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Abstract of Thesis

This thesis examines the forms used by German organist-composers of the period 1600-1750. These can be divided into two broad categories, the toccata and the organ chorale. The former originated in the works of late sixteenth century composers and was transmitted to North and South/ Central Germany by Sweelinck and Froberger respectively. Their one movement, sectional compositions, in which fugal and free, idiomatic keyboard writing alternated, was used throughout the seventeenth century, reaching its zenith in the flamboyant music of Dietrich Buxtehude. J. S. Bach was greatly influenced by this Northern school and his early compositions were in a similar style. However, his study of the Italian concerto made ritornello form a dominant feature of his vocabulary and in his preludes and fugues one can trace the gradual elimination of the more improvisatory elements of the Northern style and the evolution of a thematically unified prelude, tightly organised on ritornello lines, which is succeeded by a similarly strict fugue, the climax being generated by contrapuntal means, rather than the fusillade of bravura passage-work characteristic of the previous generation.

Samuel Scheidt codified the basic methods of organ chorale composition early in the seventeenth century and his basic principles still applied when J. S. Bach published Clavierubung III in 1739. Many composers made distinctive contributions to the chorale based repertoire, using a wide variety of technical devices in works often of imposing length. However, Bach again brought order to these diffuse styles, developing in the Orgelbuchlein highly concentrated settings, each dominated by one characteristic idea, and then dramatically expanding their scale without diluting the motivic intensity by combining the presentation of a cantus firmus with a ritornello structure, a radical new departure not found in the organ music of his predecessors and rarely developed by his contemporaries and successors.
CHANGING STRUCTURES IN GERMAN ORGAN

MUSIC FROM 1600 TO THE DEATH OF J. S. BACH

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THESIS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN THE FACULTY OF MUSIC, UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

BY

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Introduction

The music of the sixteenth century and that of the eighteenth has long been regarded as representing peaks of excellence in the history of the art. In contrast, the work of seventeenth century composers has often been passed over as transitional, either following in the paths of the Renaissance or struggling towards the later Baroque; it has been the fate of many fine musicians to be dismissed as a forerunner of Bach.

This thesis examines the musical forms used by German organists in the period 1600-1750 and traces the ways in which many composers made distinctive and individual contributions to the various genres in compositions of considerable worth. The Italian origins of the toccata are explored as a prelude to its German development. The vast corpus of organ chorales merits a detailed study in its own right but here mention can only be made of those musicians who advanced the technique of cantus firmus composition from the austere Samuel Scheidt to the wide ranging fantasias of Tunder and Reincken, the more restrained, devotional settings of Buxtehude and the consummate mastery of Bach.

He is shown to be very much in the mainstream of German Baroque organ music, rather than an isolated phenomenon, beginning his career as an organist by working within the forms of the previous generation but gradually moving towards a new tautness of structure, based on the Italian ritornello technique, in both free and chorale inspired compositions. This investigation of one particular aspect of Bach's relationship to the composers from whom he learnt his craft covers an area barely touched on by the standard authorities. Willi Apel's "History of Keyboard Music to 1700" deliberately stops short of later Baroque composers and while providing encyclopedic information on a great number of men does not fully relate their work one to another and the more recent studies of Bach's music (e.g. Geiringer's) have tended to concentrate on bringing to general notice recent research such as that of Alfred Durr on the vocal music.

(1)
Thus it is hoped that this survey will add to the appreciation of the only "great composer" to make a substantial contribution to the organ repertoire, while according due credit to the masters of the previous era, whose skill and influence Bach himself was always prepared to concede.

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NOTE

Musical examples are placed at the end of each chapter. In the examples drawn from organ chorales, the basic melodic shape from which a florid line is derived is indicated by tenuto marks (-)

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The Evolution of the Baroque Organ Toccata to c. 1710

The Italian word toccare means, quite simply, to touch. However, when used in connection with keyboard instruments, it carries the additional sense of "to try out". Thus the keyboard toccata had its origin in the improvised music used by an organist or harpsichordist to try out a new or unfamiliar instrument and gradually came to describe a composition in a free and idiomatic keyboard style with a distinct element of virtuoso display, even in the very earliest works.

The Baroque keyboard toccata first appeared in the works of Andrea Gabrieli (c. 1510 -1586) in the third quarter of the sixteenth century. His compositions represent an expansion of the intonation, a short piece played at the beginning of a church service to give the pitch for the following choral item, and consist of full chords and interlacing scale passages, which acquire considerable expressiveness when played with the rubato advocated by both the theorists and executants of the period; they are certainly not mere displays of empty virtuosity, devoid of all emotion. However, a work such as this is very limited in scope and size - scales cannot meander indefinitely - so, in order to bring an element of organisation to the structure of his works, Gabrieli began to introduce sections in a more severe ricercare style to discipline the imaginative flights of figural fancy contained in the rest of the work. The Toccata del nono tono (in the ninth mode) is a good example of the mature Gabrielian toccata, with several features of other than formal interest. After a solemn, quasi polyphonic opening, the usual running passage-work begins in the bass, the treble parts being sustained continuo chords. Two cadences are notable for their use of the false relation (see Example 1a), a formula common in English music but most rare in the works of Italian masters. Contrapuntal development begins in this toccata after an emphatic cadential progression (Example 1b). However, the rushing scales never entirely vanish from the texture and later assume
complete domination, the work ending with a section of unashamedly bravura writing, embellishing a plagal cadence (Example 1c).

Although Luzzaschi and Quagliati both made not insignificant contributions to the sixteenth century keyboard repertoire, it is not until the works of the Venetian master Claudio Merulo (1533-1604) that the toccata reaches a true peak of artistic merit. Like Gabrieli, he alternates passage work with fugal sections, but greatly increases the importance of the latter, eliminating the fussy passage-work that so often clouds Gabrieli's contrapuntal movement. In the Toccata dintavolatura d'organo, Libro Secundo, published in 1604, polyphonic argument is sustained at length, generally on two subjects of a lively and contrasting type, as opposed to the often sombre monothematic ricercare writing of Merulo's predecessors. Numbers 1, 2, 7 and 10 of the Libro Secundo have a pentamerous structure, featuring two contrapuntal sections, a form that was to be adopted by later Baroque composers as standard.

At one time it was thought that Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562-1621) studied with Zarlino in Venice. Though this account by Mattheson is now generally considered unfounded, Sweelinck's thirteen toccatas are in an unmistakably Italianate style. Nine of these are rather disappointing works, consisting entirely of rather sterile figuration following a chordal introduction; imitative sections using repercussive subjects alla canzona which are used in skilfully contrived stretti improve the other four considerably. A work in the Dorian mode (Complete Works, ed. Seiffert, Vol. 1, page 63) exhibits many typical features. A stately polyphonic opening is followed by a passage built on a playful four note idea developed motivically in the manner of Cabezón and Byrd (Example 2a), which to the listener always implies dialogue between two voices, even when the music is written in one continuous line (Example 2b). Semiquaver passagework which passes rapidly from one hand to the other, follows and then there is a consistently earnest ricercare section on a typical
subject (Example 2c). Finally the virtuoso style returns, rising, literally, to a fine concluding triad, the major third uppermost.

In the history of the development of keyboard music and technique, particularly with reference to the transition from Renaissance to Baroque styles, no composer is of greater importance than Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643). However, in a discussion of the evolution of the toccata form, the introduction of his name verges on the irrelevant as his works in the genre do not obviously follow on from and develop the principles established in those of his precursors, neither were his ideas perpetuated by his pupils, but such is his general significance that the toccatas cannot simply be passed over.

The non-liturgical Frescobaldi toccata is an astonishing piece in several short sections, each built on a distinctive motive, which exhibits a variety of moods in rapid succession — a "plethora of nervous formulae" (Apel). There are sections of sustained chords, featuring bold changes of harmony, and figural passages, but hardly any attempt is made to integrate fugal periods into the music — it is this feature which distinguishes the music of Frescobaldi from the mainstream seventeenth century toccatas. The 1627 second book of toccatas reveal the composer at his most inventive and Toccata Nona (HAM193) should be given an individual mention, although its frenzied restlessness all but defies description. It falls into eighteen sections, each between two and six bars in length, each a miniature tone painting, developing its own melodic or rhythmic idea. "Not without effort does one achieve one's end," wrote Frescobaldi at the end of this piece, well aware of the demands he had made on both the intellect of the listener and the technique of the performer, who is required to solve the most complex rhythmical problems (Examples 3a, b). This piece reflects well the ambiguity of Frescobaldi's Renaissance/Baroque position. The harmony, figuration and fundamental concept of the work are absolutely
Baroque, yet the proportional time signatures still hang over from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Fiori Musicali was a collection of liturgical organ music published by Frescobaldi in 1635. Within its covers are toccatas of two types; one begins the mass or sets the tone for the Creed (a miniature version of Frescobaldi's usual toccata type) and the other is to be played at the Elevation of the Host. These Elevation toccatas are all in the Phrygian mode (the mode of mystery and mysticism, according to the theorists) and are fairly short, dignified pieces of an improvisatory, though always well-ordered nature. Toccata cromatica from the Messa in Dominica infra annum (Mass for Sundays throughout the year) achieves a rare pathos along its tortuous tonal course. The closing bars are of particular beauty (Example 4).

With the death of Frescobaldi in 1643 the Italian domination of Baroque keyboard music comes to an end. The next generation of composers were more interested in writing for the new string and vocal virtuosi than for the keyboard and from this point onwards German composers lead the way in this field.

It is in the works of a pupil of Frescobaldi, Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-1667), that we can again pick up the mainstream of toccata evolution. In his pioneering and still valuable Geschichte des Orgel-Spiels Ritter observes the division of seventeenth century Germany into three distinct though mutually influential musico-cultural regions. Froberger was the leader of what we may term the Southern group of composers, which also includes Kerll and Muffat among its more notable members. His two dozen toccatas are structurally modelled on those of Merulo (as are the works of an Italian pupil of Frescobaldi, Michaelango Rossi) and are of moderate length. In the "free" sections the motivic language of his master is apparent, but without the terse angularity and bold harmonic progressions so typical of Frescobaldi's work. Froberger's counterpoint is of a playful fugato type, often using gigue rhythms, and he also makes use of rhythmic
variants of his subjects, canzona fashion, in the various sections of one toccata, to give the composition as a whole some coherence. Example 5 shows some typical moments from Toccata II (DTO vol VI, p.32, also HAM217). Here, it is particularly noteworthy that the chromatic figure that emerges as a countersubject (example 5a) becomes increasingly prominent until it becomes the main theme of the second fugue.

Of the three South German composers mentioned above Johann Kaspar Kerll (1627-1643) was the closest adherent of Frescobaldi's style. His toccatas retain the short motivic sections of the Italian, but within them he speaks the gentler harmonic language of the mid-Baroque, exploiting smooth sequentially repeated patterns, which nevertheless demand considerable virtuosic feats from the performer.

Georg Muffat (1653-1704) is a fascinating figure, thought to be of Scottish origin. His migratory existence is reflected in the twelve toccatas of his Apparatus musico-organistica (published in 1690) which display French, German and Italian traits in works of a highly inventive though somewhat incoherent and formally unsurprising type. Their significance lies in their developed and demanding pedal writing, the placing of a tempo indication at the commencement of each of the five or six sections of a work and the way in which musical features from non-keyboard music appear. Toccatas 7 and 10 of Apparatus, for example, have openings in French overture style (Example 6a), 8 and 11 have sections in which the two upper voices dialogue above a thematically independent bass after the fashion of a Corellian trio-sonata (Example 6b) and elsewhere aria and violin sonata textures are apparent.

Prior to a discussion of the organ music of the North German masters, mention should be made of the principal organist of Central Germany, Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), although he is, in fact, of little importance here. His principal contributions to the repertoire were his chorale based compositions, discussed on page 22. The few toccatas that he
composed are, on the whole, rather dry pieces in which a sustained, slow moving pedal part provides a foundation for rapid manual figuration of a predominantly scalar kind, often with the two hands moving in parallel thirds or sixths. Such unimaginative writing is rarely to be found in the works of the Northerners, which must now be considered in some depth.

The North German organ school begins with the music of Heinrich Scheidemann (1596?-1663), a pupil of Sweelinck and organist of the church of St. Catherine at Hamburg from 1625 until his death in 1663, in which post he succeeded his father. His works present a problem of nomenclature, since works which alternate free with fugal sections, i.e. are in toccata form, are labelled Praeludium, a situation not confined to the music of Scheidemann. A piece by Sweelinck is even described as Praeludium Toccata in one source! Since the vast majority of these works are toccatas in all but name it is as such that they must be considered, with a cautionary note that the freely composed sections of a praeludium are, in the earlier seventeenth century, more restrained than those in a toccata.

Two of Scheidemann's praeludia are to be found at HAM 195. In each of these works it can be observed, albeit on a small scale, that the basic plan is that of a toccata: a central fugue is flanked by a prelude and postlude, which in these cases, feature smooth alla breve polyphony rather than the animated semiquaver movement one would expect to find in a toccata. (Example 7).

A work on a larger scale is number 11 in Max Seiffert's edition (Organum, Vierte Reihe, Orgelmusik), in which an extended fugal movement follows the prelude, working out its subject in combination with two counter-subjects. The second of these is the descending chromatic tetra-chord, perhaps one of the earliest examples of its use in this fashion. In number 10 a rest precedes the transition to the postlude (Example 8) - perhaps to give the performer a chance to adjust his registration.
From 1641 until his death in 1667 Franz Tunder (b. 1614) was organist at the Marienkirche in Lübeck. As a direct pupil of Frescobaldi, it was he who brought the virtuoso keyboard techniques of the Italian to the northern half of Europe and put them to use, as it were, within his native toccata form. Thus his works are an important stage in the evolution of North German organ music, representing the first manifestations of the display style of organ composition, of which Buxtehude was to be the supreme exponent.

There are only four extant praeludia by Tunder. In form, they all exhibit the tripartite structure of the Scheidemann work cited above, consisting of prelude, fugue and postlude. HAM 215 is the best of these works, in G minor. The opening dramatically contrasts single line figuration with full chords, then a motivic sequential section (Example 10) recalling Sweelinck (Example 2) and Frescobaldi (Example 9) springs from a richly harmonised cadence (bars 7-8). This prelude reaches an imperfect cadence in bar 19, where a rest (cf Example 8) precedes a dramatic change of harmony, the B♭ in the pedals excitingly contradicting the previous B♭'s, and cadences in the tonic after a brief coda. Although the fugue's constant use of its subject is rather wearing, the movement is not without its noteworthy points. The subject entries are irregularly spaced, with the first two voices in stretto, very much in Sweelinck's style, but more important than this archaism is the "modern" writing for the pedals. Technique has now developed sufficiently for them to take a fully contrapuntal rôle, rather than provide merely a harmonic foundation. In bar 56 the mood and figuration of the opening prelude return to round off neatly this well formed composition.

Neither Matthias Weckmann (1619-1674) nor Jan Adam Reincken (1623-1722) are of any great importance in the toccata genre. The former is best remembered for his development of the chorale cantata and the latter for his two extended organ chorale settings. Nevertheless their free
organ works deserve mentioning to complete the picture, as far as is possible, of developments in this field before Buxtehude. A toccata in E minor by Weckmann has the smooth, improvisatory, almost romantic character of some of Froberger's work (the two were, in fact, close friends, although Weckmann had been declared the winner of an organ playing competition between them) and ends with a most individual cadence (Example 11). Only one poorish toccata by Reincken survives. It is in the classic five sections, alternating rhapsodic and contrapuntal writing. The second fugue is constructed on a gigue-like variant of the first subject (cf Froberger) and the central toccata makes rather effective, though whimsical, use of silence (Example 12).

In 1703 Handel and Mattheson paid a formal visit to the organist and "Werckmeister" (Church Warden) of the Marienkirche in Lübeck: Two years later Johann Sebastian Bach, so legend has it, walked over two hundred miles to study with the same man, facts which serve as an indication to us of the very high esteem in which Dietrich Buxtehude was held by even his most accomplished contemporaries. Little about his life is known with certainty. He was born about 1637 in either Helsingborg (Sweden) or Oldesloe (Holstein) and in 1660 became organist at St. Mary's, Helsingör (Denmark). In 1668 he was elected to succeed Tunder as organist of the Marienkirche, Lübeck, a post he held until his death in 1707. Pre-Bachian composition for the organ reaches the peak of its evolution in his music, both the free organ works and the chorale settings being of often outstanding quality.

If one had to summarise Buxtehude's toccatas in one word it would be difficult to avoid the term "fantastic" in all its shades of meaning, from the highly literary to the commonly colloquial. It is questionable whether or not these pieces were written for performance at the famous "Abendmusik" concerts, as is commonly supposed. By the late seventeenth century the
Lutheran "Hauptgottesdienst" was largely dominated by the organ and almost certainly large scale organ voluntaries were played both before and after the service. Buxtehude also gave many recitals - as a municipal employee he was required to play regularly for the Lübeck business fraternity - and these, too, provided ample opportunity for toccata performances. It was for these purposes that this corpus of works was composed.

In the matter of general, overall form these works are very much of the seventeenth century in that they alternate fugal and free sections. Of the twenty-four extant and published (ed. J. Hedar - Sämtliche Orgelwerke - Copenhagen 1952) toccatas a quarter are in the simplest Toccata-Fugue-Toccata (T-F-T) form, to which we may add the C major "Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne" to complete the group of tripartite pieces. Similarly frequent are works with the five section T-F-T-F-T structure, which is also varied to T-F-T-F and T-F-T-F-F, abbreviated to T-F-T-F and extended to T-F-T-F-T-F-T. Nearly all the toccata sections have subdivisions and consecutive fugues are normally separated by brief "recitativo" transitions (Example 13 from Hedar 14). Number sixteen of the Hedar edition is a genuine two movement "prelude and fugue", with no final flourish, unique in the composers output. Hedar felt that it was probably an incomplete work. Stylistically, however, the work is most uncharacteristic of its alleged composer. The prelude is curiously restrained, working a pair of motives fully rather than throwing out a number of rhapsodic ideas and the conclusion of the fugue, without, as has already been remarked, a cadenza, is too final, the semiquaver movement being gradually "written out", for anything to follow it convincingly, as it must if these are the opening two sections of a normal toccata (Example 14). Despite the sole (non-manuscript) source's ascription of this work to "Sig. Box do Hude", one must question the inclusion of this work among those of the Lübeck master, but unless a satisfactory contradictory source comes to light the problem is unlikely to be resolved.
The full range and content of Buxtehude's toccatas will best be revealed by a detailed discussion of three works, those in F♯ minor (Hedar 13) and G minor (Hedar 24) and the C major "Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne (Hedar l), though references to other works will be difficult - impossible - to avoid, so rich in detail are Buxtehude's inventions.

In the works of Buxtehude the declamatory organ style that evolved through the music of Weckmann, Reincken and Tunder reaches its full fruition, as do the various technical elements of which that style is a result. The so-called Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne in C major (Hedar l) provides us with a striking demonstration of the highly developed state of North German pedal technique at this time (Example 15a). After a portentous opening gesture, rhetorically punctuated with rests, there is an extended passage of semiquavers, clearly designed for comfortable performance by alternate feet, which culminate in some rapid, downward, manual scales. A section for manuals only featuring the rhythm follows, then the whole organ works the characteristic \( \text{\texttt{\,\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,I\,}} \) figure. The fugue follows, on a typically terse subject (Example 15b), which has an obvious relationship to the opening of the pedal solo. As in the Tunder work discussed above, the constant use of the subject is a weak feature of this movement. The end of the fugue breaks into a cadenza-like passage, which touches the tonic minor tonality immediately prior to the fine \( \frac{3}{2} \) chaconne.

Further unity is imparted to this extremely taut composition by the derivation of the ostinato (Example 15c) from the previous principal themes.

The monothematicism of this work is unusual although the derivation of fugue subjects from previously stated material is not rare in Buxtehude's output, as can also be seen in the G minor work. At its most obvious this can be seen in the form of a rhythmic variant - a change from quadruple to triple time - of the first fugue subject, canzona fashion, in the second fugue, as in an E-minor work (Hedar 10, Example 16) also notable for a fine opening pedal solo. In a D minor praeludium (Hedar 19) the octave leaps.
of the subject are a natural growth from the tenor and bass motives at the very end of the introductory rhapsodic movement, (Example 17). It may be said here that Hedar argues that all secondary subjects are derived from the initial fugue subjects. Here he goes too far, although in most cases the assertion holds. The concluding flourish of the Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne is worthy of especial mention. The chaconne cadences after a final statement of the theme above which semiquavers are introduced for the first time, then the time returns to $\frac{4}{4}$ and the cadenza takes off, as it were, from the semiquavers of the concluding ostinato variation. A fast rising scale on the manuals is abruptly contradicted by a deep pedal note - a typical touch - and the work ends with a full chord of C major, the major third uppermost (Example 18).

The praeludium in G minor (Hedar 24) begins with a magnificent and metrically ambiguous $(\frac{12}{24}/\frac{8}{16})$ ostinato movement, the theme appearing six times in the pedals as support for the continuous semiquaver movement in the manuals. The ensuing fluent alla breve fugue ends with a chromatically coloured "recitativo", leading to the second fugue, on a $\frac{3}{2}$ variant of the first subject. Example 19 shows the clear family likeness of the various themes in this work. Towards the end of this second fugue the mood and figuration of the opening toccata section returns (Example 20) ushering in the manual flourish of the last few bars. As in several of Buxtehude's large works, the tonality stays on the flat side until the very last moment, when it is jerked back to the tonic by a diminished seventh chord, constructed on a deep pedal leading note.

Its tonal centre is one of the many remarkable features of the toccata in F sharp minor (Hedar 13). The writer knows of no other work in the Baroque organ repertory in this key, and is forced to wonder what it sounded like on the unequally tempered instruments of the late seventeenth century. The opening section, after an extended arpeggiation of the tonic chord, displays a bold harmonic imagination. Anchored firmly upon a tonic pedal,
the manuals play a crunching succession of dissonant harmonies, in spread form (Example 21). We may observe here the change in function of the long, held note. In the works of earlier seventeenth century masters such as Frescobaldi and Froberger it supports a smooth succession of consonant, pastorale harmonies. Now it has become the fixed point around which a more developed awareness of the creation and release of musical tension through dissonance can revolve. This dynamic opening is followed by a homophonic section featuring multiple suspensions, which ends with a brief cadenza leading to the fugue, on a subject containing the striking skip of a diminished seventh (Example 22) and with a recurring counter-subject. Immediately following this fugue's final cadence a second fugue begins, on the briefest of motives, which is soon combined with a slightly decorated version of the first subject (Example 23). The contrapuntal writing gradually yields to an extended passage of bravura writing, in which the rhythm of the second fugue subject plays a prominent rôle.

One favourite device of Buxtehude and other Northern composers that may be mentioned here is the fugal subject that contains a repeated note. An extreme case is shown as Example 24. This is an influence of the earlier Italian canzona, but its almost obsessive use can also be interpreted as an indication of the importance now attached to rhythmic as well as melodic counterpoint, a tendency which has been slowly emerging throughout the seventeenth century.

Lesser Northern Lights are Georg Böhm, Vincent Lübeck and Nicklaus Bruhns, all born between 1655 and 1665, who form the last generation of organists wholly rooted in the seventeenth century in thought and style. Böhm's (d.1733) most important appointment and the one which he held at his death was at the Johanneskirche in Lüneberg, a church with an exception ally fine organ, built originally by Jasper Johannsen of 'sHertogenbosch, Holland in 1549 and greatly extended at various times during the seventeenth
The prime significance of Georg Böhm lies in the fact that, like Muffat, he introduced to his organ music features which were non-keyboard and non-Germanic in origin. This is more apparent in his organ chorales than in the freely composed music, where we can nevertheless see the influences of the French clavecinists with regard to ornamentation in particular (Example 26).

The works of Vincent Lübeck (d. 1740) are of uneven quality and never attain the standard of Buxtehude's. Too often the toccata sections use commonplace figures in a commonplace fashion and the fugues suffer from the composer's almost painful inability to write convincing counterpoint against his subjects. The one work to which these criticisms cannot be applied is the Toccata in G minor. Its introductory section, marked "Grave" in the manuscript, is rich in rhythmic life, using triplets, semiquavers and demi-semiquavers in an improvisatory style. It also contains five part writing, two of the voices being allocated to the pedals. The three fugues, the first of which also uses the double pedal technique, are all on the same subject, the various versions of which appear as Example 27.

The musical ancestry of Niklaus Bruns (1665-97) is impressive. His organist father was a pupil of the great Franz Tunder and he himself studied extensively with Buxtehude, after, one imagines, initial parental encouragement and tuition. He was a fine violinist, as well as organist, and is supposed to have sat at the organ, playing a violin sonata, providing the bass line with his feet upon the pedals! Tantalisingly little of his music survives - only a dozen cantatas, a lengthy chorale fantasia
and four toccatas. Though these are all very much of their period and area of origin in form and language, they aspire to artistic and technical heights far beyond those achieved in almost all previous Baroque organ literature - one may indeed except only a few of Buxtehude's greater works here. Bruhns shows himself capable of fluent five- and six-voiced counterpoint in his fugues and defiant gestures and bold figurations in his more improvisatory movements, all of which he fuses together with the instinctive elan of a man who has completely mastered both the arts of composition and performance. The Toccata in E minor is his finest creation, raising, like the works of Mozart and Schubert, hopes and expectations whose fulfilment was rendered impossible by an early death. Structurally it consists of two fugues framed by three toccata sections, which themselves have several distinct divisions, the classic form.

The angular opening gambit establishes a chromatic feeling that pervades several sections of the work (Example 28). It totally dominates the first fugue, which is constructed on a sombre ricercare-like subject, the forbidding sobriety of which is enlivened by a well contrasted, repercussive subject (Example 29 shows both subject and counter-subject) and an imaginative succession of other accompanimental motives of great rhythmic variety. The central toccata has six sections, the last of which reintroduces the chromaticism (Example 30) after an "Harpeggio" movement rich in dissonant harmony (Example 31). The second fugue has perhaps the finest subject in all the seventeenth century fugal repertory (Example 32), featuring an octave leap across a rest coupled with a suspension across the middle of the bar, and ends with a double echo cadence, before a final brilliant flourish triumphantly asserts tonic major tonality.

Although the seventeenth century organists did occasionally make use of ostinato techniques for sections of larger works (the opening of Buxtehude's G minor Praeludium being a famous example), the passacaglia
or chaconne form as such was rarely used.

Three of Pachelbel's six chaconnes are clearly organ works since they require the use of pedals. All three are constructed in the classical form of developing figuration above an immutable bass, each variation being a link in a chain of continuous expansion. Pachelbel can be particularly subtle in this respect. Example 33 is the opening of his F minor chaconne - his finest - in which the elaboration of the first strain is almost imperceptible in performance.

Except for two works by very minor composers, Buxtehude's Passacaglia and two Ciaconas are the only ostinato compositions in the whole North German organ repertoire. They share certain characteristics: the literal repetition of some variations, which perhaps implies the use of contrasting registrations on two manuals; organisation into more or less clearly defined sections; and in two cases a use of contrasting tonalities.

The D minor Passacaglia is very regularly constructed. The ground bass (Example 34) appears twenty eight times in all, seven times each in D minor, F major, A minor and finally D minor again, two bar manualiter interludes establishing the new key in each case. Within each group of seven variations the last three are cumulative in effect, since they are based on the same type of figuration, and the first and third sections open with two 'echoed' phrases. However, the interludes which disrupt the flow of this work and the over-free treatment of the theme in the C minor ciacona leave the Ciacona in E minor as Buxtehude's greatest achievement in this field.

This work is based on a variant of the plain, descending tetrachord used by Pachelbel in his F minor chaconne (example 35).

The theme is not used as a strict basso ostinato though the harmonic pattern it implies governs the figuration in even the most free variations. Of the thirty one variations each is paired except for members eleven and twenty four to twenty nine. The pairing of the last two variations and
the harmonic richness of the concluding bars, made doubly dramatic by
their juxtaposition to the preceding thinner texture (Example 36), emphasise
how great a master of organ rhetoric the composer was.

--o-o-o--
1a. A. Gabrieli  
Toccata del 9. Tono

1b (ibid.)
1c  ibid.
2a  Sweelinck  Toccata in the Dorian mode
2b  ibid.
2c  ibid.
3a  Frescobaldi  Toccata nona
5b ibid.

6a Muffat Toccata no. 10

6b Muffat Toccata no. 8

7 Scheidemann Praeludium

8 Scheidemann Praeludium no. 10
9  Frescobaldi  Toccata avanti la Messa delli Apostoli

10  Tunder  Praeludium in G minor

11  Weckmann  Toccata in E minor

12  Reincken  Toccata in E minor

13  Buxtehude  Praeludium in E major
14 attrib. Buxtehude "Prelude and Fugue" in F

15a Buxtehude Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne in C

15 b ibid.

15 c ibid.

16 Buxtehude Praeludium in E minor

17 Buxtehude Praeludium in D minor
Buxtehude

Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne
b. First fugue

c. Second fugue

20 ibid.
21. Buxtehude Toccata in F# minor

22. ibid.

23. ibid.

24. Buxtehude Praeludium in D major

25. Böhm Praeludium in C major

26. Böhm Praeludium, Fuge and Postludium in G minor
27 Lübeck Toccata in G minor

28 Brühns Toccata in E minor

29 ibid. pedal part of central toccata

30 ibid. conclusion of Harpeggio

32 ibid.
33 Pachelbel Chaconne in F minor

34 Buxtehude Passacaglia in D minor

35 Buxtehude Capriccio in E minor

36 ibid.
The Lutheran Church had chorales before it had the Bible in German. The word itself came into general use during the latter half of the sixteenth century, signifying a congregational, unison (choraliter) hymn—a form of worship peculiar to the Lutherans at this time since the Calvinists of the Reformed Protestant church deemed the Psalter to be the sole inspired manual of praise. Luther and his colleagues drew on four sources for their "new"hymns: adaptations (both words and melodies) of official Latin hymns, "Veni, redemptor gentium" becoming "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland" and "Gloria in excelsis Deo" translated as Allein Gott in der Hoh sei Ehr; popular pre-Reformation hymns in the vernacular, such as Da Jesus au dem Kreuze stand and In Dulci Jubilo, in which the quaintly interpolated latin lines were refrained; new sacred texts were written for old secular melodies, thus Heinrich Isaac's Innsbruch, ich muss dich lassen became O Welt, ich muss dich lassen; and finally they composed hymns with both new words and melodies such as Vater unser, in Himmelreich, a meditation on the Lord's Prayer and Ein'feste Burg, a fine tune said to be by Luther himself.

Despite the strong congregational flavour of early Lutheran worship, professional musicians still participated in the services to a considerable degree. Chorales were sung in four or five part settings with the melody as a tenor cantus firmus, a method of performance which hardly encouraged congregational participation. Any corporate singing that there might have been in these early days was unaccompanied and in unison. Towards the end of the sixteenth century, however, collections of chorale settings began to appear in which the melody was transferred to the highest voice of the choral texture, in the hope that this new prominence would encourage the congregation to sing. But this experiment can have been only partially successful as the small choirs could not have provided the solid harmonic support that unison singing requires to be at its most effective.
The German organ, on the other hand, with its full-toned foundation stops and glittering chorus work could provide such support and soon hymnals began to appear providing each chorale melody with either a complete harmonisation or a figured bass, from which the organist could easily construct his own 'filling'. The most famous of these was Scheidt's Tabulatur - Buch hundert geistlicher Lieder und Psalmen published in Görlitz in 1650, but there had been many such publications before that date, an early one having been the Hamburg Melodeien Gesangsbuch of 1604.

It is impossible to be dogmatic about the precise use of the organ in Lutheran services since practice varied so much from region to region and decade to decade. What can be said is that the organist might have been required to perform any or all of the following duties: play before and after the service; provide a prelude to introduce the key and melody of each hymn; improvise interludes between the verses of a hymn if it seemed that, for example, it would be too short to accommodate a procession of some kind; take part in alternating chorale performances, in which alternate verses of the sung hymn would be replaced by a figural keyboard setting of the melody, written to express the emotions of the words it was replacing; improvise on an appropriate chorale during the communion; accompany either congregational or choral singing. All organ music during the services was thus based on chorales and it was hardly surprising, therefore, that the organ chorale soon grew from its improvisatory origins to be an art form of the same stature as the toccata.

Keyboard variation techniques were already well developed by the beginning of the seventeenth century. The work of the English virginalists in this field was made known on the continent by the travels of John Bull and Sweelinck was the first important composer to come under this influence. He was, of course, the teacher of the great Samuel Scheidt (1587-1654) with whom German organ music came into its own. Scheidt spent all his life, except for the three years he spent as a student in Amsterdam (1605-1608), in
Halle, a relatively cloistered existence which perhaps explains his severe, though far from unimaginative organ style. He was able to publish his organ works in two prints - the Görlitz Tabulatur-Buch mentioned above and the epoch making Tabulatura Nova (TN) which appeared in three volumes in 1624. The significance of this work was two fold: it abandoned the traditional German organ tablature in favour of the Italian keyboard partitura which placed each contrapuntal voice on a separate stave and of rather greater importance, it systematized the methods of organ chorale treatment which survived unaltered in principle right down to the compositions of the third volume of J. S. Bach's Clavierübung.

The most obvious method of using a pre-existing melody as a basis for composition is to make it a cantus fermus and Lutheran composers did this with the express intention that the cantus fermus should be clearly heard. The German organ of at least two manuals and pedals was a particularly good medium for this music as on such an instrument it was possible to present the melody "in relief". Scheldt summarized his method of doing this (at the end of TN III) thus:

1. Melody on manual I in uppermost voice, three accompanying voices on manual II and pedal. (Vater Unser, TN I, no. 111, versus 1)

2. Bucinium - melody on manual I, one accompanying voice on manual II. (Da Jesus au dem Kreuze stand, TN I x11, versus 111)

3. Melody in the lowest voice on the pedals, two or three accompanying parts on the same manual. (Da Jesus, versus 5)

4. Melody in the tenor voice, accompaniment as in (1) above (Vater unser versus 2)

5. Melody in the alto voice, played either on a 4' pedal stop accompanied by three manual parts at 8' pitch, or laid out as follows: melody played by left hand, soprano voice played on a different manual by the right hand, tenor and bass voices in double pedal! (Jesus Christus, unser Heiland TN III xv111, versus 4).

With few exceptions, Scheldt's organ chorales take the forms of sets of variations, which he referred to as 'versus', one variation for each
stanza of the hymn. Thus the organist taking part in an alternation
performance could select the appropriate verses from the set, and, since
Scheidt usually made some attempt to express the 'affekt' of the words
in his music, the listeners would be aware of the hymn continuing, rather
than being disjointed.

In Tabulatura Nova various principles of composition, such as fugue
or the use of consistent musical patterns in accompanying parts, were
combined with the basic methods of cantus firmus presentation. For
example, the statement of a line of the melody might be preceded by a
fugato on that line in the accompaniment, a type of movement that is often
referred to as a chorale motet. The opening of versus 1 of Vater Unser
is an interesting example of this technique, as it employs the inversion
of the chorale phrase (Example 37). Vorimitation, as this principle
became known, was greatly developed in the works of Johann Pachelbel,
though clearly it did not originate there as has sometimes been asserted.

Another technique again thought to be late seventeenth century in origin
but which appeared in the works of Scheidt and his near contemporary,
Scheidemann, was the embellishment of the melody. Scheidt applied this
exclusively to final 'versus' where the cantus firmus appeared in the top
part and designated such movements Choralis in Cantu colorato. Example 38
shows the plain and ornamented versions of Warum betrübst du dich, mein
Herz?

Just as the music of Scheidt and Scheidemann signals the beginning of
baroque organ music in the North of Germany, so the works of Johann
Ulrich Steigleder (1593-1635) mark him as the first southern master of
the new era. He held appointments in Lindau (Stephanskirche) and Stuttgart
(Abbey and the Court of Württemberg) and his early death was brought about
by the plague. His organ works were printed in two volumes, a Ricercar
Tabulatura (1624) and a Tabulaturbuch darinnen das Vatter unser vierzimal
variirt wird (Forty variations on 'Vater unser' - 1627). It is the second
of these publications that concerns us here.

Naturally such a large number of variations does not represent a unified composition. Rather, Steigleder presents a collection of pieces in varied styles, each movement having an explanatory title e.g. Coral im Bass, 3 vocum; Coral im Discant mit einem collerierten Bass etc.

As in Scheidt's music, the chorale is usually presented as an unornamented cantus firmus and on several occasions Steigleder suggests emphasising the chorale by adding a singer or instrument to the relevant part. After giving specific suggestions for this (violin, bassoon) he then remarks, "Since it has happened several times in this that we found it suitable to sing the chorale or add a musical instrument to it, everybody will ...... know how to follow this advice and do it without further notice." In several of his movements Steigleder anticipates techniques used a century later by J. S. Bach. For example, in no. 17 (Example 39) and elsewhere the pervasive use of a single motive seems to foreshadow the Orgelbüchlein, while in the extremely cunning variation 15 the cantus firmus is accompanied by motives derived from the chorale melody. Example 40 shows chorale phrases four and five, which are surrounded by diminution of phrases five and six respectively, a pre-echo of Bach's compositions on Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her (BWV 700, 701 and 769, the Canonic Variations).

Central German organists did not cultivate organ chorale forms to any great extent in the early years of the seventeenth century. In this area the natural successor to Scheidt and Steigleder was Johann Pachelbel, whose music has enjoyed something of a revival in recent years. He was born in Nuremberg in 1653 and held organist appointments in Eisenach (1677) where he was a friend of J. S. Bach's father, Erfurt (1678), Stuttgart (1690) and Gotha (1692), finally returning to the Sebalduskirche in Nuremberg in 1695. He died eleven years later.

Pachelbel's organ chorales fall, broadly speaking, into two categories,
those which use fugue as a basic principle of construction (chorale
motets) and those in which the melody appears as the theme of a variation
set (chorale partitas). The fugal works are of varying types although
most employ a\textit{vementation} in some way. Some are simply short fugues on
the chorale's first phrase, such as \textit{Dies' sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot}
(No. 19 in Seiffert's DTB edition); others, of rather greater interest,
use the second line as well in a double fugue. \textit{Ach Herr mich armen}
\textit{Sunder} (DTB 3) is a poignant example of this type. Its opening is shown
at Example 41.

Apart from one rather undistinguished piece (\textit{Wir glauAen all}; no.66)
the fugal works in which Pachelbel sets a complete chorale melody use the
theme as an unembellished cantus fermus, very much in the tradition of
Scheidt. These pieces present the chorale phrase by phrase, preceding
each by a brief fughetta. Example 42 shows the opening of the well-known
\textit{Vater Unser} (DTB55, HAM 190c).

This is one of Pachelbel's relatively few four-voiced settings, all
of which place the cantus fermus in the soprano. Among the three part
settings only one presents the melody as a tenor part: the others employ
both soprano and bass voices with equal frequency, the latter style produc­
ing music in which the complementary movement of the accompanying parts
often resembles the texture of a trio sonata. (Example 43, \textit{Meine Seel
erhebet den Herrn} DTB 486).

A type of organ chorale encountered only in the works of Pachelbel
combines the chorale fugue on the first line of a melody with the cantus
fermus idiom. Such pieces are divided into two sections. The first is a
lengthy working of the chorale's opening which then leads into a complete
statement of the tune in long notes, either in the soprano or bass voice,
accompanied by constant semiquaver movement. Among the chorales treated
in this way are \textit{Ein feste Burg, Nun komm der Heiden Heiland} and \textit{Vom
Himmel hoch}, all of which produce a fine effect when performed \textit{in organo
pleno}.

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Seiffert (in DTB V.1) connects the evolution of this particular genre with a condition of Pachelbel's employment at Erfurt. Apparently, he was required to give an annual recital, a half hour in length, at the end of a service. One can well imagine such a work forming an impressive conclusion to such a recital, but Pachelbel doubtless also used the pieces liturgically, perhaps as concluding voluntaries.

Of the chorale partitas there is little to say. The variations employ a number of techniques - chorale as soprano, tenor or bass cantus fermus, *air et double*, chromatic movements etc. - but never with any real sense of direction or climax. Willi Apel has suggested that these are early works, and certainly the musical evidence supports this theory. Rather than dwell on such inferior works, it is far better to conclude with a re-iteration of Pachelbel's importance and originality as a composer of extended chorale movements, his style of which, although lacking the excitement of his northern contemporaries' music, rarely fails to impress by its sense of order and piety.

The styles of Scheidt and Scheidemann represented a fundamentally 'pure' organ style rooted in the contrapuntal nature of their instruments. In them, the pre-Reformation art of vocal cantus fermus composition appeared in a conspicuously successful re-incarnation. Such restraint was, however, alien to the essential spirit of their northern successors, who, lead by Franz Tunder, pursued a far more rhetorical style of organ composition and eschewed the art of *cantus planus* setting. The pedal cadenzas, echo effects (the full realisation of which sometimes seems to require four manuals) and dazzling passagework so characteristic of their toccatas were freely applied to chorale melodies, thus producing the *chorale fantasia*, a term which serves to remind us of the very free treatment of the material in these pieces and the almost certain origin of the form in improvisations.
The six extant choral fantasias by Franz Tunder exhibit a paradoxically consistent approach to composition in this style. In each piece the chorale melody is treated line by line, each phrase being, in general, used twice, - once, ornamented, in the highest sounding part and once in plain notes in the pedal. Rarely is Tunder's ornamentation of a mechanical kind. Rather he prefers to stress only certain notes by means of an expressive gesture. Example 44 is taken from the opening of In dich hab' ich gehoffet, especially interesting for the introductory and concluding flourishes.

"In dich..." is a five line chorale and Tunder treats the first two of these exactly as described above. The third phrase, is however, given a rather more extended treatment: between the expected two appearances of the tune, fragments of it are given various short imitative and echo treatments and another ornamented and complete statement in the soprano part follows the plain bass version. The fourth line of the chorale is as straightforward as the first two in its setting but the concluding fifth phrase is subjected to the most extensive development of all, amounting to almost half the entire work. Various motives derived from the chorale form the basis of a lengthy imitative passage in the midst of which the complete phrase is heard in diminution in the highest voice. The statement of the theme in the pedals then precedes its final ornamented appearance on the manuals.

"In dich..." is Tunder's most convincing organ chorale. Its relative conciseness (93 bars, compared to, for example, the 239 of "Christ lag in Todesbanden") means that there can be constant variety in the music, all the devices of fantasia treatment being present.

All Tunder's devices, and more, are to be found in the two long fantasias (Was kann uns kommen an für Not and An Wasserflüssen Babylon) by Jan Adam Reincken, the famous organist of St. Catherine's Church, Hamburg, who lived from the age of Scheidt to that of J. S. Bach. Reincken's
"An Wasserflüssen ..." is one of the longest and most celebrated pieces of its type, employing, in addition to those methods used by Tunder, fugal developments of the chorale lines and a more consistent use of accompanying counter-subjects when the chorale is stated. Reincken also develops the technique of organ playing to the point at which two obligato pedal parts and crossing of the hands can be freely used. Example 45 shows an extreme case of these features - in the third bar the upper of the two pedal voices has the second highest notes of the chords.

Until he heard J. S. Bach improvise in the early 1720's Reincken thought that the chorale fantasia was a forgotten art form. Certainly, those composers who made a significant contribution to the late seventeenth century organ chorale repertoire - Buxtehude, Böhm and Johann Nikolaus Hanff preferred a rather more restrained and unified method of chorale treatment which many writers have described as the true chorale prelude style. In these works the melody is stated in the soprano part with very little decoration and with only the briefest interludes between the phrases, during which some vornimitation is sometimes apparent.

There are many such settings by Buxtehude. The opening of Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder is typical (Example 45) - a brief vornimitation, then the entry of the chorale in plain notes. (In all probability this should be played on a separate manual, although it is not so marked by the composer). Only when it is repeated does the melody acquire some restrained colouration as the cadence approaches. (Example 47).

One of Buxtehude's most well-known compositions of this kind, perhaps because it invites direct comparison with a work of J. S. Bach (BWV 659) is Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland, of which the last eight bars are shown at Example 48. Here the music recalls, though on a much smaller scale, Tunder's fantasias in the way that the pedals solemnly intone the unadorned chorale melody, before the entry of the poetically embellished version on...
the solo manual. The postlude seems to accord perfectly with the prayerful nature of both the hymn text and the music.

It was not only contemplative chorales that lent themselves to this 'chorale prelude' style. Buxtehude, however, often prefaced his more robust settings with a toccata style flourish (example 49 a,b) which may look inconsequential but have a highly dramatic effect in performance, especially when played on a trumpet stop, as was surely the intention.

The large-scale chorale fantasia is not entirely absent from Buxtehude's output. His massive *Te Deum* is a highly flamboyant work which must have explored every facet of the contemporary player's technique and the resources of his instrument. But such a loosely constructed work does not show Buxtehude at his best. It is his shorter settings that cannot fail to impress us by their conciseness, clarity and sincerity of expression. They were also the foundation on which Bach was to construct the edifice of the *Orgelbuchlein*.

In the discussion of Böhm's toccatas (p.12) it was noted that "he introduced to his organ music features which were non-Germanic and non-keyboard in origin." Nowhere is this more apparent than in his organ chorales, which often take the form of sets of variations in the manner of Scheidt, though a far greater freedom of treatment is employed than in the music of the earlier master. *Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend* furnished us with some characteristic examples of his techniques. Example 50 gives the openings of the chorale and four of the variations.

In the first of these an Italianate *basso continuo* motto theme is announced, the figuration of which then accompanies the entries of the chorale phrases and acts as a ritornello between them. The succeeding variation shows Böhm gently ornamenting the chorale in the style of Buxtehude but after this Italian methods are again apparent in a movement that maintains throughout the texture and imitative nature of a trio-sonata.
The 'finale' of the set, however, unequivocally returns to the North German organ style par excellence, each line of the chorale being used in a short fughetta on the manuals before the pedal entries of the cantus firmus, a device which always sounds impressive even when the level of musical invention is not particularly high.

Böhm wrote a few single chorale settings, from among which Vater unser stands out as an unusual blend of German chorale, Italian basso continuo accompaniment and French and Italian ornamentation, the "ad libitum" flourishes recalling the solo sonatas of Corelli and the music of the early French flautists such as Hotteterre and Boismortier. Example 51 is the conclusion of this remarkable piece.
41 Pachelbel  Ach Herr mich armen Sünder

42 Pachelbel  Vater unser im Himmelreich

43 Pachelbel  Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn

44 Tunder  In dich hab' ich gehoffet
45 Reincken An Wasserflüssen Babylon

46 Buxtehude Ach Herr, mich armen Sünden

47 ibid.

48 Buxtehude Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland
49a  Buxtehude  
Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott

49b  Buxtehude  
Komm, heiliger Geist, Herr Gott

50  Böhme  
Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend'
51 Böhm Vater unser im Himmelreich
"As early as the last century, in fact from the middle of the same, a few famous men - some of whom had themselves visited Italy or France and profited thereby, while some took the works and the taste of distinguished foreigners as models - began to strive for an improvement of musical taste. The organists and clavier players - among the latter especially Froberger and after him Pachelbel (sic), and among the former Reincken, Buxtehude, Bruhns and some others - were almost the first to contrive the most tasteful instrumental compositions of their period for their instruments. But particularly the art of organ playing, which had to a great extent been learned from the Netherlanders, was already at this time in a high state of advancement, thanks to the above-mentioned and some other able men. Finally the admirable Johann Sebastian Bach brought it to its greatest perfection in recent times. We can only hope that now, after his death, owing to the small number of those who still devote sufficient industry to it, it will not again fall into decline or even decay."

Had Johann Joachim Quantz, writing in 1752, also mentioned Bach's position as the most eminent authority on organ design and construction of his time he would have stated succinctly the eighteenth century view of the Leipzig cantor. Such reports of his playing as we have are indeed awe-inspiring: even Johann Adolph Scheibe, a fierce critic of Bach's music, admitted that he was an "extraordinary artist." Perhaps the most famous account of Bach's ability is that of his first biographer, Johann Nikolaus Forkel, who gained much of his information from CPE and WF Bach. In the fourth chapter of his essay on Bach's "Life, Genius and Works" Forkel writes as follows:-

"When John Seb. Bach seated himself at the organ when there was no divine service, which he was often requested to do by strangers, he used to choose some subject and to execute it in all the various forms of organ composition so that the subject constantly remained his material, even if
he had played, without intermission, for two hours or more. First, he 
used this theme for a prelude and fugue, with the full organ. Then he 
showed his art of using the stops for a trio, a quartet, etc., always 
upon the same subject. Afterwards followed a chorale, the melody of 
which was playfully surrounded in the most diversified manner by the 
original subject, in three or four parts. Finally the conclusion was 
made by a fugue, with the full organ, in which either another treatment 
only of the first subject predominated, or one or, according to its nature, 
two others were mixed with it."

This account, though its content seems perfectly feasible, may owe 
something to the imagination. In particular, it is odd to discover that 
Bach habitually improvised thematically related preludes and fugues, when 
such links are wholly absent from his extant compositions.

Most of Bach's organ playing must have been improvised, and though 
we have no written record of what he played at one of the stupendous 
displays described above, such written down organ music as has survived 
fully justifies the twentieth century view of Bach as the unmatched master 
of organ composition. However, very little is known of the foundations on 
which this towering edifice was constructed. Bach's obituary (which was 
published anonymously in 1754, CPE Bach not revealing until 1775, in a 
letter to Forkel, that he had been the author, assisted by Johann Friedrich 
Agricola) states that he learnt much under the guidance of his oldest 
brother, Johann Christoph and that "in the art of the organ he took the 
works of Bruhns, Reincken, Buxtehude and several good French organists as 
models". He also made a manuscript copy of the Fiori Musicali of 
Frescobaldi (see p.4 ). In the very earliest stages of his education 
Bach may also have studied such a volume as the Wegweiser organ tutor, 
published in Augsburg in 1689, a volume containing instruction in the basic 
rudiments of music and a considerable number of brief pieces in various 
styles, largely intended as a stimulus to the beginner composer and
improviser. (In this context it is interesting to note T. L. Pitschel's comment on Bach's voluntary playing in Leipzig. "(He) usually has to play something from the page which is inferior to his own ideas "before he is able "to delight others with the mingling of his tones". The ability of Bach to learn from and improve on the efforts of others is also commented on by CPE Bach in the letter to Forkel mentioned earlier. "Through his own study and reflection he became even in his youth a pure and strong fugue writer."

It was in 1700 that Bach first became acquainted with the works of the North German organists. He travelled to Lüneburg where he presumably heard Böhm and certainly heard Reincken and others in Hamburg. Johann Christoph Bach, with whom the fifteen year old Sebastian was then living, possessed no music of this kind and the extrovert musical style of these men must have been a revelation to and made a great impression on the student organist, so much so that in 1705 he risked losing his post in Arnstadt to return to the north, this time in order to hear Buxtehude play in Lübeck. The Arnstadt appointment was Bach's first as an organist and in fact he was the first musician employed to serve in the re-built church of St. Boniface. The organ was brand new and the salary excellent, an ideal post for a young man. Bach remained in Arnstadt from 1703 until 1707 when, after several contempts with the authorities, he moved to Mühlhausen, where he began to compose cantatas. After only a few months, though, he found himself involved in a dispute between two pastors and was glad when the opportunity to take the rather more prestigious post of Court Organist in Weimar presented itself in the summer of 1708. Bach spent nine years in the Duke's service, during which time he became friendly with Walther and Telemann and thoroughly familiar with the Italian concerto idiom and the ritornello principle. Thus Bach's professional career up to 1717 was almost entirely concerned with the techniques of organ playing and composition. After this date there was no reason for
him to write any organ music at all — indeed, he would have had little
time for such work at Köthen or Leipzig and any playing could have been
improved. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that most of
the organ music was composed at Weimar, a conclusion supported by the
Obituary.

Thus any attempt to trace the development of Bach's organ style
becomes an exploration of a relatively short and early period of the
composer's life and is fraught with danger. The ways in which he absorbed
and transformed the forms and methods of his predecessors would be so
clearly revealed if a dated autograph existed for every work. But we
have no precise dates of this kind and therefore can only speculate —
which in this context is little more than a euphemistic term for guess —
on the basis of the known biographical and historical facts and such
evidence as can be deduced from Bach's other music, in particular the
cantatas, the composition of which was a more or less constant part
of Bach's duties from about 1705 and for which a reasonable chronology
has now been established by Alfred Dürr.

It is possible to see in Bach's free organ works the gradual refine­
ment of the flamboyant Northern style, which, when combined with Italianate
melodies and forms and modified by the composer's own powerful instinct
for organisation, became the "prelude and fugue" in which an independent
and coherent introductory movement is succeeded by a rigourously developed
self-contained fugue.

Though Bach was certainly aware of the music of southern composers
such as Pachelbel from an early age, it was the compositions of the
Northern masters that really inspired him and his earliest works reflect
this enthusiasm. There are a number that seem to be imitations of
developments of the Northern three-part structure, in which a central
fugue is framed by improvisatory display passages. BWV 531 opens with a
pedal solo that is reminiscent of Böhm (compare example 25 and 52) and
the rather rambling fugue has only one real pedal entry, a fairly clear sign of an early work. The famous D minor toccata (BWV 565) also has a very sketchy fugue which has little contrapuntal development although the re-use of the echo episodes does give an impression of overall coherence. The pedals play a much fuller role than in BWV 531 and the work as a whole has considerable intensity and exuberance and shows that the still young composer had already mastered the art of organ rhetoric, although his techniques of composition and performance were still limited.

BWV 535 in G minor is another work in which the preludial writing is largely concerned with display although the fugue is quite strongly written with the pedals taking a full part in some quite genuine contrapuntal writing. However, the counterpoint disappears with the final pedal entry, rather in the style of Buxtehude's G minor praeludium (see p.11) and some lively flourishes bring the work to an end.

Bach also composed toccatas in imitation of the Northerners' five part form. BWV 551 and 566, in A minor and E major, are pure specimens of this genre. The latter has a second fugue in triple time, a favourite device of the seventeenth century composers. Far more impressive in performance, however, is the so-called Prelude and Fugue in D major, BWV 532. The length and energy of the fugue in particular and the virtuosic technique required of its player must have astounded the audiences at the first performances. The prelude opens with an ascending pedal scale—something rarely found in the organ music of the Baroque period, being extremely difficult to execute on the straight, short pedals of the day—which is answered by fanfare-like passages on the manuals, an unusual opening introducing an unusual composition. After the opening gestures Bach does not write the conventional fugue but inserts a freely flowing allabreve passage, which, though contrapuntal and using definite short motives, is less strictly developed than a fugue would be. The third main section of this work is an adagio in the richest style, distributing
diminished and augmented chords and multiple suspensions among five polyphonic parts, two of which are assigned to the pedal in the manner of Reincken and Bruhns. The ensuing fugue has a long sequential subject, which bears a remarkable resemblance to a D major subject of Pachelbel, and is the basis for a movement of unparalleled exuberance. The writing is mainly in three parts - thus the five- and six-part chords that accompany the final pedal entry of the subject have great climactic force. The coda, which in Buxtehude's toccatas is generally a separate section, here arises from motives heard during the fugue, of which it is an integral part, an important development of the seventeenth century master's work.

BWV 532 is one of several fugues to have this kind of structure. The G major, A minor and A major works (BWV 550, 543 and 536) are all powerful pieces, though not without their flaws. The second of this trio has a long subject like the D major, but it is developed with only one real pedal entry and the coda, though it maintains the movement of the fugue, is mainly non-thematic. The A major has proper pedal entries and hints (bar 65 ff, 103 ff) at stretto before finally achieving it in bar 125 but nevertheless its concluding bars are irrelevant to the preceding fugal argument. The overall structure of these three "preludes and fugues" shows Bach continuing to organise his thoughts in a more orderly manner though the preludial writing is still fairly loosely arranged. BWV 550 has a fine pedal solo that is developed from the opening manual flourishes and then the full resources of the organ are used for a lively development which is given shape by the use of ostinato (Example 53). A short grave corresponds to the third section of a large Northern toccata and then the fugue has the shape of BWV 532 as previously noted. The preludes of BWV 536 and 543 are very similar in structure both to each other and BWV 550. In each case there are well defined themes but as yet Bach does not develop his ideas along, for example, ritornello lines. The A major and A minor settle down about halfway through to a sustained exploration of
short motives - again with a strong ostinato element and a full rôle for the pedals, something which the previous generation of composers rarely achieved in the "full" sections of their preludes.

All these works were at least conceived, if not finally revised, before about 1712, by which time Bach had been at Weimar for four years. The cantatas of this period show that the composer was fond of the ostinato technique noted so often above, and they also contain echo cadences (e.g. the end of Cantata 106 - Actus Tragicus) a device found in BWV 533, the general structure of which suggests that it dates from the same period as BWV 536. It was in Weimar that Bach first encountered Italian music directly, as distinct from the Italian style as modified by Böhm, Buxtehude, etc.. The smoothly flowing, well balanced movements made a profound impression upon him and he took the trouble to arrange several concerti for keyboard and write original works in imitation of his new heroes: the "Corelli" and "Legrenzi" fugues (BWV 579 and 574) and the fluent Allabreve and Canzona (BWV 589 and 588) may well have been written alongside the greater fugues already referred to. The momentum and the structure of the fugue subject, which can be divided into opening gesture, sequential continuation and cadential passage, in BWV 532 certainly suggests that its composer knew something of the Italian allegro style and its characteristic formulae, although Bach's grafting of the ritornello technique on to his more Germanic idioms was still to come.

The first large scale organ work which unashamedly exhibits the Italian influence is the Toccata in C (BWV 564) which has signs of being composed over a period. It is cast in the five part Northern mould, which Bach seems to have abandoned fairly early in his career, and the various sections seem to have been written for instruments with differing manual compasses. The prelude uses the high d, which is then studiously, and not always very artistically, avoided in the fugue (see bars 84-5): perhaps the work was begun at Mühlhausen and finished at Weimar. The important
structural feature of this toccata is the interpolated *adagio*, placed
between the prelude proper and the *grave*. This is unmistakably imitative
of the Italian slow movement style—a florid melodic line above a simple
bass, with the left hand providing a continuo accompaniment in the plainest
manner.

At one stage of its composition the "great" G major prelude and fugue
(BWV 541) was also intended to have a central slow movement, in trio style,
though this idea was never carried through and the work as we now know it
(1713–14?) represents a further development by Bach of the Northern
tripartite construction. After its prefatory flourishes the prelude
feels coherent—there are elements of ostinato and two recapitulated
cadential passages—though the absence of formal design as such makes
this seem almost accidental. The fugue betrays its slight immaturity
by the rambling central episode (bars 44–52) and its imitating (to the
player) and complex use of short motives in bars 60–62 (compare BWV 536,
564 and several Orgelbüchlein preludes) but its conclusion could not be
finer. What might have been the final entry of the subject is in fact
in the minor mode (compare, for example, the Prelude, Fugue and Chaconne
in C of Buxtehude) and then there is a pause on a harsh discord. At this
point a composer of the previous generation would have unleashed a virtuosic
coda completely periferal to the previous material, but Bach's final bars
not only use his subject to the very end, but also treat it in stretto.

The dramatic pause is also found in the fugue of the Passacaglia
(BWV 582). In this work Bach so surpasses his seventeenth century models
that any comparison is virtually impossible. His ground bass is an ex-
tension of that used by André Raison (one of the Obituary's "old French
organists") in a brief "Christe Eleison". The resulting strangely
melancholy eight bar phrase is used by Bach in twenty variations which,
as in Buxtehude's ostinato works, can be divided into various groups and
sub-groups. There are decisive breaks after Variations 5, when a continuous

-35-
semiquaver movement is established, 10, where the theme runs into the upper voices, and 16, where it returns to the pedals. Thus there are four groups of five variations. Within each of the first three main sections the variations can be additionally divided 2 + 1 + 2 (recalling Buxtehude's "paired variation" technique) by virtue of their rhythmic relationships while variations 16–20 appear to recall the ideas of variations 1–10. Certainly, number 18 is related to 4, and 19 and 20 use the continuous semiquavers of 6–10. To what extent this was consciously planned by Bach and how much it is due to his developing subconscious instinct for logical construction cannot be realistically assessed. The \textit{tema fugatum} (and it should be stressed that the idea of a Passacaglia and Fugue was quite new) uses just Raison's original phrase, to which Bach adds a well contrasted counter-subject (Example 54), the rhythm of which becomes important in some later episodes (e.g. bars 44ff, 56ff). This fugue, though a grand conception, is not a flawless masterpiece from the technical angle. The episode around bar 50 is hardly inspired and all contact with the main thematic material is lost almost twenty bars before the end, but on a purely subjective level, can there be a more inspiring moment than the appearance of the theme in the major tonality, after so much minor, at bar 29, or a more magnificent use of the neapolitan sixth (the pause)?

The "Dorian" and F major toccatas (BWV 538 and 540) are very similar in structure. In each case a sustained development of previously heard motives and phrases follows the opening gestures, which in the F major are on a large scale. This work could not have been played at Weimar because of the high f's in the pedal solo and it is traditionally associated with Bach's visits to the court at Weissenfels. The cadential block chords over a dominant pedal are perhaps the composer's apology for the abrupt ending of BWV 543. What was terse there, is here expanded into eight bars
of alternate concord and discord, which, when the final cadence is interrupted by the dramatic 4 harmony, serves as a springboard for yet more of the sequential development for which this work is noted. BWV 538 is on a smaller scale but similarly builds an imposing composition from small thematic germs, passing through a series of well-planned modulations and making use of two manuals, for chorus contrasts rather than trio playing, all the manual changes being carefully indicated by Bach. The fugues that follow these lively preludes are relatively sober, allabreve movements. The "Dorian" was aptly described by Schweitzer as a "miracle of juxtaposed and superimposed vaulted arches", a reference to the shape of its theme and its use in stretto: the episodes contain some close canonic writing, peculiarly rich in harmony (example 55) and the powerful concluding chords seem to be the last vestige of the Northern coda - in the F major fugue the final combination of the principal subjects provides the climax.

The next stage in the evolution of the mature prelude and fugue would be an organised prelude, concerned from the start with thematic development, followed by a fugue like the F major - fugal to the end. Such a pair is BWV 545, the so-called "Weimar C major" (1715?), the construction of which is especially clear in the version known to Forkel, BWV 545a. This piece has a fairly convoluted textual history, having begun life in Forkel's version, then acquiring a central trio - later removed when the prelude was revised, the now familiar opening and closing bars being added. The prelude as given by Forkel is to all intents and purposes monothematic with a good tonal scheme in which pedal points support the main tonic and dominant statements of the material and give the impression of ab ab form. The semiquaver passage in the pedals might be interpreted as display but it is, in fact, strictly thematic - at last the technique of the composer is overcoming the flamboyance of the player.
Similarly monothematic, though not without a brief concluding coda, is the five part Fantasia in C minor (BWV 562) associated at various times with the fugue of BWV 546 and with a fugue in 6\textsuperscript{th} time of which only a fragment remains. However, the fantasia is so fully evolved that it is complete in itself and does not require a fugue to give substance to an otherwise flimsy structure as some earlier preludes do.

The clear tonal scheme of BWV 545 is also found in the rarely heard prelude of BWV 537, in C minor, which again like 545 has two long pedal points as foundations for the main tonal areas. Here, however, there are two themes, one tonally static and the other suitable for modulatory development and thus the impression of abab form given by the C major here becomes fact. Uniquely, the prelude ends with an imperfect cadence, produced by a coda which follows a perfectly satisfactory final cadence in the tonic key. The ensuing fugue is on two contrasting subjects, which are not combined, within a da capo framework. The cantatas of 1714-15 show Bach consistently using the da capo: this fugue may well date from the same period.

There remain the Fantasia and Fugue in G minor (BWV 542), the ritornello preludes (BWV 544, 546, 548, 552) and the "Great" C major (BWV 547). Tradition associated the composition of the first of these with Bach's visit to Reincken in 1720 but since the Fantasia could not have been performed on the organ of St. Catherine's, Hamburg by reason of its compass, and the fugue exists in a copy made by J. T. Krebs, one of Bach's Weimar pupils, it is likely to have been written some time before that date (in 1716?) The improvisatory prelude, complete in itself, is perhaps Bach's final essay in the flamboyant Northern style - toccata contrasting rich, chromatic harmony with single line gestures and a short imitative episode, the repetition of which gives the work some definite shape. The equally independent fugue (it exists in several copies without prelude) features some of the most demanding pedal writing in the repertoire, the feet being
required to take a full part in the skilful triple counterpoint, one theme of which has to be adapted to suit the 'alternate toes' technique (bar 73) and in the complex episodes, the style of which resembles passages in the G major fugue, a further piece of evidence indicating a rather earlier date of composition than is sometimes suggested.

The cantatas show that Bach was fully conversant with the possibilities of ritornello form by the end of his Weimar days. It is possible that the 'mature' preludes were first drafted then though the harmonic idiom and contours of the B minor, for example, suggest a date in the mid-1720's (compare the organ obbligato to the first aria of Cantata 169). What can be said is that these works are the summit of the composer's development as a writer for the organ, combining elegant figuration, strong harmony, fluent counterpoint and exquisitely balanced formal designs.

Among the organ works a ritornello structure is first hinted at in the relatively early (1712?) F minor prelude (BWV 534) where after a promising sequential episode the opening bars are recapitulated in the dominant as if a concerto form were indeed the composer's intention. However, the subsequent irrelevance of the section beginning in bar 51 and the concluding cadenza effectively destroy such an impression. Did Bach lose his nerve or did he begin the prelude on one occasion to return to it later, having forgotten his original intentions? The fugue is fairly clearly an immature work, notwithstanding its five parts. There are examples of the intricate writing (bars 59ff) observed in BWV 536 and 541, between bars 90 and 100 the counterpoint completely collapses and the episodes contain no real development of ideas. One can also point to the final two appearances of the subject being in the dominant key and the impoverished invention of the coda, but it must be added that the work as a whole has a certain dignity, created in part by the harmonic implications of the minor mode, and is certainly worthy of more performances than it receives.
The C minor fugue (BWV 546) has much in common with the F minor. It, too, falls into five distinct sections, alternately with and without pedal, has five voices and is not without its technical weaknesses. The second episode for manuals has no thematic links with the rest of the movement and the coda does not provide a really satisfactory conclusion: it will be recalled that this fugue originally followed the Fantasia - BWV 562. The prelude with which we now pair it is so symmetrically balanced that it can perfectly well stand on its own. Here the word "symmetrical" is no mere figure of speech, for the movement can be analysed as below:

RI TONELLO - EPISODE - RI TONELLO - EPISODE - RI TONELLO

with interpolated episodic material

24 bars 24 bars 48 bars 24 bars 24 bars

The two episodes are fugal, contrasting well with the homophonic writing of the ritornello sections and give the work the shape of a Northern toccata but here there is a logic totally alien to the spirit of those earlier composers and the sense of unity that only genius, as distinct from talent, can impart.

The publication of the third part of Clavierübung in 1739 (no guide to the date of composition of its contents - at least one of the chorales was conceived in principle at Weimar) was the first occasion on which any of Bach's organ music appeared in print. The chorale settings will be discussed later - here concern is with the prelude and the fugue, both in Eb major (BWV 552), which open and close the collection. It was inevitable that these movements should come to be treated as a pair - as well as having tonality in common both are written in five parts - though there is no evidence that the composer viewed them as such, indeed the practice of performing them successively is much to be deprecated as it is desirable that listeners should come fresh to the beauties and technical mastery of the fugue, not having had their senses and appreciative abilities dulled by the scale of the prelude. This is Bach's longest and blends elements
of the French overture, North German toccata and Italian concerto into
a unique whole. The pompous opening ritornello which is itself in binary
form is contrasted with two other blocks of thematic material - abacabca -
one a galant, sighing melody (b), the other a more characteristic fugue
(c), the subject of which is neatly transformed to suit the pedals (Ex. 56).
The fugue also has its subject transformed, though not merely for the
sake of the player's physical comfort. It is a magnificent example of a
form which was almost traditional in organ music, a movement in which the
various sections are based on rhythmic variants of the same subject,
combined with new counter-subjects. Even the principal theme was an old
one - the melodic shape was used by Buxtehude, J. G. Walther and Johann
Krieger - though its treatment remains unmatched. The allabreve opening
is in the smooth, Italianate manner with some almost unnoticeable stretto
(bars 21-22 and 26-27). Swifter movement is introduced at the 6 time
signature with a running theme that requires modification in outline,
though not in character, when combined with a syncopated version of the
main subject. The conclusion (12), in which this is almost an ostinato,
re-introduces the pedals, whose predominantly long notes give a feeling
of spaciousness to writing that could otherwise seem congested. Like the
C minor prelude this movement is exactly symmetrical (36 + 45 + 36 bars):
its themes in their various combinations and transformations are shown at
Example 57.

Attention has already been drawn to the strange fact that Bach
allegedly improvised thematically linked Preludes and Fugues though he
did not commit any to paper. There is, however one pair of movements
with so prominent a feature in common that they must have been composed
for each other - the Prelude and Fugue in C(BWV 547). Both movements,
complete in themselves, contain violent modulations to the "flat" side
(C and F minors), returning to the tonic via a series of detached chords -
dominant sevenths in the prelude and, even more strikingly, augmented 6ths
and diminished 7ths in the fugue. There are elements of both ritornello
and ostinato in the dignified prelude, which, like the opening chorus of
Cantata 65 (1724), has the air of a dignified procession, while it is
hard to imagine a more complete demonstration of Bach's ability to combine
technical skill and art of the highest order than this fugue. Here is a
one movement "Kunst der Fuge" in which the brief subject is developed first
in its direct form, then in inversion and then in various stretti. The
climax is reached when, exactly two thirds of the way through, the pedal
(as the fifth voice) enters with the subject in augmentation while the
manuals continue with a stretto of its inversion.

Though he cites the fugue from the A minor sonata for solo violin
(BWV 1003) Johann Mattheson could equally well have been writing of this
movement when he remarked that "one often finds the most excellent work­
ing out upon the fewest notes, or shortest fugue subjects" (Kern melodischer
Wissenschaft, 1737 and Der Vollkommene Capellmeister, 1739.)

The "Wedge" Prelude and Fugue (BWV 548) and the B minor (BWV 544)
exist in a fair copy made by the composer (only partially in the case of
the former) at some time between 1727 and 1740; but this is no indication
of when they were composed. Their complete mastery of form and control of
complex appogiatura harmony suggest that they are, at the very least,
among Bach's final organ works, possibly written at the end of the Weimar
period, more probably conceived in the 1720's.

Spitta's designation of BWV 548 as "an organ symphony in two move­
ments" gives some idea of this pair's grandeur and drama. The prelude
is the more tightly organised, with the episodic material growing out
of the ritornello but it is the almost improvisatory nature of the fugue
that remains in the memory. Its nickname succinctly describes the shape
of the subject (Example 58), reminiscent of the opening of Bruhns' great
E minor toccata (p.14 ), which undergoes a fluent contrapuntal development
for 58 bars. It then becomes a ritornello, entering to mark the tonal progression of the darting semiquavers that surprisingly dominate the next 116 bars. Towards the end of this long paragraph the texture becomes more complex, the brief appearance of a fifth part heralding the recapitulation of the opening bars as a da capo in a suitably climactic manner. Thus elements of the concerto, toccata and da capo aria are fused together in another symmetrical movement of great power, brilliance and technical difficulty.

Despite the dignity of the "Wedge" prelude and the verve of its fugue, the melodiousness and ingenuity of BWV 547 and the tension and excitement of the G minor Fantasia and Fugue it was in the Prelude and Fugue in B minor (BWV 544) that Bach made his greatest contribution to the organ repertoire, summing up in a single unified work his indebtedness to both Northern and Southern composers and providing another of the endless examples of his extraordinarily fertile genius.

Though neither prelude nor fugue is particularly easy to play there is no virtuosity for its own sake. The prelude's general structure resembles that of BWV 546, i.e. a formalised Northern toccata, though only the final phase of the ritornello is used in recapitulation and there is greater unity of style between tutti and solo material, as in the "Wedge". Unity between prelude and fugue is achieved by their great exploitation of the possibilities of running scale motives, the lengthy manualiter episodes of both movements, which develop ideas not heard in those sections for the full resources of the instrument, and the general air of restrained power which is only unleashed in the final emphatic ascent of the pedalboard by the principal fugue subject.

It is tempting to view the prelude's opening as the ultimate stylisation of the Northern gesture - high right hand, octave leap in left hand, abrupt contrast of long and short note values (compare the beginning of BWV 565) - but the brief canon soon reminds us that this is a more formal
world. The first paragraph is exactly 16 bars long and, as in the passage preceding the "Wedge" fugue's da capo, the tension is increased towards the final cadence by the addition of a fifth part to a harmonically and rhythmically complex texture. The inversion of the ritornello's cadential melody that initiates the fugal interlude (see Example 59) should not be overemphasised. It may have been deliberate, on the other hand what more logical response to a descending melody is there than one which ascends, and Bach's mature music is nothing if not logical.

The fugue is of the cumulative type, though without the time changes of the similarly constructed E work. It has a plain subject, which allows the countersubjects, in contrasting yet complementary styles, to create the various moods through which the music passes. (Example 60 shows the beginning of the work's final section, where the subject is rejoined by its original counter-subject and a new theme is introduced.) In the central three-part episode the unobtrusive contrary motion semiquavers of the new counter melody and the more expansive writing of, for example, bars 37-40 emphasise the unassuming plainness of the main theme, which, however, becomes more confident in character when re-united with its original counter-subject and combined with a new, more assertive one. The climax, in which hands and feet begin widely spaced only to draw inexorably closer as the five-voiced cadence is approached is emphatic yet unpretentious. The subject, in four successive statements is finally allowed to dominate all else and having achieved this brings to an end a glorious monument to its creator's (he would have said "my Creator's") power.

Most writers on Bach's set of six sonatas "a 2 Clav. Pedal" (BWV 525-530) draw attention to the organ/harpsichord/clavichord performance problem, the complete technical control they require of the player and the textual history of the various movements but make surprisingly little of the works' great musical beauty and the originality of the form.
The trio technique as such is an obvious one for a keyboard instrument of two manuals and pedal. It had long been traditional in organ music - there are many three part chorale preludes by German composers, numerous mass versets by French composers such as de Grigny, Raison and Couperin and Bach himself had already composed several "single trio movements, which are to be found here and there" (Forkel) - when, in the late 1720's, the sonatas were compiled supposedly to "help Wilhelm Friedemann Bach become the great player he was." (The tradition of organ trio writing may be an indication that it was for this instrument that the sonatas were intended.) However, the idea of a complete chamber work for one player was a brilliant new departure, though it was the logical development of the trio sonatas for two players (melody instrument and obligato keyboard) that Bach, among others, had already composed.

The sonatas conform to the Italianate ideal of two voices, always in dialogue, above a bass that is generally confined to a supporting role. However, the upper voices do not show the Italian predilection for equality of tessitura but rather the German preference for 'terraced' scoring, the left hand generally playing below the right. (Here it is worth recalling that Buxtehude's Opp 1 and 2 were trio sonatas for violin, viola da gamba and continuo and the original scoring of the first movement of BW 528 - oboe d'amore and gamba). With the exception of BW 528, which has a brief adagio introduction the sonatas conform to the three movement concerto plan. The individual movements, particularly the faster ones, are also in concerto style, both in structure (they feature contrasting thematic ideas within a ritornello framework - BWV 530, first movement is a particularly clear example) and compositional detail (compare, for example, BWV 526 first movement, bars 39-53 and BWV 530, first movement, bars 21-34 with the openings of the second or sixth Brandenburg concerto, where complex part writing is accommodated on a very simple harmonic foundation). The writer of the 1788 Comparison of Bach and Handel was perhaps thinking of the slow
movements in particular when, in singling out these sonatas for especial praise, he commented that they "are written in such galant style that they still sound very good". Of even greater significance for us is his next remark. "The sonatas never grow old, but on the contrary will outlive all revolutions of fashion in music. Taking it all in all, no one has written so much beautiful music for the organ as J. S. Bach".
57 ibid.

58 Bach Prelude and Fugue in E minor, BWV 548

59 Bach Prelude and Fugue in G minor, BWV 544

60 ibid.
For many modern organists, Bach's most consistently "beautiful music" is to be found among the organ chorales. Almost his entire career was concerned with the provision of music for Lutheran worship and it is thus not surprising, given the importance of the chorales and the variety of ways in which an organist could be expected to treat them (see p.18), that there should be organ chorales dating from every period of Bach's life and in every conceivable style.

It is by no means certain that all, indeed, any of the settings BWV 741—765 are compositions of the young Bach. However, several of these pieces are the sort of music an aspiring organist of the time might have been expected to attempt, in imitation of the established masters. Herr Jesu Christ, dich zu uns wend and Nun ruhen alle Wälder (BWV 749 and 756) are small scale examples of the fugal technique of Pachelbel and In dulci jubilo (BWV 751) resembles, albeit superficially, a setting of the same melody by Buxtehude. Rather more ambitious is the fantasia Christ lag in Todesbanden (BWV 718), directly modelled on a work by Böhm. The first two lines are presented in a two part setting, the ornamented melody being accompanied by a development of the initial bass 'motto', (Example 61). These two phrases are repeated with a fuller accompaniment and even more profuse decoration before the third phrase is treated in a loose fugato style. The ensuing sections recall Buxtehude in a 12/8 episode and then Tunder in an extended series of echoes and the final "alleluya" is expressed in lively figuration of a general German type. The delayed entry of the pedal, which plays only the closing phrase as a cantus fermus, and then a cadence, may reflect the limited technique of the young composer/performer but also shows his awareness of the way in which the added profundity of sixteen foot tone can generate a climax. The fugal setting of Vom Himmel hoch (BWV 700) is a more unified, though rather stiff, essay in Pachelbel's style. The rôle of the pedals is still limited to the
presentation of the cantus firmus either in octaves or unison with the left hand but there are details in this work that reveal the composer's promise. After the first entry of the pedals there is a contrapuntal combination of the first and second phrases of the melody (Example 62). The idea is not pursued here, though such techniques were gloriously explored in the Canonic Variations written forty years later. Similarly striking is the very conclusion of the piece - the recollection of the opening phrase above a tonic pedal. (Example 63).

The "Partite Diverse" may or may not have been composed at Arnstadt, as Forkel claimed, but they are most certainly early works, modelled on variation sets by Böhm and Johann Bernhard Bach and thus part of a tradition of chorale variations stretching back a century to Schelidt and Sweelinck. Bach composed three such sets, one of which, Sei gegeusset, Jesu gütig (BWV 768) was worked on at various times up to the end of the Weimar period and was possibly revised even later than this. The variations in which the pedal carries an obbligato voice certainly point to a post-Arnstadt origin. In both the other sets - Christ, der du bist der helle Tag (BWV 766) and 0 Gott, du frommer Gott (BWV 767) the pedal is required in only one variation and even then it is not really necessary as it merely doubles the left hand bass. The importance of these partitas is that they gave the composer the opportunity to think and work in a far more concise way than did the large scale fantasias and thus to develop the technique of accompanying a plain statement of a chorale melody with figuration evolved from a short motive. Example 64 from BWV 767 is a characteristic passage.

Research for the Neue Bach Ausgabe has established that the source for Allein Gott in der Höch sei Ehr (BWV 715) was written in the early Weimar years. However, this is not to say that this chorale harmonisation with improvisatory interludes between the phrases, one of several such
pieces, was not composed earlier. It may be an example of the "strange
tones" that so distressed the Arnstadt Consistory. Given a passage such
as Example 65 one can only sympathise with the authorities. Indisputably
products of the Weimar period are the contents of the Orgelbüchlein (1712-
16), the first of the four major collections of organ chorales, planned
and compiled by Bach.

Many studies of the Orgelbüchlein make much of the composer's supposed
attempts to combine an objective presentation of the hymn tunes with a
musical expression of the text - a subjective interpretation. While it is
ture that the contents of the album are imbued with the same Jesusminne
(and use many of the same technical devices, e.g. ostinato) that so
characterises many of the Weimar cantatas, such as Komm, du süßer
Todestunde (BWV 161), the dangers of too blinkered an approach of this
nature are easily demonstrated. "The animated rhythm ... voices glad
confidence". "The dragging motive suggests the dragging feet of Simeon."
These two statements (by different writers) apply to the same prelude, to
use the standard English term (BWV 616, Mit Fried' und Freud)! Similarly,
there are far more than the ten appearances of a countersubject observed
by one critic in the "commandments" prelude (BWV 635). Attempts to
classify various "praise" or "joy" motives are also unconvincing but on
the other hand the implications of the pedal part in Durch Adams Fall
(BWV 637), the general air of pathos in O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig (BWV 616)
and the very specific chord of G flat at the end of O Mensch, bewein' dein'
Sünde gross (BWV 622) where the text refers to "bearing our sins on the
cross" are unmistakeable.

However, this thesis is concerned with compositional techniques and
musical form, an approach which still reveals much of interest in the
Orgelbüchlein. Bach himself described the contents as "giving instruction
to a beginner at the organ in working out a chorale in many different ways,"
thus drawing attention to this aspect of his art. Each prelude is in the
style of a variation from a partita diverse but the composer's greater maturity enabled him to develop far more rigorously and in a more concentrated manner the motivic techniques with which he flirted in BWV 766 and 767.

The typical Orgelbüchlein chorale setting consists of a continuous statement of the melody in the uppermost voice - not always assigned to a solo manual - below which a three part accompaniment is wrought from a short, freely invented motive which dominates the texture throughout, a new technique which was a distinct advance, in terms of compositional unity, on the freer accompaniments of Bach's predecessors and contemporaries. The opening phrase of Vater unser (BWV 636), quoted as Example 66 without "filling" parts, reveals the presence of the new theme on every beat (compare the A major prelude, BWV 536, bars 16-27, probably composed in the same period). Those few preludes which have accompanimental ideas derived from the chorale melody may at first sight appear to be more traditional (BWV 613, 632, 635, 641) but the thoroughness of the working out is wholly Bachian. In Dies sind den heil'gen zehn Gebot (BWV 635) a diminution of the first chorale phrase pervades the whole accompaniment. Example 67 shows the combination of the melody with this diminution of itself, the contrapuntal and, later in the piece, harmonic ingenuity of which has no parallel in the music of other baroque organists.

Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag (BWV 629) invites a direct comparison with Walther's setting. The key is the same and the material similar but Bach is not only able to sustain the rhythmic and melodic invention but also introduces the melody in canon. Example 68 is the opening of both pieces. This is one of the nine Orgelbüchlein pieces to treat the chorale melody in canon. Some of these may have been inspired by the text: however, far more striking is the inability of even the most abstruse contrapuntal device to inhibit the musical flow. The words of In Dulci Jubilo (BWV 608) - trahe me post te (pull me after you) - could have prompted its treatment - both melody and accompaniment are canonic -

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but there is nothing contrived about the feeling of joy the music radiates.

Similarly exultant is *In dir ist Freude* (BWV 615), in which ostinato technique, relatively subtle in BWV 635, 636 and elsewhere, is unashamedly blatant but bonds tightly together an otherwise remarkably free (in this context) chorale setting. Though there are others like this, the treatment of *O Mensch* (BWV 622) as well as its unique beauty makes it stand out from the remainder of the Orgelbüchlein collection. Here the melody is coloured with luxuriant filigree although the accompaniment is thematically uneventful. The climax is harmonic, a poignant adagissimo cadence made double effective and affecting by the preceding bar, in which melodic decoration is eschewed to be replaced by a harmonic intensification that only the very greatest of musicians would devise (Example 69).

Though the contents date from the Weimar years it was not until the end of the Köthen period (1717-23) that the title page of the Orgelbüchlein and, presumably, Bach's grandiose scheme of 164 short organ chorales were drawn up. This plan was never fulfilled, only 45 settings having been composed. It has been suggested that the collection of large chorale settings familiar as "the Eighteen" is also incomplete, as well as being misnamed. The final piece, *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich allhier* (BWV 668), is separated from the others in the mostly autograph source by the variations on *Vom Himmel hoch* (BWV 769), though its general style and origins suggest that it is not out of place as usually published. On the other hand, the editor of these late chorales for the Neue Bach Ausgabe, in considering the "Seventeen", observes that the first and last of these contain invocations of the Holy Spirit (BWV 651 and 667, *Komm, heiliger Geist, Herr Gott* and *Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist*) and in this version, though not originally, are headed organo pleno, as superscription also borne by the "central" eleventh setting (BWV 661, *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*), while one work formally so designated (*Jesus Christus, unser Heiland* (BWV 665))
now appears *sub communionem* instead. It is therefore possible that Bach planned a collection of twenty one organ chorales of which four were not composed due to his declining health and death.

All these settings were composed at Weimar and revised in the late 1740's. The revisions sometimes dramatically expanded the original (BWV 651 is more than double the length of 651a), on other occasions they are restricted almost exclusively to details of rhythm and ornamentation (BWV 652 and 653) and in one case purely concern notation (BWV 661) but since none of these changes affect the basic principles and nature of the music it would seem appropriate to consider this collection before *Clavierubung* III, the composition of the contents of which is assumed to have shortly preceded their publication in 1739, before the compilation of the 'Eighteen', but twenty years after their conception.

The Leipzig organ chorales, both revisions and new compositions, exhibit a bewildering variety of techniques - this may have been the underlying principle of the collections. It is thus to be expected that different writers on the "Eighteen" classify its contents in different ways, some choosing to stress the manner in which the themes are presented (plain/ornamented cantus firmus, four-foot pedal solo etc.) while others place more emphasis on texture (movements of a trio sonata type, fugues etc.). However, the major factor that allowed Bach so stunningly to expand the organ chorale, without in any way diluting the motivic unity he had developed in the *Orgelbüchlein* settings, was the application of ritornello form, which had also transformed his free preludial writing, to the established procedures, thus giving them a new impetus.

The clearest examples of this are two of the *organum pleno* settings which present the chorale as a pedal cantus firmus in strong rhythmic and spatial contrast to animated manual figuration, *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herr Gott* and *Num Komm, der Heiden Heiland* (BWV 651 and 661). In both cases the writing for the hand is fugal with a subject freely derived from the first
phrase of the chorale (Example 70). The lack of formal cadences and the slightly unorthodox harmonic and tonal patterns the bass melody sometimes imposes can camouflage the ritornello scheme but the striking character of the thematic material leaves no doubt as to the function of the various repeated episodes. BWV 661 is the less ambiguously structured of the two. The opening ritornello is a three voiced fugal exposition with a regular countersubject, the pedals entering where one might have expected a fourth entry to occur. Each of the four phrases of the chorale is accompanied by motives from the exposition - both direct and inverted forms of the initial phrase are used in this way in every episode. The ritornello statements that separate the pedal entries consist of one or more appearances of the main subject and counter-subject, both of which are used in their inverted forms in the latter half of the movement, and sequential writing similar to that of the exposition. The final appearance of the ritornello material is founded on a pedal point (the last note of the chorale being extended), a common feature of such pieces. In BWV 651 the climax is achieved not so much through the dissonant, appogiatura harmony resulting from this device, as by the enriching of the texture to five and then six parts, coupled with a Buxtehude-like minor inflection to the cadential passage.

Half the 'Eighteen' use some form of ritornello structure, ranging from the clearcut to the rather more complex or fragmentary examples such as the settings of Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr (BWV 662-4), which can be allied to a plain or decorated cantus firmus in treble, tenor or bass parts. Such mastery of form did not come suddenly to Bach. He had experimented with the ritornello technique in organ chorales from his early days, as Wer nur den lieben Gott lässt walten (BWV 691a) shows, though he himself acknowledged the somewhat contrived and poorly integrated nature of this particular piece by removing the interludes from the revised version BWV 691. Rather more successful were the two basso continuo ritornello
movements included in the partitas - the first variations on Sei gegrüßet
and O Gott, du frommer Gott - where the simple texture and unambitious
nature of the material produced perfectly satisfactory music - a comment
that is also true of Nun freut euch (BWV 734). There are also many cantata
movements, both choral and solo, that incorporate a chorale melody with
ritornello technique, such as those later transcribed as the "Schübler"
chorales (BWV 645-650), but the "Eighteen" established this as a viable
organ form.

Of the non-ritornello pieces in this collection, four use the line-
by-line fugal technique traditionally associated with Pachelbel with the
melody presented either as a plain contrast to the animated counterpoint
(Nun danket alle Gott BWV 657) or as a highly ornate foil to a more tranquil
style of accompaniment (Komm, Heiliger Geist BWV 652). The two most
beautiful preludes in the set defy almost all attempts at formal analysis,
however. After initial references to the chorales, the accompaniments of
Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland (BWV 659) and Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele
(BWV 654) evolve freely to provide a fluent, unobtrusive accompaniment to
the exquisitely decorated soprano melody. As in Buxtehude's setting of the
same theme, Bach concludes BWV 659 with a soaring cadenza above a pedal
point. Schmücke dich is more restrained but its poignant serenity evoked
the admiration of both Mendelssohn and Schumann, the latter stating it to
be "as priceless, deep and full of soul as any piece of music that ever
sprang from a true artist".

1739 was a busy year for the citizens of Leipzig, two major Reformation
Festivals, with their attendant civic and ecclesiastical pomp, being held.
As a contribution to these events, Bach published the third volume in the
Clavierübung series "containing various preludes on catechism hymns and
others, for the organ." The collection seems to have been designed to
display his complete mastery of the traditional forms of German organ music -
as revitalised by their fusion with various stylistic features of Italian and French music. The great Prelude and Fugue in E♭ major (BWV 552) that open and close the set have previously been discussed (p. 40): here we are concerned with the "various preludes".

In *Clavierübung III* Bach made organ settings of the chorales most closely associated with Lutheran services and dogma. First he set the two chorales of the *Missa* (mass) – *Kyrie, Christe, Kyrie* and *Allein Gott ...* (Gloria) – then came the various elements of the catechism – Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer, Baptism, Penitence and Communion. Each melody (except *Allein Gott*, which as a hymn dealing with the Trinity, has three settings) is set twice, on large and small scales – and thus the composer presents two complete chorale cycles, a musical equivalent to Luther's greater and smaller catechisms.

In striking contrast to the imposing large structures Bach built from the same material, the shorter settings are all concise fughettas (the *Orgelbüchlein* style now being regarded as old-fashioned and/or naive), an old form used by many composers (e.g. J. C. F. Fischer's *Blumenstrausse* of 1732 and G. Muffat's *72 Versetl* of 1726) including Bach himself in a group of pieces (BWV 696–9, 701–704) to be found among the so-called Kirnberger collection. As might be expected these short movements exhibit many different styles and techniques. Some of them are unexpectedly effective as harpsichord music, in particular *Dies sind den Heil'gen zehn Gebot* (BWV 679) and *Wir glauben all'an einen Gott* (BWV 681), with its jerky rhythms and dramatic rests, features borrowed from the French overture. These two pieces use only part of the chorale melody. BWV 635, 683, and 687 (*Allein Gott, Vater Unser* and *Aus tiefer Not*) present their themes complete but in contrasting styles – cantus fermus in the middle of a three part texture, cantus fermus as a continuous melody above a texture of flowing semiquaver motives and cantus fermus in augmentation, the entries preceded by *vorimitation* in which the fugal themes are answered by inversion.
It is typical of the concentrated nature of these pieces that the third "Allein Gott" (BWV 677) should encapsulate so many features of the set - fluent and inevitable harmonic progressions, euphonious and ingenious counterpoint, imaginatively derived themes - in a mere twenty bars. Bars 1-7 develop a theme paraphrasing the chorale's opening line, bars 8-15 are based on a paraphrase of the second line and the concluding bars, with consummate logic, combine the two (Examples 71, 72). Seekers for musical symbolism may see all kinds of references to the Trinity in Clavierübung III, but it is difficult to accept that, in this piece at least, Bach had any intention other than to display his virtuosic compositional technique.

The longer settings contain many similar tours de force, not the least of which is, structurally, the most antiquated of the set, Aus Tiefer Not (BWV 686). This is one of very few organ works written throughout in six contrapuntal parts and, indeed, the only such piece by Bach, if one accepts the current view that the six-part ricercare from the Musical Offering belongs to the harpsichord. The modal melody is admirably suited to the strict "chorale motet" treatment, of which it is a ne plus ultra, and while its nature and the complex texture may result in the use of conventional harmonic and polyphonic language, there can be no denying the immense grandeur of the conception. Once again, one feels that Bach's aims were largely technical and musical, rather than symbolical, as this piece makes unusual demands on the interpreter - six parts, including two for the pedals, the right foot being assigned the cantus firmus and the left having to cope with a bass line that makes no concessions to the relatively limited means available for its execution - and generates a climax out of keeping with the general sentiment of the hymn text by the syncopation of the theme in the final vorimitation and the generally more animated nature of the counterpoint. Example 73 contrasts the opening entries with the passage that immediately precedes the final entry of the cantus firmus.
Superficially, the structure of the three Kyrie preludes (BWV 669-671) resembles that of Aus tiefer Not: the cantus firmus is presented in long notes (in treble, tenor and bass voices, recreating the textures and moods of Frescobaldi, Scheidt and de Grigny) and its entries are preceded and separated by fugal interludes. The difference is that these interludes are consistent developments of the opening theme, itself derived from the chorale, and thus the entries and answers which subtly emerge from the almost constant accompanimental texture assume the character of a ritornello, as noted in several of the 'Eighteen'. The most complex of this trio is BWV 671, where a five-part texture is used to produce noble yet animated counterpoint similar to that which concludes BWV 686. The principal theme is consistently used in stretto with its inversion (Example 74) but in contrast to this complicated polyphony, the climax is harmonic, the final chorale phrase being accompanied by a dramatic chromatic passage, made even more arresting by its eschewal of the quavers that dominate the texture of the preceding bars.

The remaining six greater catechism preludes furnish further examples of the extremely flexible way in which Bach was able to treat both chorale melodies and the ritornello idea. In many cantata movements he accompanies a chorale with a completely independent counter melody: original organ compositions of this kind were rare, perhaps an indication of Bach's desire to keep within the seventeenth century traditions of the organ chorale, though there are examples in Clavierübung III. Jesus Christus, unser Heiland (BWV 688) surrounds the pedal melody (8' pitch) with a lively, wide ranging two part invention (two manuals) written in almost completely invertible counterpoint. The principal theme is used both as a counter-subject to the chorale and to provide ritornello interludes between its various phrases, a procedure similar to that applied in BWV 678, Dies'sind die heil'gen sehn Gebot, though here the accompaniment (two imitative voices with 'continuo' bass - the cantus firmus is a canon between two tenor voices) is a continuous
expansion and development of the several motives announced in the opening ritornello, the subsequent appearances of which are thus less clear cut than in many examples. In fact, its cadential bars re-appear before two of the cantus fermus entries and thus, though the ritornello principle is apparent here, the work may be seen as an example of its extreme flexibility.

The baptism chorale, *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* (BWV 684) uses its ritornello material in the same way. Perhaps as a gesture towards a more ready comprehension of its taut, chromatic idiom Bach's elaboration of his material is less florid in the long setting of the Lord's Prayer (BWV 682). In this beautiful, though rarely played, movement the opening ritornello (bars 1-12) is in three sections:

- **A** - fugal exposition (two voices above an independent bass) of a decorated version of the first chorale phrase
- **B** - sequence, using motives from the counter-subject
- **C** - cadential passage, introducing a triplet motive.

The cantus fermus is presented in canon at the octave, soprano and tenor parts continually exchanging *dux* and *comes* roles. The accompaniment to these episodes is freely derived from fragments of the highly varied ritornello material, and they are separated by sections of the opening paragraph in the order A-B-C-A-B-B+C, this final section containing considerable climactic elaboration. The overall structure is thus complex though balanced and logical, typical of Bach's later music.

*Allein Gott in der Höh sei Ehr* (BWV 676) is in many ways one of the most disappointing settings in *Clavierübung III*. The texture is that of a trio sonata and while the line by line presentation of the chorale, with little decoration other than cadential trills, has in itself a certain logic, the episodes are too diverse and insufficiently well integrated into the whole for an effective structure to emerge. The earlier version
of this piece, BWV 676a. despite its relative brevity and unambitious form is the more convincing music.

In contrast to this Gloria, the Credo (Wir glauben all' an einen Gott, BWV 680) is both concise and exhilarating. The manual writing is a fugal development of the chorale opening but the pedals have an independent melody, bold and assertive in character, ideally suited to eighteenth century pedal boards and pedal technique in its shape (Example 70) which enters to emphasise the main tonal areas, d - a - F - C - g - d, a pattern to delight the writers of text books. It thus serves the function of a ritornello though whether it can be described as such is a moot point. Its final appearance accompanies the entry of the last phrase of the chorale in the tenor voice: unique among the longer Clavierübung preludes, the melody is not presented in its entirety.

The extended organ chorales of both the 'Eighteen' and Clavierübung collections, by their brilliant adaptation of the concerto idea, brought to the traditional organ chorale a new formal strength. A comparison of a "Pachelbel style" fugal setting with a ritornello chorale reveals that the former has a certain unity of style and texture and, of course, the cantus fermus which is itself a unity. To these factors Bach added motivic unity and thus his interludes rather than being merely preparatory pre-echoes of the main musical substance became comparable in stature to that substance and thus present it within a stronger framework. Schweitzer's criticism of these works as being "formless" cannot be supported: his observation that they are less poetically illustrative that the Orgelbüchlein settings is perhaps valid, although it seems increasingly that Bach's aims were not graphic, metaphoric or symbolic but musical.

Just as a chorale partita was among Bach's earliest organ works, so there was an example of the genre among his final compositions. "A few canonic variations on the Christmas song "From heaven above ..." (Vom Himmel hoch da komm' ich her BWV 769) has a fundamentally didactic and
scientific nature which places the set in a category with the 'Art of Fugue' and the 'Musical Offering'. Earlier works (BWV 700, see p. 47 and 701) may have suggested the theme's possibilities - the complex central bars (12-16) of the fughetta (701) present a complex polyphonic web in which various diminutions of all four lines of the chorale appear in combination with each other and the inversion of the original counter-subject. In the canonic partita only one movement offers the chorale itself in canon. The other four surround a plain cantus fermus with canonic accompaniments at various intervals - octave, fifth, seventh and augmented at the octave. The second and third of these derive the accompanimental figuration from the chorale opening and the third and fourth add an independent, florid counter-melody. The remaining movement is the longest and is either the central pillar (if the autograph's sequence of movements is followed) or final climax (printed sequence, 1747) of the set. The chorale is presented four times, in inverted canon at the sixth, third, second and ninth, intervals not used elsewhere in the work, and the arrangement is such that the last section has the theme in the uppermost voice and correctly placed within the octave. There can be no dogmatic statement as to which order of movements is correct. The autograph gives an overall symmetry to the work:

\[ \text{I - II} \quad \text{III} \quad \text{IV - V} \]

Two variations in which the chorale is accompanied by two canonic parts.

Two sections \(a_3\) and \(a_4\), cantus fermus subject to canonic imitation by inversion.

Two variations in which the chorale is accompanied by two canonic parts and a 'free' voice.

The third movement thus reflects its predecessors and anticipates its successors. This same movement, however, also summarises the remainder of the work and has a conclusion of quite stunningly imaginative ingenuity that is so overwhelming in effect that it must always conclude a performance, thus giving equal validity to the printed order. Above a tonic pedal all four phrases of the chorale are presented in stretto and Bach "signs" the
work with the final notes of the alto voice. (Example 76). Indeed, this chorale is 'fully worked out', as the original title said.

Quantz's fears (p.26) were realised and the arts of organ playing, building and composition did fall into decay as the eighteenth century progressed—even the otherwise prolific Telemann wrote nothing of substance for the keyboard. Those few musicians who were prepared to accord any stature to Bach's music after about 1740—men such as Walther, Agricola, Kirnberger, Marpurg and C.P.E. Bach, were concerned more with proclaiming the genius of their hero rather than exploring the compositional avenues he had opened up. Among Bach's pupils the music of Johann Ludwig Krebs is worthy of attention though his preludes and fugues lack the strength and impact of his mentor's and his organ chorales—often of a Schübler type—too often degenerate into a sentimental chromatic idiom that may have been fashionable in his age but evokes little sympathy in ours. Thus Bach brought to a conclusion an era of German organ music rich in outstanding works by drawing freely on and developing a wide range of formal and stylistic ideas to produce music of great harmonic and melodic beauty, formal coherence and contrapuntal skill. Commonly and rightly, he is revered as the "culmination of an era" (Geiringer).
61 Bach Christ lag in Todesbanden, BWV 718

62 Bach Vom Himmel hoch, BWV 700

63 ibid.

64 Bach o Gott, du frommer Gott, BWV 767
65  Bach  Allein Gott in der Hôh' sei Ehr', BWV 715

66  Bach  Vater unser im Himmelreich, BWV 636

67  Bach  Dies sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot', BWV 635

68  Bach  Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag, BWV 629

Walther  Erschienen ist der herrliche Tag
69 Bach  O Mensch, bewein' dein' Sünde gross. BWV 622
adagissimo

70 Bach  Komm, heiliger Geist, Herr Gott. BWV 651

Bach  Nun Komm' der Heiden Heiland

71 a Bach  Allein Gott in der Höh' sei Ehr'. BWV 647

71 b ibid.

72 ibid.
Bach
Aus tiefer Not schrei' ich zu dir, BWV 686

\[ \text{Musical notation here} \]
74 Bach Kyrie, Gott heiliger Geist, BWV 671

75 Bach Wir glauben all an einen Gott, Schöpfer, BWV 680

76 Bach Vom Himmel hoch, BWV 769

"filling parts omitted"
Some Aspects of Baroque Organs

It remains to give brief consideration to the types of organ on which the repertoire discussed in the foregoing chapters would have been played. It is rarely possible to associate particular composers with specific, extant unaltered instruments. However, sufficient evidence has survived the ravages of war and the doubtless well-intentioned ministrations of organists and organ builders more concerned with reflecting the taste of their own eras than with preserving the characteristics of the past to enable us to have a fair idea of the type of sound a seventeenth or eighteenth century organist-composer had in mind for his music.

In the period of the Gabrieli's and Frescobaldi Italian organs were used to support choral singing and provide interludes in alternatim mass settings. These modest demands resulted in organs of a modest and standard disposition - one manual, no independent pedals - and gentle, singing tone. (Wind pressure was low and pipe scales narrow). Reed tone was conspicuous by its absence, a typical stop list being that of San Giuseppe, Brescia (1581). The builder was Graziadio Antegnati, a member of a family associated with many aspects of organ music.

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<td>⁴⁄₃</td>
<td>Fiffaro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen from this that the organists had at their disposal a chorus of separate drawing ripieno ranks and a contrasting chorus of flute stops. The mistuned Fiffaro was meant to be drawn with the Principale to produce an undulating effect, perfect for the sustained, chromatic writing of many "elevation" toccatas. A surprising, to the modern player, omission from the main chorus appears to be a twelfth (2⁴⁄₃) sounding rank though this is partly explained by the breaking back of the higher sounding ranks (no pipe was shorter than 1¹⁄₂", an indication of the builder's emphasis on melodic tone, not brilliance) which thus provide this important component.
of a full chorus in, at least, the treble half of the keyboard. According to another member of the Antegnati family writing in 1608 (L'arte organica), the full ripieno was only used in basically chordal music, with perhaps either the treble or bass playing florid runs (Intonations, for example). The flute stops were intended for use in solo canzonas ("8' + Flauto 2'\)) and in other animated music, for which there were many other possible registrations, which might be summarised by saying that "the more involved the music, the fewer the stops."

Though ideal for its purpose the classical Italian organ could not have begun to cope with the flamboyant North German repertoire of the Tunder/Buxtehude period. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century a tradition of large organs was well established in Northern Europe, having evolved through the work of Dutch as well as German builders. They constructed their instruments on the werkprinzip system in which each division of the organ was cased separately, though within an overall visual unity, and in such a way that all departments spoke with equal force and clarity into the main body of the church. This tone projection was aided by the positioning of the organs in galleries against the rear wall of the churches so that the building itself focussed the sound. The main manual division was called the Hauptwerk and the other departments were named from the position of their pipes within the main case — Oberwerk ("upper", above the hauptwerk), Brustwerk (immediately above the player's head, in the "breast" of the organ), Rückpositiv (cased separately at the front edge of the gallery). The Pedal organ was usually divided between two towers to either side of the main case. In addition to the spatial contrast between the manuals there was also a contrast in the pitch of the main choruses. Normally the pedal was based on a 16' principal, the hauptwerk was at 8', the second manual (rückpositiv or oberwerk) at 4' and the third manual at 2', the lower stops in the chorus being of flute-like
tone. A really large organ would have a pedal of 32' pitch, with the manual divisions correspondingly lower. As well as choruses of principal and flute stops each division was usually provided with one or two reed stops. These were particularly important for 'soloing' a cantus firmus and were thus a vital constituent of pedal departments, where reed tone up to 2' pitch was by no means rare.

Böhm, Tunder, Scheidemann, Reinken, Buxtehude and Lübeck all presided at instruments of this kind. The last named had at his disposal in the Nikolaikirche, Hamburg one of the largest organs of the finest builder of the period and area, Arp Schnitger. This enormous instrument of 67 speaking stops (manual divisions of 14, 13, 10 and 14 and a pedal organ of 16 stops) was Schnitger's first four manual instrument (built 1682-7, destroyed 1842). Every division provided contrasting choruses and a great range of solo sounds, not least the pedal department which possessed two mixtures and seven reed stops (from 32' to 2').

An important aspect of Schnitger's work was his re-building of older organs. Contemporary with the large instrument described above was the modest organ at Steinkirchen. This was a complete re-construction and enlargement of a sixteenth century instrument. It was sympathetically restored by Beckerath of Hamburg and its forthright timbre has become well-known through the BBC recordings of Geraint Jones and several gramophone records.

There are many contemporary hints on registration for organs of this kind (e.g. Lüneburg Tablatures 1630-70). Organ chorales, particularly the extended fantasias, gave plenty of scope for the use of colourful solo registrations while the sectional nature of the toccatas suggests that chorus contrasts between manuals were used here. Important aspects of registration that many modern players find it hard to appreciate concern the number of stops drawn at any one time: firstly, any combination of stops would be balanced by the same number of stops on another manual; secondly
the wind supply could rarely support more than four stops per division; thirdly, principal and flute choruses were designed for independent use, and, certainly, the use of more than one stop per pitch was considered unnecessary and unpleasant; finally, it was impossible for a player to change registration while playing.

It is easy to understand the tremendous enthusiasm for these fine Northern instruments felt by the young J. S. Bach and his early works, inspired by the Northern masters, would have sounded particularly effective on the Mühlhausen organ, a remarkably comprehensive three manual organ of 37 stops, which provided many characteristic Schnitger sounds. In contrast, the organ of Weimar Castle Chapel, with which we should associate most of Bach's organ works, had only two manuals and a less than complete chorus (no mixtures) on the pedals. A manual to pedal coupler, not always present on large Northern organs, compensated for this deficiency. The great variety of eight foot tone colours, a typical feature of Central and South German organs, should be noted and Bach's only indication for registration in the Orgelbüchlein suggests that he found a simple contrast of colour effective (Gottes Sohn ist kommen, BWV 600, Manual 8' principal, Pedal 8' trumpet). Such a scheme also 'brings out' the canon and cautions against the use of the conventional 16' pedal tone. (The registrations for the Schübler chorales are similarly plain, giving only the pitch levels of each of the three parts, with no hint of tone colour.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hauptwerk</th>
<th>Positiv</th>
<th>Pedal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Quintaton</td>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>Gros Untersatz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principal</td>
<td>Viola di gamba</td>
<td>Sub-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gemshorn</td>
<td>Gedackt</td>
<td>Violon-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gedackt</td>
<td>Kleingedackt</td>
<td>Principal-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>Octave</td>
<td>Posaune-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quintaton</td>
<td>Waldflöte</td>
<td>Trompeten-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixtur</td>
<td>Sequential</td>
<td>Cornetten-bass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cymbel</td>
<td>Trompete</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glockenspiel</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Bach's organ in the Castle Chapel, Weimar
The most common registration mark in Bach's organ works is the term *organo pleno*. This is an instruction to play on the full principal chorus with the hands and to add a reed stop to the pedal chorus. It was thus particularly suitable for preludial writing in which the pedal was thematically independent of the manuals (BWV 544) and for organ chorales in which the pedals carried the cantus fermus (BWV 651) or another characteristic motive (BWV 680). Fugues were also regarded as loud music in the Baroque, with no crescendo at the end. The organist's main opportunity to use his imagination and display the resources of his instrument was thus in smaller scale music - specifically organ chorales of various kinds.Traditionally, Bach registered the opening of *Ein feste Burg* (BWV 720) as a duo between the *Fagotto* (left hand) and *sesquialtera* (right hand) on the newly rebuilt Mühlhausen instrument, a colourful sound as one might expect from an organist whose art of using the stops astonished his listeners, a remark by C.P.E. Bach that suggests that we can learn little about his father's organ registration from the treatises of his contemporaries.

C.P.E. Bach also recorded that his father always regretted that he never had a really fine organ to play on a regular basis. On the other hand, Bach certainly performed on some of the finest instruments of his time, especially those constructed in the Dresden area by Gottfried Silbermann, whose work, like Bach's, reflected French, German and Italian traditions. While it is impossible to associate any of Bach's organ compositions with specific occasions it could be said that Silbermann's work provides the perfect medium for the interpretation of his later music, such as *Clavierübung III*. At first glance, the pedal departments of his smaller organs which consisted only of 16 and 8 foot tone (e.g. *Reinhardtgrimmer*, Sub-bass 16', Principal 8', Posaune 16') may appear limited, but in fact can express perfectly adequately either a continuo foundation or a loud cantus fermus, all it was likely to be required to do after about 1730.
We may, with the author of Bach's obituary, regret that more of the composer's organ music did not achieve a permanent, written form. Yet on an organ such as that in Freiberg Cathedral or Steinkirchen we can experience his surviving music clothed in sounds that he and his predecessors would have recognised and approved. Thus the remarkable development of German organ music in the period 1600-1750 is not a remote phenomenon of only historical interest but, as distinguished performers make us increasingly aware, a vital, living force within our artistic heritage.

The organ of Freiberg Cathedral, built 1710-14 by Silbermann and surviving unaltered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hauptwerk</th>
<th>Oberwerk</th>
<th>Brustwerk</th>
<th>Pedal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bourdon 16</td>
<td>Quintadena 16</td>
<td>Gedackt 8</td>
<td>Untersatz 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prinzipal 8</td>
<td>Prinzipal 8</td>
<td>Prinzipal 4</td>
<td>Prinzipal 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rohrflöte 8</td>
<td>Gedackt 8</td>
<td>Rohrflöte 4</td>
<td>Oktave 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Viola da Gamba 8</td>
<td>Quintadena 8</td>
<td>Nasat 2\frac{2}{3}</td>
<td>Subbass 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oktave 4</td>
<td>Oktave 4</td>
<td>Oktave 2</td>
<td>Oktave 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quinte 2\frac{2}{3}</td>
<td>Oktave 2</td>
<td>Tierce 1\frac{4}{5}</td>
<td>Oktave 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superoktave 2</td>
<td>Superoktave 2</td>
<td>Quinte 1\frac{3}{4}</td>
<td>Mixtur 6 ranks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tierce 1\frac{2}{3}</td>
<td>Flachflöte 1</td>
<td>Sifflöte 1</td>
<td>Posaune 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixtur 4 ranks</td>
<td>Mixtur 3 ranks</td>
<td>Mixture 3</td>
<td>Trompete 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zimbel 3 ranks</td>
<td>Zimbal 2 ranks</td>
<td>ranks Clarin 4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornet 5 ranks</td>
<td>Cornet 5 ranks</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trompete 8</td>
<td>Krummhorn 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarin 4</td>
<td>Voxhumana 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abbreviations

This list includes abbreviations used in the text and those in the following bibliography.

AFMw Archiv für Musikwissenschaft

BWV Bach Werke Verzeichnis (W. Schmieder)

CEKM Corpus of Early Keyboard Music

DdT Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst

DTB Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern

DTO Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich

ed. Editor

EDM Das Erbe deutscher Musik

HAM Historical Anthology of Music (Davison and Apel)

Mf Die Musikforschung

ML Music and Letters

MMN Monumenta Musica Neerlandica

MMR Monthly Musical Record

MQ Musical Quarterly

MR Music Review

MT Musical Times

ped. Pedals

RMA Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association

VfMw Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft

vol. Volume

ZfMw Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft.
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