North and South European Influences on Buxtehude's Chamber Music:
Despite Influences, a Unique Repertory

by
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The repertory that provides the focus for this investigation consists of Buxtehude's fourteen sonatas from the two prints, opus 1 and opus 2, published in 1694 and 1696 respectively, and the seven manuscript sonatas from the Düben collection. With the exception of a few of the manuscript sonatas the scoring is uniform, i.e., violin, viola da gamba, and harpsichord as basso continuo. The diverging performance forces in the manuscript sonatas entail for three sonatas an additional violin, two sonatas specify organo as continuo instrument, and one sonata uses a unique trio texture of viola da gamba, violone and basso continuo, a scoring I have not encountered elsewhere.

This study will deal with three main topics: 1) the English influence that is mainly noticeable in the sonority and the textural make-up of Buxtehude's compositions, 2) the Italian influence that left its impact on the structural plan of the sonatas and also added a dramatic dimension, and 3) the uniqueness of this repertory. Within this context I shall briefly touch upon the cross fertilization between Buxtehude's organ and chamber music, and finally use the revised sonata in Bb, BuxWV 255, as an exemplification of Buxtehude's transformation of influences into a finely-wrought individual style.

A Baroque trio texture with melody instruments in the soprano and alto registers is quite unusual in the late seventeenth century. Buxtehude creates exactly such a texture in his sonatas scored for violin, viola da gamba and basso continuo, the viola da gamba actually freely moving between alto and bass register. What contributed to the Germans' fascination with viola da gamba scoring at a time when Italy treated the viola da gamba, if at all, as an archaic instrument and employed a trio texture, most commonly with two violins? We can trace the root for this interest to German/English connections during the early part of the seventeenth century when Germany benefited from an influx of English musicians who had left their country, originally because of religious conflicts. Also political and marriage ties between England, Denmark, and Germany accounted for the transmission of cultural influences.1

Among the earliest visiting artists were John Dowland at the court of Hessen/Kassel just before the turn of the century,2 Coperario (John Cooper) and Orlando Gibbons at Heidelberg in 1613 on the occasion of Prince Friedrich V's homecoming with his newly wed wife, the daughter of James I of England.3 Of particular importance were those English composers who settled and acquired fame on the continent. Key figures were William Brade (1560-1630) and Thomas Simpson (1582-c. 1625). They were instrumental in spreading the English tradition of viol-consort playing in Germany. Brade was active as Ratsmusikant (1608-10) and director of Ratsmusik (1613-15) in Hamburg, from 1622-25 he functioned as Hofkapellmeister in Gottorf, the court of Schleswig-Holstein.4 Thomas Simpson started as "violist" at the court in Heidelberg (1608-c. 1611) and later also gained a position at the court of Schleswig-Holstein.5 During the first quarter of the century, Brade and Simpson had published between them seven collections of instrumental music, "insonderheit auff Fiolen <...>," that appeared in Hamburg, some of Brade's music simultaneously in Hamburg and Lübeck. Similar collections by German composers, e.g., Zacharias Füllsack, Christian Hildebrand, and Valentin Haussmann, reached publication during the first decades of the seventeenth century, probably under direct influence and inspiration of their English colleagues. Nikolaus Bleyer, Ratsmusikant and founder of the Lübeck violin school, studied with both Brade and Simpson before assuming his
position in Lübeck. Some of Bleyer's instrumental works, written in the English consort-music style, were included in Simpson's anthologies published in Hamburg in 1617 and 1621. The theologian Johann Rist singles out some performances with viola da gamba: "Ich habe gehört den berühmten Engelländischen Violisten William Brade," and in a different context Rist refers to a "unvergleichliche (= incomparable) Music, .... als einen der auff der Violin und einem anderen der auff der Violen di Gambe herrliche Sachen macheten und grosse Künstler waren." The great artist on the "Violen di Gambe" can most likely be identified as "the famous English violist, William Brade."

The English had instilled the Germans with a taste for the sound of the viola da gamba, initially through the consort-music repertory. But even with changing compositional styles and the introduction of the brighter violin sound – England did not resist the gradual influence from Italy towards the development of concerted textures and a reduction to a trio texture – the bass viol persisted as the lowest instrument in the string family. One of the reasons for England's resistance to change over to a 'da braccio' bass string instrument is expressed by Roger North who represents here the general seventeenth-century English taste:

"<....> base-violins 'cello or violone which Instrument as then used was a very hard and harsh sounded Base, and nothing so soft and sweet as our Base-viol."7

Mid-seventeenth-century England fostered the soloistic aspects of viol playing. Christopher Simpson's treatise on the art of division playing on a ground functions as a didactic work.8 Simpson's method demands a lot of rigor on behalf of the player to develop a virtuoso technique on the viola da gamba. In English literature we find an abundance of examples in which composers explore the technically very demanding possibilities of the bass viol. Major exponents of such works with titles "sonatas," "fantasias," and "fantasia-suites," scored either for violin, bass viol, and basso continuo or for two viols and continuo, are John Jenkins, Matthew Locke, Christopher Simpson, Henry Butler, and William Lawes.

Two manuscript collections are worth mentioning in this connection: four manuscripts in the Durham Cathedral Library and two manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Music School. The repertory in Durham contains English and German compositions from around the middle of the century, all "modern" works with a concerted texture for violin, viola da gamba, and continuo.9 Composers included are: Jenkins, Butler, Young, and Abel, also Schmelzer, Becker, Nicolai, and Steffkin. The manuscripts from the Bodleian Library are particularly intriguing with regard to the transmission and thus to the cross influence of English/German chamber music in the seventeenth century.10 The same scribe who in the manuscript D.249 attributed the sonata in D for viola da gamba and bc (BuxWV 268) to Buxtehude, a work whose authenticity has been, however, questioned on stylistic grounds, copied two out of four Fantasia con le partit a into D.253, compositions for two bass viols by Peter Grecke. In 1672 Peter Grecke applied for a position as Ratsmusikant in Lübeck and advertised himself as being able to play "auf dem Clavier, violedgambe, Bassviolone, und violone, und die heute zu tage allenthalben mehrest beliebeten instrumenten<....>" He proudly announced that he perfected his art in "Teutschlandt, England und Hollandt, bey vortrefflichen und Excellirenden berühmten Musicanten."11 This is just one specific example that documents the cross currents between England and Germany.

Even a proud Frenchman, Jean Rousseau, acknowledged in his "Traité de la Viole" (1687) the primacy of the English in the area of viol playing:

The viol has passed from the Italians to the English who were the first to compose and to play "pièces d'harmonies" on the viole, and who carried their knowledge into other countries, Vvalderan (distortion of Walter Rowe) to the court of
Saxony, Boulder (Henry Butler) to the Spanish court, Young (William) to Inspruk, Price (John) to Vienna, and various others to different locations, thus the viole has passed from the English to the Germans and the Spanish; and we can say that we (the French) are the last to have started playing it, but it is also the French to whom the playing of the viole owes its perfection <...>.12

Buxtehude's sonatas owe their scoring with violin and viola da gamba and the special texture created by that combination of instruments to a longstanding English tradition of viol playing that also asked for players with highly virtuosic skills. Example 1 compares three excerpts: 1a) from a sonata by Buxtehude, 1b) from a Fantasia by Jenkins, and 1c) from a sonata by Marini. Although the textures of these pieces seem to be similar, there are crucial distinguishing features concerning the bass string instrument: the viola da gamba in Buxtehude and Jenkins functions as a voice with a large registral span, enabling it to play a double-function as independent alto voice and as division bass. The violone in Marini's piece (and that is generally true for string bass parts in Italian music) confines itself to an elaboration of the basso continuo. The comparison between these three pieces does, however, not only point up the discrepancy between German/English and Italian music, but exposes the common feature of a trio texture that has its roots in early seventeenth-century Italian music. With regard to Buxtehude's and Jenkins's music we can therefore speak about a 'Verschmelzung' of national styles.

From the early seventeenth century on, Italians wrote for a trio texture with two melody instruments of equal register, most commonly violins, and a basso continuo. An early example we already encounter in Monteverdi's ritornelli from the "Scherzi musicali" (1607). The earliest compositions that bear the title "sonata" and use the texture with two melody instruments of equal register are by Salomone Rossi (prints from 1610 and 1613) and by Tarquino Merula (print from 1624).13 Buxtehude's adoption of the trio texture, although with a different sonority, lent a flexibility to the individual melody instruments that encouraged virtuosity within this concertato style, a flexibility impossible in compositions for a larger ensemble.

The chief musical feature that originated with Italian instrumental music and infiltrated German-speaking countries was structural. The Italians were the first to use the term "sonata" and to develop a balanced formal layout for this instrumental genre. The concepts of sonata da chiesa and sonata da camera gave formal direction to the German sonata repertory in the second half of the seventeenth century, although the distinction between the two was seldom acknowledged in the titles of German scores. Elements from the Sonata concertata by Dario Castello, with its solo episodes framed by ensemble sections, together with elements from the multi-sectional sonatas by Marini and Neri, with their frequent tempo and textural changes served as structural guides for the development of sonata types as they occur in the sonatas by Buxtehude and his German contemporaries. Buxtehude's sonatas, except for the "Sonata in B con le Suite" (BuxWV 273), all fall into the category of the sonata da chiesa type, although an occasional dance movement might be appended or inserted.

The Italian multi-sectional sonata developed parallel to the Venetian opera sinfonia.14 In the purely instrumental introductions to the operas, it was dramatic content expressed through a variety of affects that led to the evolution of a structure consisting of sections with fast changes of mood. Example 2 demonstrates the multi-structural layout together with the exploitation of contrasting sections: 2a) a Venetian opera sinfonia, 2b) a sonata by Legrenzi, and 2c) a sonata by Buxtehude. A pathetic Adagio opening with various fermatas creating tension, is usually followed by an animated imitative or fugal Allegro section whose motion might be interrupted again by a sudden Adagio insertion. It is this play with contrasts, at times introduced in a rather sudden manner, that takes its inspiration directly from a programmatic and operatic context. Among the Venetian composers who favor this
multi-structural layout in their instrumental music, we find, not by chance, a number of important opera composers, particularly Legrenzi, the two Zianis, and Marini (his emphasis was stronger, however, in the area of instrumental music). Buxtehude adopts this compositional principle but strikingly elaborates upon it. His sonatas are longer than any, for example, by Legrenzi. His imitative sections are often spun-out into lengthy fugal sections with even multi-sectional subjects.

How was the Italian influence transmitted to the German composers? Transmission proceeded in three ways: 1) through German musicians travelling to Italy for the sake of study, 2) through Italian composers finding employment at various courts in Germany, and 3) through Vienna with the Imperial court as important center for connections between north and south. I will briefly elaborate here on just the first point.15

Among the German musicians who visited or studied in Italy and who are contributors to the repertory of instrumental music are Förster, Strungk, Rosenmüller, and J.Ph. Krieger. Mattheson mentions two sejours of Förster's to Italy.16 It is quite possible that he transmitted Italian compositional ideas and brought back with him music that attained performance in the Hamburg Collegium musicum, a group that, according to Mattheson's " Ehrenpforte," played an international repertory from Venice, Rome, Vienna, Munich, Dresden, etc.17 Alexander Silbiger recently wrote about a manuscript collection of vocal music, Lüneburg KN 206, that is in Weckmann's hand and exactly representative of such an international repertory mentioned by Mattheson.18

I will confine my biographical evidence to just one more composer, Rosenmüller, who spent a major part of his creative life in Venice (1658-82).19 His two collections of sonatas were written in Venice, the first one of sonata da camera published there in 1667, the later one, scored for 2 to 5 string instruments, was published in Nürnberg in 1682, with a preface by the composer still signed in Venice. (Two prior prints with instrumental dances were published in Leipzig.20) Each of the sonata da camera opens with a sinfonia followed by a series of dance movements. In these sinfonie and in the 1682 sonatas in which Rosenmüller abandons the dances and expands the sonata structure, we see the Italien influence with a connection to Legrenzli's instrumental music and to the Venetian opera sinfonia. It is through structural principles rather than through concepts of texture and sonority that they transmit Italian tastes. Rosenmüller returned to Germany, to the court of Wolfenbüttel, in 1682. It might not be a coincidence that the major German sonata prints bearing resemblance with Rosenmüller's 1682 publication, followed it chronologically: Krieger (op. 1, 1688; op. 2, 1693), Reinken ("Hortus Musicus," 1689), Buxtehude (op. 1, 1694; op. 2 1696).

Contributing to the uniqueness of Buxtehude's sonatas are, in fact, some of the traits they share with the free organ pedaliter works. Both features discussed above, the multi-sectional structure and the special registral layout of the trio texture are present in the organ works as well. A remarkable correspondence to the trio sonatas, as Christoph Wolff discussed in the Festschrift for Michael Schneider, consists in the organ works' heterogeneous texture which comprises two components: the solo functioning as a basso continuo, and the motivically complementary upper voices, a duet or a trio. Concerning texture and structure, a reciprocal influence between the two instrumental genres has to be acknowledged.21

Closely connected with the concept of the multi-sectional structure is the concept of stylus phantasticus, a style originally associated with keyboard compositions. The following excursus deals with the term as defined by 17th and 18th century theorists and with its meaning to Buxtehude's free organ works and his sonatas.22

Mattheson's description of style phantasticus falls under the topic of the "theatrical style," making the linkage to drama, i.e., dramatic expansion through a chaining together of diverse sections, the more obvious. He refers to this style as having its place "auf der Schaumbühne" and "indem ihn nichts hindert, auch in der Kirche und in
den Zimmern sich hören lassen." An thanasius Kircher is the first theorist to talk about 'stylus phantasticus' in his "Musurgia Universalis" from 1650. He associates the style with the fantasia, but mentions it also in connection with ricercare, toccate, and sonatas. He defines it thus:

"Phantasticus stylus aptus instrumentis est liberrima et (most uninhibited) solutissima componendi methodus."

This definition coincides with Johann Gottfried Walther's from his "Musikalisches Lexicon" (1732):

"Stilo fantastico gehört vor Instrumente, und ist gar eine freye von allem Zwanck ausgenommene Art zu komponieren."

Although Kircher had connected this style with the fantasia, he identifies it with a method of composition rather than with a genre. Mattheson sees an affinity between the stylus phantasticus and "Fantasie, Capricie, Toccate, Ricercare" and describes, again, the method:

For this style is the freest and least restricted which one can devise for composing, singing, and playing, since one sometimes uses one idea and sometimes another, since one is restricted by neither words nor melody, but only by harmony, so that the singer's or player's skill can be revealed, since all sorts of otherwise unusual passages, obscure ornaments (versteckte Zierrathen), ingenious turns and embellishments (Drehungen und Verbräumungen) are produced, without close observation of the beat and the pitch <...> without a regular principal motif and melody (Haupt-Satz und Unterwurff), without theme and subject <...>"

An example of the latter you see in example 3, a sonata section with recitativo character, freely declamatory, even indicated as being played "con discrezione." The invention of such rhetorical-melismatic passages Mattheson attributes, rightly so, to the Italians and calls "ex tempore, a mente non a penn." After having exposed the stylus phantasticus as a free and improvisatory (a mente) style, Mattheson starts adding restrictions:

The themes (Hauptsätze) and ostinati (Unterwürf) cannot be completely ignored just because of the improvisatory nature; they may however not be done in sequence, much less be regularly performed. Hence those composers who work out formal fugues in their fantasias of toccatas do not maintain the integrity of this style, for nothing is so very contrary to it as order and constraint.

The implication is that strict fugues have no place, but that fugal procedure is not excluded. While the earlier paragraph referred to stylus phantasticus as a style, the latter broadens the discussion to the stylus phantasticus as genre. It implies that the "fantastic" style becomes part of an extended composition, divided into various sections which must not be structured too strictly. Mattheson's thoughts with regard to toccata prove illuminating:

The so-called improvisation thus consists of various things, which we must briefly explain. Intonazioni, Arpeggi, Senza e con battuta, Arioso, Adagio, Passaggi, Fughe, Fantasie, Capricci, etc. are the most important, which can be included under the general name toccatas, which usually means playing, and which may use or not use the above categories, as seems fitting.

With this definition it becomes clear that toccata and stylus phantasticus are con-
gruent, both referring to a compositional procedure and style, in which improvisatory passages as well as more fixed structures may occur, no strict fugues but fugal writing. About the Ciacona Mattheson says:

Ciacona are also often intertwined with toccatas and were highly esteemed in the past, though gradually they began to lose this esteem because the ostinato subject is repeated much too often, which despite all variation tends nevertheless to annoy (verdrießen) and cause aversion (Eckel), especially to spoiled modern ears.\textsuperscript{30}

Buxtehude's methods for overplaying annoyance and disgust of boredom in the ostinato sections include improvisation, variation, and strict counterpoint, even inversion and double counterpoint. Similar flexibility is used in his fugal writing. Fugues are interspersed with episodes, which can include "Zierrathen und Drehungen" (ornaments and twists). They usually splinter off into an improvisatory "Fortspinnung" or, at times, break off unexpectedly. Buxtehude's method of stringing these sections together into toccata (praeludio) or sonata corresponds to Mattheson's remarks: "The stricter forms must not hang too well together and should not be developed carefully."

The stylus phantasticus becomes an embodiment of toccata style rather than only a part of it, emancipating itself from the norms of tempo and meter, tonality, and also from 'Fugati'. Concerning tonality in the stylus phantasticus I quote Mattheson once more:

Why should a toccata have certain keys in which they must conclude? Can they not cease in whatever key they want? Do they not often have to be led from one key into a second entirely opposed and strange key? This circumstance is observed little and yet it certainly belongs among the characteristics of the fantastic style.\textsuperscript{31}

Being set in a context of "Hauptsätze, Unterwürfle," and "nicht förmlich durchgearbeitete Fugen," the stylus phantasticus represents not just a free and improvisatory style – which would be tiring in a composition as long as 200 measures – but delights, at times through wit, and most frequently by diverting the listener's expectations. The dialectic relation of strict structure and quasi improvisatory style connects the overall formal procedure of the organ compositions as well as the sonatas.

Buxtehude's calculated interest in the stylus phantasticus can be exemplified in the light of the revisions of the manuscript sonata in Bb with suite (BuxWV 273), which, in revised form, he then included in the first sonata print, 1694 (BuxWV 253). In discussing the revisions I shall extract three central issues:

1) the abandonment of the suite
2) some melodic and rhythmic changes in the outer sections
3) the new middle section

Originally the sonata consisted of a sonata da chiesa and a suite with Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Gigue and thus followed a standardized overall-pattern adopted by various German composers, e.g., Reinken in his "Hortus Musicus" and Rosenmüller in his 1667 print. Buxtehude's elimination of the suite could not have been based on grounds of musical quality. The music is inventive, engaging. Apart from the reason of bringing this sonata in line with the other compositions in the print – none of which include a suite – I am advancing the following hypothesis: Buxtehude moved away from typification in his printed works. A set musical form, as which the suite was used by the German composers, has a somewhat static effect
Despite its contrasting movements. These are contrasts the listener anticipates, and they are therefore without true dramatic impact. By abandoning the suite Buxtehude adapts this sonata to a multi-sectional structure (in this case just three sections) in the 'stylus phantasticus' as it was defined by Mattheson, and thus creates affective contrasts which, for the listener, transcend a high level of spontaneity.

On the rhythmic/melodic level the revision takes on the form of an addition, a motive of three reiterated pitches (ex. 4). This motivic cell acts as an expressive gestus and takes on nearly programmatic character. It is introduced in mm.1 and 2 by the violin, falling on different beats of the measure, thus whimsically opposing the metric structure of the basso ostinato. The marked profile of this anapaestic opening gesture shifts the thematic accent and causes the opening melody in m.4 to be heard as a consequent phrase. What was the subject in the first version becomes a rhythmic and melodic intensification of the opening gesture in the revision. In mm.8 and 10, also 13 and 14, the flow of melody is interrupted in the manuscript version by an insignificant idea of two identical pitches in the rhythm of an eighth note followed by a quarter note. It creates stagnation, as if to mark time. In the revision Buxtehude activates the original musical germ with the opening gesture which sets up a momentum for the process of motion in this section. In mm. 13 and 14 this gesture occurs in quick succession and again leads to rhythmic and melodic intensification which logically prepares the disintegration of any thematic material into a flow of sixteenth notes, first scalar, then arpeggiated and rushing towards the cadence with a 32nd-note tirata.

This motivic cell which Buxtehude added in the revised version generates rhythms and figurations and thus melodically and rhythmically intensifies the movement based on the basso ostinato. It adds some high-spirited playfulness and, most important, acts as a unifying device. The motive returns even as late as the penultimate measure of this long movement (ex. 5), at this time metrically in a different position, having resolved its urgency and forward motion by the end of the movement. In this placement the motivic cell adds a rather triumphant note to the final cadence. With this last reminder of the "programmatic" gesture, now integrated into the texture and nearly disguised, Buxtehude reveals his subtle skill and also his wit.

Throughout the opening Vivace and the final Allegro the opening gesture acts as a motus figura which propels the rhythmic dynamics of subsequent figurations at a hierarchically faster level than in the early version. Its motus quality and its power as a unifying device can be demonstrated with a passage from the last measures of the sonata (ex. 6). The violin's rhythmic intensification at the end of m. 169 corresponds to the subject's figuration in m.4 which, in the revision, becomes itself an animated outgrowth of the opening rhetorical gesture. The correspondence is seen in ex. 6c: m.169 telescopes mm.1-4, a correspondence absent from the first version.

Buxtehude employs this kind of unification and transformation for dramatic purposes rather than for purely abstract musical reasons. The revised version therefore results in a highly intensified ending.

The other major change consists in replacing the original Adagio with a newly composed Lento (ex. 7a and 7b). Although the Adagio sounds perfectly adequate as a contrasting middle section, it seems to defeat Buxtehude's intentions with its static, "fixed" affect of a continuous tremolo, an expressive technique frequently used in string writing. Here, as with the suite, I suggest that it was the conventional aspect, the element of expectation rather than surprise, that caused Buxtehude to substitute the Lento.

The Lento is not simply a replacement but a recomposition of the original Adagio. It evolves around the same rising bass line. Instead of ascending diatonically only to the sixth scale degree, the Eb, Buxtehude extends the ascent chromatically over the whole octave. He also changes the rhythm from a regular half-note-beat
motion to a pattern of a dotted half, followed by a quarter. Because of the different weight distribution of the pitches in a, however regular, rhythmic pattern, an accentual shift occurs. The upbeat accent together with the intervallic reduction from diatonic to chromatic create tension and give direction to the rising line.

The first measure of Adagio and Lento are almost identical. The addition of the upper neighbor in the violin of the Lento immediately creates an animation of the repeated eighth-note rhythm and changes this initially non-discpict motive into a gesture with nearly verbal character. The cell of departure was the same for both movements. While the Adagio uses the cell without development as a static affect, the Lento treats it as a point of departure for melodic and rhythmic development. This gesture, of course, is nothing else than a transformation of the gesture in the first movement. Its potential as motus element and as generator for embellishing figurations clearly corresponds to the opening of the sonata which can be seen in the juxtaposition of ex. 8.

The violin gesture finds an answer and embellishment in the viola da gamba which subsequently is intensified through sequential reiteration. Each sequential fragment ends with a rhythmic pattern of an eighth note followed by two sixteenth. This rhythmic pattern is a response to the violin gesture and accelerates the rhythmic motion through the temporal displacement of the sixteenths. Instead of finding its relaxation in a downbeat accent, the viola da gamba is suspended by a syncopatio. Thus stagnating the fluidity of the melodic line Buxtehude builds up tremendous rhythmic tension. At the point where the harmonic sequence reaches its goal, in m.120, the tension breaks, and the rhythmic regularity loosens up in all three voices and gives way to a more continuous melodic flow. It is here, in mm.120/121, that a rhythmic coordination between violin and viola da gamba takes place for the first time.

Whereas the Adagio introduces two internal cadences, mm.119 and 123, the Lento passes over the two possibilities for an internal cadence in mm.120 and 123. In m.123 the cadential resting point on G is ignored by the rhythmic acceleration in the violin which lends an impetus to the sweeping leap of a sixth to Eb, a structural tone in the still rising line of the violin. In m.124 the violin reaches its melodic climax on a high G which has been prepared by the slow stepwise ascent from m.117 on. At this point the violin reverses its direction in an already unwinding precadalional process. The viola da gamba ascends to its highest pitch, the F, two measures later in effective contrary motion against the violin, creating thereby a last bright color with the Eb in m.125, as secondary dominant of Bb. Buxtehude cancels the natural in the next measure and, in addition, colors the 6/4-chord with a minor third in the viola da gamba and a superimposed appoggiatura in the violin. This chord with its 'Verfremdungseffekt' is a carrier of affect and lends a striking, particular mood to the final cadence.32 The Db with its strong downward pull establishes itself melodically and harmonically as a gesture reversing the gradual motivic unfolding in the Lento's long ascent and imitating a fast retiring to the cadence on Bb, nearly like a wrapping up into its own cocoon.

A narrative quality which is generated from the opening rhetorical gesture in the violin gains significance with the initial harmony of this section, an unstable 6-chord, which traditionally opens the narrative of a recitative but certainly not the beginning of a movement.

Conceptually the most important idea underlining Buxtehude's intention in the revised sonata lies in the elimination of structural elements belonging to a compositional language of set conventions in the seventeenth century. In removing the suite and replacing the Adagio Buxtehude's sonata in Bb fits in perfectly with the general non-standardized structures as I described them above and with the principles of the 'stylus phantasticus'. The revisional details help emphasize the theatrical impact of the work and, at the same time, provide unification in a most subtly thought-out manner.
It is probably for reasons of their non-standardization and their flair for the "fantastic" that Buxtehude's sonatas lost interest for the following generation. Composers in the eighteenth century were striving for more balanced compositions, a smoother style without such dramatic surprises, and a clarity in architectural planning that had reached a first peak with the sonata writing by Corelli.

Buxtehude, as compared to his contemporary Corelli, wrote instrumental music which was deeply rooted in seventeenth-century theoretical concepts, e.g., the 'stylus phantasticus' and 'musica poetica', concerning 'figurae' such as the opening gesture of the revised sonata. His style is to a certain extent indebted to external, foreign influences and, in that respect, can be talked about as also demonstrating compositional 'Verschmelzung', common to the music of the late seventeenth century in general. As representatives of the 'stylus phantasticus', however, Buxtehude's instrumental compositions exceed the quality of inventiveness of those by his contemporaries and are unique in their compositional make-up. They form a high point of instrumental sonata-writing of the seventeenth century and thus are wonderful products of the end of a music-historical period.

Notes

1 For an impressive list of family connections and other musical contacts and exchanges between England and Germany, see Werner BRAUN, Britannia abundans, Tützing, 1977, ch. 1.

2 Moritz von Hessen had a special interest in the arts. Moritz "der Gelehrte," as he was called, arranged for English comedians and actors to perform at the court. See BRAUN, loc. cit., p. 27.


11 Akte des Staatsarchivs Lübeck, Faszikel I: Weinkelleracten; entry dated February 24, 1672.

12 Jean Rousseau, Traité de la Viole, Paris, 1687; facs. ed. Amsterdam (1965): "<...> car celle <la viole> a passé des Italiens aux Anglais qui ont commencé les premiers a composer et a joüer des pieces d'harmonie sur la Viole, et qui en ont porté la connaissance dans les autres Royaumes, tels qu'on est Vvalderan à la Cour de Saxe, Boulder à la Cour d'Espagne, Joung auprès du Comte d'Inskruk, Preis à Vienne, et plusieurs autres en differents endroits; ainsi elle a passé des Anglois aux Allemands et aux Espagnols; et nous pouvons dire que nous sommes les derniers qui en avons joué; mais aussi que c'est aux François a qui la Viole
doit sa perfection, <...>" For further information on Walter Rowe, Henry Butler, William Young, and John Price, the composers and gambists whose names were rather distorted by Rousseau, see Eva LINFIELD, Dietrich Buxtehude's Sonatas: A Historical and Analytical Study, diss., Brandeis University, 1984, pp. 116-118.

13 Salomone ROSSI, "Sonata a 3 per violino, cornetto, e violone" (1610) and "Varie sonate, sinfonie <...>" (1613), Tarquinio MERULA, "Il primo libro de motetti, e sonate concertati" (1624).


15 For a more detailed development of this topic see the author's dissertation, op. cit., ch. IV.


17 Ibid., p. 397.


20 These are collections of dances, "Paduanen" (1645) and "Studentenmusik" (1654) that bear some English influence of dance music for viol consort.

21 Christoph WOLFF, "Praeludium (Toccata) und Sonata: Formbildung und Gattungs-tradition in der Orgelmusik Buxtehudes und seines Kreises," in: Orgel, Orgelmusik und Orgelspiel, Festschrift Michael Schneider zum 75. Geburtstag, ed. Christoph WOLFF, Kassel (1985), pp. 55-64. With regard to the trio texture the major compositional concept, I believe, originated with the sonata. With regard to the overall structural layout the influence might be directed from organ composition to sonata.


26 MATTHESON, Capellmeister, p. 87.

27 Ibid., p. 88: "Denn dieser Styl ist die allerfreieste und ungebundenste Setz- Sing- und Spiel-Art, die man nur erdencken kan, da man bald auf diese bald auf jene
Einfälle geräh, da man sich weder an Worte noch Melodie, obwohl an Harmonie, bindet, nur damit der Sänger und Spieler seine Fertigkeit sehen lasse; da allerdunst sonst ungewöhnliche Gänge, versteckte Zierrathen, sinnreiche Drehungen und Verbrämungen hervorgebracht werden, ohne eigentliche Beobachtung des des Tacts und Tons, ... ohne förmlichen Haupt-Satz und Unterwurf, ohne Thema und Subject <...>

28 Ibid., p. 88: "Die Haupt-Sätze und Unterwürfe lassen sich zwar, eben der ungebundenen Eigenschaft halber, nicht gantz und gar ausschliessen; sie dürfen aber nicht recht an einander hangen, vielweniger ordentlich ausgeführt werden: daher denn diejenigen Verfasser, welche in ihren Fantaisien oder Toccaten förmliche Fugen durcharbeiten, keinen rechten Begriff von dem vorhandenen Styl hegen, als welchem kein Ding so sehr zuwieder ist, denn die Ordnung und der Zwang."


30 Ibid., p. 478: "Die Ciacone werden auch oft mit in die Toccaten geflochten, und waren vor Alters von grossem Ansehen, welches sich allmählich zu verlieren beginnet, weil die gar zu öftere Wiederholung des Unterwürfs, aller Variation ungeachtet, dennoch verdrießlich fällt und einen Eckel verursacht, absonderlich bey heutigen verwehnten Ohren."

31 Ibid., part I, ch. 10, p. 88: "Und warum sollte sich denn eine Toccate, Boutade oder Caprice gewisse Ton-Arten erwehren, worin sie schliessen müßte? darff sie nicht aufhören, in welchem Ton sie will; ja muß sie nicht oßft, aus einem Ton in den andern gantz entgegen stehenden und fremden geführet werden <...>? Dieser Umstand wird im Aufschreiben eben so wenig, als der vorige beobachtet, und gehört doch allerdings zu den Kennzeichen des fantastischen Styls."

32 The term "Verfremdungseffekt" has been consciously used here as a metaphor. In his "Anmerkungen zur Oper 'Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagoni,'" Bertolt BRECHT is concerned about the connection of music and drama and advocates a renunciation of traditional drama by means of epic "liberties" which, because of their intended impact on the audience, he labels 'Verfremdungseffekte.' The move to Db in the penultimate measure of the Lento I view as such a "liberty," an intervention of the conventional progression expected by the listener and thus identical with the concept of the stylus phantasticus.

Example 1a: Buxtehude, Sonata in F, op.1, no. 1 (BuxWV 252)
Example 1b: John Jenkins, Fancy from a set of Fancy-Almaine-Ayre in E minor
Example 1c: Biagio Marini, Sonata from op. 22 (1655)

Example 2a: Pietro Francheschini, Sinfonia from "Arsinoe" (1677)
Example 2b: Giovanni Legrenzi, "La Pezzoli" from op. 4, no. 6 (1656)
Example 2c: Buxtehude, Sonata in D, op. 2, no. 2 (BuxWV 260)
Example 3: Buxtehude, Sonata in d, op. 1, no. 6 (BuxWV 257)

Example 4: Buxtehude, Sonata in Bb op. 1, no. 4 (BuxWV 255) – revised version with alterations from (BuxWV 273) marked in
Example 5: End of the Vivace – BuxWV 273 and 255

Example 6a: End of the sonata da chiesa, manuscript version

Example 6b: Printed version
Example 6c: Derivation of the ending from the opening gesture

Example 7a: Adagio from the manuscript version, BuxWV 273
Example 7b: Lento from the printed version, BuxWV 255
Example 8: Rhetorical gesture as motus element