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Alexis VanZalen

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Acknowledgements

I remember clearly the moment that, though I did not know it then, first inspired this project. It was during my freshman year at Lawrence, in an organ lesson in which I was working on my first Buxtehude prelude. I was becoming increasingly frustrated by my inability to reproduce the articulation of the first fugue subject that my teacher was demonstrating to me, and it was at this point, to help inspire me, that Professor Handford first introduced me to the concept of musical rhetoric. She pointed out how the fugue subject was comprised of many small motives, or figures of speech, each of which was defined by specific melodic, intervallic, and rhythmic characteristics. On a larger scale, she explained, the unique organization of Buxtehude's prelude, with dramatic changes of texture between each of its many sections, could be accounted for by something called the *stylus phantasticus*, or "fantastic style." Years later it was the connection between these two separately stimulating and intriguing references, musical rhetoric and the *stylus phantasticus*, that I sought to discover in my first independent study of the topic.

In the past two years, this project has morphed and deepened in ways I could not have imagined when I started. After initially studying musical rhetoric and the *stylus phantasticus* individually, I have come to integrate their influences on Dieterich Buxtehude's organ preludes in my own interpretation of them that is shaped by a larger understanding of Buxtehude's self-fashioning and the way he created a reputation for himself as a consummate musical orator. Without the help of so many, this blossoming of a fleeting idea into a concrete and meaningful project would not have been possible. To them I would now like to give my thanks.

First of all, thanks to Kathy Handford for modeling “smart musicianship,” for insisting that I integrate historical research into my playing and study of the organ repertoire, and for inspiring me to make this connection in the other direction, that is, to use my understanding of organ music as a performer to shape my musicological interpretation of it.

My thanks also goes to my history professors, Ed Kern and Paul Cohen, who graciously bore with the musical details of this project they did not understand and yet played an indispensable role in introducing me to the concept of self-fashioning and in helping me place Buxtehude into his historical context.

In a different but equally crucial way, my friends, family, and many other professors have helped with this project as they encouraged me through this process and shown interest in my nerdy fascination with all-things Buxtehude. Special thanks goes my mom, who first taught me how to write, later supported me during the tedious writing process, and eventually helped in its final editing phase.

Last but not least, thank you to my advisor, Sara Ceballos, for everything you have done for me and for this project, for the countless hours you have spent reading, commenting on, and helping me improve my work, and for giving me not only scholarly feedback, but also invaluable practical advice on the research and writing processes. Thank you most for your continual encouragement, and especially for the times when you were more excited about this than I was. I could not have done it without you.

Among other reprimands that year, including those for instigating a brawl with a student and inviting a female visitor into the organ loft, in 1705 the young twenty-year-old Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750) was scolded by the church council of Arnstadt for an unapproved three-month absence which resulted in his “[making] many curious *variations* in the chorale, and [mingling] many strange tones in it, and for [confusing the Congregation by it].”¹ The cause of such transgressions? Bach’s visit to study with the famed musician Dieterich Buxtehude (ca. 1637-1707) of Lübeck, to hear, or perhaps even play in, his innovative *Abendmusik* concerts of sacred vocal music, presented free to the public during the weeks preceding Christmas with the help of donations given by the city’s wealthy merchants. While today one of the only things Buxtehude is known for is being the organist Bach walked over two hundred miles across Germany to hear, this fact speaks volumes about Buxtehude’s reputation in his own day. Indeed, Buxtehude was one of only two musicians Bach is known to have sought out personally during his lifetime,² indicating both the truly high regard the younger musician had for the elder and the high caliber of Buxtehude’s musicianship.

What is perhaps more significant than Bach’s admiration for his North German predecessor is the respect given Buxtehude by his non-musical contemporaries. In the late seventeenth century, musicians were considered lower on the social ladder than most other craft workers. They were generally stigmatized as “dishonorable” and “often stereotyped as strange but intriguing Others.” Only rarely did they receive recognition for

¹ Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, rev. Christoph Wolff (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1998), 46.

² Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, revised ed. (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 114.

their abilities.³ Buxtehude, however, was very well regarded in Lübeck. In one city guidebook from 1697 he is even described as a “world-famous organist and composer.”⁴ Considering how far afield this description is from the normal seventeenth-century view of musicians, the question of how Buxtehude gained such a great reputation is the one that I will address in this paper by examining Buxtehude’s life and works through the lens of self-fashioning.

As a basis for my argument, I will draw on the historical concept of self-fashioning introduced by Stephen Greenblatt in his landmark 1980 book *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*. As Greenblatt describes it, self-fashioning takes for granted that “social actions are themselves always embedded in systems of public signification, always grasped, even by their makers, in acts of interpretation.”⁵ Behavior, including one’s manners, dress, and speaking or writing, is perceived in a consistent mode of relationship to social standing and consequently can be consciously shaped in the construction of one’s identity. The pre-condition of an unstable social world that allows for social standing to be earned instead of inherited makes self-fashioning a phenomenon new to the Renaissance world.⁶

Like the examples Greenblatt discusses in his book, an unstable social world describes well the social anxiety of municipal musicians in Buxtehude’s day, a phenomenon

³ Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 1, 8.

⁴ *Die Beglückte und Geschmückte Stadt Lübeck. Was ist Kurtze Besfchreibung der Standt Lübeck So wol Vom Anfang und Fortgang Derselben In ihrem Bau, Herrschafften und Einwohner, Als, sonderlich Merchwürdigen Begebenheiten und Veränderung* (Lübeck: Johann Gerhard Krüger, 1697), 114, translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 54.

⁵ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 2-10.

Stephen Rose explains in his book, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach*. Using evidence from novels written by musicians, Rose explains how German municipal musicians in the seventeenth century were beset by severe status anxiety due to a prevailing stereotype of musicians as picaresque and dishonorable members of society. Because of this, many municipal musicians attempted to integrate themselves into their society by justifying their place within and usefulness to it. One method of such justification was their emphasis on the qualities they shared with craftsmen in guilds – qualities such as their legitimate birth, their upright morals, and especially their skills acquired and tested through rigorous training. However, many municipal musicians were appalled at the incompetence of some of their colleagues and instead focused on establishing a meritocracy that would differentiate between “true virtuosos,” with talent, learned skill, and moral virtue, and incapable “musical fools” who falsely bragged about their abilities. In their writings, these musicians defined clear standards of musicianship that only a few of the most true and virtuous musicians could meet. Additionally, they hoped that by teaching the public to recognize true musicianship, upward social mobility would be granted only to those musicians worthy of the name. Evidence of this, as Rose illuminates, is that a common theme in the fictional works about and by musicians is how to discern whether a musician is true and virtuous based on the abilities he is able to demonstrate in his composition, performance, and improvisation.⁷

It is important to note, however, that though musicians during Buxtehude’s day were beginning to think of themselves and their deserved social standing in terms of their musical skills and accomplishments, this was not how the rest of German society yet

⁷ See Rose, *The Musician in Literature*, 6-11.

thought of them. The picaresque stereotypes of musicians still held, and as late as the mid eighteenth century, concern for dignifying the musical profession can be seen in the non-fiction writings of late baroque musicians. One important source is the collection of autobiographies of musicians by Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) in his *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, or “Foundations of an Arch of Honour” (1740). Mattheson’s explicit goal in this publication was to counteract the many writings that presented musicians as lascivious. He required his contributors to be of good moral standing, building on the idea of music as comparable to other guilded crafts where membership required certain moral standards to be met. However, beginning with one of the earliest submissions by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767) in 1718, contributors to Mattheson’s *Ehrenpforte* focused much less on their achievements and demonstrable abilities than on their inborn talent and propensity for music. This paved the way for the concept of the innately creative genius that was to become so important to musicians in later periods.⁸

This gradual transition from understanding true musicianship as objective craftsmanship to the equivalent of personal creative genius that Rose traces in the writings of German baroque musicians parallels the simultaneous development of the German value of *Kultur*, or identity defined by personal creative accomplishment rather than national, institutional or reproducible outward indicators. Norbert Elias discusses this in his 1939 *Wandlungen des Verhaltens in den weltlichen Oberschichten des Abendlandes*, published in English as *The History of Manners*, which is the first of two volumes of his famous *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*, or *The Civilizing Process*. Elias starts with a discussion of the difference between German verses French or English concepts of the self, explaining how

⁸ See Rose, *The Musician in Literature*, 1-6, 12.

the French and English use the concept of “civilization” to “[sum] up in a single term their pride in the significance of their own nations for the progress of the West and of mankind.”⁹

This included political, economic, religious, technical, moral or social attitudes, as well as outward behavior that can be easily reproduced. On the other hand, to Germans,

Zivilisation means something which is indeed useful but nevertheless only a value of the second rank, comprising only the outer appearance of human beings, the surface of human existence. The word through which Germans interpret themselves, which more than any other expresses their pride in their own achievement and their own being, is *Kultur*.¹⁰

This *Kultur* encompassed accomplishments such as “works of art, books, religious or philosophical systems, in which the reality of a people expresses itself.”¹¹ Elias traces this deviation between German and French or English understandings of the self back to the devastation of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). At this time the German states were populated by a small number of wealthy nobility, who followed traditions of French “civilization,” along with a much larger middle class intelligentsia who served the princes. This later group began to legitimize their identity through their abilities, virtues, and “intellectual, scientific, or artistic *accomplishments*.”¹² Thus seventeenth-century Germans were beginning to think of the self as something that could be fashioned not by the manipulation of outward appearance and behavior, but also by developing one’s skills and accomplishments.

Of course, because external self-fashioning involves shaping one’s identity and reputation through actions which are “embedded in systems of public signification” and are

⁹ Norbert Elias, *The History of Manners, The Civilizing Process: Vol. 1*, translated by Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 4.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹² *Ibid.*, 8-10.

interpreted in a culturally-specific way,¹³ to understand how Buxtehude fashioned himself, it is important to understand something of the society which was a part of. Born to a German family living in Demark, Buxtehude moved to Lübeck at the age of thirty after a few short posts in various cities in Demark. He lived and worked in Lübeck the rest of his life, the whole of forty years. Lübeck was a free imperial city within the Holy Roman Empire, meaning that while it owed allegiance to the Emperor, it was self-ruled and not under the authority of any intermediary nobility. It was also the preeminent city of the Hanseatic League, an economic alliance that dominated the Baltic Sea from the twelfth through seventeenth centuries. The League originally formed to share resources to protect their merchants and trade routes, and thus merchants, trade guilds, and a spirit of commercial capitalism abounded in the Hansa cities.¹⁴

At the top of the social hierarchy in Lübeck, up until the early sixteenth century, were the elite land owners who comprised the city council. However this began to change in the 1520s as Lutheranism spread through the German Hansa cities. In Lübeck it was officially adopted in 1531. As historian Philippe Dollinger explains, these religious reforms were accompanied by political and social demands by the lower and middle classes. The power of city councils was increasingly limited so that by the 1530s, estate owners “had ceased to co-opt merchants who had become rich by their own efforts.” Thus in 1528 a commission led by representatives of the merchants and trade guilds gradually wrested control from Lübeck’s landowner-dominated council.¹⁵ By the time Buxtehude lived there

¹³ Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning*, 5.

¹⁴ Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa*, trans. and ed. D.S. Ault and S.H. Steinberg (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1970), 370.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 320-23.

in the late seventeenth century, wealthy merchants, not princes, were the people firmly at the top of Lübeck's society. This meant that gaining social standing through self-fashioning was accomplished not by shaping one's behavior to match that of ruling nobility, but rather by adopting the commercial behaviors and values that characterized those with authority, including capitalistic skills and values, as well as dedication to the city through service.

As I will argue, Buxtehude embodies perfectly the characteristics of the musical profession which Rose's analysis of literary texts brings to light, along with the interest in *Kultur* in German self-fashioning of the seventeenth century. Buxtehude actively fashioned his reputation throughout his life both within and without his music. To gain credibility within his commercial capitalistic society he demonstrated, amongst other things, his abilities as an entrepreneur. In a culture where the social position and even the virtuousness of musicians were in question, Buxtehude also proved himself to be a loyal civil servant. He then used the opportunities that such self-fashioning gave him to advance his abilities as a musician and to demonstrate his personal accomplishment. Within his music itself, and specifically his organ preludia, Buxtehude fashioned himself as a consummate musician, one both skilled as a craftsman and gifted in creativity. He accomplished this through the use of the *stylus phantasticus*, a "fantastic style" distinct to the Hamburg school of organists in north Germany of which he was a part. In an age in which theorists, musicians, and audiences understood music to be a parallel to rhetoric, Buxtehude demonstrated his skill as an authoritative musical orator, crafting musical rhetorical appeals to *ethos*, or persuading his audience to accept the musical arguments, or emotional affects, he presents by establishing his credibility as a musician. Uniquely

combining all these types of entrepreneurial, civic, and musical self-fashioning into a comprehensive project, Buxtehude fashioned his own exceptional reputation.

Though there is evidence in their writings that baroque musicians themselves were beginning to define their identity in terms of their accomplishment, the concepts of *Kultur* and creative musical genius were not yet fully formed in society at large. It is therefore not surprising that Buxtehude engaged in practices of both outward and inward self-fashioning. He first needed to gain credibility in an outward manner by adopting his capitalistic society's value of wealth and participating in its traditions of business, trade, and entrepreneurship, and then needed to prove himself to be a loyal civil servant. Finally, with the prestige and opportunities that resulted from such self-fashioning he was able to foster his own and others' musical growth in line with the emerging German value of *Kultur* and personal accomplishment. It is this combination of outward, or behavior-based, and inward, or accomplishment-based, self-fashioning that made Buxtehude highly unique in the way he successfully created an exceptional reputation for himself.

Literature Review

The connection between music and self-fashioning in the Renaissance and early modern period that I will make in my study of Buxtehude is not one that is entirely new. Perhaps one of the most well-known examples of scholarship integrating music and self-fashioning is Susan McClary's book *Modal Subjectivities: Self-Fashioning in the Italian Madrigal*. In it, McClary discusses the way in which Italian madrigals explored Renaissance

conceptions of selfhood and inner subjectivity.¹⁶ My approach to self-fashioning is quite different. Instead of studying how composers made the fashioning of identity the subject of vocal works like madrigals and operas, I will demonstrate how Buxtehude actively fashioned himself through his music. My discussion of the way musical activities contributed to an individual's larger project of active self-fashioning is in fact more similar to scholarship on the role music patronage played in the self-fashioning efforts of seventeenth-century noblemen.¹⁷ However, I will discuss the self-fashioning of a musician, not a patron. In some respects this is similar to studies of the self-fashioning and identity construction of sixteenth-century professional and amateur musicians through performance.¹⁸ The difference between such scholarship and mine is that Buxtehude not only performed the organ preludia, but also composed them. He fashioned his identity primarily as a musician, instead of merely using music to help fashion an identity as an upstanding citizen or noble courtier, as some scholars have discussed in relationship to other early modern instances of musical self-fashioning.

Most similar to my work on Buxtehude is Kristen Gibson's study of the self-fashioning of a Renaissance composer, John Dowland, in his published collections of music.

¹⁶ Susan McClary, *Modal Subjectivities: Self-fashioning in the Italian Madrigal* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004). Another similar study is Gordon Haramaki, *Beyond the Seconda Prattica: Claudio Monteverdi and the Poetics of Genre After Orfeo* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2008).

¹⁷ See Tim Carter, "Monteverdi, Early Opera and a Question of Genre: The Case of *Andromeda* (1620)," *Journal Of The Royal Musical Association* 137, no. 1 (January, 2012): 1-34; Valeria De Lucca, *'Dalle sponde del tebro alle rive dell'adria': Maria Mancini and Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna's Patronage of Music and Theater Between Rome and Venice (1659-1675)*," (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International (UMI) , 2009); Valeria De Lucca, "Strategies of women patrons of music and theatre in Rome: Maria Mancini Colonna, Queen Christina of Sweden, and women of their circles," *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 3 (June, 2011): 374-92.

¹⁸ See Grace Tin-Yan Tam, *The Penitential Theology of Henry Purcell as Expressed in his Sacred Songs* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 2005); Nina Kathleen Treadwell, *Restaging the Siren: Musical Women in the Performance of Sixteenth-Century Italian Theater* (Ann Arbor: University Microfilm International (UMI), 2000); Richard Wistreich, *Warrior, Courtier, Singer: Giulio Cesare Brancaccio and the Performance of Identity in the Late Renaissance* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2007).

She discusses how Dowland sought to attract the attention of influential patrons and increase his social status by fashioning an identity for himself as a musical author and creator through print, even as he maintained an image of subordination appropriate to his lower social status.¹⁹ In a similar way, I will demonstrate how Buxtehude attracted patrons by fashioning himself as an adept businessman and entrepreneur, while simultaneously fashioning himself as a loyal civil servant. Intertwined with these efforts, as in the case of Dowland, Buxtehude fashioned himself as a consummate musician, but unlike Dowland, who relied primarily on printed publications, Buxtehude relied heavily on the delivery of his organ preludia and the ways he could demonstrate the extent of his musicianship through them.

In the sections of this paper on Buxtehude's behavioral self-fashioning as an adept member of his commercial-capitalist society and as a loyal civil servant, I will draw heavily on the seminal life-and-works biography, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, published in its revised edition by Kerela Snyder in 2007. A foremost specialist on Buxtehude for many years, she has thoroughly examined primary sources from archives in Lübeck and elsewhere on all aspects of Buxtehude's life. Along with many in-text summaries of foreign scholarship, she has translated numerous primary sources into English for the first time in the text and appendixes of her book. In addition to her discussion of Buxtehude's music, the initial four chapters on his life are by far the most comprehensive, detailed, and up-to-date English biography of Buxtehude. It is for these reasons that I have drawn heavily on the facts and primary sources presented by Snyder, as

¹⁹ Kirsten Gibson "'How hard an enterprise it is': Authorial Self-Fashioning in John Dowland's Printed Books," *Early Music History: Studies In Medieval And Early Modern Music* 26 (January, 2007): 65-6.

well as her summaries of German scholarship, in order to interpret them myself in terms of Buxtehude's self-fashioning.

When I move toward Buxtehude's musical self-fashioning I will draw on the fact that Buxtehude's published poetry demonstrates his value of *Kultur* and indicates his belief that musical virtuosity must be demonstrated through one's musical output. Thus an examination of Buxtehude's accomplishment-based musical self-fashioning is in order. For the purposes of this paper, I have chosen to focus my discussion of Buxtehude's musical self-fashioning exclusively on his organ preludia. The first reason for this is that unlike the short chorale preludes, these extensive preludia were actually not required of Buxtehude by his position as organist for the Church of St. Mary's in Lübeck. Instead they were allowed by the freedom his status as organist gave him to contribute extra vocal and instrumental music to the services.²⁰ Not creating them for anyone in particular, nor to serve any specific purpose, Buxtehude was free to use his organ preludia for his own intentional self-fashioning. Of course, the same can be said of some of his vocal music, specifically the pieces written for his Abendmusik concerts, but in Buxtehude's day musicians believed that instrumental music required more of a composer because it did not have text to guide the composition. Thus instrumental, as opposed to vocal, music would better indicate the true extent of the musician's skill. As Mattheson stated in "[his] familiar axiom":

It is easier to compose something good for singers than instrumentalists. For far more sensitivity and feeling is needed there for spontaneously bringing out one's inclination, than needed to stir up those [passions] instigated by someone else.²¹

²⁰ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 97-100.

²¹ Ernest Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary*, Studies in Musicology (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), 291.

Thus it was in his free keyboard works, including the organ prelude, that Buxtehude “endowed most of his power.”²²

Of course, to see how Buxtehude was able to demonstrate the extent of his abilities and fashion himself as a musician in his organ prelude it is necessary to understand how music and musicianship were understood during the baroque period when Buxtehude lived. Thus, before analyzing the prelude, I will offer an overview of the musical-rhetorical parallel that was at the heart of Baroque conceptions of music, especially in German Lutheran lands. Summarizing the classical discipline of rhetoric and baroque musicians’ adaptations of these concepts, I will establish Buxtehude as a musical orator and his organ prelude as musical orations. Thus my subsequent analysis of several of Buxtehude’s organ prelude will be focused on examining how Buxtehude fashioned himself as a consummate musician in them by displaying various aspects of his craftsmanship and his creativity. This musical self-fashioning, I will argue, corresponds with baroque descriptions of the *stylus phantasticus*, a “fantastic style” closely associated with the Hamburg school of North German organists. I will demonstrate this by looking at two definitions of the style given by Athenatius Kircher (1601 or 1602-1680) and Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), music theorists respectively a generation older and younger than Buxtehude.

Buxtehude’s Self-Fashioning as an Adept Member of his Commercial Society

One of the important ways Buxtehude fashioned himself within his culture was by consciously referring in printed scores and elsewhere to his position as the organist of the

²² Harris, *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 296.

principal church in Lübeck. With an annual salary of seven-hundred-and-nine Lübeck marks, plus free housing and an allowance for food and clothing, Buxtehude was by far the highest paid musician in the city – the other instrumentalists who played regularly at St. Mary’s received only around one hundred Lübeck marks.²³ As Kerala Snyder remarks, “his total salary was so much larger than what any of the other musicians earned that this alone would have cast him into prominence in Lübeck’s capitalistic society.”²⁴ In fact, though he was merely a member of the fourth class along with most other civil servants, the godparents for his children were leading businessmen, their wives, or other members of the upper levels of Lübeck society.²⁵ When Buxtehude referred to himself as “Organist at the Principal Church of St. Mary in Lübeck” in his published scores he was making explicit reference to the prestige his position gave him. Though this was not his typical way of signing his letters or publication dedications,²⁶ he did use this designation or some variation of it on the title pages of each of his ten printed publications.²⁷ Additionally, Buxtehude referred to himself as the organist of Lübeck’s principle church in at least one of his surviving Abendmusik librettos,²⁸ the dedication poems he supplied for theorist Andreas Werckmeister’s *Harmonologia Musica* treatise,²⁹ and the autographed tabulature of the cantata cycle *Membra Jesu Nostri* (BuxWV 75) dedicated to Gustav Düben, Kapellmeister for the King of Sweden, which is important because it initiated the Swedish court’s importation of a very substantial number of Buxtehude’s compositions.³⁰ In public

²³ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 49.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 93.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 456-8, 483-4.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 433-4.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 59-60.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 121-2.

and professional endeavors, he made sure to note his important and high-paying position as organist at St. Mary's in order to fashion a prestigious and wealthy identity.

In fact, Buxtehude's involvement in Lübeck's commercial society extended beyond adopting its value of self-earned wealth; he also exhibited knowledge of and ability in the fundamental aspects of business, trade, and entrepreneurship. For example, in addition to serving as St. Mary's organist, he kept its accounts as the church's *Werkmeister*. He also utilized the established trade routes between Lübeck and Stockholm to cultivate a relationship with Düben, exporting numerous works to the Swedish court.³¹ In 1663, Matthäus Rodde, a progressive businessman and director of St. Mary's church, took the first copies of Buxtehude's predecessor Franz Tunder's (1614-67) vocal music to Stockholm when he traveled there as part of a three-man Lübeck trade delegation.³² In Buxtehude's time, Rodde's son, Matthäus Rodde Jr. continued to support the musical endeavors of St. Mary's organist. For example, in 1673 he authorized the purchase of "two trumpets for the embellishment of the *Abendmusik*, made in a special way, the likes of which have not been heard in the orchestra of any prince."³³ This sentence from the St. Mary's account books, which Buxtehude kept himself as *Werkmeister*, demonstrates Buxtehude's positive relationship with community businessmen.

Moreover, this description of a patron's provision of new instruments for the annual *Abendmusik* concert series points to the role Buxtehude played as a musical entrepreneur in a musical economy based primarily on patronage. Not only did he plan, compose, and

³¹ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 120-1.

³² *Ibid.*, 56.

³³ *St. Marien allegemeine Wochenbücher 16: 1670-77* (Lübeck), November 23, 1673, folder 177r, translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 58.

conduct concerts of large Biblically-based dramatic works performed over five consecutive Sundays during the Advent season, but he also cultivated patrons to raise the necessary funds. One of his first accomplishments achieved within a year of his arrival in Lübeck in 1667 was to secure single donors for the installation of each of two new balconies in St. Mary's so that all the Abendmusik musicians could stand up near the large organ.³⁴ Moreover, while patronage was common during this time, not all musicians would have worked as intentionally to encourage such gifts as Buxtehude did when he "sent librettos to his patrons before the start of the series each year expecting a donation the following New Year."³⁵ Additionally, Buxtehude reserved the seats in the choir loft opposite the organ, which were "the best seats from which to see and hear the Abendmusiken [...], for the members of the council and other prominent citizens." Such incentives were meant to coax donations from Lübeck's business community, including the directors of the Spanish Collection, the businessmen's collective treasury. The money covered the costs of paying and housing up to forty guest musicians, hiring police to control the large crowds, and reimbursing Buxtehude for his time and the supplies used during the planning process. In addition to all of this, Buxtehude secured help soliciting donations from the city's businessmen from among his influential supporters and patrons. Such is the case with one city burgomaster and merchant, Peter Hinrich Tesdorpf (1648-1723), who used his position in two commercial guilds to encourage support for the Abendmusik series.³⁶ A biographer described Tesdorpf as being "particularly delighted with the playing of the cantor [*sic*] Buxtehude, who won in him an 'admirer and true friend,'" and his grandson

³⁴ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 58.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 69, footnote 24 on 501. We know this because one surviving libretto from 1700 shows the name of a patron, "Dieterich Wulfrath," written in Buxtehude's hand.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 61-70.

remembered him saying that “in the ardor of his compositions, Buxtehude understood well how to give a foretaste of heavenly bliss.”³⁷ Buxtehude’s ability to secure both admiration and financial support from Tesdorpf and others is testament both to his music and also to his entrepreneurial savvy.

In fact, as Buxtehude acted as a businessman in his direction of the Abendmusik concerts, he was expanding upon the “commercial” origins of the series. From its earliest beginning, the St. Mary’s Abendmusiken was very much a product of Lübeck’s capitalism. As Caspar Ruetz, a cantor at St. Mary’s a generation after Buxtehude, described in a 1752 publication, the series began in connection with the Lübeck stock market:

In former times the citizenry, before going to the stock market, had the praiseworthy custom of assembling in St. Mary’s Church, and the organist [Buxtehude’s predecessor, Franz Tunder] sometimes played something on the organ for their pleasure, to pass the time and to make himself popular with the citizenry. This was well received, and several rich people, who were also lovers of music, gave him gifts. The organist was thus encouraged, first to add a few violins and then singers as well, until finally it had become a large performance, which was moved to the aforementioned Sundays of Trinity and Advent. The famous organist Diederich Buxtehude decorated the Abendmusiken magnificently already in his day.³⁸

Just as Tunder played the organ “to make himself popular with the citizenry,” Buxtehude’s administration and expansion of the Abendmusiken can be seen as an act of self-fashioning that gained him fame and appreciation in his city as he played to please the wealthy businessmen gathered for the stock market and “to make himself popular with them.”³⁹

³⁷ Oscar L. Tesdorpf, *Die Geschichte des Tesdorpf’schen Geschlechts bis 1920* (Heidehaus i.d. Görde: Verlag des Verfassers, 1921), translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 100.

³⁸ Caspar Ruetz, *Widerlegte Vorurtheile von der Beschaffenheit der heutigen Kirchenmusic und von der Lebens-Art einiger Musicorum* (Lübeck: Peter Böckmann, 1752), translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 56.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 56.

Buxtehude's Self-Fashioning as a Loyal Civil Servant

Indeed, Lübeck did take pride in Buxtehude, for in the Abendmusik concerts he provided the important civil service of bringing fame to the city. This can be seen in the description of St. Mary's in a 1697 city guidebook:

On the west side, between the two pillars under the towers, one can see the large and magnificent organ, which, like the small organ, is now presided over by the world-famous organist and composer Dietrich Buxtehude. Of particular note is the great Abend-Music, consisting of pleasant vocal and instrumental music, presented yearly on five Sundays between St. Martin's and Christmas, following the Sunday vesper sermon, from 4 to 5 o'clock, by the aforementioned organist as director, in an artistic and praiseworthy manner. This happens nowhere else.⁴⁰

These five concerts, given outside of Buxtehude's official duties as St. Mary's organist,⁴¹ were greatly appreciated by the Lübeck community, not only because they were of high quality, being presented in "an artistic and praiseworthy manner," but also because they provided something unique that the city could use as a claim to its own fame: "this happens nowhere else."⁴² Thus, by providing an irreplaceable service to his city, in addition to increasing his credibility as an adept entrepreneur and praiseworthy musician, Buxtehude's presentation of the Abendmusik concerts gained him the reputation of an honorable civil servant.

The political content of some of the oratorios composed for these concerts reinforces the function of Buxtehude's presentations of the Abendmusik series as acts of civil service. For example, on December 2nd and 3rd of 1705, Buxtehude presented what he called two "extraordinary" works, special in part because they were presented back to back

⁴⁰ *Die Beglückte*, 54

⁴¹ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 62.

⁴² *Die Beglückte*, 54.

on a Wednesday and Thursday instead of the usual Sundays. The first festival cantata, *Castrum doloris* or “Castle of Sorrow,” memorialized Leopold I, the Holy Roman emperor who had recently died, and the second, *Templum honoris* or “Temple of Honor,” celebrated his successor, Joseph I. While these works must certainly have showcased Buxtehude’s skill as a composer, they more obviously signaled his service to Lübeck, supplying his city with a prestigious way to show its loyalty to the Holy Roman emperor. Though the music has not survived, descriptions in the librettos of the elaborate adornment of St. Mary’s for these occasions, including covering and decorating the organ with the image of Leopold I in his coffin and a literal temple of honor containing Joseph I’s bust, illustrates the extravagance of the affair. The librettos also indicate that the pair of festival cantatas featured many singers accompanied by two large choruses of trumpets and timpani, two more groups of horns and oboes, and twenty-five unison violins.⁴³ The instrumentation followed the tradition distinctive to the grand motets heard in Louis XIV’s court in France, and the whole affair fit the model for royal funerals across Europe during this time.⁴⁴ Thus through these works, Buxtehude showed his dedication to Lübeck by helping it “[celebrate] its own status as an imperial free city,” as Snyder suggests.⁴⁵

That Buxtehude developed his personal reputation and artistic output through acts of civil service should not be surprising, for musicians in the free imperial cities, like their counterparts under patronage of a court, were servants under the city’s and its churches’

⁴³ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 67.

⁴⁴ Robert N. Nicolich, “Sunset: The Spectacle of the Royal Funeral and Memorial Services at the End of the Reign of Louis XIV,” in *Sun King: The Ascendancy of French Culture During the Reign of Louis XIV*, ed. David Lee Rubin (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1992), 45-72.

⁴⁵ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 67.

council, primarily made up of a merchant aristocracy.⁴⁶ And though he was paid substantially better than other civil servants with a similar fourth-class standing, it is clear that Buxtehude knew his place in Lübeck's social hierarchy and was dedicated to performing his civic duty. This is indicated by his consistent use of obsequious phrases in his letters and publication dedications. For example, in the dedication of his Opus 2 sonatas Buxtehude called himself a "most humble and obliged servant," a description that contrasts greatly with "the Very Illustrious, Magnificent, and Generous SIR, the SINGOR GIOVAN RITTERO," the dedicatee of the publication.⁴⁷ Likewise, in his text for the wedding aria he composed for Anton Winckler, a senior councilman of St. Mary's, Buxtehude wrote, "O may what we bring here be pleasing;/ We step forward to honor the patrons,/ I the servant of the organ, and with me the choir."⁴⁸ Because such a humbling text was not required within a wedding aria as it was for published works with dedications, this second example demonstrates the sincerity and consistency of Buxtehude's self-fashioning as an honorable civil servant, as does his customarily going beyond his official duties at St. Mary's.

Buxtehude demonstrated his loyalty to Lübeck in other ways as well. For instance, he chose to develop his dramatic musical ideas in works only for the Lübeck Abendmusik and did not compose for the nearby Hamburg Opera even though Hamburg's opera was internationally famous and Buxtehude had many professional and personal connections to musicians there.⁴⁹ Another example of Buxtehude's dedication to Lübeck can be seen in the

⁴⁶ Farley K. Hutchins, *Dieterich Buxtehude: The Man, His Music, His Era* (Paterson, NJ: Music Textbook Company, 1955), 26.

⁴⁷ Dieterich Buxtehude, *Souate à due . . . opera secunda* (Hamburg: 1696), quoted in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 484.

⁴⁸ Dieterich Buxtehude, *O fröhliche Stunden, o herrlicher Tag* (BuxWV 120), translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 54.

⁴⁹ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 117.

poem he wrote for his cantata *Schwinget euch himmelan* (BuxWV 96), which is a prayer for the city's well-being, including its virtue, wisdom, and freedom from sin, and also its financial strength. After a few verses of praise for God's protection and provision, the second half of Buxtehude's poem makes several petitions. A few of the strophes read:

Remain, O Father, O remain merciful,
 Hold your Lübeck in a consecrated hand,
 Make us free of our sinful ways,
 Be called upon by thankful lips.
 Request and beseech, beseech and pray:
 Father, O Father, Your Holy Word,
 Allow us blessedly from now on to proclaim.

Allow our authorities successfully to rule,
 Beat all vice through them into the grave;
 Ordain City Hall with wisdom outfitted,
 Pour grace upon them from above!
 Request and beseech, beseech and pray:
 Ruler, the rulers with blessings protect,
 Shield everyone from misfortune and enemies.

Multiply trade with abundant blessings,
 So business and commerce grow thereby,
 Allow our ships with blessings to sail,
 Strengthen craft with life and peace!
 Request and beseech, beseech and pray:
 Father, in Your blessing-rich lap,
 Make Lübeck joyful and great!⁵⁰

Buxtehude's concern for all aspects of his community's welfare, including its spiritual, social, and economic health, is clear, and this, along with his demonstrated loyalty to Lübeck, shows how he actively fashioned himself as an honorable civil servant.

⁵⁰ Dieterich Buxtehude, *Schwinget euch himmelan* (BuxWV 96), trans. Edmund Kern, original German quoted in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 68.

Comparing the External Self-Fashioning of Buxtehude and Johann Adam Reincken

Still more about the nature of Buxtehude's self-fashioning can be learned through comparison to his close friend and colleague, Johann Adam Reincken (1643-1722), the organist at one of Hamburg's four principal churches, St. Catherine's. In addition to their similarly prestigious positions as organists in the principal churches of their cities, Buxtehude and Reincken shared several other similarities. Both loved learned counterpoint, referred to themselves as "director of organ" at their respective churches in their sonata publications, and "commanded large instruments." In fact, shortly after Buxtehude moved to Lübeck, the contract to rebuild the organ of St. Catherine's, which Reincken played, contained an explicit comparison and rivalry with St. Mary's. Apparently "the stated goal of the renovation had been that 'our organ can be at least as good as, if not better than, the large organ at St. Mary's in Lübeck in the nature and sweetness of its stops.'" More significantly, Reincken and Buxtehude were the two organists whom J.S. Bach specifically walked across Germany to meet and the only two outside of his teacher in Lüneburg, Georg Böhm (1661-1733), whom he is known to have specifically sought out. Likewise, in 1684 another well-known musician, Johann Gottfried Walther, traveled to Hamburg and Lübeck "in order to profit from the two extraordinary famous organists, Messrs. Reincken and Buxtehude, [who were] there at the time."⁵¹ As Heinrich Rogge, a student of Reincken, put it in the text of one of his compositions, "you [both Reincken and Buxtehude] are famous in composition/ for choirs, organs and [other] keyboards."⁵² The

⁵¹ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 114.

⁵² Heinrich Rogge, *Auf, auf ihr edlen Töchter* (1685), translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 118.

two organists were jointly recognized by younger musicians as comprising the “pinnacle of the profession.”⁵³

Comparable colleagues in terms of both musical ability and fame, Buxtehude and Reincken were also close friends, as documented in several sources. In the same composition mentioned above, Rogge describes Buxtehude as “he who knows Mr. Reincken properly.”⁵⁴ The text of one of Buxtehude’s own compositions written for Reincken’s wedding, praising the “agreement between brothers, friendship between neighbors, and a wife and husband who live in harmony,” is much greater in scope than most of his other wedding arias. As Snyder notes, this indicates that it was written for “someone special to him.”⁵⁵ The two organists’ friendship is also recorded in a painting by Johannes Voorhout called *Musical Party* [Figure 1]. The central figure playing a harpsichord and identified by comparison to another portrait of him, is Reincken. Because one listener in the painting holds a piece of sheet music containing the inscription “In hon: dit: Buxtehude: et Joh: Adam Reink: fratr[um] [brothers],” it can be assumed that Buxtehude is among the various figures, though there are no other extant portraits available for comparison. Despite some controversy, the gamba player on the left has been determined to be the famed Lübeck musician.⁵⁶

Not only does *Musical Party* document Buxtehude and Reincken’s friendship, but here one can begin to see some of the differences between the two as well.⁵⁷ For instance,

⁵³ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 114.

⁵⁴ Rogge, 118.

⁵⁵ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 117-8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 109-10.

⁵⁷ The following analysis of “The Musical Party” is largely based largely on Snyder’s description, but with her observations further framed in terms of self-fashioning.

Buxtehude is situated comfortably in a secular, “pleasure-loving” society, as demonstrated by the erotic gestures of the couple dancing in the background. He is dressed in nice patrician clothes, but nothing like the extremely fashionable and expensive Japanese silk brocade kimono Reincken is wearing. Reincken is also being served grapes by an African



Figure 1: Johannes Voorhout's *Musical Party* (1674)⁵⁸

page, again symbolizing his “ostentatious” wealth and propensity for sensual pleasure. Buxtehude is certainly part of such a culture, but not to the same extent as Reincken. As musical biographer Johann Mattheson (1681-1764) explained, Reincken was known to be pretentious. Mattheson hated how he called himself a “most celebrated Director of the Organ” on the ornately engraved title page of his sonata collection and how he even placed his initials on the image’s decorative pillars. Similarly, Reincken used his large salary to

⁵⁸ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, Frontispiece.

commission this and other paintings that showed off his wealth.⁵⁹ Thus in his self-fashioning, Reincken was intent on creating an image of himself that was extravagant, based solely on the high place in society his money afforded him. In comparison to his good friend, then, it is clear that Buxtehude's humble willingness to accept his rank in society and his sense of civic duty demonstrates his sincere lack of pretention. He was able to successfully fashion himself as a capable and useful member of his capitalistic society, but his goal in this was not to gain prestige alone.

From External Self-Fashioning to Musical Accomplishment

Rather than seeking only social standing, Buxtehude's efforts to increase his reputation by fashioning himself as an adept member of his capitalistic society and honorable civil servant were vitally connected to his development as a musician and the advancement of his professional career, for they gave him the reputation and social standing he needed to accomplish this growth. This is the case with many of Buxtehude's commercially-oriented self-fashioning endeavors discussed above. For example, he used established trade routes to cultivate a friendship and a professional relationship with Gustav Duben, who, as Kappelmeister for the King of Sweden, eventually purchased and commissioned numerous pieces from Buxtehude, giving him a new outlet for professional growth. Similarly, with the Abendmusik concerts, Buxtehude fashioned himself as a competent entrepreneur, but his gathering of donations and cultivation of patrons was not done only to earn money; it also allowed him to compose new works and thus cultivate the new musical genre of the five-part dramatic oratorio. In addition, the Abendmusiken

⁵⁹ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 111-12.

provided Buxtehude opportunity to purchase new instruments, such as trumpets and kettle drums, and to hire professional musicians from across the continent, giving him more compositional options. The efforts he made to fashion himself as an adept member of his commercial capitalistic society were, indeed, critical to his musical development.

A similar point can be made about the extra music Buxtehude composed and played at St. Mary's that was not officially required by his position as organist, including both the Abendmusik oratorios and the liturgically-based vocal works he composed for use in services that were technically the duty of the cantor and such extensive solo works as his organ preludia and chorale fantasias.⁶⁰ Buxtehude's composition of these works can thus be considered part of his self-fashioning, for as Arnfried Edler has demonstrated, "the high social status that the North German organist enjoyed in his community gave him the *freedom*—not the responsibility—to compose and perform vocal music for the church service."⁶¹ A large portion of Buxtehude's extant works is sacred music not required by his position at Saint Mary's, thus demonstrating that Buxtehude used his respected and well-paying position not only to gain general credibility in a commercial society, but to increase his musical output and develop professionally as well.

Buxtehude used such commercial-oriented means of self-fashioning both to gain credibility and opportunities for his personal musical advancement, and also to benefit the larger musical community. For example, he, along with twenty-three other musicians and businessmen in Lübeck, paid for the publication of a colleague's collection of six *stile antico*

⁶⁰ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 97, 100.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 97.

masses.⁶² Buxtehude also fostered the growth of the younger generation of organists by using his spare time to teach many students who would later become famous in their own right, most significantly Nicolaus Bruhns (1665-97) and briefly J.S. Bach (1685-1750). Similarly, he fostered the education of Bach, Böhm, Johann Walther (1684-1748), and many others who copied his manuscripts. Buxtehude also frequently lent the weight of his personal reputation to give credibility to other skilled musicians. On several occasions Buxtehude recommended Arp Schnitger (1648-1719), the most important North German organ builder of his day, to other churches in the area looking to install new organs. There is also some evidence suggesting that Buxtehude even had a business relationship with Schnitger, receiving money for all his endorsements.⁶³ On other occasions, though, Buxtehude lent his support simply to encourage the acceptance of the work of other musicians, such as when he contributed two poems praising and congratulating the author to Andreas Werckmeister's (1645-1706) compositional treatise, *Harmonologia Musica* (1702). Through these varied means in different arenas of North German musical culture, from composition and performance to organ building and music theory, Buxtehude demonstrated his concern for its overall development, reflecting his focus on his own musical growth and professional advancement.

Significantly, the two congratulatory poems Buxtehude contributed to Werckmeister's *Harmonologia Musica*, reveal that he understood one's identity to be established by personal accomplishment, reflecting the growing German value of *Kultur*. As his first, two-line poem reads, "The intelligent minds all say of him:/ With the highest fame

⁶² Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 113.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 119.

and glory, this work praises the master.”⁶⁴ While this is, of course, a pun on Werckmeister’s name since the last phrase of the German reads “*Werck den Meister*,” it also shows that to Buxtehude, the tangible result of one’s talents, the “work of art” as the second poem elaborates, signifies the achievement of mastery, not only outward success in a capitalistic society. And in fact, for Buxtehude, recognizing a piece of artwork’s connection to the artist is part of “[viewing] a work of art properly.” Thus by “[exclaiming]” that, “He, my Friend [Werckmeister], has considered well/ and excerpted what is useful to art,” Buxtehude was able to “congratulate the author, as his highly/ treasured friend” and to show him to be “praiseworthy in the order of muses.”⁶⁵ Throughout this poem, then, Buxtehude demonstrates his belief that one’s accomplishments also help to forge identity as a crucially important aspect of self-fashioning.

Background to Buxtehude’s Musical Self-Fashioning: Musical Rhetoric

Just as knowledge of Buxtehude’s society is a necessary pre-requisite for understanding his self-fashioning efforts, so too a knowledge of the general conception of music during the seventeenth century is critical for seeing Buxtehude’s organ preludia as a means of musical self-fashioning.⁶⁶ During the baroque period music was broadly understood as a parallel to classical oratory. Rhetoric was, in fact, a widespread influence

⁶⁴ Dieterich Buxtehude, “Ad Dn. Authorem,” in Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica* (Quedlingburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1702), quoted and translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 126.

⁶⁵ Dieterich Buxtehude, “Wer ein Kunst-Werck recht betrachtet,” in Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica* (Quedlingburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1702), quoted and translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 127.

⁶⁶ Given that Buxtehude wrote down the preludia in manuscript form to serve as models for his own and his students’ improvisation, as discussed above, I am considering him to be the musical orator whose self-fashioning can be seen in the preludia, even though they likely do not represent what congregants at St. Mary’s would have heard Buxtehude play in their exact form. A question for further study is how these appeals to *ethos* function when the scores of preludia are performed accurately by organists today rather than used loosely as models for improvisation.

on many disciplines during this time. It was first described and practiced by ancient Greeks and Romans, later rediscovered during the Renaissance and the Baroque, and consequently held in high regard according to the humanistic spirit of the age. It was emphasized in Latin school curricula, Lutheran preaching methods, and the literary and theater arts of the time. Baroque theorists understood music as a parallel to oratory, and German theorists especially wrote extensively on this topic, which they called *musica poetica*. Today, the musical-rhetorical parallels discussed in baroque treatises are frequently used by scholars as a basis for interpreting music from that time.⁶⁷

Like rhetoricians in ancient Greece and Rome, German baroque treatise writers including Joachim Burmeister (1566-1629) and Christoph Bernhard (1628-92) discuss a five-fold division of the art of rhetoric that is considered by current scholars to be one of its most “enduring and influential legacies.”⁶⁸ These five steps of crafting any spoken or musical oration include: “*inventio*,” or finding the central argument or musical idea,⁶⁹ “*dispositio*,” organizing these ideas,⁷⁰ “*elocutio*,” stylizing, elaborating, and decorating them,⁷¹ “*memoria*,” memorizing all of this, and “*pronuntiatio*,” delivering the oration.⁷²

⁶⁷ For good introductions the concept of musical rhetoric see Dietrich Bartel, “Ethical Gestures: Rhetoric in German Baroque Music,” *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1885 (Winter, 2003): 15-19; Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg, “Introduction,” in *Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric*, edited by Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); George J. Buelow, Blake Wilson, and Peter A. Hoyt, “Rhetoric and music,” Grove Music Online <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/43166> (accessed September 12, 2011); George J. Buelow, “Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography,” *Notes*, Second Series 30, no. 2 (1973): 250-259; Patrick McCreless, “Music and Rhetoric,” in *The Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, Ed. Thomas Christensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁶⁸ George J. Buelow, Blake Wilson, and Peter A. Hoyt, “Rhetoric and music,” Grove Music Online. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/43166> (accessed September 12, 2011). Individuals offer slightly different descriptions, but reflect a similar approach.

⁶⁹ Laurence Dreyfus elaborates on this in his analysis of Bach’s Inventions in *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996).

⁷⁰ This concept is the basis for analyses of Buxtehude’s organ preludia in Sharon Gorman, *Rhetoric and Affect in the Organ Preludia of Dieterich Buxtehude (1637-1707)* (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Information

This idea of baroque musicians practicing a kind of oratory means that the most fundamental musical-rhetorical parallel during the baroque era, often taken for granted by both baroque treatise writers and current scholars, is the person of the orator. Just as a speech-based orator was expected to invent his own argument, organize and elaborate it, memorize and deliver it, in the baroque era composers would frequently perform their own pieces, accomplishing all five phases of musical rhetoric themselves. The strict distinction between performance and composition that is so prevalent today did not exist in baroque times. As Dietrich Bartel adamantly states:

Rhetoric has everything to do with delivery, with speech, with performance, the act of constructing an oration simply being the first step. [...] These five rhetorical steps must be understood as a unit. If there is one thing that the discipline of rhetoric teaches the musician, it is that composition and performance cannot be isolated from each other. The one informs the other, explains the other, influences the other, and this is always a two-way process.⁷³

Thus in order to clearly incorporate this concept of music as rhetoric, incompatible as it is with more typical vocabulary that indicates distinct performers and composers, in my analysis of Buxtehude's organ prelude I have chosen to use the term "musical orator" to describe Buxtehude as an individual who creates a musical experience, which I call a "musical oration," by following the five divisions of rhetoric.

Buxtehude and his organ prelude are consummate examples of a musical orator and musical orations. While modern scholars have not conceived of the composer as orator, they have discussed the improvisatory nature of the prelude in light of a rhetorical

Services, 1992); and Lena Jacobson, "Musical Rhetoric in Buxtehude's Free Organ Works," in *The Organ Yearbook: A Journal for the Players & Historians of Keyboard Instruments* 13 (1982): 60-79.

⁷¹ Musical-rhetorical figures, used for these purposes and documented in various baroque treatises, have been catalogued by Dieterich Bartel in his *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1997).

⁷² Bartel, "Ethical Gestures," 16.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 16.

approach to music. Like the five divisions of rhetoric, improvisation implies that a single individual is responsible for all aspects of a musical creation, from the invention of the musical subject to the oration's delivery. Both Ibo Ortges and Siegbert Rampe have demonstrated this improvisatory nature of Buxtehude's preeludia in their studies of pedagogical methods and the in-home use of harpsichords and clavichords by church organists during the baroque era. They similarly conclude that Buxtehude's preeludia were written down "[not] with the intention of playing them on the organ, but rather to use as models in the teaching of improvisation and composition."⁷⁴ Rather than works written by a composer for performance by other musicians at a later date, when understood as models for improvisation, Buxtehude's preeludia must be thought of as the work of a single musical orator, responsible for the invention and delivery, as well as each of the adjoining divisions of rhetoric. Thus the surviving manuscripts and current editions of Buxtehude's preeludia should not be thought of as complete works in and of themselves, but rather as the written out record of Buxtehude's practice of the first three divisions of rhetoric. They indicate each preeludia's musical invention, its multi-sectional organization alternating free and fugal textures, and its elaboration and decoration, all of which were most likely adapted from Buxtehude's memory of his ideas as he delivered his musical oration. Any musical self-fashioning Buxtehude may have accomplished in his organ preeludia would have been derived from this process of musical-rhetorical creation and would have been understood by his contemporaries in relationship to it as such.

Of course, every orator, equipped with the ability to craft an oration using the five divisions of rhetoric, must have a topic to present to an audience, a purpose for employing

⁷⁴ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 229.

his skills. In spoken oration, the tools of rhetoric are most often put to use with the intent of convincing an audience of a given argument, such as in the court case a lawyer presents. In the baroque era, the goal of music was to move the listener to an intended emotional state, or affect. This relates to the frequently discussed Doctrine of Affections, an application of Descartes' theory of the human passions, or objectified emotional states arrived at by the physical movement of internal "animal spirits," to music.⁷⁵ Sometimes the intended affect of a piece was one that corresponded with and helped express its text. In the case of instrumental music with no text, such as Buxtehude's organ preludia, the choice of affect was open to whatever the musical orator wished.

Self-Fashioning as a Musical-Rhetorical Concept: The Appeal to *Ethos*

In addition to learning about the different divisions of rhetoric, all orators learned specific methods of convincing an audience of their argument. Known as the three rhetorical appeals, these technical means of successful persuasion first appeared in Aristotle's *On Rhetoric*, and were subsequently developed by rhetoricians such as Cicero and Quintilian. The appeals are based on three points of communication – the speaker, the subject, and the audience – and the concept of the three appeals acknowledges that each of these elements plays a role in determining the success of an argument. The appeal to *ethos* refers to strategies to win over an audience by establishing the moral character, trustworthiness, and credibility of the orator. *Logos* is the means of convincing an audience through the logic or content of the argument itself, and *pathos* is the method of persuading

⁷⁵ See Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellemeister*, 103-4; Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, "The Mature Baroque: The Doctrine of the Affections (Descartes, Mattheson)," in *Music in the Western World: a history in documents*, 2nd ed. (Belmont: Thomson Schirmer, 2008), 180-86.

an audience by arousing them to an emotional state that will influence their judgment in favor of the argument.⁷⁶ The appeal to *ethos* is the aspect of oration that most closely parallels self-fashioning because it emphasizes establishing a positive reputation of the orator in the minds of his audience. Thus I will give it special attention here as a concept that helps explain the musical-rhetorical means by which Buxtehude continued to establish his reputation by fashioning himself as a consummate musician.

In classical rhetoric, the appeal to *ethos* assumes that an orator's self-presentation can play a role in persuading his audience to accept his argument. It recognizes that an oration's success is not due only to the logic of the case itself, nor only to the emotional state of the audience. As Cicero describes, an orator "wins the favor of his hearer" by his "merit, achievements, or reputable life." These qualifications, he explains, are "easier to embellish, if only they are real, [but are not impossible] to fabricate where non-existent."⁷⁷ He moreover explains that the orator possesses the ability to shape and even create his identity through his words and manner of speaking. Cicero explains:

[A]ttributes useful in an advocate are a mild tone, a countenance expressive of modesty, gentle language, and the faculty of seeming to be dealing reluctantly and under compulsion with something you are really anxious to prove. It is very helpful to display tokens of good-nature, kindness, calmness, loyalty, and a disposition that is pleasing and not grasping or covetous.⁷⁸

In a similar vein, Cicero later summarizes:

Moreover, so much is done by good taste and style in speaking, that *the speech seems to depict the speaker's character*. For by means of particular types of thought and diction, and the employment besides of a delivery that is unruffled and eloquent of

⁷⁶ Christof Rapp, "Aristotle's Rhetoric," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, /Spring 2010 Edition, ed. Edward N. Zalta, (accessed November 20, 2011).

⁷⁷ Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Oratore*, trans. and ed. W.W. Sutton, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), 325-27.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 327-9.

good-nature, *the speakers are made to appear upright, well-bred and virtuous men.*⁷⁹
[Emphasized phrases are my own.]

Thus, Cicero's discussion of *ethos* makes clear that his understanding of the rhetorical concept involves not simply the orator's passive description of his own character, as earlier rhetoricians such as Aristotle intimated, but also his active attempts to win his audience's favor.⁸⁰ This understanding of the appeal to *ethos* of Cicero's corresponds with the early modern literary self-fashioning that Greenblatt describes because both involve the active shaping of identity through public mediums of communication.⁸¹ Significantly, because baroque musicians understood their craft in terms of rhetoric, this connection shows how the concept of self-fashioning can be applied to baroque music.

The appeal to *ethos* may thus provide a means for understanding how Buxtehude might have recognized the role musical creation played in the shaping of his identity. Of course, in musical oration, the credibility and trustworthiness of a musical orator cannot be established by the same demonstration of his good character since a musical orator's goal is not to persuade an audience to accept his moral judgment. He need not show himself to be a master of all goodness, but rather a master of affective persuasion, instrumental technique, virtuosity, creativity, and skill in every part of the musical-rhetorical craft. Through musical appeals to *ethos*, the musical orator has the opportunity to demonstrate his true musicianship in all of its forms. However, unlike other rhetorical terms and concept that were often taken up by baroque musicians and theoreticians to explain musical ideas directly, such as figures of speech or the *dispositio*, or organization, of an

⁷⁹ Cicero, *De Oratore*, 329.

⁸⁰ James M. May, *Trials of Character: The Eloquence of Ciceronian Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 5.

⁸¹ This is a connection made by John Dugan in *Making a New Man: Ciceronian Self-Fashioning in the Rhetorical Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 1-5.

oration, the writers of baroque musical treatises generally did not, to my knowledge, directly address the topic of the three rhetorical appeals or spell out their musical equivalents in any definitive manner.⁸² Nevertheless, the concept of the three rhetorical appeals must have been familiar to most German baroque musicians since they lived in a culture that both emphasized spoken and written rhetoric in Latin school curricula and understood music in rhetorical terms. Even if they did not explicitly use the terminology of the three appeals, they must have been aware that various factors influenced the effectiveness of their presentations of musical orations.⁸³

In fact, evidence of such indirect influence of the concept of the three appeals can be found in a treatise called *Musurgia universalis* from 1650. In it, Athanasius Kircher, a German musician and scholar living in Rome, offers a definition of a new “fantastic style” that bespeaks the influence of the rhetorical appeals. After explaining that “the [*stylus phantasticus*] is the most free and unrestrained method of composing” and that “it is bound to nothing, neither to words nor to a melodic subject,” Kircher explains how the fantastic style serves a particular purpose for instrumentalists who use it.⁸⁴ He writes:

⁸² Baroque treatises I have studied include Joachim Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, trans. Benito V. Rivera, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*. Nowhere in any secondary literature, either, have I found references to treatises that discuss the three appeals directly.

⁸³ For this reason, some scholars discuss musical appeals to *ethos*, *pathos*, or *logos* in Buxtehude's organ preludia. Taking classical orators' discussions of rhetorical *dispositio*, or organization, as their guide to analyzing the form of Buxtehude's preludia, they limit their discussion of musical appeals to the sections of the preludia that they believe parallel the sections of classical *dispositio* that call for each of these appeals respectively. See Leon W. Couch III, “Playing Dieterich Buxtehude's Works Rhetorically, CD-ROM (New York: American Guild of Organists, 2007), “Track 6: “Theory: Musical-Rhetorical Form (conclusion) and Track 7: Application: Musical-Rhetorical Form and Application”; Sharon Gorman, *Rhetoric and Affect in the Organ Praeludia of Dieterich Buxtehude (1637-1707)*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Information Services, 1992), 25, 30, 32.

⁸⁴ Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta* (Rome: 1650), quoted and translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 254.

Harpsichords, organs, regals and all multiplucked musical instruments . . . require compositions, which indeed must be such, that with them the organist not only shows his own genius, but also with them as preambles as it were he prepares and excites the spirits of the listeners for the entertainment of the symphonic harmony that will follow.⁸⁵

Thus in the same way as orators attempt to arouse in their audience an emotional state that favors their accepting the argument through appeals to *pathos*, so does the *stylus phantasticus* allow the organist to “[to preamble] as it were, [and to prepare and excite] the spirits of the listeners” to be moved by the musical affect. The display of “his own genius” likewise parallels the appeal to *ethos*. Kircher’s definition of the *stylus phantasticus* demonstrates musical equivalents of at least two out of the three rhetorical appeals, even if they are not explicitly named. Moreover, this capacity of the *stylus phantasticus* to display genius was an important reason, along with “[teaching] the hidden design of harmony and the ingenious composition of harmonic phrases and fugues,” why “the fantastic style was instituted.”⁸⁶

The fantastic style’s potential for appealing to *ethos* and allowing musicians to fashion their public identity as skilled musicians was thus a central element of the *stylus phantasticus* from its inception. Even more importantly, as Pieter Dirksen has convincingly demonstrated, Buxtehude and the neighboring Hamburg school of north German baroque organists co-opted and revitalized Kircher’s *stylus phantasticus*, by their time outdated, precisely because of its unique ability to help them display the pinnacle of

⁸⁵ Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, 255.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 254-5.

their musicianship, elevate their reputations, and fashion themselves as supremely skilled musicians deserving of high regard.⁸⁷

The Self-Fashioning Function of the *Stylus Phantasticus*

The musical genre of the Renaissance *fantasia*, from which the *stylus phantasticus* developed, evolved out of the humanist philosophy of that time which adopted the neo-Platonist concept of the “‘phantasia,’ [that is] the force of the poetry, by which [the poet] bursts the chains of humans as limited beings and provides the means to transcendence.”⁸⁸ Thus the musical *fantasia* became the genre of the “highest” and “most sophisticated” musical language, which in the sixteenth century was considered to be imitative counterpoint.⁸⁹ The English musician Thomas Morley put it this way in 1597:

The most principall and chiefest kind of musick which is made without a dittie is the Fantasie, that is, when a musician taketh a point at his pleasure, and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best in his own conceit. In this may more art be showne than in any other musicke, because the composer is tide to nothing but that he may adde, diminish, and alter at his pleasure.⁹⁰

With phrases such as “the most principall and chiefest kind of musick,” and “more art be showne than in any other musicke,” Morley’s definition of the *fantasia* demonstrates the association of this genre with all that is supreme in music, similar to the consummate musicianship I will suggested Buxtehude used his organ preludia to display. Moreover,

⁸⁷ Pieter Dirksen, “The Enigma of the *Stylus Phantasticus* and Dieterich Buxtehude’s Praeludium in G Minor (BuxWV 163),” in *From Orphei Organi Antiqui: Essays in Honor of Harald Vogel*, ed. Cleveland Johnson (Orcas, WA: Westfield Center, 2006), 107-32. While Dirksen presents this and the following history I have added the interpretive layer of Greenblatt’s concept of self-fashioning to his research in order to support my argument that Buxtehude musically fashioned himself in his organ preludia through his use of the *stylus phantasticus*.

⁸⁸ Arnfried, Edler, “Fantasie and Choralfantasie: On the Problematic Nature of a Genre of Seventeenth-Century Organ Music.” *Organ Yearbook* 19 (1988): 55.

⁸⁹ Dirksen, “The Enigma,” 108.

⁹⁰ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Music* (London: 1597), quoted in Pieter Dirksen, “The Enigma,” 109-10.

Morley's idea that the height of the art may be shown in the *fantasia* because in it "the composer is tied to nothing" points to a clear connection between the earlier *fantasia* and the later *stylus phantasticus*.⁹¹ This is because Kircher explains the fantastic style's ability to "display genius" in the same manner as Morely: "[the *stylus phantasticus*] is the most free and unrestrained method of composing: it is bound to nothing, neither to words nor to a melodic subject."⁹²

Moreover, the history of the *fantasia* points beyond the fantastic style's association with the heights of musical craftsmanship to its role in musical self-fashioning. The most popular instruments for which we have written-out examples of the *fantasia* are the lute and various keyboards, all instruments where the player and the composer were nearly always one and the same, allowing the musician to employ the full extent of his contrapuntal creativity and skill. The most advanced organists, in fact, even protected this emblem of consummate musicianship from becoming widespread by refraining from writing *fantasias* down, as was common with the lute. Instead, they taught their students the skill of contrapuntal improvisation, which, in its exclusivity, helped raise the prestige of organists among other musicians.⁹³

This renaissance *fantasia*, however, was an outdated genre by the time Kircher wrote his *Musurgia universalis* in 1650. The famous Italian composer Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643), for example, published a set early in his career in 1608 and then abandoned the genre. As Dirksen argues, Kircher was largely paying homage to the earlier tradition of

⁹¹ Morely, "A Plaine and Easie Introduction," 109.

⁹² Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis*, 254.

⁹³ Dirksen, "The Enigma," 108. Buxtehude's praeludia, as written-out models for improvisation, clearly follow in this tradition (Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 229).

the strictly contrapuntal humanist *fantasia*, even as he defined for the first time a “fantastic” style. Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis*, with its original definition of the *stylus phantasticus*, was known in Hamburg shortly after its publication in 1650. It is also well documented that Froberger, the keyboardist Dirksen believes helped influence Kircher’s explanation of the fantastic style, was personally acquainted with several Hamburg organists. Thus Dirksen argues that it was through these channels that the Hamburg organists of the mid- to late seventeenth century first became familiar with the concept of the *stylus phantasticus*, only to become inspired to develop it in their own unique fashion.⁹⁴ As Mattheson described later in his 1739 *Der Volkommen Capellmeister*, “the fantastic name is otherwise much hated, only we [the German composers] have a style of writing with this name . . .”⁹⁵ Dirksen explains how the Hamburg organists were most likely “attracted to Kircher’s definition, with [its] elements such as the emphasis on great skill and sophisticated fugal writing, the high compositional ambition, [and with its] being the exclusive domain of keyboard instruments,” for it was “a concept which could further enhance and ennoble their already highly respected art.”⁹⁶ Thus though Dirksen does not describe this history of the *stylus phantasticus* in these terms, because Buxtehude and his colleagues in Hamburg developed the somewhat outdated fantastic style in order to elevate their social status, their efforts can be seen as a musical means of self-fashioning.

By the time Johann Mattheson described the *stylus phantasticus* in his *Der Volkommen Capellmeister* in 1739, eighty-nine years after Kircher’s original definition, the

⁹⁴ Dirksen, “The Enigma,” 118-19.

⁹⁵ Johann Mattheson, *Der Volkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: 1739), quoted and trans. Pieter Dirksen, “The Enigma,” 118.

⁹⁶ Dirksen, “The Enigma,” 118-19.

stylistic characteristics he associated with the style, as he heard it played by the older generation of organists around him in Hamburg, were quite different. He describes the *stylus phantasticus*:

For this style is the freest and least restricted style which one can devise for composing, singing, and playing, since one sometimes uses one idea and sometimes another, since one is restricted by neither words nor melody, but only by harmony, *so that the singers' or players' skill can be revealed* [my emphasis].⁹⁷

Leaving aside the final italicized phrase, Mattheson's definition of the *stylus phantasticus* describes a very different sort of music than Kircher associated with the fantastic style. Instead of describing carefully constructed harmonies and fugues as Kircher does, Mattheson emphasizes the fantastic style's freedom from all compositional rules.⁹⁸ Yet the self-fashioning function of the fantastic style seen in the final sentence ties Kircher's and Mattheson's definitions together. Reinforcing this functional nature of the *stylus phantasticus*, Mattheson explains later that "whoever can bring to bear the most artistic embellishments and the rarest inventions does the best." But, acknowledging that this "takes clever minds," he directs that music in the fantastic style be "performed according to the player's whim and ability."⁹⁹ Thus though they understand characteristics of the *stylus phantasticus* differently, both Kircher and Mattheson share a fundamental belief that the *stylus phantasticus* is meant to display the skill and genius of the musician practicing it. In

⁹⁷ Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 217.

⁹⁸ As Peter Collins has demonstrated, the striking contrasts between the stylistic characteristics Kircher and Mattheson associate with the *stylus phantasticus* are a result of different focuses on composition in Kircher's case and performance and improvisation in Mattheson's case. The way in which a musician's genius can be displayed through the fantastic style changes depending upon what type of musician is employing the style. See Paul Collins, *The Stylus Phantasticus and Free Keyboard Music of the North German Baroque* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

⁹⁹ Harriss, *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, 216-17.

rhetorical terms, Mattheson can be said to be expounding on the style's capacity to appeal to *ethos*.¹⁰⁰

Buxtehude's Musical Self-Fashioning as a Consummate Musical Orator Through Appeals to *Ethos* in his Organ Praeludia

Each of Buxtehude's organ prelude is unique. The affects presented are diverse, and each requires its own specific textural, harmonic, and formal techniques to successfully win over an audience to the musical argument. Consequently, Buxtehude's appeals to *ethos* in the prelude are varied, demonstrating different aspects of his musical talents and abilities, such as his craftsmanship, knowledge of and control over texture and harmony, technical virtuosity, and imagination in pushing the limits of his instruments as well as the musical language of the era. Because establishing himself as a consummate musical orator involved demonstrating the range of his skills and musicianship, his appeals to *ethos* run throughout the whole of each prelude, often overlapping with what others might more readily consider appeals to *logos* or *pathos*, the prelude's logically- or emotionally-convincing aspects. Each time Buxtehude demonstrated his musicianship or proved his musical skill in moving his audience to his intended affect, he was appealing to *ethos* and participating in musical self-fashioning.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Leon W. Couch, III makes this connection between Mattheson's description and the appeal to *ethos*, but not to self-fashioning, in *Playing Dieterich Buxtehude's Works Rhetorically* (CD-ROM), Track 6: "Theory: Musical-Rhetorical Form (conclusion)."

¹⁰¹ Of course, different audiences would have been convinced of Buxtehude's skills and musicianship by different aspects of his music. His St. Mary's congregation or the Lübeck businessmen, for example, might have noticed different aspects of the prelude than the musical connoisseurs of Buxtehude's day. I will highlight a variety of these characteristics in my analysis, though usually without reference to the specific type of audience that might have heard these as appeals to *ethos* in order to respect the individuality of the listening experience. What connects each of my examples, however, is that they would have functioned as appeals to *ethos* as they were heard by Buxtehude's audience. The scores and measure numbers I reference

E Minor, BuxWV 143

In its establishment of Buxtehude as an authoritative organist and capable musical orator, the Praeludium in E minor, BuxWV 143, is a fine example of Buxtehude's musical self-fashioning. From the very beginning of this praeludium, an appeal to the musical orator's skill is made by way of an impressive and virtuosic pedal solo. With its fast moving sixteenth notes and an arpeggio, Buxtehude would have covered nearly the entire range of the pedal board in the span of two beats (see Example 1). Even if his listeners were unable



Example 1: Praeludia in E Minor, BuxWV 143, measures 1-4¹⁰²

to see his feet moving, they must certainly have been aware that Buxtehude was playing this on the pedals because of the very low sound in comparison to that of a similar melody which comes a few measures later on the manuals. Just before this first upper voice enters, the pedal line lands on a low E and remains there as a pedal tone for seven measures. The sound of this one low, long note would have been huge as it reverberated through the church, and the listeners could not have helped but be awed by power of the organ and the authority of the musical orator who was playing it.

represent these historic aural appeals to *ethos*, and thus I acknowledge the role of informed imagination in my interpretation of the way Buxtehude's audience would have heard his organ praeludia.

¹⁰² Dieterich Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, Vol. 1., Revised New Edition, ed. Klaus Beckmann. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel, 1997, 50.

In this piece Buxtehude also demonstrated his capability as a musical orator through his ability to craft and deliver a musical oration on the spot. This can be seen in the variation and truncation throughout the opening of the motivic material presented in the initial pedal solo, particularly in measures 14-15. Here the upper lines all have prominent sixteenth-note rests between repeated downward chromatically moving chords, as adapted from the opening tonic-leading tone-tonic motion at the beginning of the piece (see Example 2). Throughout the whole section Buxtehude demonstrated an especially



Example 2: Praeludium in E Minor, BuxWV 143, measures 14-15¹⁰³

“improvisational” compositional method.¹⁰⁴ As he kept coming back to the E, slowly moving off to one note and back, then another, such as in measures 2, 4, 8, and 12-15, it would have sounded to the listener as if he was searching out what he could play next, how he could extend and develop the motivic material he invented in measure 1. Though some of this improvisatory development was likely thought up before Buxtehude sat down at the keyboard, it no less presents Buxtehude as the sole individual responsible for the musical oration in all its parts, from invention to delivery.

Each of the two fugues in the E Minor Praeludium, BuxWV 143, function similarly as they further demonstrate Buxtehude’s abilities as a musical orator in contrapuntal

¹⁰³ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 51.

¹⁰⁴ Gorman, *Rhetoric and Affect*, 120. While Gorman demonstrates this variation of motivic material, here I interpret it as an appeal to *ethos*.

improvisation. Both fugue subjects emerge from the opening pedal solo's chromatic movement from E to D# and back to E (see Example 3).¹⁰⁵ While Buxtehude scholar Sharon Gorman has demonstrated that Buxtehude frequently derived his fugue subjects from motives in the opening section, the clarity of this connection in BuxWV 143 is striking. It means that Buxtehude's audience could have grasped the connection as they listened and been awed by his musical-rhetorical skill.



Example 3: Praeludium in E Minor, BuxWV 143, measures 23-5¹⁰⁶

A Major, BuxWV 151

While Buxtehude fashioned himself as a consummate musical orator and authoritative organist in each of his organ preludia, several bring specific skills to the fore. For example, the Praeludium in A Major, BuxWV 151, is one of the more obvious examples of Buxtehude's ability to develop and convince his listeners of an affect quickly and effectively. In it, he moves his audience to the "touching, somewhat brilliant, [or even] plaintive or sad" affect associated with A major through precise use of embellishments and counterpoint.¹⁰⁷ The sad and serious affect of A major was associated in the Baroque period

¹⁰⁵ Gorman, *Rhetoric and Affect*, 120-24: Gorman writes on page 122, "the fugue subject of the *narratio* [the first fugue beginning at measure 23] alters the *Exordium* motive [E-D#-E] slightly by inserting a D between the E and D#, producing thereby a simple chromatic inflection E-D-D#-E, expanded rhythmically by the use of repeated notes." Then on page 124 she explains how the *confirmatio* [second] fugue subject which begins in measure 58 has only to small pitch changes, the second repeated D to a C# and the fourth to a B. As she puts it, "in fact it is little more than an rhythmic recasting in the fashion of a variation canzona."

¹⁰⁶ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 51.

¹⁰⁷ Couch, *Playing Rhetorically* (accompanying booklet), 7.

Example 4: Praeludium in A Major, BuxWV 151, measures 1-10¹⁰⁸

with embellishments.¹⁰⁹ Accordingly Buxtehude made use of embellishment from the opening measure of the prelude in this key, as appears to be documented in one of the infrequently-prescribed, but spirited, mordents and trills (see Example 4). Of course, decorating and expanding a musical invention was a fundamental aspect of rhetorical composition, the third of its five divisions called *elocutio* or “style.” This division encompasses musical-rhetorical figures, or specific rhythmic, harmonic, contrapuntal, textural or other expressive devices for elaborating and decorating a small musical idea.¹¹⁰ *Elocutio* also included ornamentation, such as cadential trills, which Buxtehude most often left unwritten, but that would have been added where appropriate in the moment of delivery. The number of specifically marked ornaments indicated in the A Major

¹⁰⁸ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 96.

¹⁰⁹ Frederick T. Wessel, “The *Affektenlehre* in the Eighteenth Century,” (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1955), quoted in Couch, *Playing Rhetorically* (accompanying booklet), 16.

¹¹⁰ For a history and detailed descriptions of baroque rhetorical figures, see Bartel, *Musica Poetica*.

Praeludium, BuxWV 151, is therefore unique, indicating the essential nature of these embellishments to establishing the musical oration's affection.

Indeed, the entire opening of the prelude is dominated by its plaintive, touching, and sometimes brilliant embellishments. In the opening section, written-out ornaments complement trills and mordents indicated with symbols. These include written-out trills and turns (mm. 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11), running scales up to two octaves long (mm. 5, 6, 8, 10, and 11) and thrown-off runs, either a few notes up the scale or down, to emphasize and extend leaps in the melody, such as in mm. 2, 3-4, 7, and 9-10. Altogether, there is hardly a single beat in the first eleven measures that does not contain 32nd notes. While such fast-moving notes might indicate zealous energy to modern ears, if played at a moderate tempo and on a more reserved registration, such as a single 8-foot flute or principal, these embellishments are touching and plaintive, even as they also exhibit moments of brilliance.

For example, the ornaments in measure 1 contribute to the sense of wistful, jumbled searching. The opening mordent from E to D is a wide interval in mean tone tuning. It starts the prelude out on an unsteady foot. From there, after briefly escaping up a fourth, the melody falls back down, a change in direction emphasized by the trill on C# which starts on its upper neighbor D. In the second half of the measure, the ornaments fall on different subdivisions of beats 3 and 4, contributing to a feeling of uncertainty, and the final mordent on last eighth note of the bar gives pause to the melody before the figuration changes to an upward direction in measure 2. The dotted rhythms of measure 3 are resolute, but only for a moment. After a brilliant two-octave scalar flourish in the first half of measure 5, Buxtehude gives his listeners the first of several instances made painfully beautiful by

ornamented 9-8 suspensions. In this case, the written-out trill on G# anticipates the resolution of a dominant chord that, when finally resolved in the pedal voice, is not really resolved because of the ninth that is held across the bar line into measure 6. After an ornamented turn, this suspension is resolved on beat 2, but not conclusively, for no sooner has the tonic A been reached than the unsettled flourishing begins anew. Similar written-out ornaments anticipating resolutions or prolonging the resolution of suspensions can be found in each of measures 7-10. The whole is effect is one of longing and melancholy aching, even as the quick flourishes add moments of brilliance. Buxtehude thus quickly and clearly establishes A major's associated plaintive affect in the opening of this prelude, demonstrating his musical-rhetorical skills to his audience, and specifically his ability to establish the topic of his oration quickly and effectively.

Throughout the rest of the A Major Praeludium, BuxWV 151, ornamentation continues to reinforce the plaintive affect of the opening. One particularly clear example is the subject of the fugue beginning at measure 23, which contains an ornament on almost every note and is further decorated by a counter-subject (see Example 5). Of course, if this

Example 5: Praeludium in A Major, BuxWV 151, measures 21-8¹¹¹

fugue is played at too fast a tempo, such ornamentation adds excitement and vigor that is contrary to the prelude's overarching affect. However, when played more moderately,

¹¹¹ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 97.

the mordents and trills in the fugue subject lessen the animation of its leaps and dotted rhythms, bringing tenderness. Likewise, if not played too quickly or with too much space between the notes, the countersubject, with its stepwise and repeated eighth notes, caresses and smoothes the agitation of the leaping subject. With only a few well-placed ornaments and a carefully designed counter-subject, then, Buxtehude was able to craft a fugue that would have convincingly presented the intended plaintive affect as he thoughtfully delivered the musical oration.

F-Sharp Minor, BuxWV 146

Buxtehude's experimental use of new tuning practices and innovative textures demonstrates yet another type of genius—imaginative creativity—that was central to the composer's appeal to *ethos* and musical self-fashioning. This opportunity was enabled by a new tuning system devised by Buxtehude's contemporary and friend, Werckmeister. In his *Orgel-Probe* (1698), Werckmeister explained that by softening the dissonance rampant in the standard mean-tone temperament he could open up the full range of the keyboard to possibilities musicians might not otherwise imagine. He described how his new tuning system allowed “free geniuses” to compose in whatever key they wished, allowing them to demonstrate the true extent of their skills and virtuosity.¹¹²

Since through the grace of God, music has so progressed and changed, it would be absurd if we had not tried to improve the keyboard, so that well-composed modern pieces should not be ruined, and a howl come out of them. . . . Some would like to say that one should not compose in every key, such as C#, F#, and G#. But I say that if one does not do it, another will. . . . And why should I set limits for this person or

¹¹² Andreas Werckmeister, *Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgel-Probe* (Quedlinburg: Theodor Philipp Calvisius, 1698), translated in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude* 84.

that, and want to prohibit him from composing in this key? . . . The free arts want free geniuses.¹¹³

Snyder argues that Werckmeister may even have had Buxtehude and his organ praeludia in mind when he wrote this. Not only were the two musicians friends, but Werckmeister's description also fits Buxtehude's praeludia very well. As she explains,

Fewer than half of Buxtehude's organ works stay strictly within [mean tone's playable] limits, and a number of his most ambitious compositions, such as the praeludia in E minor (BuxWV 142), D major (BuxWV 139), and—most impossible of all—F# minor (BuxWV 146), make prominent use of pitch classes outside the system.¹¹⁴

If Buxtehude played the F# Minor praeludium on his mean-tone instrument at St. Mary's, heads would have turned and eyebrows would have raised at the pungent dissonance rampant in the work, even from the opening note. This offending E# is reinforced on each beat of the first measure in a melody that circles with upper and lower neighbors around the tonic F# (see Example 6). Kerala Snyder has suggested that, to avoid such unnerving sounds, in the moment of delivery Buxtehude may have treated this praeludium as an exercise in transposition, playing it a half-step higher in the usable key of G minor.¹¹⁵ In either case, whether aurally to his audience or visually and conceptually to fellow musicians to whom he showed the manuscript, Buxtehude made a strong statement with this praeludium, demonstrating that his musical imagination surpassed the physical

¹¹³ Werckmeister, *Erweiterte*, 84.

¹¹⁴ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude*, 83-4.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 231. Harald Vogel successfully demonstrates this possible adaption in his recording of the praeludium: Dieterich Buxtehude, *Praeludium in g-moll-- überliefert in fis-moll, BuxWV 146*, Harald Vogel, MD&G Records 314 1438-2, compact disc.

Example 6: Buxtehude, *Praeludium in F# Minor*, BuxWV 146, measures 1-13¹¹⁶

and aural constraints of the organ as he knew it. In this way, as Werckmeister described it, he fashioned himself as a “free” musical “genius.”¹¹⁷

In addition to this appeal to *ethos* in which Buxtehude demonstrated his musical freedom and creativity through pushing the limits of the temperament, the *Praeludium in F# Minor*, BuxWV 146, is also quintessential example of his incredibly imaginative and varied use of texture. From the opening the prelude is a study of contrasts, moving from a fantasia-like four measure expansion of an F# minor chord to decorative sixteenths over a tonic pedal in figures that become important later in the oration (mm. 5-13, see Example 6). In contrast, a stark homophonic texture makes up measures 14-26, before

¹¹⁶ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 65.

¹¹⁷ Werckmeister, *Erweiterte und verbesserte Orgel-Probe*, 84.

suddenly giving way to a short dominant pedal point in measures 27-28 that is decorated by chromatic harmonies and runs over top. Through this series of four diverse textures in less than thirty measures, Buxtehude demonstrates his creativity, appealing to *ethos* by fashioning himself as a consummate musical orator with an imaginative command of texture.

One final demonstration of Buxtehude's creativity in the F# minor Praeludium which appeals to *ethos* is the non-fugal final section (mm. 91-111). Rather than reinforce the main material using fugal technique as he does in all but three preludia, here Buxtehude returns to an intense motive of the three sixteenths rebounding off and decorating a quarter note melody in another voice (mm. 91-100) (see Example 7).¹¹⁸



Example 7: Buxtehude, *Praeludium in F# Minor*, BuxWV 146, measures 91-4¹¹⁹

Because this section is not fugal, Buxtehude has great freedom in the section to showcase his pedal technique in the solos of measures 101-3 and 105. With brilliant sixteenths and a final virtuosic flourish over pedal tones in the final section (mm. 112-129), nearly the entire second half of the F# Minor Praeludium, BuxWV 146 contains Buxtehude's free exploration of texture, unrestrained by any text or formal rules.

¹¹⁸ Jacobson, "Musical Rhetoric," 71, 78.

¹¹⁹ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 69.

F Major, BuxWV 145

It is not only between different musical orations that Buxtehude demonstrated the range of his musicianship, but also within single praeludia. In fact, in the majority of the praeludia Buxtehude showcased his creativity and freedom at the same time as he established his abilities as a musical craftsman. One example of this can be found within the one of the fugues (mm. 40-123) of the Praeludium in F Major, BuxWV 145. This fugue appeals to *ethos* by demonstrating the overlap of Buxtehude's craftsmanship and creativity as it develops a proper fugue out of an innovative subject. Buxtehude's audience could not have missed this innovation, especially in the initial presentation of the subject, with the surprising rest just a few beats in and then the delightful echo of that first phrase, perhaps played on a quieter secondary manual (see Example 8). This creativity does not obscure

Example 8: Buxtehude, Praeludium in F Major, BuxWV 145, measures 36-51¹²⁰

¹²⁰ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 60.

Buxtehude's contrapuntal craftsmanship, however, for he very easily turns this subject into a proper fugue, as his audience would no doubt recognize.

A Minor, BuxWV 153

Though it may not first appear to be the case, the same is true of the final section of the Praeludium in A Minor, BuxWV 153. While its demonstration of Buxtehude's dramatic and creative use of texture is obvious, it nevertheless is the culmination of the musical oration's affective presentation as well. Here Buxtehude begins a striking kaleidoscope of textures and harmony primarily extending the minor v chord (d) (m. 105, see Example 9).

Example 9: Buxtehude, *Praeludium in A Minor, BuxWV 153*, measures 104-24¹²¹

¹²¹ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 108.

After one measure of a solo melodic flourish, another voice enters for a measure of motivic alternation and repetition. This morphs into three measures (mm. 107-9) of high right-hand D minor chords punctuating first a D minor arpeggio, then a scale. With the intensity rising from this expansive downward, then upward motion, suddenly in measure 110 a high-speed $V^6-i-ii^{\circ 6}_5-V$ cadential pattern breaks out in sharp alternation between the bass note played by the left hand and the rest of the chord following in quick succession in the right hand. Before it can resolve, the pedal interrupts, repeating the progression in solo alternating feet, even before the end of the measure. And in fact, this evasion of resolution continues as the following two measures (mm. 111-12) contain an extraordinary and attention-grabbing musical figure: in contrary motion the pedal descends an octave-and-a-half from A to D while the right hand ascends in parallel thirds from A and C# to D and F, with the left hand filling in the growing space between. Thus before resolution is reached at the end of measure 112, the audience hears a measure-and-a-half that is rife with dissonance, not only from the unusual intervals generated by the contrary motion, but exacerbated by the prominent C#s, a highly dissonant note in mean-tone temperament. Right up until the final picardy A major chord, obvious textural and harmonic innovation abounds, leaving Buxtehude's audience without a doubt about his musical creativity.

Moreover, while its ending certainly contains the pinnacle of the A minor Praeludium's drama, easily rousing an audience's emotions as a good *peroratio*, or final section of an oration, ought, its creative use of quickly changing textures also follows standard rhetorical form by summing up what has come before. Specifically, it is the culmination of a more subdued focus on texture in earlier sections. In the opening, Buxtehude includes *stile brise*, a lute-like broken chord style (m. 3, see Example 10), a pedal

Example 10: Buxtehude, *Praeludium in A Minor*, BuxWV 153, measures 1-22¹²²

solo (m. 4), motivic alternation between voices, most clearly illustrated in measures 13-4, and a pedal point (mm. 15-20) that follows rapid-fire sixteenth-note punctuations of eighth-note chords (mm. 17-19). Additionally, even despite the contrapuntal texture of each of the fugues (mm. 21-64 and 67-104, respectively), Buxtehude still manages to include a few moments of textural creativity. Examples of this include a contrapuntal

¹²² Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 104-5.

motion figure similar to the intensely dramatic one at the end, but slightly smaller in scale (m. 57), as well as the motivic alternation between voices in measures 94-8 (see Examples 11 and 12). In fact, the whole of Buxtehude's *Praeludium in A minor*, BuxWV 153 is marked by creative use of texture, a feature that Buxtehude's rousing and cumulative *peroratio* serves to reinforce.

Example 11: Buxtehude, *Praeludium in A Minor*, BuxWV 153, Measure 54-61¹²³

Example 12: Buxtehude, *Praeludium in A Minor*, BuxWV 153, Measures 94-8¹²⁴

Significantly, all of this creative use of texture in the A minor *Praeludium*, BuxWV 153 served the purpose of presenting a specific musical affect. According to Mattheson, A minor is associated with a “plaintive, dignified, [and] relaxed (‘sleep inducing’)” affection. This description fits both the *Praeludium*’s fugue subjects well, with their many repeated notes and downward scalar, and even chromatic, motion. However, with the strong emphasis on the A major picardy endings of all sections but the very first ending in measure 4 (including measures 21, 67, 63-4, 104, 118-24), it is not surprising that Buxtehude presents a musical affect that contains some of the “[brilliance]” of A major’s sad

¹²³ Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 106.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 107.

affection.¹²⁵ In fact, it is this emotional and dramatic quality that best accounts for Buxtehude's use of creative and melodramatic texture changes in this Praeludium, especially at its end with the final A major cadence instead of the tonic A minor. With this combination of A major and minor throughout the entire musical oration, Buxtehude's creative use of texture at the end of the Praeludium in A minor, BuxWV 153 can be understood not only as a function of his imagination, but also of craftsmanship; it is his final step in convincing his audience of the increasingly brilliant and dramatic affect he is attempting to portray.

Conclusion

In this survey of Buxtehude's praeludia we have seen how, through a variety of elements that appeal to *ethos*, Buxtehude fashioned himself as a consummate musical orator in the minds of his audience. He accomplished this appeal through elements which exhibited his expert musical-rhetorical craftsmanship as well as those which showcased his imagination and creativity, corresponding with both Kircher's and Mattheson's descriptions of the *stylus phantasticus*. It was this self-fashioning of his position as musical orator, in conjunction with his self-fashioning as an adept businessman and a loyal civil servant, that was the basis for his reputation as a "world-famous organist and composer," as the 1697 Lübeck guidebook described him.¹²⁶

While it is not surprising that Buxtehude's fellow musicians, such as J.S. Bach, would recognize and celebrate this rare talent, this public lauding of Buxtehude is quite unusual considering the negative stereotype the German public had for musicians at that time.

¹²⁵ Couch, *Playing Rhetorically* (accompanying booklet), 7.

¹²⁶ *Die Beglückte*, 54.

While mid- to late-seventeenth-century German musicians certainly were striving for their musical abilities and accomplishments to be the basis for their social standing, this recognition was not yet a reality. Buxtehude's unique success in fashioning a reputation for himself as a consummate musician thus cannot be based on his musical talents alone. As the 1697 Lübeck guidebook notes when it goes on to discuss Buxtehude's role in putting on the Abendmusik concert series, Buxtehude's self-fashioning as an adept member of his commercial capitalist society and as a loyal civil servant was as much a part of his reputation as was his musicianship itself. These recognitions as a businessman and civil servant gave him the credibility in his society, and therefore the freedom and opportunities, that he needed to establish a platform for his musical self-fashioning. Without them, his musical abilities and self-fashioning may well have been overlooked by a society that typically did not regard musicians very highly.

In this two-fold manner Buxtehude combined outward or behavioral and inward or accomplishment-based approaches to self-fashioning, using the former to earn the opportunity to put forth the musical abilities and accomplishments that he cared about more than wealth or prestige for its own sake. Significantly, this picture of Buxtehude's self-fashioning sheds light on an important period of transition from musicians being regarded as servants of a court or of the public to their being regarded in their own right and for their individual genius and talent. Buxtehude's poetry and a comparison of himself to his friend Reincken reveal that Buxtehude highly valued his musical accomplishment over more outward markers of identity such as wealth, prestige, and social standing. On the other hand, for the authorities and public of Lübeck it was Buxtehude's Abendmusik concerts, along with his other self-fashioning efforts in the realms of commercial-capitalism

and civil service, that were just as central to his fame. It would only be in the next several generations following Buxtehude, with figures such as C. P. E. Bach (1714-1718) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756-91), that this disconnect between musicians' understandings of themselves and the public's understanding of them would begin to be reconciled. Though it was in the later eighteenth century that the public would come to value great musicians and to reward them socially and monetarily, the case of Buxtehude's self-fashioning demonstrates this mode of thinking in a much earlier period among baroque musicians themselves. More importantly, in his multi-faceted self-fashioning efforts, Buxtehude exemplifies a uniquely successful way that a seventeenth-century musician navigated the tension between society's value of musical accomplishment and his own.

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I Hereby Reaffirm the Lawrence University Honor Code

Alexis VanZalen