Bach's improvisation on *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* was likely one of the last examples of this sort of chorale fantasia. Reincken died that same year, and although we do not know how many days or months separated Bach's performance from his passing, it is tempting to think that Reincken was waiting to hear that kind of music one last time. Perhaps the memory of Bach's *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* buoyed his spirit so that it could finally find its home.

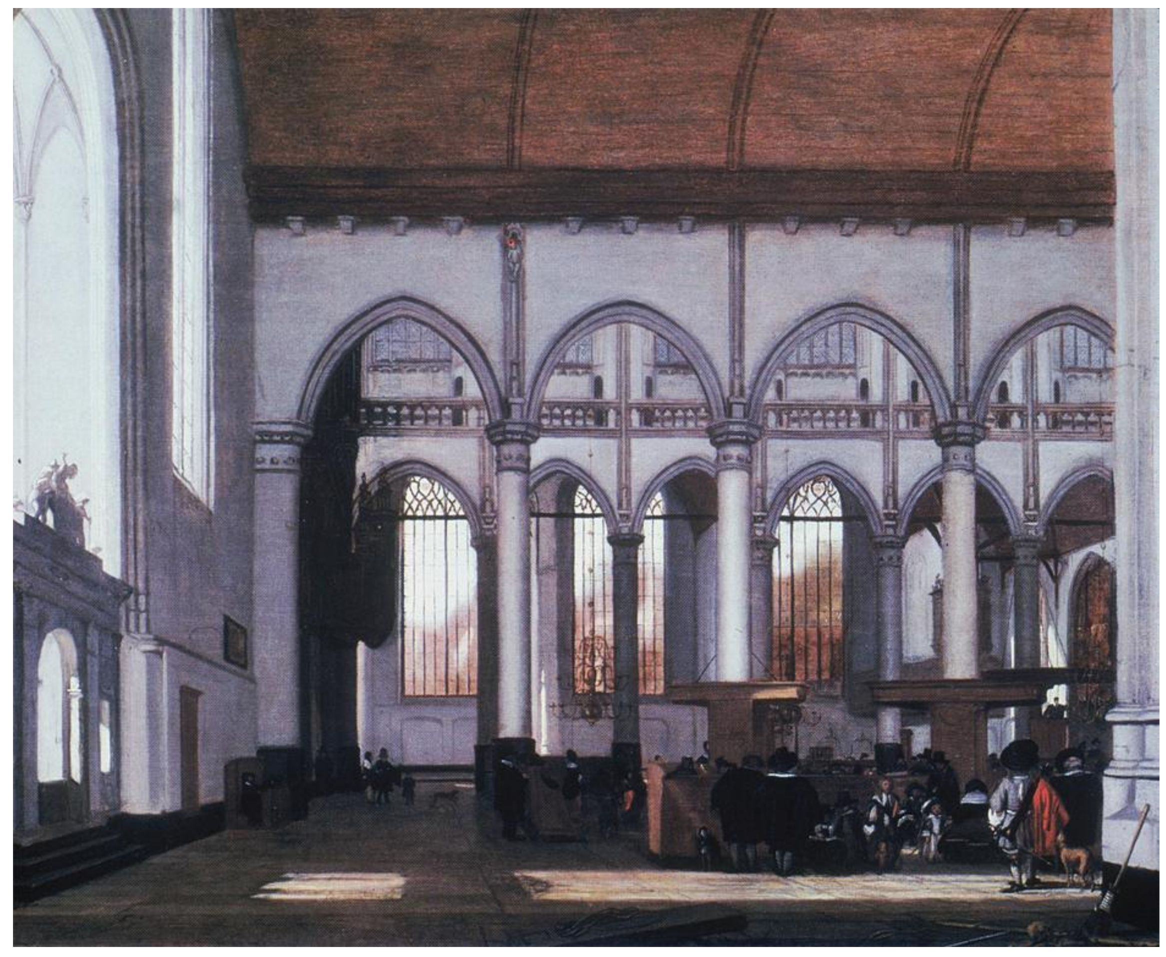
[223] As quoted in Maul, p. xxx-xxxi.

APPENDIX A

DEPICTIONS OF CHURCH INTERIORS IN AND AROUND AMSTERDAM

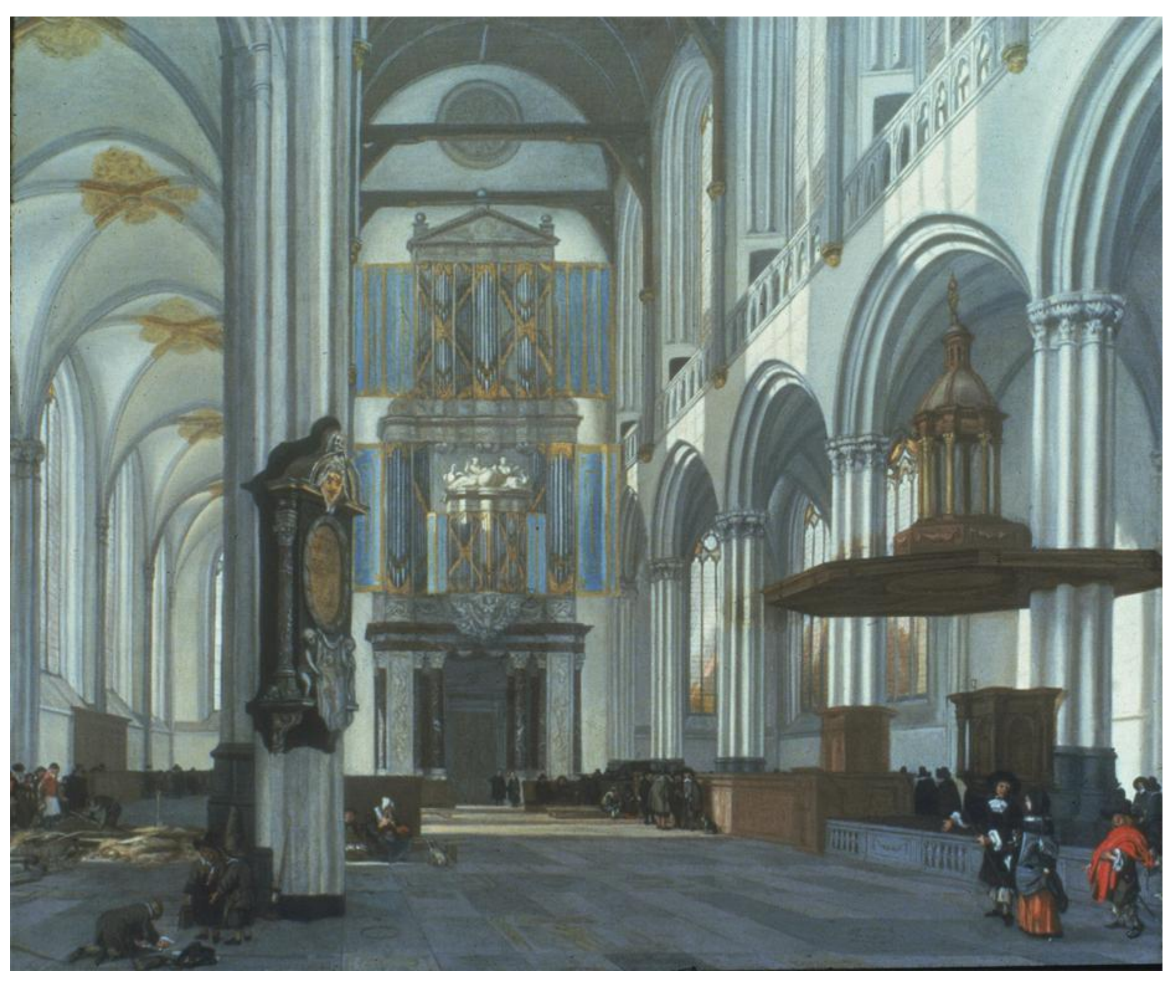
1. *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam, During a Sermon*
Emanuel de Witte
[Mid-17th Century]

2. *Interior of the Oude Kerk, Amsterdam*
Emanuel de Witte
[1659?]



3. *Interior of the Grote Kerk, Haarlem*
Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde
[1673]

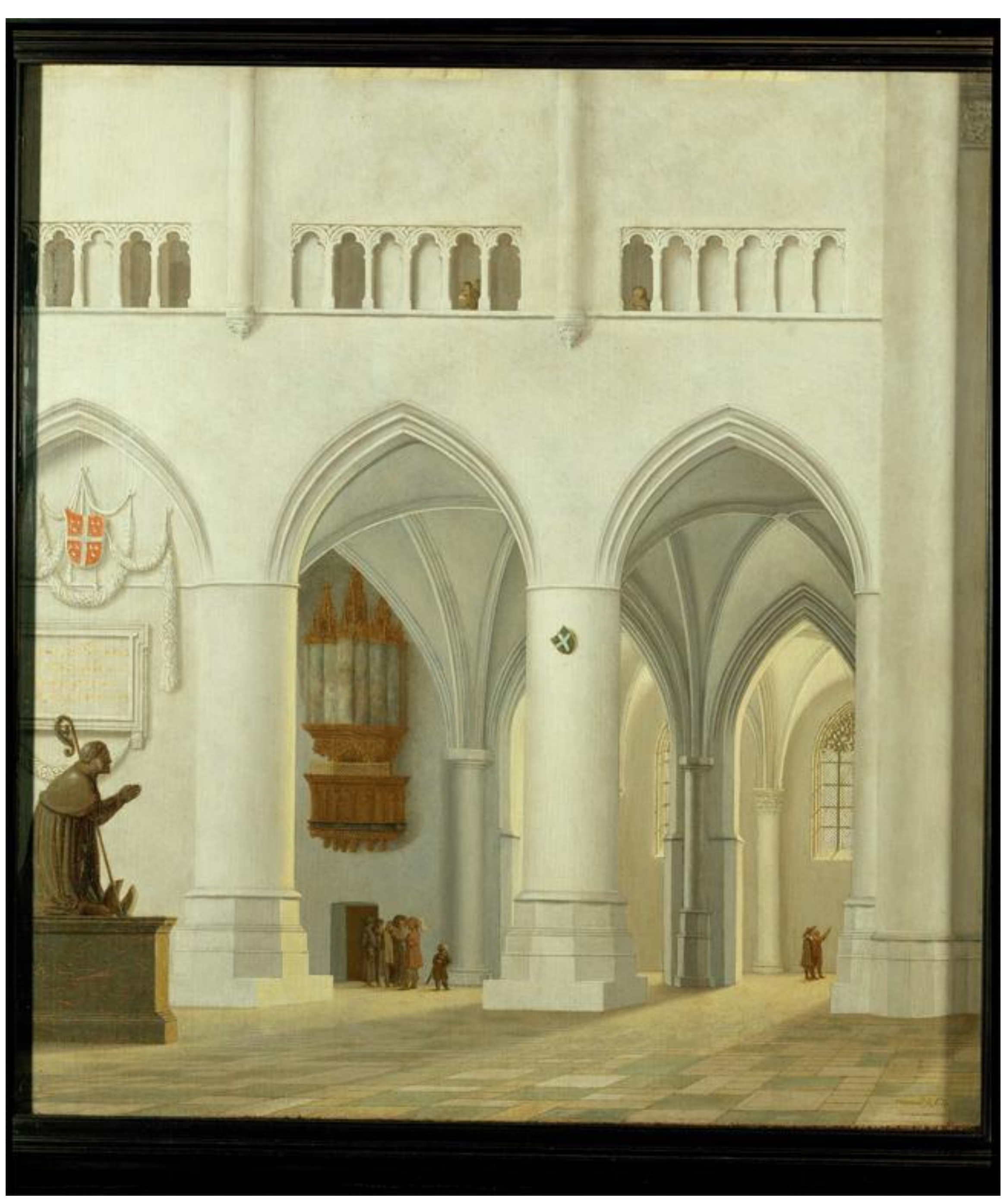
4. *Interior of Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam*
Emanuel de Witte
[1657]



5. *Church Interior*
Emanuel de Witte
[c.1670]

6. *Interior of the Church of St. Bavo at Haarlem*
Pieter, Jansz Saenredam
[Mid-17th Century]

7. *Interior of the Church of Saint Bavo at Haarlem*
Pieter Jansz. Saenredam
[1638]



APPENDIX B

UN SOL BACIO TI DONO – JAN PIETERSZOON SWEELINCK[224]

[224] IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, editor Arnold den Teuling,
Accessed on 3 May 2013, http://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ReverseLookup/136503

Un sol bacio ti dono

12
ti, Di che? di che?
ti, Di che? di che? del do-na-to -re,ò pur del
ti; Di che? di che? Di che? del
15
del do - na - to -re,ò pur del do - no? del do-na-to -re,ò pur del do -
do - no? ò pur del do - no? del do-na-to -re,ò pur del do - no? del do-na-to-re,ò
do-na-to -re,ò pur del do - no?
18
- -no? del do-na-to -re,ò pur del do - no? Se
pur del do - no? del do-na-to -re,ò pur del do - no?
del do-na-to-re,ò pur del do - no? Se d'un non ti con-
21
d'un non ti con-ten - ti, se d'un non ti con-ten- ti, non ti con-
Se d'un non ti con - ten - ti, Se
ten - ti, se d'un non ti con-ten- ti, non ti con-ten- ti

23
ten - ti, non ti con ten - ti, Se d'un non ti con -
d'un Se d'un non ti con - ten - ti, non ti con - ten - ti, non ti con -
non ti, con ten - ti, Se d'un non ti con ten - ti, se d'un
25
ten - ti, Pi - glia - ne pi - glia - ne Pi - glia - ne
ten - ti, Pi - glia - ne pi - glia - ne Pi - glia - ne
non ti con - ten - ti, Pi - glia - ne pi - glia - ne Pi - glia - ne
27
quan - –ti vu -
quan - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ti vu -
quan - ti vu -
29
oi: Se non t'ag - gra - da po - i, E
oi: Se non t'ag - gra - da po -
oi: Se non t'ag - gra - da po - i, E l'hai con

32
l'hai con - tra tua vo - glia; con
i, E l'hai con - tra
- tra tua vo - - - glia; e l'hai con -
35
- tra tua vo - glia; O me lo rend'
tua vo - - - - glia, O me lo
tra tua vo - glia; O me lo
37
O me lo ren - di,ò la - scia, ch'io me'l to -
rend' O me lo ren - di,ò la - scia
ren - di,
38
glia, O me lo ren - di,ò la - scia, ch'io me'l to glia ò la scia ch'io me'l to-
chío me'l to - glia. ò la scia ch'io me'l to glia. ò la - scia
o me lo ren-di,ò la scia ch'io me'l to- glia. ò la -scia ch'io me'l to glia. ò

Eén enkele kus schenk ik je, ondankbare meid, en je klaagt, Waarom? Om de schenker of alleen het geschenk? Als je over één niet tevreden bent, pluk er dan zoveel je wilt. Als het niet naar je zin is vervolgens en je hebt het tegen je wil, o, geef het me terug of laat toe dat ik het terug neem.

One single kiss I give you, ungrateful girl, and you complain, about what? the giver or the gift only? If you are not content with one, pick as many as you want. If it is not to your pleasure after all and you have got it against your will, o, give it back to me or let me take it back myself.

APPENDIX C

MARCHANS QUI TRAVERSEZ – JAN PIETERSZOON SWEELINCK[225]

Rimes françoises et italiennes

No. 6 part 1 Marchans qui traversez

Jan P. Sweelinck (1612)

0617

[225] IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, editor Albert Folop
Accessed on 3 May 2013, http://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ReverseLookup/121628

Given the complexities of accessing the vocal score for this piece, I studied a score that is arranged for recorder ensemble, but also listened to the vocal recording by the Gesualdo Consort Amsterdam, directed by Harry van der Kamp – Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, *The Secular Vocal Works* (Glossa). 2009.

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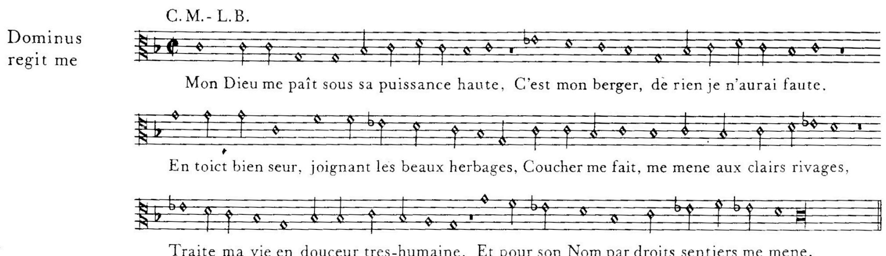
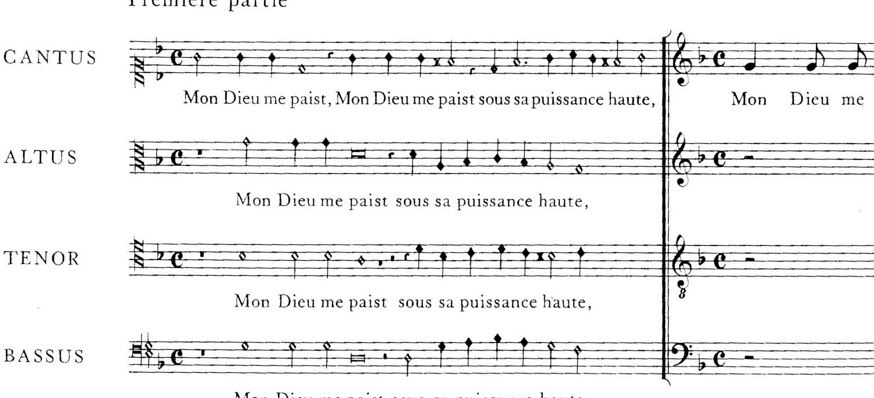
APPENDIX D

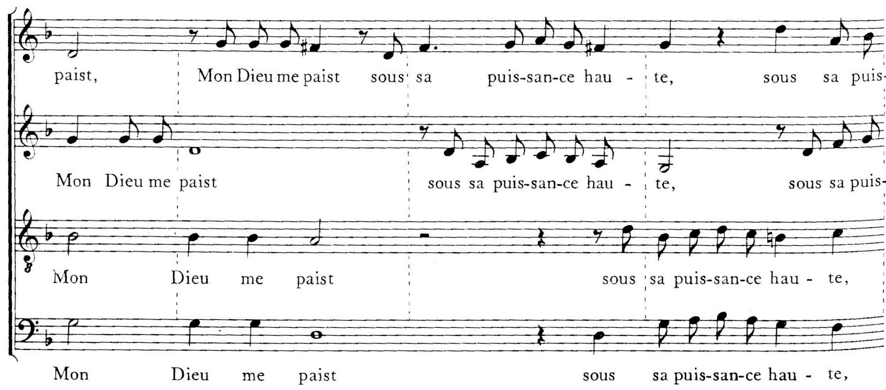
SETTINGS OF PSALM 23 – JAN PIETERSZOON SWEELINCK[226]

1. Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck – *Pseaume 23*

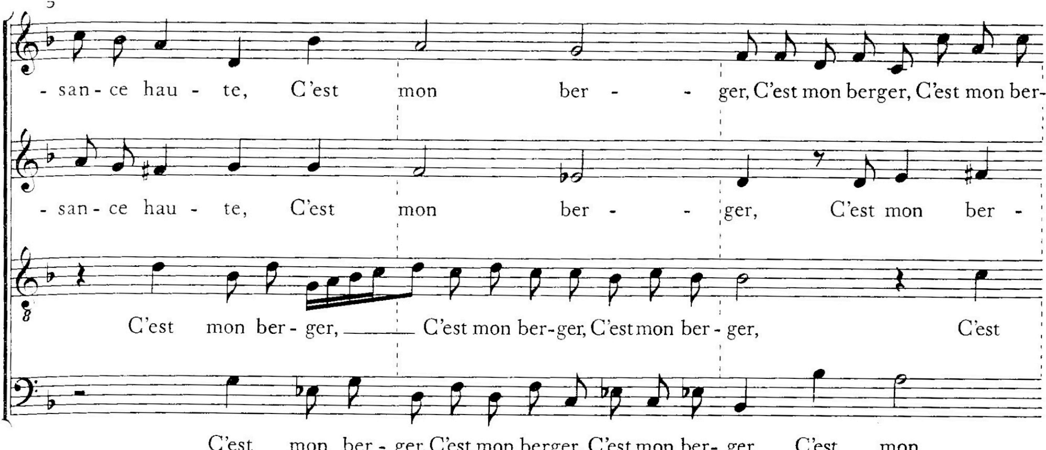
Pseaume 23

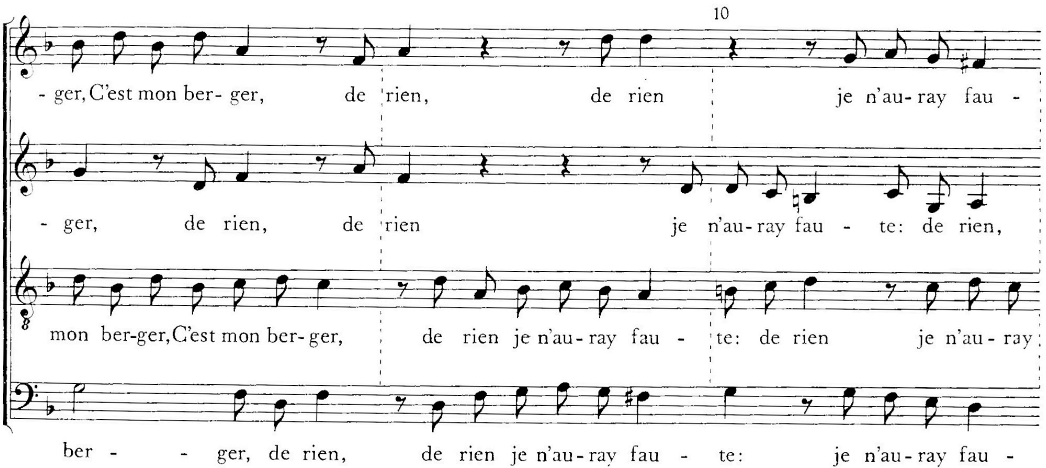


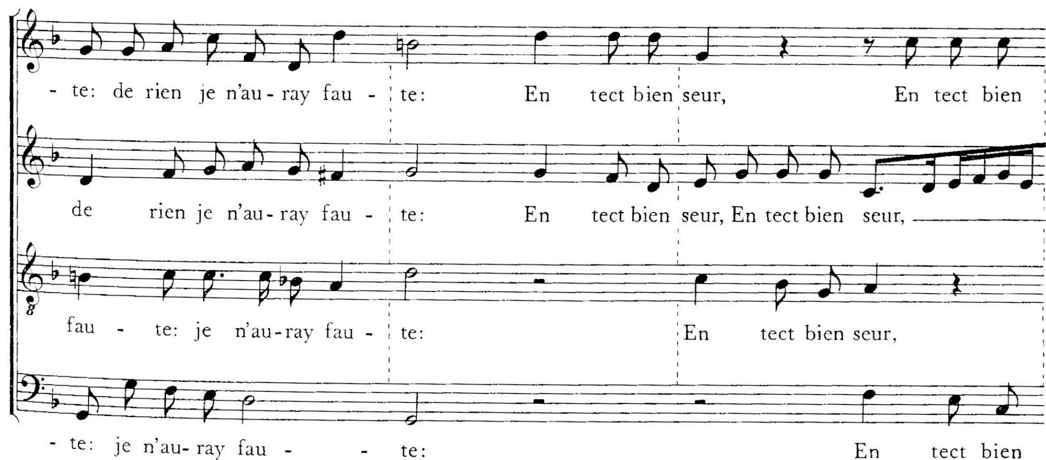


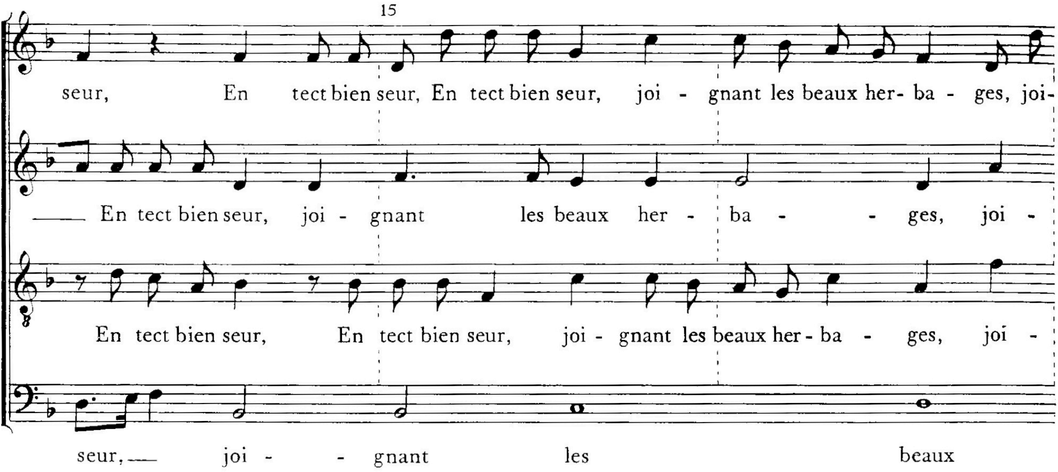


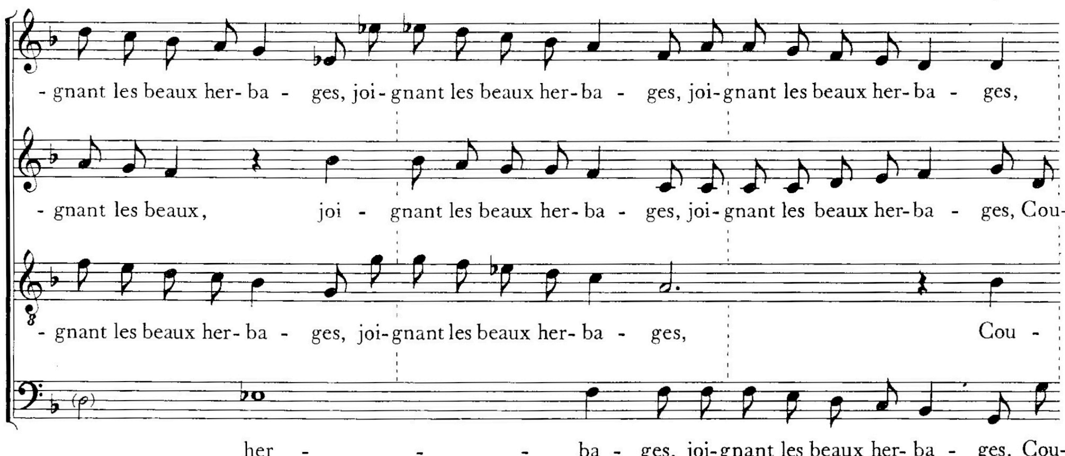
[226] Vocal score can be found in Sweelinck, *Opera omnia, editio altera quam edendam curavit.* The keyboard score can be found in Sweelinck, *Complete Keyboard Works*.


- san - ce hau - te, C'est mon ber - - ger, C'est mon berger, C'est mon ber-
- san - ce hau - te, C'est mon ber - - ger, C'est mon ber -
C'est mon ber - ger, C'est mon ber - ger, C'est mon ber - ger, C'est
C'est mon ber - ger, C'est mon berger, C'est mon ber - ger, C'est mon


10
- ger, C'est mon ber - ger, de rien, de rien je n'au - ray fau -
- ger, de rien, de rien je n'au - ray fau - te: de rien,
mon ber-ger, C'est mon ber - ger, de rien je n'au - ray fau - te: de rien je n'au - ray
ber - - ger, de rien, de rien je n'au - ray fau - te: je n'au - ray fau -


- te: de rien je n'au - ray fau - te: En tect bien seur, En tect bien
de rien je n'au - ray fau - te: En tect bien seur, En tect bien seur,
fau - te: je n'au - ray fau - te: En tect bien seur,
- te: je n'au - ray fau - - te: En tect bien

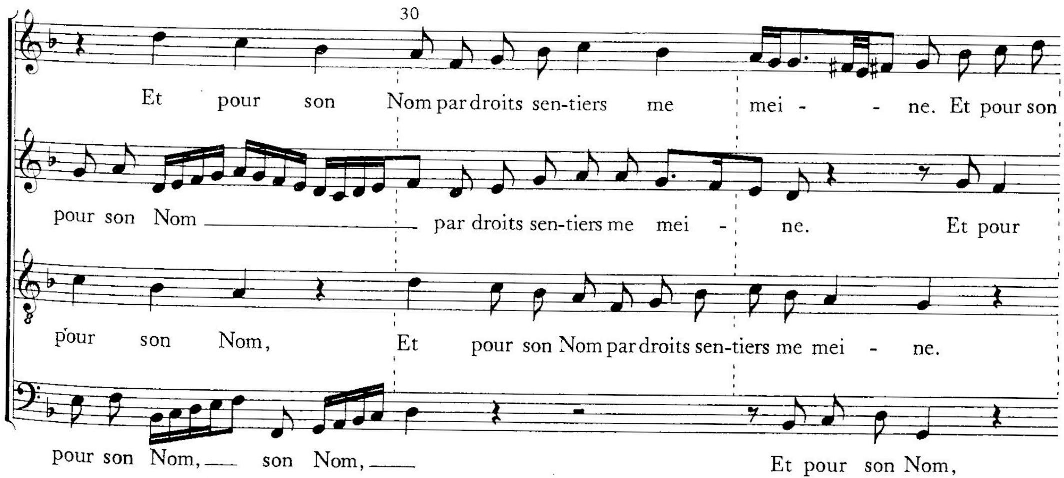

15
seur, En tect bien seur, En tect bien seur, joi - gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, joi-
En tect bien seur, joi - gnant les beaux her - ba - - ges, joi -
En tect bien seur, En tect bien seur, joi - gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, joi -
seur, joi - - gnant les beaux

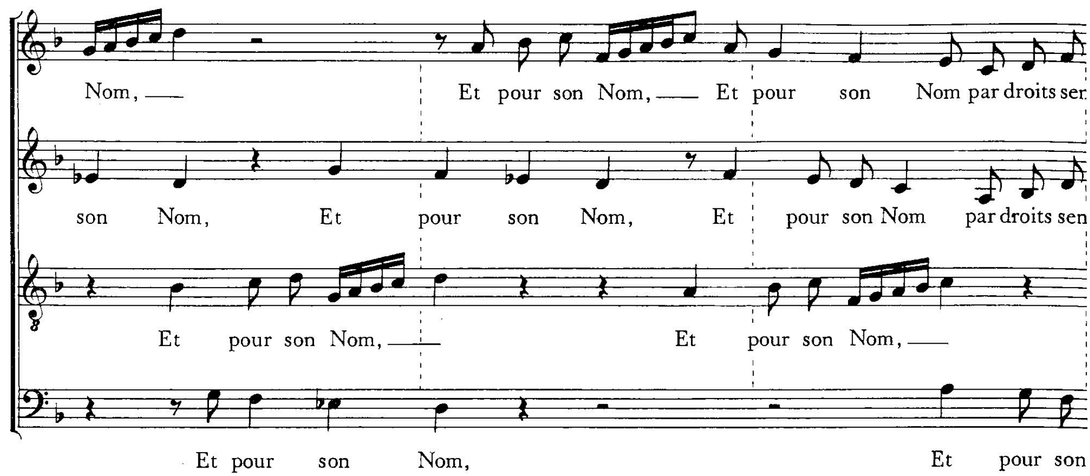

- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, joi- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, joi- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges,
- gnant les beaux, joi - gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, joi- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, Cou-
- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, joi- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, Cou -
her - - - ba - ges, joi- gnant les beaux her- ba - ges, Cou-

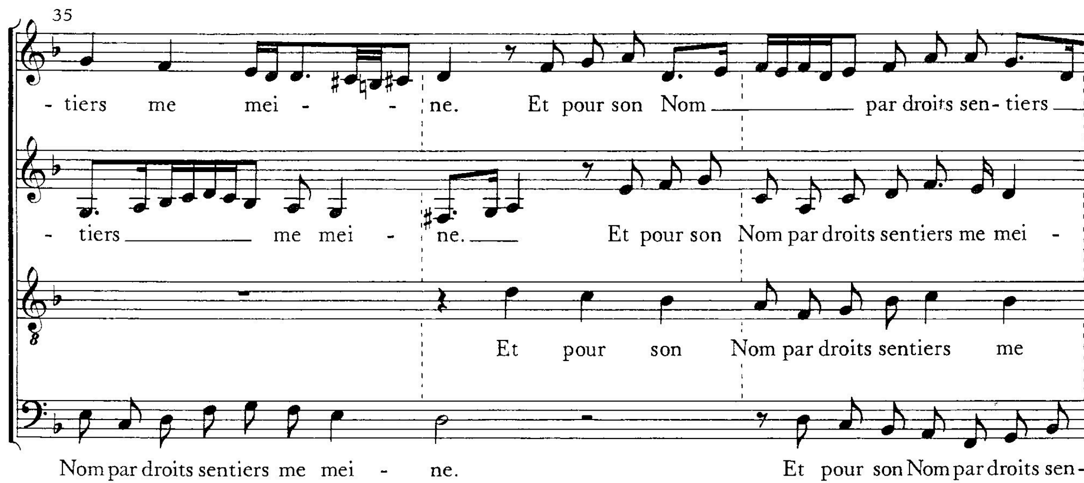
20
Cou-cher me fait, Cou- cher me fait, me meine aux clairs ri -
- cher me fait, Cou-cher me fait, me meine aux clairs ri - va - ges: me meine aux clairs ri - va-
- cher me fait, Cou-cher me fait, me mei - ne aux clairs ri - va - ges: me meine aux clairs ri -
- cher me fait, Cou-cher me fait, me mei - ne aux clairs ri - va - ges:

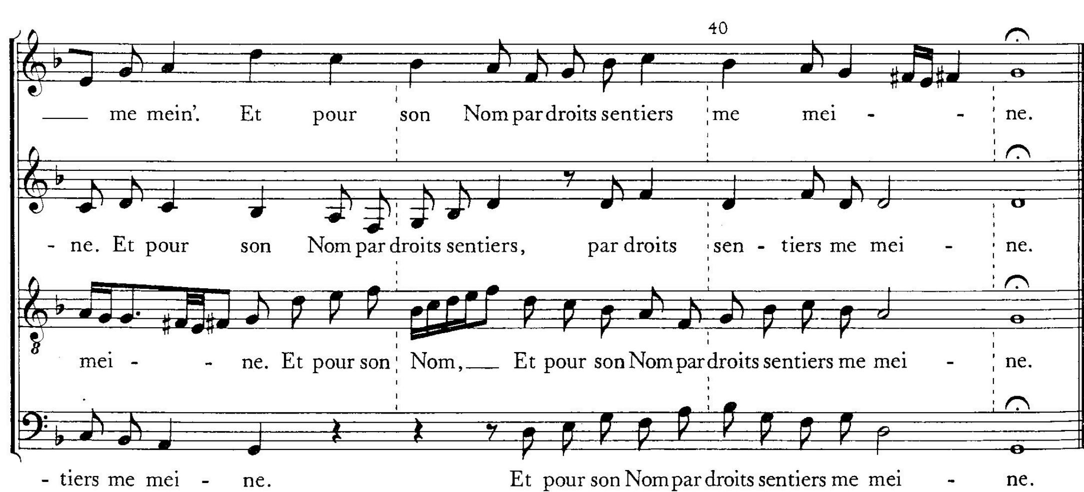
25
- va - ges: Trai - te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi- e en
- - ges: Trai-te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi - e en
- va - ges: Trai-te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi - e, Trai-te ma vi -
Trai - - te ma vi - - e en dou-

dou-ceur tres hu - mai - - ne, Et pour son Nom,
dou-ceur tres hu - mai - - ne, Et pour son Nom, Et
- e en dou - ceur tres hu - mai - ne, Et
- ceur tres hu - mai - - ne, Et


30
Et pour son Nom par droits sen-tiers me mei - - ne. Et pour son
pour son Nom par droits sen-tiers me mei - ne. Et pour
pour son Nom, Et pour son Nom par droits sen-tiers me mei - ne.
pour son Nom, son Nom, Et pour son Nom,


Nom, — Et pour son Nom, — Et pour son Nom par droits ser
son Nom, Et pour son Nom, Et pour son Nom par droits sen
Et pour son Nom, — Et pour son Nom, —
Et pour son Nom, Et pour son


35
- tiers me mei - - ne. Et pour son Nom — par droits sen- tiers —
- tiers — me mei - ne. — Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers me mei -
Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers me
Nom par droits sentiers me mei - ne. Et pour son Nom par droits sen-


40
— me mein'. Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers me mei - - ne.
- ne. Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers, par droits sen - tiers me mei - ne.
mei - - ne. Et pour son Nom, — Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers me mei - ne.
- tiers me mei - ne. Et pour son Nom par droits sentiers me mei - ne.

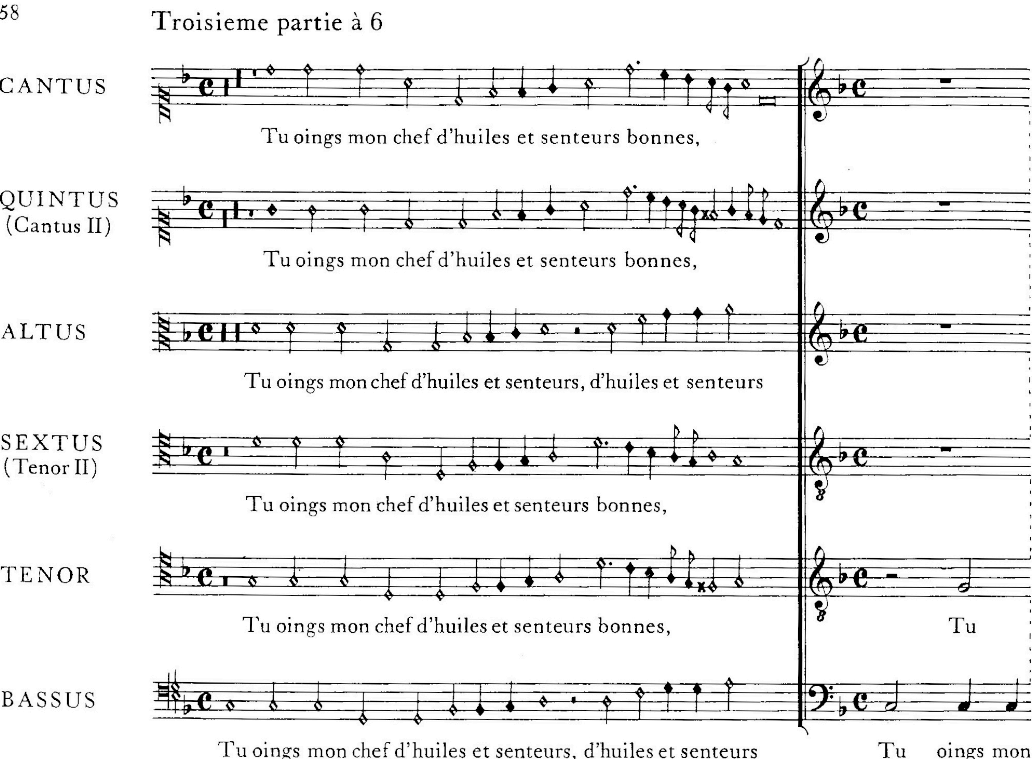
CANTUS
ALTUS
QUINTUS (Tenor II)
TENOR
BASSUS
Si seurement, que quand au val viendroye,
Si seurement, si seurement, que quand au val vien-
Si seurement, si seu - rement, que quand au val
Si seurement, que quand au val viendroye,
Si seurement, que quand au val viendroye,
Si seu - rement, que
Si
Si seu - re-
Si seu - re -
quand au val vien-droy - - e, aul val vien-droy - e D'om-bre de mort, D'om-
seu-re-ment, Si seu - re-ment, que quand au val vien-droy - e D'om-
- ment, Si seu - - re-ment, que quand au val vien-droy - e D'om-bre de mort, D'om-
- ment, que quand au val vien - droy - - e,
Si seu-re-ment, que quand au val vien-droy - e, D'om-bre de mort,
5
- bre de mort, rien de mal ne crain-droy - e, rien de mal ne
- bre de mort, D'om-bre de mort, rien de mal ne crain-droy - - e,
- bre de mort, D'om-bre de mort, rien de mal ne crain-droy - e,
D'om - - bre de mort, rien
D'om - bre de mort, rien de

10
crain - droy - e, Car a-vec moy, Car a-vec
rien de mal ne craindroy - e, Car a-vec moy tu
ne craindroy - e, Car a-vec moy tu es, Car a-vec moy tu
de mal ne crain - droy - - e, Car
mal ne crain-droy - e, Car a-vec moy, Car a-vec moy
moy tu es à chac-u-ne heu - re: tu es à chac - u-ne heu - re:
es, tu es à chac-u-ne heu - re: Puis ta hou-let-te et
es, tu es à chac - - u-ne heu - - re: Puis ta hou-
a - vec moy tu es à chac - u-ne heu -
tu es à chac-u-ne heu - - - re: Puis ta hou-
15
Puis ta hou - let-te et condui-te m'asseu - re. Puis ta hou-
con-dui-te m'asseu - re, m'as - seu - - re. Puis ta hou-let-te et condui-te m'asseu -
- let-te et con - dui - te m'asseu-re. Puis ta hou-let - te et condui-te m'asseu - re, m'as-
- re: Puis ta hou - let - - te et con - dui - te m'as -
- let - te et con-dui - te m'asseu - re. Puis ta hou-let - te et condui-te m'as-seu -

- let-te et cor.-dui-te m'as-seu - re. Tu en-ri-chis, Tu en-ri-chis de vi - vres, de
- re, et con-dui-te m'as-seu - re. Tu en-ri-chis de vi-vres ne-ces-sai -
- seu - re. Tu en-ri-chis, Tu en-ri-chis de vi-vres,
- seu - - re. Tu en - ri - chis
- re. Tu en-ri-chis, Tu en-ri - chis
20
vi-vres, de vi-vres, de vi-vres, Tu en-ri-chis de vi-vres ne - ces -
- res, de vi-vres, de vi-vres ne-ces-sai - - res
de vi-vres, Tu en-ri-chis de vi-vres ne - ces-sai - res Ma ta-ble aux
de vi - vres ne - ces - sai - - res
de vi - vres ne-ces-sai - res Ma ta-ble aux yeux de
25
- sai - res Ma ta-ble aux yeux de tous mes ad - ver- sai - res.
Ma table aux yeux de tous mes adver-sai - res, de tous mes ad - ver- sai - - res.
yeux de tous mes ad - ver-sai-res, Ma ta - ble aux yeux de tous mes adver- sai - res.
Ma ta - ble aux yeux de tous mes ad - ver - sai - res.
tous mes ad - ver - sai - res. Ma ta - ble aux yeux de tous mes ad-ver-sai - res.

58

Troisieme partie à 6



5
Tu oings mon chef d'hui - les et sen-teurs bon - - -
Tu oings mon chef d'hui - les et sen-teurs bon - - - nes,
Tu oings mon chef d'hui- les et sen-teurs, d'hui - les et sen-teurs bon -
- - nes,
Tu oings mon chef,
- - nes,

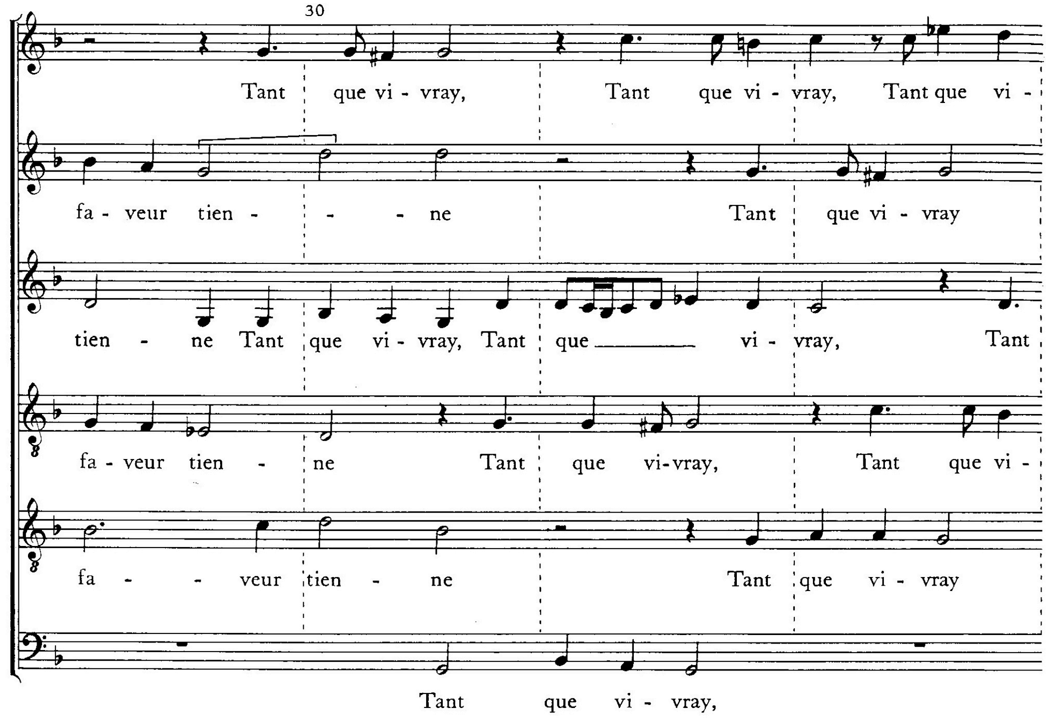
10
- - nes, Et jus - qu'aux bords,
Et jus- qu'aux bords, Et
- - nes, Et jus - - - -
Et jus - - - - qu'aux bords, Et
Et jus - qu'aux bords, Et
Et jus - - - qu'aux bords, Et jus - qu'aux bords,

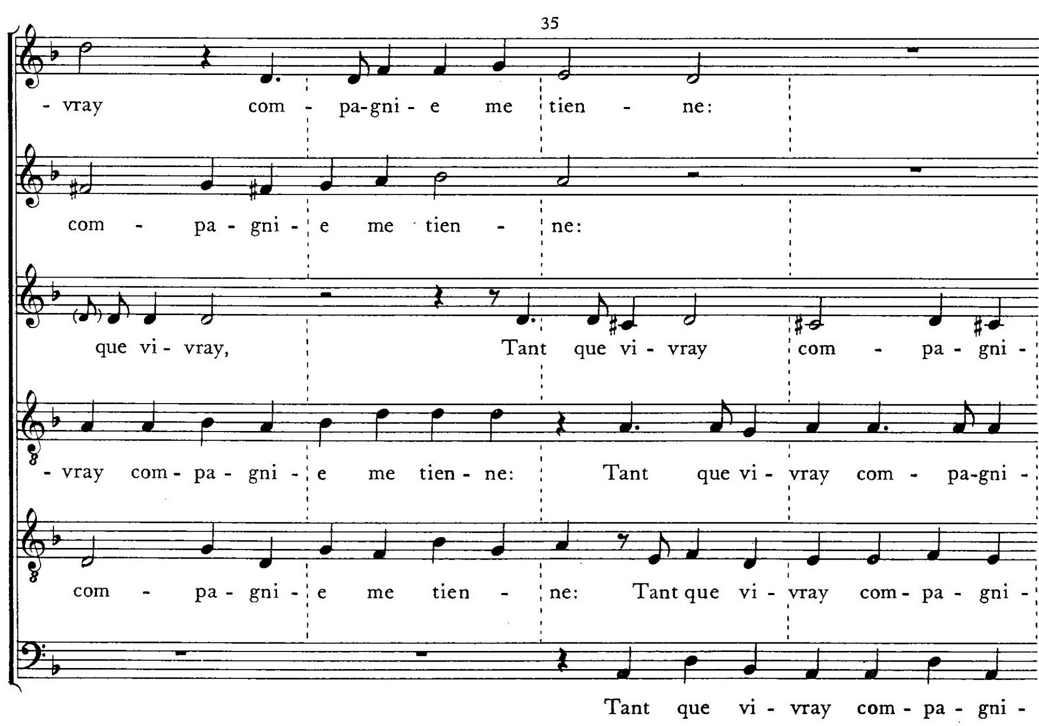
15
Et jusqu'aux bords plei - ne tas - se me don - nes:
jus - - - qu'aux bords, Et jus- qu'aux bords plei - ne tas -
- - - qu'aux bords plei - - - ne tas - se me don - -
jus - qu'aux bords, Et jus-qu'aux bords plei - ne tas - se me
jus - - - - qu'aux bords plei - ne tas - se me
Et jus - qu'aux bords plei - ne tas - se me don - - -

20
me don - nes: Voi - re et fe - ras que
- se me don - - nes: Voi - re et fe - ras que ces - te fa - veur tien - -
- - nes: Voi - re et fe - ras que ces - te fa - veur
don - - - nes: Voi - re et fe - ras que ces - te
don - - - nes:
- - - nes:

ces - te fa - veur tien - ne, Voi - re et fe - ras
- - - ne, Voi - re et fe - ras que ces - te fa - veur
tien - - - ne, Voi - re et fe - ras, et fe -
fa - veur tien - ne, Voi - re, Voi - re et fe - ras que
Voi - re et fe - ras, Voi - re et fe - ras
Voi - re et fe - ras que ces - - te

25
que ces - - te fa - veur tien - ne
tien - ne, que ces - te
- ras que ces - - te fa - veur tien - ne, que ces - te fa - veur
ces - te fa - veur tien - - ne, que ces - - te
que ces - te fa - veur tien - ne, que ces - te
fa - veur tien - ne, que ces - te fa - veur tien - ne

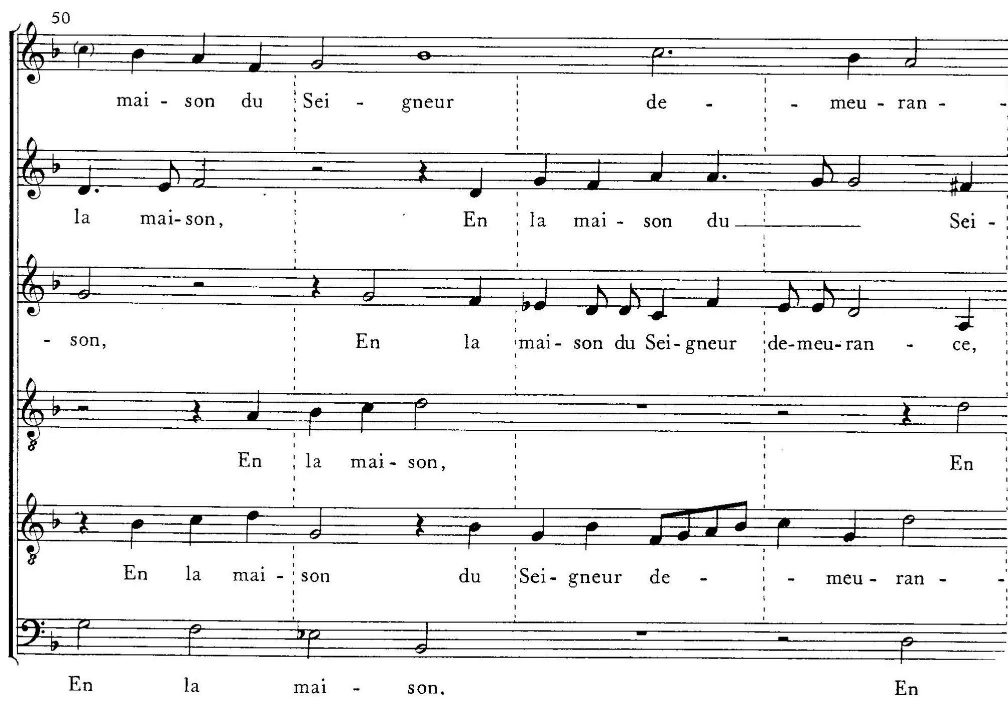

30
Tant que vi - vray, Tant que vi - vray, Tant que vi -
fa - veur tien - - ne Tant que vi - vray
tien - ne Tant que vi - vray, Tant que vi - vray, Tant
fa - veur tien - ne Tant que vi-vray, Tant que vi -
fa - - veur tien - ne Tant que vi - vray
Tant que vi - vray,


35
- vray com - pa-gni - e me tien - ne:
com - pa - gni - e me tien - ne:
que vi - vray, Tant que vi - vray com - pa - gni -
- vray com - pa - gni - e me tien - ne: Tant que vi - vray com - pa-gni -
com - pa - gni - e me tien - ne: Tant que vi - vray com - pa - gni -
Tant que vi - vray com - pa - gni -

40
com - pa - gni - e me tien - - ne: Si que tous-
com - pa - gni - e me tien - - - ne: Si que tous-
- e me tien - ne: com - pa - gni - e me tien - ne:
- e me tien - ne, me tien - - - ne: Si que tous-
- e me tien - ne, com - pa - gni - e me tien - ne:
- e me tien - ne, com - pa - gni - e me tien - - ne: Si que tous-

45
- jours, Si que tous - jours, Si que tous - jours fai - - re ay
- jours, Si que tous - jours de fai - re ay e - spe - ran - ce,
Si que tous - jours, Si que tous - jours, Si que tous - jours de fai - re ay
- jours, Si que tous - jours, Si que tous - jours de fai - re ay
Si que tous - jours, Si que tous - jours de
- jours, Si que tous - jours, Si que tous - jours de fai - re ay

e - - spe - ran - - - ce En la
ay e - - spe - ran - - - ce En
e - - spe - ran - - - ce En la mai
e - - spe - ran - - - ce
fai - re ay e - spe - ran - ce En la mai - son,
e - spe - ran - ce En la mai - son,


50
mai - son du Sei - gneur de - - meu - ran - -
la mai-son, En la mai - son du Sei -
- son, En la mai- son du Sei- gneur de-meu-ran - ce,
En la mai- son, En
En la mai - son du Sei- gneur de - - meu - ran - -
En la mai - son, En

55
- ce, En la mai - son du Sei-gneur, En la mai - son du Sei-gneur de
- gneur de - meu - ran - ce, En la mai - son,
En la mai - son du Sei- gneur de - meu - ran -
la mai - son du Sei - gneur de -
- ce, En la mai - son du Sei - gneur, du Sei - gneur de -
la mai-son du Sei - gneur, du Sei - gneur de -

60
- meu - ran - ce.
En la mai - son du Sei - gneur de - meu - ran - ce.
- ce. En la mai - son du Sei - gneur de - meu - ran - ce.
- meu - ran - ce.
- meu-ran - ce, de - meu - ran - ce.

2. Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck - *Psalm 23*

Breitkopf EB 8743

Breitkopf EB 8743

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83
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101
2 5 4 3 2 3 4 3 2 1 2 3
105 3. Variatio

111
115
119
123
127
132
135

APPENDIX E

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