

Kerala J. Snyder

Eastman School of Music, University of Rochester  
Eastmanova akademija za glasbo, Univerza v Rochesterju

# Buxtehude's *Pedaliter* Keyboard Works: Organ or Pedal Clavichord?

## Buxtehudejeva pedalna dela za instrumente s tipkami: orgle ali pedalni klavikord

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IZVLEČEK

ABSTRACT

Članek razpravlja o tem, kako naj bi bil Buxtehude uporabljal pedalni klavikord pri pouku, reprodukciji in komponiranju, zlasti kar zadeva njegove pedalne (*pedaliter*) preludije.

This article explores the questions of how Buxtehude might have used a pedal clavichord for the purposes of teaching, performing, and composing, with special reference to his *pedaliter* praeludia.

On May 23, 1675, Dieterich Buxtehude, organist and Werkmeister of St. Mary's Church in Lübeck, wrote the following entry into the account book of the church:

"Saturday. My highly honored directors, upon my—Dieterich Buxtehude's—humble request (see *Memorial*, fol. 75), have graciously granted that a small writing and study room be built onto the Werkhaus, over the steps, facing the church courtyard. And this week [the work] began on it."<sup>1</sup>

These two positions, one artistic, the other administrative, had been combined at St. Mary's Church since 1641, but their two salary payments always appear separately in the accounts. As Werkmeister, Buxtehude was responsible for keeping these accounts, and from them we learn most of what we know about his activities during his tenure in Lübeck from 1668 to 1707. And one of the perquisites of the position was free lodging

<sup>1</sup> Lübeck, Archiv der Hansestadt, St. Marien, I [Bücher], 1a [allgemeine Wochenbücher], 1675, 8. Woche nach Ostern [23. Mai], fol. 241r. For original German see Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, revised edition (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 465; Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Leben, Werk, Aufführungspraxis*, trans. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2007), 503.

in the Werkhaus, giving him the opportunity to derive extra income from the rental of the house that the church owned for the use of the organist.

Buxtehude would not have needed this “small writing and study room” to execute his administrative duties as Werkmeister; the church’s rooms on the lower floor of the Werkhaus would have served this purpose. But in the spring of 1675, Dieterich and Anna Margareta Buxtehude were expecting their third child, and one can well understand his wish for a small room of his own, where he could write down his compositions, read books on music theory, and perhaps practice on a pedal clavichord.

We do not know what musical instruments Buxtehude owned; we have no will from him or inventory of his estate. Furthermore, no example of a pedal clavichord from the seventeenth century has been preserved.<sup>2</sup> But we do know that his contemporary Esaias Hasse, the successor to Buxtehude’s father Hans at St. Olai Church in Helsingør, possessed a “double clavichord with pedals,” as reported in the inventory of his estate of 1683.<sup>3</sup> Let us assume then, for the purpose of this argument, that Buxtehude owned a pedal clavichord, and that once he had his new room, he kept it there. The old Werkhaus in which Buxtehude lived was torn down in 1903,<sup>4</sup> but the addition can be seen in photographs of it, which suggest that there would have been ample room for a writing table and a pedal clavichord.

Clavichords, with or without pedals, served as ideal practice instruments, particularly for organists, who would have had to find someone to tread the bellows whenever they practiced on the organ in the church. Clavichords were cheap and took up little space, especially those without pedals, so without a doubt Buxtehude would have used such an instrument for practicing. The questions we raise here concern rather the extent to which he would have used the clavichord for teaching or actual performance, and if he might even have composed his *pedaliter* works for the clavichord rather than the organ.

## I. Teaching

We have no direct accounts of Buxtehude’s teaching, so we must approach it obliquely. I shall begin with fiction and proceed to facts. The fiction is the story of an apprentice in organ playing told by Friderich Erhard Niedt in the Introduction to Part I of his treatise *Musicalische Handleitung*, first published in Hamburg in 1700, with a second, posthumous edition in 1710. The apprentice, named Tacitus, studied with his first teacher, an organist named Orbilius, for nine years, from the ages of 12 to 21. Let me give some excerpts from his story, in Poulin and Taylor’s English translation:

“With this Orbilius I had first to learn the letters of the German *Tabulatur* with the crow’s feet written above and beside them, purporting to indicate time, as well as the *Claves* on the *Clavier*. Before I had but partially grasped this instruction a few years had already passed. . . . The first piece through which I was to learn the proper use of the

<sup>2</sup> Joel Speerstra, *Bach and the Pedal Clavichord: An Organist’s Guide* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 17.

<sup>3</sup> “1 Dobbelt ClauCordium med pedaler,” cited by Michael Belotti *Die freien Orgelwerke Dieterich Buxtehudes: Überlieferungs-geschichtliche und stillkritische Studien*, 3 ed. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004), 208.

<sup>4</sup> “Das Werkhaus von St. Marien,” *Vaterstädtische Blätter*, April 19, 1903.

fingers had the ceremonious name of *Bergamasco*. . . In addition, my Master taught me how to play a few Sarabandes, *Courante simple*, a Ballo, all with such solemn names, as well as the Chorale, *Erbarm dich mein O Herre Gott*. After these, he presented me with cruelly long Preludes, Toccatas, Chaconnes, Fugues, and other Wondrous Beasts that I was to learn by heart. “For,” said my Master speaking seriously, “if you, young rascal, do not learn these pieces perfectly first, then you will never learn the *Basso Continuo*, because you, brat and lazybones, must learn the style of the *Basso Continuo* from these beautifully set pieces I have prescribed for you. . .” Thus I spent seven years with my Master before I could play five Preludes and the Chorales or German psalms with two voices.

Finally my Master started the thorough-bass with me. . . When I did not know how to proceed you should have seen with what joy my Master came up with exquisite *Inventiones* on how to teach me, as it were, this Art. The sixth was located on the right side behind my ear, the fourth on the left side, the seventh on the cheek, the ninth in the hair, the diminished fifth on the nose, the second on the back, the minor third on the fingers, the major third and fifth on the shin, and the tenth and eleventh were special kinds of blows to the ears. I had to know what to strike according to wherever the blow or box came down, but the best was that my feet were made very nimble on the pedal (which I also began to study at that time) through the blows on the shins. . . . But sometimes the material was such that neither my Master nor I could play it as it was written. Once, however, he became especially inventive and attempted to kick Art into my body, because any treatment without foundation could not drive the thorough-bass into my head. He pulled me by the hair off the pedal bench where I was sitting in front of the keyboard, threw me on the ground and yanked me up by the hair, to let my head fall back with a crash on to the ground. . . . He dragged me out of the parlour near a staircase leading down to the street and said, “This shall be the end of your apprenticeship years, and with this you shall receive your certificate, which I shall throw into the bargain.” I grabbed my master by the legs, so that he tumbled head over heels down the stairs and into the street with me. . . . I let my Master, bloody as he was, march up the stairs again with his wife and maid who, after his heavy fall, had raised him up by the arms, and thought, “I want no part of you any longer, it will be best if I take leave of you.” . . . I sent for my clothes and other items in Orbilius’s house.”<sup>5</sup>

From this account we learn that the apprentice lived in the Master’s house, and that instruction took place in a room on the first floor of the house (European style). The instrument used for teaching was very likely a pedal clavichord, although both English translations that I consulted used the expression “organ bench” to translate the word “Pedallbank.”<sup>6</sup> Tacitus had studied with Orbilius for nine years, and still he was unable to improvise, so he failed in his audition for a church organist’s job. He then found a new master, Herr Prudentius. His story continues:

“When I arrived there and found Herr Prudentius in his house poring over his musical work, he received me in a very friendly manner. . . . After I had asked him to accept me

<sup>5</sup> Friederich Erhardt Niedt, *The Musical Guide*, trans. Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 13–16 passim. For German original see Niedt, facsimile reprint (Buren: Frits Knuf, 1976), §§X-XII passim.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* Niedt, *The Musical Guide* 11; Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity through the Romantic Era* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), 461.

as an obedient apprentice, he gave me the welcome answer, “My friend, since I sense in you the very earnest desire to become an honest musician, I cannot find it in my heart to send you away again without your having accomplished your goal, even though my daily labours require all of my time and energy. Nevertheless, if you can afford to spend one year in this town, then I will teach you in that time the true fundamentals of the art of the organ as well as composition, so that from a bad organist you shall become a true organist. I’ll not ask a penny for my efforts, but if you promise me to be industrious and to exercise this art for the Glory of God, then I will instruct you for one hour each morning, from seven to eight o’clock. Furthermore, you can come to my house whenever you wish and practise by yourself in a room furnished with several Claviers.” No one was happier than I! On that very day I hired myself out to a baker in exchange for room and board and appeared the next day and every day following at Herr Prudentius’s house at the appointed time. He instructed me forthwith in the thorough-bass, averring that it contained the entire foundation of practical music and composition, and that he commenced with this subject with all his pupils. The benefit of this approach was that they needed not toil with the precious *Tabulatur* (those who know only this remain paper organists, even with many years of practice), rather they became well grounded musicians in a short time.”<sup>7</sup>

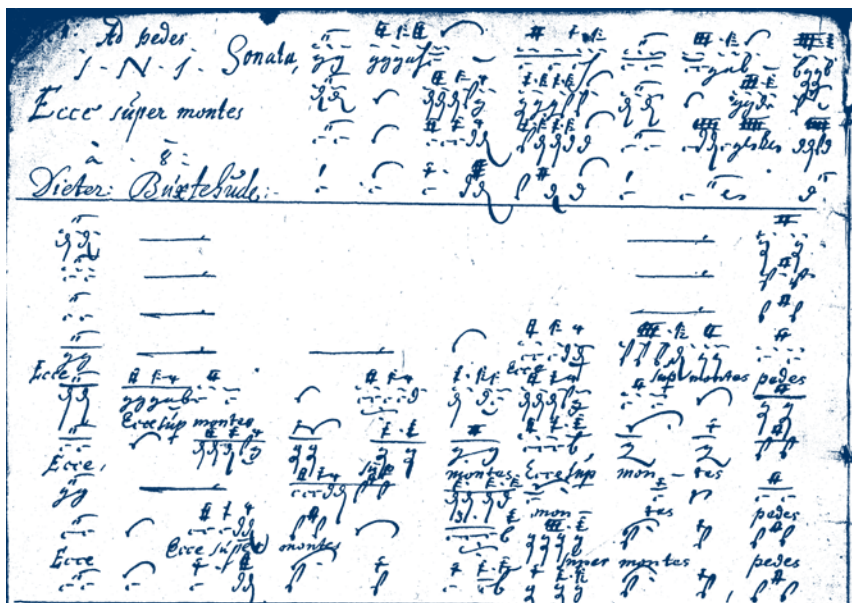
Indeed, Tacitus learned all he needed to know from Herr Prudentius in that one year, and Niedt concludes his Introduction by stating that he then studied with Tacitus for one year, and that he now wishes to instruct music lovers in a similar manner in the pages that follow. By chapter 10 of the first part he is deriving a two-voice fugue from thorough-bass, and by the end of Part II, first published in 1706, he shows his readers how to make preludes, chaconnes, and all manner of dance movements from a thorough-bass. It appears that Prudentius did not give his students any complete pieces to copy as models, as Orbilius had. Whereas Prudentius’s students could improvise, at least from a thorough-bass, Orbilius’s students turned out to be “paper organists,” who performed directly from music written down on paper, unless they had previously memorized the piece. They were unable to improvise.

It is clear that Niedt saw himself as Herr Prudentius, and that he invented Master Orbilius as a straw man to knock down in favor of his more progressive method of teaching. In doing so, he set up a mutually exclusive opposition between tablature and staff notation, and between memorizing complete pieces and improvising from a thorough-bass, neither of which could possibly have represented Buxtehude’s complete method of teaching. We know that Buxtehude habitually used tablature to write down both vocal and keyboard music. We have autograph examples of his vocal music in tablature, the most beautiful of which is the cantata cycle *Membra Jesu* (see Picture 1), which he dedicated to Gustav Düben in 1680. I can teach the rudiments of this notation in about fifteen minutes; it is inconceivable to me that it should have taken Tacitus several years to learn it.

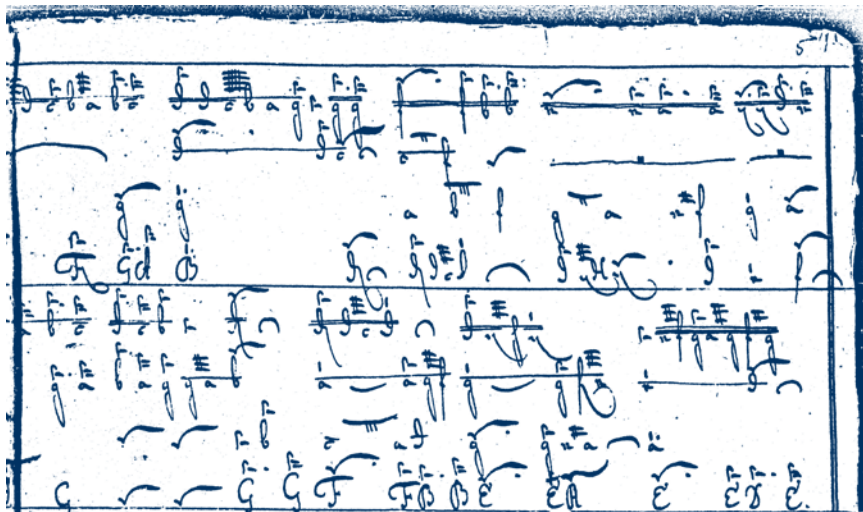
All Buxtehude’s autograph tablatures of keyboard music have disappeared, but nine manuscripts in the Lund University library in Sweden preserve copies from his tablature notation that had passed from student to student (see Picture 2).

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<sup>7</sup> Niedt, *The Musical Guide*, 22–23; Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung*, §20.



Picture 1: Dieterich Buxtehude, *Membra Jesu Nostri Patientis Sanctissima* (BuxWV 75), First cantata, "Ad pedes," Sonata, mm. 1-6 (first system); "Ecce super montes," mm. 1-6 (second system). Autograph tablature (1680), Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, vokalmusik i handskrift 50:12, fol. 1v.



Picture 2: Dieterich Buxtehude, *Praeludium ex G [minor]* (BuxWV 149), mm. 109-113 (first system); mm. 118-122 (second system). Tablature of Gottfried Lindemann (1714), Lund, Universitetsbibliotek, Sammling Wenster; W.Lit. U 5, fol. 5r.

Friedrich Gottlieb Klingenberg studied with Buxtehude in 1689, and he in turn became the teacher of Gottfried Lindemann, the copyist of these manuscripts. So Buxtehude clearly did give his students complete pieces in tablature to copy, just as Orbilius had done. But Buxtehude also used staff notation (see Picture 3), and he both composed and played works with figured bass. And, of course, he improvised. Since this was the great tradition of North German organ playing that his students has presumably come to learn from him, we must assume that they copied his compositions not so that they could perform them from their paper copies or from memory, but as models for their own improvisations.

Picture 3: Dieterich Buxtehude, *Für wahr, er trug unsere Krankheit* (BuxWV 31), *Sinfonia*, mm. 1-7. Autograph score, Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, vokalmusik i handskrift 6:9, fol.1v.

While both of Niedt's fictitious teachers, Orbilius and Prudentius, appear to have given their lessons only in their homes—and therefore by implication only on the clavichord—the same cannot be said for Buxtehude, who is more likely to have taught his students in the church as well as in his home. We know that a boy was paid regularly to play the positiv organ in the choirloft of St. Mary's Church with the cantor and his choir, and that this boy needed to be approved by Buxtehude.<sup>8</sup> In all likelihood he was one of

<sup>8</sup> Lübeck, Archiv der Hansestadt, St. Marien, I [Bücher], 1a [allgemeine Wochenbücher]: "1682, 4th week after New Year, fol. 194r: [27 January]: "Noch dem Cantori allhier, wegen eines Knabens, welchen Er seit Johanni Ao: 1681 zu dem Positiw aufm Chor gebraucht, die im Memorial fol: 88 benandte 9 MLüb. entrichtet, und soll auff befehl der H: Vorsteherr derselbige erstlich vom dem Organisten zu St. Marien examiniert, und dan von Wohlgedachten H: Vorsteherrn angenommen werden ... 9/-/.""

Buxtehude's pupils and gained experience in organ playing in this way, no doubt with some guidance from his teacher.

From Hamburg we have the testimony of Johann Kortkamp as to how organ pupils learned the art of registration on a large organ. Kortkamp, born in Kiel in 1643, came to Hamburg in 1655 at the age of twelve to study with Matthias Weckmann. Both Weckmann and Kortkamp's father had studied earlier with Jacob Praetorius. Kortkamp later wrote a chronicle about the Hamburg organists, from which we learn that Heinrich Schütz, Kapellmeister at the electoral court in Dresden, had personally persuaded the Elector to give Weckmann a scholarship for three years' study in Hamburg, at a cost of 100 Rthlr per year for tuition and another 100 Rthlr for room and board. Kortkamp describes his own six years' study with Weckmann in the following way:

He played with a powerful spirit, from which I benefitted greatly when he played and I stood behind him and pulled the stops that he desired; also, when I wanted to know how Jacob [Praetorius] had played, he played a chorale, which I gladly listened to; afterwards he explained his thoughts and ideas to me, and thus he made me wise.<sup>9</sup>

With the increasing use of historically reconstructed organs that lack pistons to change registrations, our present day students are recapturing this time-honored method of learning registration by pulling stops for one another and for their professors.

Finally, we have one contract, from a much later date, whereby Johann Christian Kittel agreed to teach Christian Heinrich Rinck on both Clavier and Organ:

... for that [payment] I obligate myself hereby faithfully to teach the above mentioned Christian Heinrich Rinck throughout this year for one hour daily in the art of composition, as well as in playing on both the *clavier* [clavichord or harpsichord] and the organ, as well as harmony.<sup>10</sup>

Rinck (1770-1846) was 16 years old at this point and had already studied with three other teachers, so we can presume that he had mastered basic keyboard technique before seeking organ instruction from Kittel, who had gone to study with Johann Sebastian Bach at the same age. But Kittel continued to teach him on the *clavier* as well, presumably at his house, which concurs with Bach's practice in organ pedagogy as deduced by George Stauffer.<sup>11</sup> Whereas Bach's teaching of the *clavier* proceeded systematically from the Two-Part Inventions and Three-Part Sinfonias through the French and English suites to the Well-Tempered Clavier, as documented by numerous copies of these com-

<sup>9</sup> "[Er hatte] einen kräftigen Geist zu spielen, wovon ich großen Nutzen hatte, wen[n] er spielte und [ich] hinter ihm stant, die Stimmen anzog, so er verlangte; auch wenn ich wissen wolte, wie der Jacobus [Praetorius] gespielet, tractirt er den Choral ... so ich mit Lust anhörte, ... nachgehens mir seine Gedancken und Einfälle explizirte; hidurch machte er mich klug." Quoted in Liselotte Krüger, "Johann Kortkamps Organistenchronik, eine Quelle zur hamburgischen Musikgeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Hamburgische Geschichte* 23 (1933): 208.

<sup>10</sup> "... dagegen verbinde ich mich hiermit, oben besagten Christian Heinrich Rinck dieses Jahr hindurch täglich eine Stunde in den reinen Sätzen der tonkunst, sowohl im Spielen auf dem Clavier als Orgel als auch in der Harmonie treulich zu unterrichten ..." Contract dated 11 March 1786, quoted in Siegbert Rampe, "Abendmusik oder Gottesdienst? Zur Funktion norddeutscher Orgelkompositionen des 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhunderts (Schluss)," *Schütz Jahrbuch* 27 (2005): 93.

<sup>11</sup> George B. Stauffer, "J. S. Bach as Organ Pedagogue," *The Organist as Scholar: Essays in Memory of Russell Saunders*, ed. Keralal J. Snyder (Stuyvesant, NY: Pendragon Press, 1994), 25-44.

plete sets by his students, no such progression exists for his organ pedagogy. Instead, only copies of single organ works, mainly of free works, survive in the hands of his students. Thus Bach's organ pedagogy appears to have formed a subcategory of his general keyboard instruction and probably consisted mainly in teaching his students to improvise, in order to prepare them for employment in the church. Working back one generation further, then, let us propose that Buxtehude also supplemented the teaching of keyboard playing in his home with instruction in improvisation and registration at the organ. There must have been a crucial step or two for these students between standing behind their teachers, pulling stops for them, and playing successful auditions themselves on the organ. Instruction and practice only on the pedal clavichord would not have been sufficient.

## II. Performance

We turn now to the major question of whether Buxtehude might have given *performances* on the pedal clavichord as well as the organ, which we shall approach through a consideration of concert performances in general by Lübeck organists. The first information that we have about public concerts in Lübeck comes from Caspar Ruetz, cantor at St. Mary's in the mid-eighteenth century, who recounts the report of a ninety-year-old man:

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 [that would have been 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. The oldest Abendmusik of his that I have seen is from 1681.<sup>12</sup>

The Lübeck stock exchange got a room in which to meet indoors only in 1673; prior to that it met outdoors in the market square adjacent to St. Mary's Church and the City Hall. It appears that Franz Tunder, organist at St. Mary's from 1641 to 1667, began the practice of playing concerts for the business community, and he referred to them as "Abendspiele" as early as 1646. Buxtehude, who began his tenure in 1668, changed the performance day from Thursday to Sunday and expanded these concerts to dramatic oratorios called Abendmusiken. The first of these, so far as we know, was *Die Hochzeit des Lamms*, or the Wedding of the Lamb, performed in December, 1678, the same year that the Hamburg Opera opened. Buxtehude proudly placed his name on the title page of the libretto as the presenter, and presumably composer, of this work. Opera librettos

<sup>12</sup> Caspar Ruetz, *Widerlegte Vorurtheile von der Beschaffenheit der heutigen Kirchenmusic und von der Lebens-Art einiger Musicorum* (Lübeck: Peter Böckmann, 1752), 47.



at this time did not usually name the composer; if anyone were named, it would be the poet who had written the text.

But it was not just Buxtehude who took pride in his Abendmusik productions; it was the entire city, as witnessed by a guidebook to the sights of Lübeck published in 1697. In its tour of St. Mary's church, it states:

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.<sup>13</sup>

The 1666 edition of the guide book makes no mention of the Abendmusiken, of course, but gives high praise to Tunder: "On the west side, by the tower, is the large organ, which, like the small organ, is now presided over by the the talented and widely praised master of the organ Franz Tunder."<sup>14</sup>

Notice the expressions "world famous" (*Welt-berühmte*) and "widely praised" (*Welt-belobete*) to describe the organists Tunder and Buxtehude. Johann Kortkamp used a similar expression, "widely famous" (*weit-berühmte*), to describe Weckmann. In Hanseatic cities such as Lübeck and Hamburg, large organs and the organists who played them were greatly valued. When a visiting trade delegation came to town, it would have been natural for the host merchants, most of whom lived in St. Mary's parish, to ask the organist to show off the organ. Since these transactions were private, they do not show up in the account books of the church. Likewise, the transformation of Tunder's Abendspiele to Buxtehude's dramatic Abendmusiken does not rule out the continuation of organ recitals paid for by private businessmen.

In 1721 Johann Mattheson published a revised edition of part II of Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung*, to which he added an appendix containing the specifications of 60 organs. All but a few of the largest organs were in Hanseatic cities: Hamburg, Königsberg, Danzig, Bremen, Lüneburg, Lübeck. These cities were all governed by a group of wealthy merchants active in international wholesale trade. They took pride in the wealth they had gained, both individually and collectively, and they often demonstrated it with buildings – city halls and churches – much as our large corporations and banks do today with their corporate headquarters. For these churches they donated the money to build large organs. Let us consider Mattheson's specifications for just three of them.

Arp Schnitger built his largest organ at St Nicolas's Church in Hamburg, with 66 stops on four manuals including 15 stops in the pedal (Picture 4). Buxtehude went to inspect it in 1686 when it was nearly complete, and he was so pleased with it that he tried, unsuc-

<sup>13</sup> *Die Beglückte und Geschmückte Stadt Lübeck: Was ist Kurtze Beschreibung der Stadt Lübeck So wol Vom Anfang und Fortgang Derselben In ihrem Bau, Herrschafften und Einwohnern, Als sonderlich Merckwürdigen Begebenheiten und Veränderung* (Lübeck: Johann Gerhard Krüger, 1697), 114.

<sup>14</sup> [Conrad von Höveln], *Der Kaiser! Freien Reichs-Stadt Lübek Glaub- und Besähewürdige Herrlichkeit, samt Verhandener Alertums Nützlichen Gedächtnis, den Einheimisch- und Ausländischen nachrichtlich ausgefärtigt und entworfen von Des Hochlöbl: Swan-Ordens Geselschaffter dem Geträuen Candore, Virtute, Honore* (Lübeck: Verlags Michael Volk, 1666), 58.

cessfully, to convince the St. Mary's Church directors to have Schnitger perform a major renovation on his large organ in Lübeck. Alas, the St. Nicolas's organ was destroyed in Hamburg's great fire of 1842.

<b>Die grosse St. Nicolai-</b>		<b>Ober-Werk</b>		<b>Kück-Positiv.</b>		10. Posaune 32	
<b>Orgel</b>		1. Weite Pfeiffe 8	8	1. Principal 8.	8.	11. Posaune 16	16
<b>in</b>		2. Hobflöte 8	8	2. Bordun 16	16	12. Trommete 8	8
<b>Hamburg/</b>		3. Octava 4	4	3. Gedact 8	8	13. Dulcian 16	16
<b>hat 66. Stimmen.</b>		4. Quintadena 8	8	4. Quintadena 8	8	14. Krumhorn 8	8
		5. Rohrflöte 8	8	5. Octava 4	4	15. Trommete 4	4
		6. Spielflöte 4	4	6. Blockflöte 4	4	15. Cornet 2	2
		7. Nasat 3	3	7. Querflöte 2	2	<b>Neben-Register.</b>	
		8. Gemshorn 2	2	8. Sesquialtera 2 fach.	2 fach.	Eimbel mit Sternen.	
<b>Werk.</b>		9. Scharff 6 fach.	6 fach.	9. Siffler 1½	1½	Fünff Sperr-Ventile.	
1. Principal 16	16	10. Eimbel 3 fach.	3 fach.	10. Scharff 7. 8. 9 fach.	7. 8. 9 fach.	Coppel zu drey Clavieren.	
2. Rohr-Flöte 16	16	11. Trommet 8 Fuß.	8 Fuß.	11. Dulcian 16	16	Tremulante.	
3. Quintadena 16	16	12. Vox humana 8	8	12. Trichter-Regal 8	8	Diese ungemeyne Orgel ist	
4. Octava 8	8	13. Trommete 4	4	13. Schallmey 4	4	Anno 1686. von Arp	
5. Spißflöte 8	8	<b>Brust.</b>		<b>Pedal.</b>		Schnitger verfertigt / und hat auch einen	
6. Salcional 8	8	1. Principal 4	4	1. Principal 32	32	ungemeinen Organisten.	
7. Quinta 6	6	2. Blockflöte 8	8	2. Octava 16	16	Was soll man aber von	
8. Octava 4	4	3. Rohrflöte 4	4	3. Sub-Bass 16	16	einem genug berühmten	
9. Scharff 3 fach.	3 fach.	4. Quinta 3	3	4. Octava 8	8	Mann viel Rühmens	
10. Kausch-Pfeiffe 3 fach.	3 fach.	5. Waldflöte 2	2	5. Quinta 6	6	machen ; Ich darff nur	
11. Super-Octava 2 Fuß.	2 Fuß.	6. Nasat 1½	1½	6. Kausch-Pfeiffe 3 fach.	3 fach.	Vincenz Lübeck nennen/	
12. Flach-flöte 2	2	7. Tertian 3 fach.	3 fach.	7. Octava 4 Fuß.	4 Fuß.	so ist der ganze Panegy-	
13. Mixtura 8. 9. 10 fach.	8. 9. 10 fach.	8. Scharff 4. 5. 6 fach.	4. 5. 6 fach.	8. Nachthorn 2	2	ricus fertig.	
14. Trommete 16	16	9. Dulcian 8	8	9. Mixtura 10 fach.	10 fach.		
		10. Saar-Pfeiffe 8	8				

Picture 4: Specifications of large organ in St. Nicolas's Church, Hamburg. Johann Matheson, "Anhang" to 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Friederich Erhard Niedt, Musikalische Handleitung (Hamburg, 1720), excerpts from pp. 173-4.

Schnitger completed the organ in St. Jacobi, Hamburg, in 1693. Miraculously, its inner parts survived the two world wars, and Jürgen Ahrend restored it to its former glory in 1993. It has 60 stops on four manuals with 14 stops in the pedal (Picture 5). It provided the model for the North German baroque organ in Göteborg, Sweden.

<p><b>Die Orgel zu St. Jacobi</b> in <b>Hamburg/</b> hat 60. Stimmen.</p>		<p>3. Quintadena 16 4. Spitzflöte 8 5. Octava 4 6. Rohrflöte 4 7. Super-Octava 2 8. Octava 8 9. Gedact/ im Cammer- Ton. 8 10. Rauschflöte 2 fach. 11. Blockflöte 2 Fuß. 12. Mixtura 6 fach.</p>	<p>2. Dulcian 8 3. Scharff 5 fach. 4. Wald-Flöte 2 Fuß. 5. Octava 4 6. Principal 8 7. Hohflöte 4 8. Sesquialtera 2 fach.</p>
<p><b>Werck.</b></p>		<p><b>Kuck-Positiv.</b></p>	<p><b>Pedal.</b></p>
<p>1. Krumhorn 8 2. Cymbel 3 fach. 3. Octava 2 Fuß. 4. Nasat 3 5. Octava 4 6. Rohrflöte 8 7. Principal 4 8. Holzflöte 8 9. Spitzflöte 4 10. Gemshorn 2 11. Mixtura 6 fach. 12. Trommete 8 13. Trommete 4</p>	<p>1. Haarpfeiffe 8 2. Sifflet 1½ 3. Sesquialtera 2 fach. 4. Quer-Flöte 4 Fuß. 5. Octava 4 6. Gedact 8 7. Principal 8 8. Quintadena 8 9. Flöte 4 10. Scharff 4. 5. 6 fach. 11. Dulcian 16 12. Schallmey 4 13. Blockflöte 2</p>	<p>1. Principal 32 2. Posaune 32 3. Posaune 16 4. Nachhorn 2 5. Rauschpfeiffe 2 fach. 6. Dulcian 16 7. Octava 16 8. Octava 8 9. Octava 4 10. Sub-Bass 16 11. Mixtura 6 fach. 12. Trommete 8 15. Trommete 4 14. Cornet 2</p>	
<p><b>Ober-Werck.</b></p>		<p><b>Brust.</b></p>	
<p>1. Principal 16 2. Trommete 16</p>	<p>1. Trichter-Regal 8</p>		
<p>Eben da dieses gedruckt wird / ist der Dienst bey obiger Orgel vacant.</p>			

Picture 5: Specifications of large organ in St. Jacobi Church, Hamburg. Johann Mattheson, "Anhang" to 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Friederich Erhard Niedt, *Musikalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1720), excerpts from pp.175-6.

The large organ that Buxtehude played at St. Mary's Church in Lubeck had 54 stops on three manuals with 15 stops in the pedal (Picture 6).

<p>Die Orgel zu St. Marien, in Lübeck/ hat 54. Stimmen.</p>		<p>4. Hohlflöte 4 5. Sesquialtera 2 fach. 6. Feld-Pfeiffe 2 Fuß 7. Gemshorn 2 8. Sifflet 1½ 9. Mixtura 8 fach. 10. Cymbel 3 fach. 11. Krumhorn 8 Fuß 12. Regal 8</p>	<p>13. Vox humana 8 14. Scharff 4 a 5 fach.</p>	
<p>Werck.</p>		<p>Pedal.</p>		
<p>1. Principal 16 2. Quintadena 16 3. Octava 8 4. Spitz-Flöte 8 5. Octava 4 6. Hohlflöte 4 7. Nasat 3 8. Rauchsypfeiffe 4 fach. 9. Scharff 4 fach. 10. Mixtura 15 fach. 11. Trommete 16 Fuß 12. Trommete 8 13. Zincke 8</p>	<p>Rück-Positiv.</p>		<p>1. Principal 32 2. Sub-Bass 16 3. Octava 8 4. Bauerflöte 2 5. Mixtura 6 fach. 6. Groß-Bosaun 24 7. Bosaune 16 8. Trommete 8 9. Principal 16 10. Gedact 8 11. Octava 4 12. Nachthorn 2 13. Dulcian 16 14. Krumhorn 8 15. Cornet 2</p>	
<p>Brust.</p>		<p>1. Principal 8 2. Bordun 16 3. Blockflöte 8 4. Sesquialtera 2 fach. 5. Hohl-Flöte 8 Fuß. 6. Quintadena 8 7. Octava 4 8. Spiel-Flöte 2 9. Mixtura 5 fach. 10. Dulcian 16 Fuß. 11. Baarpfeiffe 8 12. Trichter-Regal 8</p>		<p>Hiebey ein Cymbel-Stern/ zwo Trummeln / zweene Tremulanten / und 16. Bälge. Der Organiste/ Christian Schiefer/ decker / ist ein habiler Mann.</p>
<p>1. Principal 16 2. Gedact 8 3. Octava 4</p>	<p>(Dieses wird auch wohl von keiner neu- en Invention (sepn.)</p>			

Picture 6: Specifications of large organ in St. Mary's Church, Lübeck. Johann Mattheson, "Anhang" to 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Friederich Erhard Niedt, *Musikalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1720), excerpts from pp.189-90.

Note that in all three of these organs the pedal division has the most stops, all three with reeds extending from 32' to 2' pitch. But while the two Schnitger organs in Hamburg date from the late seventeenth century, when North German organists were at the height of their glory, the pedal division in the Lübeck organ was built at the end of the sixteenth century, when to the best of our knowledge it had not yet occurred to organists to play virtuosic pedal solos. But Buxtehude took advantage of what he found; his music abounds in virtuosic pedal solos, such as those in the opening measures of his *Praeludium in C* (BuxWV 137, Example 1), his *Praeludium in e* (BuxWV 143, Example 2) or his *Praeludium in G* (BuxWV 147, Example 3). This is flashy, dramatic, extroverted music, by the same composer who boldly presented his *Abendmusik* concerts year after year. It speaks the language of the organ, ideally a large organ in a large church, such as St. Mary's in Lübeck.

This musical score is for the first system of Example 1, Dieterich Buxtehude's Praeludium in C (BuxWV 137), measures 1-11. It is written for piano in common time (C). The score is presented in two systems. The first system (measures 1-3) shows the right hand with a few notes and rests, and the left hand with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. A 'Ped.' marking is placed below the first measure of the left hand. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the left hand's pattern, with the right hand playing chords and some eighth notes. The third system (measures 7-11) features a more complex texture with sixteenth-note runs in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

Example 1: Dieterich Buxtehude, Praeludium in C (BuxWV 137), mm. 1–11.

This musical score is for the first system of Example 2, Dieterich Buxtehude's Praeludium in E Minor (BuxWV 143), measures 1-12. It is written for piano in common time (C) with a key signature of one flat (E minor). The score is presented in three systems. The first system (measures 1-3) shows the right hand with a few notes and rests, and the left hand with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. A 'Ped.' marking is placed below the first measure of the left hand. The second system (measures 4-6) continues the left hand's pattern, with the right hand playing chords and some eighth notes. The third system (measures 7-12) features a more complex texture with sixteenth-note runs in the left hand and chords in the right hand.

Example 2: Dieterich Buxtehude, Praeludium in E Minor (BuxWV 143), mm. 1–12.



Example 3: Dieterich Buxtehude, Praeludium in G (BuxWV 147), mm. 1–13.

I do not wish to rule out completely the idea that Buxtehude might have performed some of his works that we normally consider organ music on the pedal clavichord. Anyone who has ever heard a fine clavichord recital for a small audience in an intimate setting knows how effective such a performance can be. He may well have performed his latest compositions on his hypothetical pedal clavichord in his home for a small circle of students or friends; we know from Johann Nikolaus Forkel that Bach performed his compositions for his students.<sup>15</sup> There is even one clue that performances did take place in the old St. Mary's Werkhaus. In 1752 Johann Paul Kunzen, one of Buxtehude's successors, requested an enlargement of the Werksaal, the room in the Werkhaus where the church directors met. The reason given was that there was not sufficient space for the "distinguished people and honorable citizens" to listen to the musical performances given there.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802), 38–39. Translated in Hans T. David, Arthur Mendel, and Christoph Wolff, *The New Bach Reader* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1998), 453–4.

<sup>16</sup> 1754 beantragte Organist und Werkmeister J. P. Kunzen eine Vergrößerung des Werksaales da derselbe sowohl "vornehmen Leuten als ehrliebender Bürgerschaft "nicht genug Raum zum Anhören der dort veranstalteten Musikaufführungen bot" *Vaterstädtische Blätter*, April 19, 1903.

### III. *Buxtehude's Compositions*

This brings us to the final question: if Buxtehude performed mainly on the organ, to what extent do the written copies of his *pedaliter* keyboard works reflect the improvisations that he actually played in St. Mary's Church in Lübeck? Do they give accurate representations of his organ improvisations, or did he write out his "cruelly long Preludes, Toccatas, Chaconnes, Fugues, and other Wondrous Beasts" only for his students, although not, as Orbilius did, for them to memorize and perform, but as compositional models for their own improvisations?

It is clear that a number of Buxtehude's *pedaliter* keyboard compositions, in the form in which they have come down to us, cannot be *exact* representations of what he played in St. Mary's, Lübeck. Some contain notes in the bass range for which neither the manual nor the pedal keyboards of the St. Mary's organs contained keys: C-sharp, E-flat, F-sharp and G-sharp. If the manuscripts that have survived reflect accurately his lost autograph tablatures, then we can presume that the hypothetical pedal clavichord in his study and writing room contained a full chromatic bass octave, and that he worked out the details of these compositions there before writing them down.

A more ambiguous problem concerns the temperament of the organs at St. Mary's in Lübeck. If they were tuned in pure quarter-comma mean tone, as many organs were at that time, then Buxtehude presumably could not have performed those of his *pedaliter* compositions that contain pitch classes outside the 12-note pure mean-tone spectrum moving by fifths from E-flat to G-sharp. These would include most notably the Praeludium in F-sharp minor (BuxWV 146, with D-sharp, A-sharp, E-sharp, B-sharp, F-double-sharp and C-double-sharp) and also works such as the Praeludium in E-minor (BuxWV 142, with D-sharp, A-sharp, and E-sharp) and the Praeludium in D-major (with D-sharp, A-sharp, E-sharp and B-sharp). This problem has given rise to considerable discussion in both written and spoken form. At numerous workshops during the 1970s Harald Vogel proposed a theory that Buxtehude's works that could not be played in pure mean-tone tuning had come down to us in transposed form, from G minor to F-sharp minor or from D minor to E minor, for example. He later presented evidence for a modified mean-tone tuning attributed to Jacob Praetorius and Heinrich Scheidemann that permitted the use of B-major and F-minor chords.<sup>17</sup> Because no existing sources supported Vogel's transposition theory, I found it unconvincing and sought a different solution. My study of Buxtehude's account books (only from 1668 through 1685) that became available to me in 1979 revealed an extensive organ tuning in 1683; this led me to a hypothesis that the organs had been changed to the circulating temperament that Andreas Werckmeister had first proposed in 1681 and which is now known as Werckmeister III.<sup>18</sup> This hypothesis was widely accepted at the time. The only concrete, documented information that we have concerning the temperament of the organs at St. Mary's,

<sup>17</sup> See Harald Vogel, "Tuning and Temperament in the North German School of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Charles Brenton Fisk, Organ Builder*, vol. I: *Essays in his Honor* (Easthampton, Mass.: The Westfield Center for Early Keyboard Studies, 1986), 237–66.

<sup>18</sup> See Kerala J. Snyder, "Buxtehude's Organs: Helsingor, Helsingborg, Lübeck," *The Musical Times* 126 (1985): 432–34; Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (New York: Schirmer, 1987), 354–56.

Lübeck, however, is that the large organ was tuned to equal temperament in 1782<sup>19</sup> and the small organ in 1805.

A new generation of scholars has since tackled the related questions of the temperament of the St. Mary's organs and whether Buxtehude played his compositions on them. The remainder of the church accounts that Buxtehude kept, from 1686 to 1707, together with later ones, returned to Lübeck in the late 1980s, and in the course of his dissertation research Ibo Orgtgies found many later tunings even longer than that of 1683, casting doubt on my earlier hypothesis. He concluded that prior to their tuning to equal temperament, the St. Mary's organs were tuned in quarter-comma meantone.<sup>20</sup> Hans Davidsson has recently recorded all the Buxtehude organ works on the North German baroque organ in Göteborg, which is tuned in pure quarter-comma meantone, and these performances are extremely convincing.<sup>21</sup> But that organ is equipped with subsemitones, split black keys that give both D-sharp and E-flat, G-sharp and A-flat, and, on one manual, A-sharp and B-flat. To the best of our knowledge, the organs at St. Mary's in Lübeck never had subsemitones. Orgtgies' study of temperament, together with his emphasis on the importance of improvisation in the performances of professional organists, led him to conclude that "the function of composed organ music in the highly professional realm lay by no means primarily in its performance but in its study for the development of the ability to improvise contrapuntally."<sup>22</sup> Siegbert Rampe arrived at a similar conclusion in his extensive study of the function of North German organ compositions of the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, in which he presented evidence to support his working hypothesis that "the protestant organ music of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries originated primarily for didactic purposes and in practice or instruction was played primarily on the clavichord or pedal clavichord."<sup>23</sup>

We see, then, a number of either/or oppositions besides the question of whether Buxtehude performed his compositions on the organ or the pedal clavichord. Beginning with the extreme contrast between the bad teacher Orbilius and the good teacher Prudentius, we have considered tablature versus staff notation, playing from paper and memorizing a fixed piece versus realization of a basso continuo, lessons on the clavichord in the teacher's house versus those on the organ in the church, pure quarter-comma mean-tone versus well-tempered tuning, and the fixed work versus improvisation.

In all these cases, I believe we can benefit from avoiding the extremes and arriving at a more nuanced understanding with the help of the concepts both/and or somewhere in between. We have seen that Buxtehude used both tablature and staff notation, to take the simplest example. Likewise, we can suspect, although we cannot know, that he taught his students both on a clavichord in his home and on the organ in the church. With respect to the tuning of the St. Mary's organs, the answer is more likely to lie somewhere in between. We know that the large organ was tuned to equal temperament in

<sup>19</sup> The contract for this work is transcribed in Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude...*, 2007, 478–79.

<sup>20</sup> Ibo Orgtgies, (Ph.D. dissertation, Göteborg University, 2004), 113; <http://sites.google.com/site/iboorgtgies/phd-dissertation-iboorgtgies>, accessed October 15, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> Buxtehude, , Hans Davidsson, organ; 3 vols., Loft LRCD 1090–96. See [http://www.gothic-catalog.com/Buxtehude\\_and\\_the\\_Mean\\_Tone\\_Organ\\_Davidsson\\_2\\_CDs\\_p/www.gothic-catalog.com/category\\_s/675.htm](http://www.gothic-catalog.com/Buxtehude_and_the_Mean_Tone_Organ_Davidsson_2_CDs_p/www.gothic-catalog.com/category_s/675.htm) for a detailed description of this organ, accessed October 25, 2010.

<sup>22</sup> Orgtgies, 238.

<sup>23</sup> Siegbert Rampe, "Abendmusik," 26 (2004): 155.



1782, and we can assume that it was tuned in pure mean tone when it was completed in 1516 and twice enlarged during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. These two tunings more likely represent the outer boundaries of a continuum within which the unknown temperament of Buxtehude's time lay than they do an abrupt shift between 1781 and 1782. Friedrich Stellwagen performed an extensive renovation on this organ between 1637 and 1641; the fact that he did not install subsemitones at that time, as he did in Lübeck's smaller St. Aegidien Church a few years later,<sup>24</sup> suggests the possibility of some modification to pure mean tone. But we can never be certain, because the organ itself is long gone, and no new documents are likely to surface that would clarify its temperament. We do know that the missing bass pitches were added to its keyboards in the renovation of 1733-35, well after Buxtehude's death in 1707.

We can usefully apply this same flexible approach to Buxtehude's *pedaliter* compositions. Although keyboard compass and tuning may have prevented him from playing every single note of some of them on the St. Mary's organs, the version of a composition that he committed to paper to share with students and colleagues, perhaps with the help of a pedal clavichord in his home, could represent one variation of a roadmap of the work that he carried in his head for his improvisations on the organ, which he adapted to the limitations of the instrument at hand. We can in fact see an example of such a modification in Gottfried Lindemann's copy of Buxtehude's *Praeludium in G minor*; BuxWV 149. Every modern edition of this work contains two low C-sharps in the bass at m. 122, which come from the Berlin manuscript 2681.<sup>25</sup> These notes represent a key element in the answer to the subject of the second fugue (see Example 4). Lindemann, however, replaced the C-sharps with two E's, presumably in order to play this work on an organ that lacked the C-sharp (see Figure 2). Must we conclude from this that Lindemann was a "paper organist?"

Buxtehude did not write down his compositions only for students, certainly not those manuscripts that he sent to his colleague Andreas Werckmeister, who in turn passed them on to Johann Gottfried Walther, who made his own copies of Buxtehude's works as a mature organist. In his *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732, Walther wrote that Buxtehude had published "2 Opera à Violino, Violadagamba e Cembalo" (the sonatas BuxWV 252-265) but only one of his "many artful keyboard works."<sup>26</sup> Many have noted the similarity in style between Buxtehude's sonatas and his *pedaliter* keyboard preludia. By virtue of having been published, his sonatas acquired the status of fixed works. Owing to their manuscript transmission and the limitations of the organs on which he would have played them, Buxtehude's *pedaliter* preludia are slightly less "fixed" than the sonatas, but they can hardly be consigned to the status of mere didactic works. His reputation as a "world-renowned organist" in his own day may have rested partly on his activity as the composer and presenter of the Lübeck Abendmusiken, but it is precisely this body of *pedaliter* preludia that was most widely copied by his own and succeeding generations of organists and that has sustained his reputation as one of the great organ

<sup>24</sup> Ibo Orgtjes, "Subsemitones in Organs Built between 1468 and 1721: Introduction and Commentary with an Annotated Catalog," *GOArt Research Reports* 3 (2003): 59.

<sup>25</sup> Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung, Mus. Ms. 2681, p. 80.

<sup>26</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, ed. Richard Schaal (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732; Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 123.

composers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The improvisations that he played at his concerts and church services may have been even better, but that is difficult to imagine.

Example 4:

The image displays three systems of musical notation. The top system is a vocal line in G minor, starting at measure 122. The middle system is a piano accompaniment for the same piece, also starting at measure 122. The bottom system is another piano accompaniment, starting at measure 126. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

*Dieterich Buxtehude, Praeludium in G Minor (BuxWV 149), mm. 119–127.*

#### POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje, kako naj bi bil Buxtehude uporabljal pedalni klavikord pri pouku, reprodukciji in komponiranju, zlasti kar zadeva njegove pedalne (*pedaliter*) preludije. Dejstvo, da so Buxtehudejevo stanovanje v Marijinem »Werkhausu« leta 1675 nadgradili z »majhno sobo za študij in pisanje«, ter dejstvo, da je eden izmed njegovih kolegov v Helsing rju na Danskem imel pedalni klavikord, je vodilo k hipotezi, da je mogoče Buxtehude uporabljal tak instrument za vse te namene. Kaže pa, da je svoje učence poučeval tudi pri orglah,

na instrument, na katerem je v glavnem slonel njegov sloves izjemnega izvajalca. Različice njegovih »pedalnih« preludijev, ki jih je zapisal na papir z namenom, da bi jih delil s študenti in kolegi, morda s pomočjo pedalnega klavikorda na svojem domu, lahko predstavljajo varianto na zemljevidu nastajanja kompozicije, ki jo je nosil v glavi za improviziranje na orglah. Čeprav obseg manualov in uglasitev mu morda nista omogočala, da bi zaigral prav vsako noto zapisanih različic na orglah Marijine cerkve, je gotovo prilagodil svoje improvizacije in upošteval omejitve instrumenta, ki mu je bil na voljo.