

DMA Option 2 Thesis and Option 3 Scholarly Essay
DEPOSIT COVERSHEET
University of Illinois Music and Performing Arts Library

Date: 4/26/23

DMA Option (circle): 2 [thesis] or 3 [scholarly essay]

Your full name: Theodore Armstrong Turner

Full title of Thesis or Essay: Johann ADAM Reinken's Erste Unterrichtung
Zur Composition: Translation and Critical Commentary

Keywords (4-8 recommended)

Please supply a minimum of 4 keywords. Keywords are broad terms that relate to your thesis and allow readers to find your work through search engines. When choosing keywords consider: composer names, performers, composition names, instruments, era of study (Baroque, Classical, Romantic, etc.), theory, analysis. You can use important words from the title of your paper or abstract, but use additional terms as needed.

1. Johann Adam Reinken
2. Baroque
3. Organ
4. Composition
5. An Wasserflüssen Babylon
6. Fugue
7. Sweelinck
8. _____

If you need help constructing your keywords, please contact Dr. Tharp, Director of Graduate Studies.

Information about your advisors, department, and your abstract will be taken from the thesis/essay and the departmental coversheet.

JOHANN ADAM REINCKEN'S ERSTE UNTERRICHTUNG ZUR COMPESITION:
TRANSLATION AND CRITICAL COMMENTARY

BY

THEODORE ARMSTRONG TURNER

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Musical Arts
with a concentration in Performance and Literature
in the Graduate College of the
University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, 2023

Urbana, Illinois

Doctoral Committee:

Associate Professor Dana Robinson, Chair
Associate Professor Carlos Carrillo, Director of Research
Professor Charlotte Mattax
Associate Teaching Professor Andrea Solya

ABSTRACT

This project aims to provide greater access to, and garner greater scholarship for, important primary sources of seventeenth-century North German organists by examining a theoretical treatise, *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compesition*, by esteemed Hamburg organist Johann Adam Reincken. *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compesition* belongs to a larger compilation of five theoretical treatises, which are themselves organized into two books commonly known as the “Sweelinck Manuscripts.” The Sweelinck Manuscripts, deemed lost during World War Two, were rediscovered and returned to Hamburg Staats -und Universitätsbibliothek almost thirty years ago, yet little scholarship has been devoted to these texts, and most of this research is written in German. This thesis seeks to create a modern, critical edition of Reincken’s *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compesition*, arguably the most intriguing treatise of the collection, and this scholarship aims to encourage additional translations of Reincken’s treatises and scholarship on the significance of the Sweelinck Manuscripts.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2: BIOGRAPHY.....	4
CHAPTER 3: THE SWEELINCK MANUSCRIPTS.....	16
CHAPTER 4: OVERVIEW OF THE <i>ERSTE UNTERRICHTUNG ZUR COMPESSION</i>	26
CHAPTER 5: <i>ERSTE UNTERRICHTUNG ZUR COMPESSION</i>	41
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....	89
BIBLIOGRAPY.....	93

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Johann Adam Reincken is a familiar and perhaps peripheral figure in scholarship of the history of organ music. He was a prominent figure among North German organists during his lifetime, though his legacy is often overshadowed by other figures like Dietrich Buxtehude and Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck. In scholarship, he is often recognized as an influence on the work of Johann Sebastian Bach, who copied Reincken's monumental setting of *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, as well as wrote his own that was partially inspired by Reincken's.¹² He is also mentioned in scholarly works as a friend of Dietrich Buxtehude and a student of Heinrich Scheidemann. Bach-centrism that has been imbued in scholarship of German Baroque organists might be partly to blame for the somewhat diminutive presence of Reincken in scholarship and organ performance. Additionally, there is the practical limitation that there are so few records of Reincken's life and works. His working-class background certainly means that there are not many records of his early life. However, there are even few records of his movements, writings, and activities from his later life.

Reincken's limited presence in scholarship could also be due to the fact that his work is highly specific to place and time. He wrote complex counterpoint that embraced the musical ideals laid out by famed organist Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck and his disciples by endorsing the use of intricate techniques such as permutation, invertible counterpoint, and multisubject fugues to create highly academic musical works. Even some of Reincken's contemporaries like Johann Mattheson opposed these ideals, calling them antiquated, advocating instead for more

¹ Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J.S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 347-349.

² Michael Maul and Peter Wollny, "The Weimar Organ Tablature: Bach's Earliest Autographs," *Understanding Bach*, no. 3 (2008), <https://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/ub3/WOLLNY%20and%20MAUL.pdf>.

streamlined musical compositions.³ Outside of the circles of seventeenth-century North German organists, therefore, Reincken's work can appear opaque and esoteric and perhaps unappealing compared to more approachable and familiar compositions from the era.

Nonetheless, J.A. Reincken was a highly skilled musician whose legacy merits greater scholarship than is currently available and whose works merit more performances in concert and church settings. He held a lucrative and prestigious position at the Katharinekirche in the heart of the booming city of Hamburg. He was a founding member of the first German public opera house, the Oper am Gänsemarkt. His musical compositions and theoretical texts capture central tenets of North German organ composers and demonstrate methods for creating intricate, yet beautiful, counterpoint. One such theoretical text, which has only recently been made fully available on the internet in a dialectical form of German, is the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compesition*, or the First Instruction in Composition.⁴ This text elaborates on Reincken's compositional process and offers a glimpse into broader trends among prominent organists of seventeenth century North Germany. This treatise, which was for many years only available to scholars in snippets through Hermann Gehrman's 1901 edition of the *Sweelinck Komposition Regeln*,⁵ has often been briefly quoted in scholarship on Bach and the 17th century North German organ music, but the total contents of the treatise have been relatively inaccessible to English speakers.

This thesis offers an English translation and critical commentary of *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compesition* in order to make Reincken's didactic text more widely available to English-

³ George J. Buelow, "Mattheson, Johann," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed August 22, 2022, <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18097>.

⁴ Johann Adam Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition* (Handwritten, Hamburg, 1670), Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, [HANSh2263](#).

⁵ Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, "Part X: Composition Regeln," in *Werken*, ed. Hermann Gehrman (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1901).

speaking scholars. My commentary and notes offer clarification of Reincken's statements and contextualize his words within larger historical trends of organ performance. It is my hope that this translation of the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition* offers future scholars and organ students an opportunity to engage more deeply with Reincken's work, to understand its complexities and myriad of rules and principles.

CHAPTER 2: BIOGRAPHY

Johann Adam Reincken's name that appears in baptismal records and records from his youth spent in Deventer is Jan Adamsz[oon] Reincken. The birth year of Jan Adamsz Reincken is unclear, due to the sparse records we have from his early life. In his will from 1722, Reincken listed his birthyear as 1623.⁶ This birthyear was proliferated in writings by contemporary organist Johann Mattheson.⁷ However, this date is troubling since Reincken began his organ studies with local organist Lucas van Lennick in 1650, and therefore would have been twenty-seven. More recently, it has been speculated that Reincken's birth year was probably around 1643, as baptismal records from that year for a 'Jan Reinse' were found in his hometown of Deventer.⁸ However, this date is also problematic, as he would have been seven when he began studying with van Lennick and ten or eleven years old when he left his home to study with Heinrich Scheidemann in Hamburg. In the Dutch Republic, vocational training typically did not start until about the age of seventeen, so Reincken starting his vocational training with Lucas van Lennick at age seven would be highly unusual.⁹ However, if his birth year was 1633, his timeline would make significantly more sense. Reincken would have been seventeen when he started his training with van Lennick and twenty or twenty-one when he traveled to Hamburg to study with Scheidemann. Moreover, it is not impossible that Reincken's purported 1643 baptism occurred years after his birth.

What is clear about the organist's early life is that he grew up in a working-class household. His parents, Adam Reincken and Anneken Tijmonsens arrived in Deventer in 1637.

⁶ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," *Het Orgel* 105, no. 2 (2009): 19.

⁷ Ulf Grapenthin, "Reincken [Reinken, Reinkinck, Reincke, Reinicke, Reinike], Johann Adam," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed August 22, 2022, <https://doiorg.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23126>.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 21.

They held precarious positions in Deventer as refugees who had fled Waltherhausen due to the destruction of the Thirty Years' War and Lutherans in a predominately Reformed city.¹⁰ Upon his arrival in Deventer, Adam Reincken was granted ownership by the Deventer town council of an inn on the outskirts of town, though because the inn was outside the city walls, it was barely profitable.¹¹ Adam Reincken would remain in Deventer until his death in 1672.¹² Very little is known of Anneken Tijmonsens.

Though the Reincken family were outsiders in Deventer society, Jan Adamsz was afforded special privileges because he showed prodigious musical talent from an early age. It is speculated that this musical talent was discovered when he attended the Latin school in Deventer.¹³ In 1650, he was granted a yearly stipend of fifty gulden from the Deventer city council to study organ with Lucas van Lennick, a local organist who worked at the Grotekerk in Deventer.¹⁴ Though van Lennick himself did not have an illustrious organ career, he had been a pupil of world-famous organist, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, who also had originally hailed from Deventer. While not much is known of these early studies, Ulf Grapenthin speculates that Reincken may have initially been exposed to Sweelinck's manuscripts of composition rules—which he would later draw upon to write his own compositional treatises—during his studies with van Lennick.¹⁵

¹⁰ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 19.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Pieter Dirksen, *Heinrich Scheidemann's Keyboard Music: Transmission, Style and Chronology* (Routledge, 2017).

¹³ Though there are no records to verify Reincken attended the school, the foreword of his *Hortus Musicus* was written in Latin, and Reincken uses a fair amount of Latin vocabulary in his treatises on music.

¹⁴ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 19.

¹⁵ Ulf Grapenthin, "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens," in *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Hamburgs vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, ed. Hans Joachim Marx (Frankfurt am Main; New York: 2001), 100.

It was eventually recognized that Reincken's budding talent could not be contained in Deventer, so in 1654, on another stipend from the city council, he received the opportunity to study with one of the era's leading organists, Heinrich Scheidemann, at the Katharinenkirche in the city of Hamburg.¹⁶ This opportunity was virtually unprecedented not only because Hamburg was hundreds of miles from Deventer, but also because it was outside the Dutch Republic. Jaap den Hertog argues that it was rare in this time that Dutch citizens would travel abroad to study organ because of the Calvinist culture in the Netherlands, which restricted the use of organ in liturgical services when compared with Lutheran and Catholic liturgies found in Germany and Italy.¹⁷ The Katharinekirche in Hamburg was Lutheran, meaning that the Deventer city council subsidized Reincken to learn a liturgical tradition that was in opposition to their own Calvinist ideals.

It is fascinating that the city of Deventer would sponsor Reincken to study abroad when there were programs available to support Reincken's study of organ within the country. The Dutch Republic was the first European country to establish social welfare programs, which were available only to Dutch citizens. Reincken would have had access to these programs if he continued to study locally. In contrast, many German organists of previous generations went to Amsterdam to study with Sweelinck and received no public money to support their studies there.¹⁸ It is certain, therefore, that the Deventer city council was impressed by, and invested in, the musical talents of Reincken, ostensibly hoping that he would return and add prestige to the city.

¹⁶ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 19-20.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Steven King, "Welfare Regimes and Welfare Regions in Britain and Europe, c.1750s to 1860s," *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift Für Moderne Europäische Geschichte / Revue d'histoire Européenne Contemporaine* 9, no. 1 (2011): 42n3.

The city's investment proved fruitful when Reincken returned to Deventer in 1657 to work as the assistant to the aging van Lennick. While in Hamburg, he had been praised as one of Scheidemann's most gifted pupils, and Reincken continued to demonstrate his musical prowess upon his return to his birthplace. Within his first year as van Lennick's assistant, he was exempted from night watch duty, uncommon for musicians, and was also given a raise.

Little else is known of Reincken's early professional career, other than the inauspicious end of his time in Deventer. A local woman became pregnant by him, and the young organist was under immense social pressure to marry her.¹⁹ Reincken, evidently reluctant both to marry and put down roots in Deventer, fled the city in 1658 in favor of Hamburg, where he became assistant to his former teacher, whose ill health required that he retain an assistant to aid him in his activities at the large and wealthy Katharinenkirche. His decision to flee Deventer in pursuit of a more promising career and an escape from fiscal and social responsibilities related to the unplanned pregnancy reportedly left the young woman and her father alone and confused at the altar. This disgraceful behavior prompted leaders in Deventer, a place that had once heavily invested in his career, to ban him from ever returning. Reincken sent several letters in 1661, requesting permission to re-enter the city for two weeks. His request was initially rejected, but the city council eventually granted him one week. His activities during that week remain unknown.²⁰

The first appearances of the moniker Johann Adam Reincken appear around the time of his flight to Hamburg.²¹ Reincken scholar Jaap den Hertog speculates that this change in name

¹⁹ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 20.

²⁰ Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 20-21.

²¹ The appearance of Reincken's new name is recorded in a statement written on the back of his theory book. He writes, "Johan: Adam Reijnk bin ich genant: Meint zukunftiges Godt bekant. Anno 1660 den 6 Febr, [I am named Johan Adam Reijnk: of my future God knows. February 6, 1660]."

could have aided the composer's detachment from his tarnished reputation that he left behind in Deventer. Additionally, Reincken would have been more difficult to find with his new alias, potentially escaping any vigilantes who may have wanted to retaliate against him due to his indiscretions in Deventer. Den Hertog also believes this is why Johann Adam claimed his birthyear as 1623, thereby making himself appear to be a different person than the disgraced Jan Adamszoon Reincken of Deventer.²² Of course, it also stands to reason that Reincken, looking to reinvent himself and forge a profitable career in a German city, could have changed his name to assimilate more easily into the society of Hamburg.

Though Reincken was forced to flee his home and quickly regroup in a new and much larger city, he flourished both personally and professionally in Hamburg. Upon Scheidemann's death in 1663, he was appointed organist at the Katharinekerche. However, he did not receive the full salary that the position afforded him until 1665, when he finally agreed to marry Scheidemann's daughter, with whom he had a daughter, Margaretha-Maria. For a brief time, Reincken was also the church clerk (Kirchenschreiber), performing administrative as well as artistic duties, but abandoned clerical work in 1666 on the grounds that it was not his "chosen profession."²³

Reincken had the luxury of solely following his passions, as his salary at the Katharinenkerche during the height of his career was 1,445 marks.²⁴ Comparatively, the Marienkerche in Lübeck, a large church with fourteen musicians on its payroll, paid Dietrich Buxtehude a total 709 marks for his work as organist and 180 marks for his serving as the Werkmeister, a role similar to the position that Reincken chose to forfeit. Buxtehude earned an

²² Jaap den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 21.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁴ den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 22.

additional 55 marks on renting out lodging on church grounds.²⁵²⁶ In sum, Buxtehude, an organist arguably of comparable talent and prestige, earned far less—944 marks per year—than Reincken’s hefty 1,445 marks, and had more responsibilities in his various roles at the church. Reincken commanded such a comparatively large salary because of his residency in Hamburg, a flourishing port city with a wealthy merchant class able to shoulder larger costs to support musicians such as himself.²⁷ Additionally, organ was a large presence in Hamburg’s musical life, not only because liturgical music was a central element of Hamburg’s musical culture, but also because of the presence of organ builders near the city. The Scherer family of organ builders resided in Hamburg, and Arp Schnitger would move his organ workshop to Hamburg in the 1680s.²⁸

Reincken’s salary and status, however, has greater significance when considering his working-class roots. Johann Gottfried Walther’s writings from 1732 include a story that appears to capture general public sentiment regarding the working-class Reincken’s appointment to a prestigious and lucrative position.²⁹ According to Walther’s, an unnamed famous musician from Amsterdam said, upon hearing of Reincken’s appointment to the Katharinenkirche, that “he [Reincken] must be a reckless man for himself, a sub-class, to step into the post of such a famous man [Scheidemann], I would be curious to see him.”³⁰ Supposedly, Reincken addressed this disparaging comment by sending “a musical portrait of this bold man” to the Amsterdam musician. This musical portrait was purportedly a copy of his famous setting of *An*

²⁵ Kerala Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2007), 93.

²⁶ Traditionally, the church provided housing for both the Werkmeister and church organist, but as Buxtehude occupied both of these roles, he was able to live in one residence and rent out the other to supplement his income.

²⁷ Snyder, “*Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*,” 107.

²⁸ G. B. Sharp, “Jan Adam Reincken, 1623--1722,” *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1570 (1973): 1272–75, <https://doi.org/10.2307/954763>.

²⁹ den Hertog, “Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin,” 22.

³⁰ Qtd. in den Hertog, “Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin,” 22.

Wasserflüssen Babylon, and it impressed the Amsterdam musician so much he immediately traveled to Hamburg to hear Reincken play. Walther claims that upon hearing Reincken's playing, the Amsterdam musician knelt and kissed his hand in admiration. This Amsterdam musician is said to have been either Anthoni van Noordt of the Oude Kerk or his brother, Jacobus van Noordt, organist at the Nieuwe Zijdskapel.³¹

Though the truth of this anecdote can be debated, its core notion—that a working-class person such as Reincken, with limited means and social graces did not often command such a large salary or inhabit prestigious social circles—held true within the elite circles of wealthy cities such as Hamburg. Additionally, Walther's story underscores the sentiment that Reincken's talent, and his unshakeable belief in himself, opened doors for him in elite musical and social circles. Perhaps the most amusing and believable element of the story is that he had a "musical portrait" of himself to send to the Amsterdam musician. Reincken appears to have been fond of his own image, whether it be a metaphorical or literal portrait, as evidenced by an actual portrait of himself that is housed in the Hamburg Staats -und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, which is accompanied by a note stating that this portrait hung at the organ during Reincken's tenure at the Katharinekirche.³²

Regardless of status or manners, Reincken's talent was undeniable, and though few of his compositions survive today, there is little doubt that he was admired in his post at the Katharinekirche and beyond. His coveted and influential position allowed him to exert his influence in other areas of the musical life of Hamburg, most notably opera. He was a founding member of the Oper am Gänsemarkt, "the first, and for a long time the only, opera house in

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 23.

German soil that was organized economically and open to the public.”³³ However, as with many other of Reincken’s activities, this involvement in the opera was not without controversy. The arrival of opera in Hamburg in 1678 was divisive amongst the clergy of the city. The pietist movement, a Calvinist-influenced liturgy that emphasized private devotion and sermons, advocated against musical drama and theater, which they considered morally questionable, took hold amongst a small but powerful group of clergy in Hamburg. Disputes over the establishment of the Oper am Gänsemarkt would be termed the “Opera Wars” in Hamburg, but the efforts of the pietist clergy would eventually fail.³⁴ Fortunately, the clergy at the Katharinekirche did not oppose Reincken’s endeavors. His generous salary is already indicative of the church’s prioritization of musical activities in liturgy, but additionally, the archdeacon of the Katharinekirche, Heinrich Elmenorst, was an active supporter of the Oper am Gänsemarkt and even wrote librettos for some operas.³⁵

Reincken undoubtedly became involved in the Oper am Gänsemarkt because of its mission to offer opera, an elite artform, to a broader circle of people with growing wealth and aspirational tastes. The Oper am Gänsemarkt was almost a populist musical institution in a city whose middle classes were able to afford experiences in the arts that were once exclusively available to upper classes. The opera house also featured many German-language librettos, sometimes by locals, which allowed virtually any audience member to comprehend the drama of the opera. German composers also featured heavily at the Oper am Gänsemarkt. The opera house’s inaugural performance was Johann Theile's *Der Erschaffene, gefallene und auff*

³³ “Der Ursprung,” Historische Oper am Gänsemarkt, accessed August 23, 2022, <https://gaensemarkt-oper.de/>.

³⁴ W. Gordon Marigold, “Politics, Religion and Opera: Problems of the Hamburg Opera, 1678-1720.” *Mosaic: A Journal for the Interdisciplinary Study of Literature* 18, no. 4 (1985): 49–54. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24778808>.

³⁵ Grapenthin, “Reincken [Reinken, Reinkinck, Reincke, Reinicke, Reinike], Johann Adam.”

gerichtete Mensch,³⁶ and notably, housed the premiers of several lost operas of Georg Friedrich Händel, including *Almira (Der in Krohnen erlangte Glücks-Wechsel, oder: Almira, Königin von Castilien)* and *Daphne (Die verwandelte Daphne)*.³⁷ Interestingly, it appears that Reincken took more of an administrative role in the life of the opera. No librettos or operas performed at the Oper am Gänsemarkt bear his name. Records indicate that he simply served as a member of the board until he stepped down from his position in 1685, which coincided with his marriage to his second wife, Anna Wagner, three years after his first wife died. Nevertheless, Reincken appears to have had continued interest in the city's opera house, as evidenced in 1694 when Gerhard Schott, a Hamburg senator who played an instrumental role in the founding of the Oper am Gänsemarkt, guaranteed him two seats at the opera house for the rest of his life.³⁸

Other details of Reincken's life during his prime remain obscured or lost, though his movements come into greater focus toward the end of his life. Not long after his friend Dietrich Buxtehude passed away in 1707, Reincken bought himself a gravestone. However, he did not buy the plot at the Hamburg Katharinenkirche but rather the Katharinenkirche in Lübeck. Den Hertog attributes this decision to his friendship with fellow organist Dietrich Buxtehude, who lived and died in Lübeck. Sadly, he would not use this grave for himself but rather his daughter, Margaretha Maria Kneller, who died in 1710.³⁹ It is intriguing that two pieces of music, his many variations on *Die Meyerin* and a setting and variation on the *Holländische Nachtigal*, were published that same year. Reincken published very few works in his lifetime, his *Hortus Musicus* of 1688 being the primary publication. This is because much of his music served a utilitarian

³⁶ Marigold, "Politics, Religion and Opera: Problems of the Hamburg Opera, 1678-1720," 52.

³⁷ Anthony Hicks, "Handel [Händel, Hendel], George Frideric." *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed 23 Aug. 2022, <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.40060>

³⁸ Grapenthin, "Reincken [Reinken, Reinkinck, Reincke, Reinicke, Reinike], Johann Adam."

³⁹ den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 27.

function in the life of his church. Therefore, it could be suggested that the death of his daughter prompted these final publications, as the composer himself was considering his own legacy as he approached death.

Reincken further considered his legacy by appointing Anthon Heinrich Uthmöller, one of his own students, as his assistant and eventual successor at the Katharinenkirche. However, this was not the first time he had to consider who would succeed him. In 1705, some church leaders nominated a well-known musician who championed newer musical styles, Johann Mattheson, as a potential successor. Reincken, however, thwarted this plan. Appointing Mattheson, who railed against his working-class manners and esoteric compositional style, would have been a rebuke by the church of Reincken as a musician and a person.⁴⁰ Even though Reincken remained at his post, and eventually appointed his own apprentice, there was continued tension with some of the church elders about his autonomy and status. One major disagreement surfaced in 1718 upon Anthon Heinrich Uthmöller's appointment, when he and the church elders squabbled over who would pay Uthmöller's salary. Reincken contended that the church should budget an extra 500 marks annually to pay for Uthmöller's labor. The church, however, insisted that the assistant's wages would come out of his own wages.⁴¹ Reincken was likely insulted by the reduction in his own wages and perhaps was stunned by the sobering reminder that he was still a church employee, whose livelihood was subject to the decisions of church elders.

Even at the very end of his life, Reincken continued to cause controversy among church officials. In 1720, in the first draft of his will and testament, 12,000 marks were designated to be given to the church for investment until the fund accrued 20,000 marks, at which point, this

⁴⁰ "Mattheson, Johann," Grove Music Online, accessed October 20, 2022, <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000018097>.

⁴¹ Grapenthin, "Reincken [Reinken, Reinkinck, Reincke, Reinicke, Reinike], Johann Adam."

money would be kept in church savings to serve as an organ fund. His family, in contrast, would receive comparatively very little. Reincken's two oldest granddaughters, who he disowned, would receive nothing, while his other three granddaughters were due to receive 1,200 marks each. However, in July of 1722, just before his death, Reincken suddenly changed his will, leaving his entire estate to his niece on his wife's side, Barbara Ludemilla Wagner. Upon his death later that year, she gave 2,000 marks to each granddaughter and 4,000 marks to the church elders. The church, enraged by the drastic reduction in their inherited funds, would continue to seek additional funds from the Wagner family, claiming the Wagner family inheritance was the rightful property of the church.⁴²

The evident ill will the church harbored for Reincken and his family upon his death sparked suggestions that the church aimed to destroy the legacy that the organist had industriously and proudly constructed. According to Jacob Wilhelm Lustig, organist of the Martinikerk in Groningen, Netherlands, and whose father had studied with Reincken, the situation frustrated the church so much that "in the hope that his music would die with his person, eight days after his death, on an island in the city, all of his compositions and expensive musical instruments were openly burned...what an impulse!"⁴³

While this story might well be apocryphal, the crux of it—that much of Reincken's music and records of his life have been lost—remains true. While his legacy is significant, especially when examined through his influence upon other composers' work and as a pillar of the North German Organ School, it stands to reason that with more records of his life and music, his name would be more prominent in organ literature and in musicological scholarship. Though recent scholarship has uncovered new documents concerning Reincken's life and work, including the

⁴² den Hertog, "Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin," 28-29.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 29.

handwritten copy of the treatise translated below, it is true that many details about his life and work were buried alongside him at the Katharinekirche in Lübeck.

CHAPTER 3: THE SWEELINCK MANUSCRIPTS

The *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition* is found in a collection of theoretical manuscripts commonly known as the “Sweelinck theory manuscripts.” The Sweelinck manuscripts consist of two books found in the Hamburg Staats -und Universitätsbibliothek, bearing the catalogue numbers ND VI 5383 and ND VI 5384. The last musician to own these books was Johann Adam Reincken, and they came to the Hamburg library by way of Johann Christoph Wolf (1683-1739), a teacher of “oriental languages” at the Hamburger Akademischen Gymnasium and later a pastor at the Katharinenkirche. Wolf was book collector who, upon his death, donated his library of approximately 24,000 to 25,000 books and publications to the Hamburg Staats -und Universitätsbibliothek. Wolf certainly bought ND VI 5383, and most likely ND VI 5384, from Reincken’s estate upon the organist’s death.⁴⁴

Though Johann Adam Reincken’s hand (both metaphorically and literally) can be observed in the Sweelinck manuscripts, the collection is nevertheless a patchwork of ideas and treatises by several authors. The collection itself is fragmented into two books containing five treatises that are loosely related, but varied in length, complexity, and aim. The books are also written in at least two different hands, suggesting multiple authors, or, at the very least, multiple scribes. Reincken wrote the last three of the five treatises in the manuscripts, but the authorship of the first two treatises is debated. Though the manuscripts bear J.P. Sweelinck’s name, it is likely that the organist contributed little to the work in terms of authorship, though ideas and theories presented throughout the treatise surely derive from some of Sweelinck’s methods, teaching, and compositional style. Further muddying the waters is the fact that the treatise *Composition Regeln Herrn M. Johan Peterssen Sweling gewesen vornehmen Organisten in*

⁴⁴ Grapenthin, “‘Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln’ aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens,” 92.

Ambsterdam (Composition Rules [of] Lord Johan Peterssen Sweling former esteemed organist in Amsterdam), is a copy of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*, a seminal theoretical text from the sixteenth century that covers a vast array of topics spanning intervals to quadruple counterpoint.⁴⁵

The *Composition Regeln* is the first and most prodigious treatise of ND VI 5383, the first book of the Sweelinck manuscripts, and it is followed by a second treatise that covers multiple counterpoint. This second treatise is anonymous and untitled but is prefaced by the heading: *Regeln für doppelten, drei- und vierfachen Kontrapunkt (Rules for double, triple, and quadruple counterpoint)*, which is followed by the subheading, "Kurtze, doch deutliche Regeln von denen doppelten Contrapunten (Short, yet clear rules of those double counterpoints)."⁴⁶ The third treatise of ND VI 5383 could be considered an appendix to the second, rather than an independent work. In a gesture that seems to ring of the ethos of J.A. Reincken, the treatise begins with a proud claim of authorship—the autograph of "Jean Adam Reincken"—which is followed by the work's title, *Musica Amicus*.⁴⁷ This treatise contains examples only in two voices, but they are nevertheless highly sophisticated, utilizing multiple fugal techniques simultaneously.

The second book in the Sweelinck manuscripts, ND VI 5384, is given the rather lengthy title of *Erster und Anderer theil, seehr Nöhtiger, und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition, welche anfenglich von dem weltberühmten musico vndt organisten, Johannis Petri Schweeling, der alten kirchen zu Amsterdam hoochgeachten organisten ist heerauß*

⁴⁵ Paul Walker, "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,'" *Schütz-Jahrbuch VII/VIII* (1985-86), 94-95.

⁴⁶ Johann Adam Reincken, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and Johann Thiele, *Composition Regeln* (Handwritten, Hamburg, n.d.), Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, [HANSh2262](#).

⁴⁷ Grapenthin, "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens," 74-78.

gegeben unt an dem tach gebracht, hernacher aber, von etzl Andern, in etwaß vermehrt, unt erweitert worden wie folgt (First and another section, very important and necessary teachings and instructions of composition, which originate from the world-famous organist Johannis Petri Schweeling, the highly renowned organist of the Oude Kerk, are given, along with a few others which are increasingly used today).⁴⁸ This second book, more broadly, is an overview of elements necessary needed to be a fine composer of seventeenth-century counterpoint. The second book includes two treatises: *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compositon (First Instruction in Composition)* and the *Arcana geheimnißen oder handtgriffe der wahren wißenschafft der Composition (Arcane secrets, or handlings, of the true knowledge of Composition)*.⁴⁹ *Arcana geheimnißen oder handtgriffe der wahren wißenschafft der Composition* is simply a copy of the section on fugue and imitation from the *Composition Regeln* of ND VI 5383, while *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compositon* offers a full range of compositional advice beginning with intervals and consonances and concluding with discussion of meters and text setting.

While these books seemingly hold valuable insights into the fundamentals of seventeenth-century German contrapuntal writing, not much is known about the use or fame of these books in the seventeenth century. Likely, these were pedagogical tools used by a select group of composers, musicians, and students. However, in 1871 they were re-discovered and promoted by Rober Eitner,⁵⁰ a nineteenth-century German musicologist who was a pioneer in his work as an editor of early music.⁵¹ Eitner published articles about the books in the journal of the *Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*, the Dutch professional musicological

⁴⁸ Ibid., 80-81.

⁴⁹ Reincken, Sweelinck, Thiele, *Composition Regeln*.

⁵⁰ Grapenthin, "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens," 71.

⁵¹ Alec Hyatt King, "Eitner, Robert," *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed August 24, 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08672>

society. Eitner also called for a creation of a modern edition of both ND VI 5383 and ND VI 5384 in German. He had planned to create such an edition himself, and a manuscript copy of his 1871 version was discovered in the Stichting Toonkunstbibliotheek in Amsterdam in 1992, but this edition was never fully realized and certainly never published.

The Sweelinck manuscripts would not be translated into a modern edition until 1901, when the complete *Werken van Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck*, edited by Max Sieffert, was published. The *Composition Regeln Herrn M. Johan Peterssen Swelig*, as it was titled, was the tenth and final volume in the set of complete works, and it was the only volume in the series that was not edited by Max Sieffert. Instead, the editor was Dr. Hermann Gehrman, who had worked on J. G. Walther's *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (1708) for his dissertation and therefore had some experience with old theoretical treatises. Gehrman's edition is a summarization and amalgamation of all five manuscripts contained within the two books, rather than a proper "urtext" edition that remained faithful to the source material. While it is unknown how Gehrman became the editor of this final volume, both Eitner and Sieffert wished for an urtext edition of the manuscripts, which was, according to Grapenthin, divisive amongst the *Vereeniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* and perhaps led to Gehrman's appointment.⁵² The compilation edition, according to Ulf Grapenthin, has arguably been worse for these manuscripts than their disappearance after World War Two, giving rise to many false theories and hypotheses. Following the disappearance of the manuscripts during World War Two, all hope of rectifying Gehrman's mistakes were lost.⁵³

Gehrman's 1901 edition begins with a critical commentary, addressing issues such as authorship, chronology, and copyists. In the case of some of the "Sweelinck theory manuscripts,"

⁵² Grapenthin. "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens," 72.

⁵³ Grapenthin, "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens," 71-73.

the scribe is distinct from the author of the contents, and determining scribes, dates of origin, and authors has proven more difficult with some manuscripts than others. In addition to the autograph of J.A. Reincken that begins the third treatise of ND VI 5383, Reincken's claim of authorship of ND VI 5384 can be discerned from an inscription that sits inside the book's front cover: "Johan Adam Reincke gehört diß buch zu, und haet eß mit eigener hant geschrieben, soo geschehen 1670. (This book belongs to Johan Adam Reincke, who with his own hand wrote it in 1670)." ⁵⁴ While Reincken haughtily owns his own contributions, authorship of the first two treatises of ND VI 5383 is less certain.

In the preface to his 1901 edition, Gehrmann claims that the scribe of the *Composition Regeln* and *Regeln für doppelten, drei- und vierfachen Kontrapunkt* is Matthias Weckmann, who copied them in 1640. His reasoning is that on page forty-three of the *Composition Regeln* there is a nota bene with the signature "MW," which is also found in the Lüneburg manuscript K. N. 206, a Weckmann manuscript. We also know, according to Mattheson, that Weckmann studied in Hamburg with Jakob Praetorius II, a prominent student of Sweelinck, from 1637-1640. Because the first two treatises of the Sweelinck manuscripts have the same handwriting, and because of the MW initials accompanying the nota bene passage in *Composition Regeln*, Gehrmann concludes that Weckmann must have written both as a summation of his studies with Praetorius and that the treatises must date from around 1640, when Weckmann was in Hamburg. According to Gehrmann, these treatises fell into the hands of Reincken because Weckmann simply left them in Hamburg after his departure in 1640. ⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 1v.

⁵⁵ Sweelinck, "Part X: Composition Regeln," II-III.

Gehrmann's conclusions create tunnel vision in his edition of the Sweelinck manuscripts. His focus is primarily on the first two treatises of ND VI 5383,⁵⁶ believing them to be the primary lineage of Sweelinck's teachings.⁵⁷ While Gehrmann knew that the Sweelinck *Composition Regeln* were largely a copy of Gioseffo Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*, there were many examples he found that were not in Zarlino's 1558 treatise. Gehrmann believed Sweelinck himself added these examples, therefore expanding and updating Zarlino's methods.⁵⁸ The *Regeln für doppelten, drei- und vierfachen Kontrapunkt*, a treatise on double counterpoint at the octave, tenth, and twelfth, along with triple and quadruple counterpoint as well as syncopated dissonances in four to six parts, was, Gehrmann concluded, of a later generation than Sweelinck and must have been the intellectual property of Jakob Praetorius II.⁵⁹ Gehrmann does not pay much attention to the *Musica Amicus*, the brief appendix to the *Regeln für doppelten, drei- und vierfachen Kontrapunkt*, which consists of two part examples of several contrapuntal devices used simultaneously, nor does he appear to think much of the *Erste und Anderter theil*. The *Erste Unterrichtung* of ND VI 5384 and the *Composition Regeln* of 5383 have significant overlap. The *Erste Unterrichtung*, however, contains several portions where the "old style" is compared to the "new style," or the "neotertic," as Reincken sometimes calls it. Reincken offers extensive comparison between the contrasting styles in his section on fugue, and it is because of this, along with some of the topical overlap, which lead Gehrmann to believe the *Erste Unterrichtung* was a revised version, perhaps even a fusion of sorts, of the first two treatises of ND VI 5383.⁶⁰ As for the *Arcana geheimnißen*, it corresponds closely to the final third of the *Composition Regeln*, the

⁵⁶ Ibid., VI.

⁵⁷ Ibid. IV.

⁵⁸ Walker, "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,'" 94-95.

⁵⁹ Sweelinck, "Part X: Composition Regeln," III.

⁶⁰ Sweelinck, "Part X: Composition Regeln," II.

section on canon, imitation, and double counterpoint. Most of the examples can be found in the *Composition Regeln*, although the *Arcana geheimnißen* is missing the canons by Sweelinck and John Bull found in the *Composition Regeln*. Gerhmann ignores it almost entirely.

Many of Gerhmann's conclusions about the manuscripts were part of an aim to establish a direct line of development of the fugue from its origins in Italy to its development northward via Sweelinck, finishing with its culmination in J.S. Bach. Walker points out, though, that Gerhmann only checked the 1558 edition of Zarlino's *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche*, and many of the examples he believed to be Sweelinck's supplements were to be found in the second edition of 1573, debunking his claim that Sweelinck expanded on Zarlino.⁶¹

Gerhmann's conclusions went unquestioned for many years, partially due to the disappearance of the manuscripts during the Second World War. It would not be until 1968 when Werner Braun "noted that two of Johann Theile's treatises on double counterpoint are nearly identical to Part II of the Sweelinck treatise and suggested that Theile was in fact the author of this part."⁶² Johann Theile as the author of the second part [treatise] would undermine Gerhmann's hypothesis that the manuscript is from 1640, considering that Theile was born in 1646. Braun's claim also "cast doubt on the insularity of the Sweelinck school." Braun believed Theile wrote it a little before 1670.⁶³ In her 1980 article, "Dieterich Buxtehude's Studies in Learned Counterpoint," Kerala Snyder disagrees Braun's claim of Theile's authorship, writing "I do not believe that Theile was capable of writing it [part 2] at this early date [1670]," but she does not attribute it to Weckmann/Praetorius II.⁶⁴ Paul Walker, in his article "From Renaissance

⁶¹ Walker, "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,'" 95.

⁶² Kerala Snyder, "Dieterich Buxtehude's Studies in Learned Counterpoint," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, volume 180 (Autumn, 1980): 561.

⁶³ Walker, "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,'" 95.

⁶⁴ Snyder, "Dieterich Buxtehude's Studies in Learned Counterpoint," 561.

‘Fuga’ to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the ‘Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,’” also disagrees with Braun and reasserts Gehrmann’s conclusions that the two main manuscripts of 5383 were copied down by Weckmann, but probably at a later date than 1640. He also credits the intellectual property of the second treatise to Weckmann rather than Praetorius. His rationale is that it includes the tonal answer, which was formally introduced to German speaking lands in 1643 with the publication of Marco Scacchi’s *Cribrum musicum ad triticum Siferticum*.⁶⁵ However, he states that “the inclusion of Scacchi’s tonal answers points to a musician who was also trained in the Dresden tradition of Bernhard and Schütz. The only candidate who fills all of these qualifications, and thus the most likely author of the treatise, is Matthias Weckmann.”⁶⁶

In 1983, Joachim Marx discovered that some library materials from the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek had been sent to Russia before the fire of 1943. These missing materials would not be found until 1990, located in the St. Petersburg State Conservatory. In 1995, through the help of a private mediator, the manuscripts, along with an additional one-hundred and three pages, were returned to Hamburg.⁶⁷ Upon the return of the books, many of Gehrmann’s conclusions fell apart. In 2001, Ulf Grapenthin, after examining the original source, states that the “MW” signature Gehrmann used to identify Weckmann as the author is clearly different from known Weckmann autographs. He instead suggests that the first two manuscripts of 5383 were written down by a professional scribe, citing both the neat layout on the page with no large breaks, as well as some errors common for professional scribes.⁶⁸ After proving the

⁶⁵ Walker, “From Renaissance ‘Fuga’ to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the ‘Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,’” 99-102.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁶⁷ Grapenthin, “‘Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln’ aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens,” 73.

⁶⁸ Grapenthin, “‘Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln’ aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens,” 73.

impossibility of Weckmann as the scribe, Grapenthin then concludes that no longer can Theile be denied authorship of the second treatise, verifying Braun's 1968 claim.⁶⁹

The verification of Braun's hypothesis has far reaching implications. Johann Theile was not born until 1646, nor did he move into the vicinity of Hamburg until 1673 when he relocated to Lübeck. Also, when Braun made his claim in 1968, he was referring to two manuscripts found in the Boekmeyer collection, Mus. ms 913 and 917, the latter of which is autographed by J. G. Walther and is titled *Joh[ann] Theilens / Hochf.[ürstlich] Sachs:[en] Merseburgischen/ Capell=Meisters/ Contrapuncts=/ Praecepta/ 1690*, located in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. Whether or not the Theile treatise is from 1690, it is clearly not from 1640. Recalling that both manuscripts of 5383 have the same author, perhaps Gehrman's only valid claim, the entirety of manuscript 5383 must be dubbed the younger of the two. Grapenthin suggests a date of circa 1700 for manuscript 5383 due to several reasons. One reason is that in Reincken's appendix to the Theile treatise, which he dubs the *Musica Amicus*, he signs his name as "Jean Adam Reincken." The use of the French version of his name was a fad around the end of the 17th century and into the early 18th century.⁷⁰ Grapenthin also discovered watermarks in 5383 which, upon examination, are identical to watermarks found in the Bokemeyer collection. Georg Österreich, a pupil of Johann Theile, teacher of Heinrich Bokemeyer, and the person responsible for assembling the Bokemeyer collection, must have had one of his scribes copy out the treatises found in 5383, which would explain the identical watermarks according to Grapenthin. Dating

⁶⁹ Ibid., 100.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 90.

the manuscript to c. 1700 aligns nicely with the the Bokemeyer collection,⁷¹ of which “over half...appears to have been assembled before Österreich’s departure from Gottorf in 1702.”⁷²

The dating of ND VI 5383 to approximately 1700 has a profound impact on the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Compesition*. Gehrman’s notion that Reincken’s 1670 treatise was a revised edition of the two manuscripts of 5383, a claim that went unquestioned by scholars such as Walker and Snyder, is thus thrown into doubt. This claim, whether intentionally or not, implies that the *Erste Unterrichtung* is not Reincken’s intellectual property. Reincken’s treatise owes nothing to Theile’s, and while there are similarities in the topics covered between the *Erste Unterrichtung* and the *Composition Regeln*, Grapenthin argues that the former is a unicum and cannot be treated as merely an updated version of older treatises.⁷³

⁷¹ Grapenthin, “‘Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln’ aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens,” 107.

⁷² Kerala J. Snyder and Geoffrey Webber, “Österreich, Georg,” *Grove Music Online* (2001), accessed January 16, 2023. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20542>

⁷³ Grapenthin. “‘Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln’ aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens,” 84.

CHAPTER 4: OVERVIEW OF THE *ERSTE UNTERRICHTUNG ZUR COMPOSITION*

The intended use of the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition* is not difficult to surmise. The title, translating to *First Instruction in Composition*, plainly indicates its didactic purpose and intended audience, beginning composers. The intended audience is reiterated in an epilogue at the end of the manuscript, before the beginning of the *Arcana geheimnißen*, wherein the author writes “the above tractus of music is useful for those who desire a good introduction to composing.”⁷⁴ This is made evident by the breadth of topics covered, from basic consonance and dissonance, to fugue, text setting, and meter, among others. Arguably the most intriguing feature of this treatise, one that builds on its stated purposes, is the extensive comparisons between the old styles [die alten Componisten] and new [die neue Componisten]. The old composers are the *stylo antico*. This is demonstrated on folio 18v when he mentions Palestrina, Merulo, and di Lasso, the last is referred to by first name only, as examples of the old style, while on folio 24r he states “in the new style practiced by today’s composers,” implying the new styles are those in fashion at the time of writing. This dichotomy Reincken provides is reminiscent of Marco Scacchi who, in his *Brief Discourse on the Modern Music*, says “they do indeed deceive themselves by saying that the good studies of music are lost with this modern style, for one cannot well practice the modern music without some understanding of the true old rules.”⁷⁵ A level of pragmatism is on display as Reincken, rather than entrenching himself into a particular camp, provides the student with a firm foundation in the older, more restrained styles, without being dogmatic.

⁷⁴ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 47r.

⁷⁵ Tim Carter, Marco Scacchi, and Agostino Agazzari, *Polemics on the “Musica moderna,”* Ed. A, Italian-English., *Practica musica* ; v. 1 (Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1993).

The treatise begins with an overview of intervals, listing and classifying them into dissonances, perfect and imperfect consonances, and providing an example of how to properly use consonances. Reincken then discusses various clausulae, or cadential patterns, placing a great emphasis on when different clausulae are appropriate. The primary distinction is which are best for two voices and which are best for more than two voices. The tenor clausula (figure 1), which he says is best for two voices, appears to be a favorite, being used by Reincken not only in two voices (figure 2) but also with many more (figure 3).

FIGURE 1. Tenor clausula given by Reincken in the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition*.⁷⁶

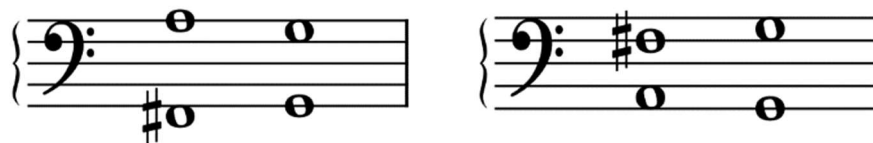


FIGURE 2. G major tenor clausula in two voices. *Was Kann uns kommen an für Noth*, m. 42-43.⁷⁷



FIGURE 3. F major tenor clausula in bass voice. *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, m. 173-174.⁷⁸



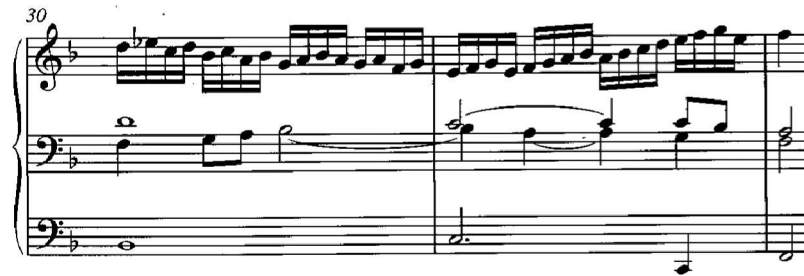
⁷⁶ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöthiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 7r.

⁷⁷ Johann Adam Reincken, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. Pieter Dirksen (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2005), 34.

⁷⁸ Johann Adam Reincken, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 22.

After intervals and clasulae come the first section on dissonances. Reincken begins this section with a lengthy discussion of passing tones and weak beat dissonances, an oft ignored subject in ancient treatises of which the presence here can be attributed to the intended audience. This section is also notable for being the first instance wherein the author contrasts the old and the new styles. In this case, he is discussing escape tone figures, an element of the new style which he uses heavily in his compositions (figure 4).

FIGURE 4. Ornamental escape tones in soprano. *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, m. 30-32.⁷⁹



After the discussion of passing tones and weak beat dissonances comes the standard topics on dissonance one expects, such as the proper resolution of the various kinds of suspensions. However, Reincken provides contrast between the traditional resolutions and resolutions in new styles, demonstrating the “newer” ways of resolving both dissonances (figure 5) and the tritone (figure 6). A peculiar stylistic comment is made in this section regarding bass suspensions. Reincken states, “the above example [of a bass suspension chain] also resists the tied part going down only a second, typically to a false 5th.” What he means by this is that bass suspensions are usually sequenced, rarely containing but one iteration. If they do contain one iteration, it is normally to a tritone. He then concludes the section with a few tricks on how to avoid parallel 5ths.⁸⁰

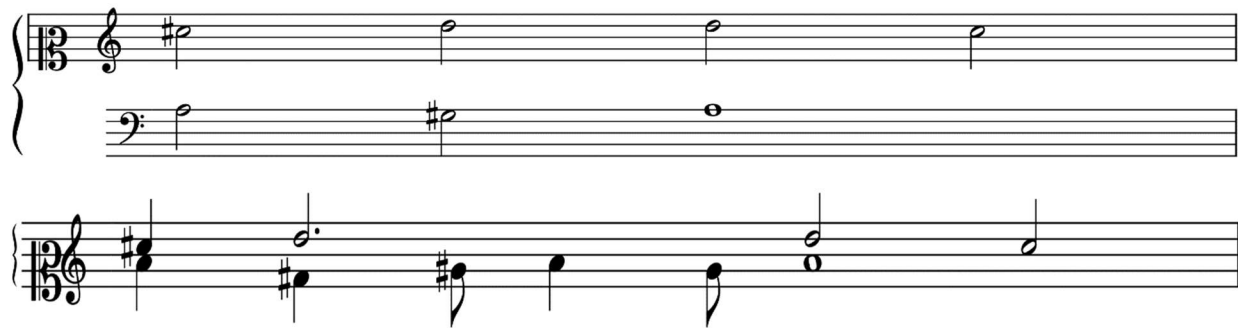
⁷⁹ Johann Adam Reincken, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, 12.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 11r-12v.

FIGURE 5. New manners of resolving dissonance.⁸¹



FIGURE 6. New manners of resolving the tritone.⁸²



Following this first section on dissonances comes scales and transpositions. Reincken lays out the various modes of music, defining their ranges in the tenor, which he says is the best range for establishing the mode. He then provides the “b-molle” transposition, which is described as the “common and older manner one otherwise calls the regular transposition.”⁸³ This transposition moves each scale up a fourth and adds a b-flat to their key signature and is common among Renaissance and early Baroque composers.⁸⁴ The subsequent section addresses *ficta*. More specifically, it addresses what he refers to as “*ficta* transposition,” which is akin to our modern conception of transposition, where through the use of sharps and flats a scale “gives the same intervals, if it is the same in other keys.” Reincken uses both manners of transposition in his chorale fantasies. The use of G major in *Was kann uns kommen an für Not* is indicative of

⁸¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöthiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 10r.

⁸² *Ibid.*, fol. 10v.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, fol. 12v.

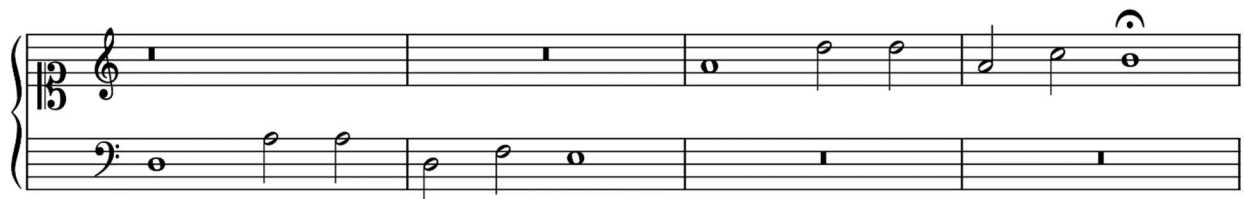
⁸⁴ Elam Rotem, “Modes in the 16th and seventeenth centuries,” YouTube video, 17:49, 05/13/2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyq48eybjZw>.

ficta transposition of the Ionian mode, while F major in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* utilizes the b-molle transposition of Ionian.

The subject of dissonances is further expounded on, focusing primarily on usage of the augmented 4th and augmented 5th, prior to the largest section of the treatise, the section on fugue. The topics given the most attention are the opening exposition, stretto, and invertible counterpoint. Recalling that this treatise is for beginners, the inclusion of fugue and fugal techniques, particularly invertible counterpoint, is noteworthy. Reincken clearly believes fugue and fugal techniques to be composers' most valuable assets and the hallmark of a properly educated composer and that one must begin studying them early in order to master them. All of his major works, and most of his minor works, contain these elements, but their inclusion here is perhaps the most demonstrative testament of this belief.

Reincken begins this section by demonstrating how to handle the opening of a fugue. The primary emphasis is placed on establishing the “ambitus,” the range of the mode. This is demonstrated with a subject that leaps a 5th from d to a, which takes an answer that leaps a 4th, from a to d (figure 7). This technique, known today as the tonal answer, is featured extensively in the *Hortus Musicus*, a collection of six trio sonatas Reincken published in 1688.

FIGURE 7. Example of correct subject and answer.⁸⁵



His section on fugue does not address the “old composers” and the “new composers” explicitly, as found in earlier sections. However, a contrast is seen when compared to

⁸⁵ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 20v

Sweelinck's *Composition Regeln*. Sweelinck/Zarlino classified imitative counterpoint into five different categories, each concerned with how precisely the "comes" replicated the "dux" and for how long. For example, what Sweelinck called *gebundene Fuge*, consisted of the "comes" replicating exactly the intervallic and rhythmic content of the "dux" for the duration of the piece, whereas what he called *gebundene Imitation* was when the "comes" follows the "dux" throughout the whole piece, but modifies it as needed. The establishment of the mode, however, was "a topic not discussed by Sweelinck [Zarlino]."⁸⁶ This is contrary to Reincken, for whom the establishment of the ambitus is a high priority, but completely abandons the five categories of imitative counterpoint.

A handful of examples of stretto are then given along with a brief section on the inversion of subjects. Reincken then proceeds to address invertible counterpoint. Only two types of invertible counterpoint are dealt with, invertibility at the octave and at the twelfth. Not coincidentally, these are the two types of invertible counterpoint found in Reincken's works, the former being found in the fugues of the *Hortus Musicus* (figure 8), and the latter in *An Wasserflüssen Babylon* (figures 9 & 10).

⁸⁶ Walker, "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue: The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts,'" 99, 103.

FIGURE 8. Invertible counterpoint at the octave. Sonata in C major, *Hortus Musicus*, m. 18-29.⁸⁷

Allegro.

The image displays a musical score for 'Allegro' from the Sonata in C major of Hortus Musicus, measures 18-29. The score is written for three systems of staves. The first system consists of a treble clef staff, a middle staff (likely alto or tenor), and a bass clef staff. The second system also consists of a treble clef staff, a middle staff, and a bass clef staff. The third system consists of a treble clef staff, a middle staff, and a bass clef staff. Red boxes highlight specific passages in the score where the counterpoint is invertible at the octave. The first system has a red box around the first measure of the treble staff and the first measure of the middle staff. The second system has a red box around the first measure of the treble staff and the first measure of the middle staff. The third system has a red box around the first measure of the treble staff and the first measure of the middle staff. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals, as well as figured bass notation in the bass clef staves.

⁸⁷ Johann Adam Reincken, *Hortus Musicus*, ed. Johann Cornelis Marisu van Riemsdijk (Amsterdam: Den Algemeenen Muziekhandel, 1886).

FIGURE 9. Opening invertible combination. *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, m. 1-3. ⁸⁸



FIGURE 10. Inversion of opening combination involving bottom voice transposing up an octave and top voice transposing down a 5th. *An Wasserflüssen Babylon*, m. 17-22. ⁸⁹

Noteworthy is the absence of invertible counterpoint at the tenth. In his dissertation,

“Ideologies of learned counterpoint in the northern German Baroque,” David Yearsley writes:

Fugues with multiple subjects, such as those in Reincken’s *Hortus Musicus*, required only an understanding of invertible counterpoint at the octave, the rule of which could be summarized in a very short space, just as Reincken did in his composition treatise. The theorists of the Hamburg school understood the applications of

⁸⁸ Dieterich Buxtehude, Johann Adam Reincken, and Johann Pachelbel, *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur*, ed. Michael Maul and Peter Wollny (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2007), 3.

⁸⁹ Buxtehude, Reincken, Pachelbel, *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur*, 4.

learned counterpoint, but treated the topic at a length which went far beyond its relevance to widely used musical forms.⁹⁰

Indeed, Reincken summarizes the rules of invertibility both at the octave and at the twelfth in but a sentence. This concision, as Yearsley noted, made him an outlier among the learned musicians of seventeenth century Hamburg, but can be partially attributed to the fact that his compositional treatise is for novices. He concludes the section with this statement:

One should not bind themselves completely to these rules of double counterpoint, but also searching for other various ways of accommodating imitations and counter-imitations, although this knowledge of double counterpoint will make the work easier.⁹¹

Of invertible counterpoint at the tenth, Peter Schubert in his textbook, *Baroque Counterpoint*, writes “your original combination, to be invertible at the tenth, must consist of only oblique and/or contrary motion!”⁹² While this is easy enough to be summarized in a short space, akin to Reincken’s description of invertibility at the octave and twelfth, the absence of parallel consonances in this type of counterpoint make it difficult to compose rapidly, and Yearsley notes “for Reincken, however, double counterpoint was only a means to an end and he showed no real interest in the process itself.”⁹³

The treatise closes with a rather lengthy section consisting of brief remarks on numerous subjects. The primary topic is meter, both proportional and compound, but comments regarding text setting, tempo markings, and mode affect are also provided. In this section, Reincken offers an intriguing insight regarding the use of mensural time signatures during the mid-seventeenth

⁹⁰ David G. Yearsley, “Ideologies of learned counterpoint in the northern German Baroque” (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1995), 60.

⁹¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 35v-36r.

⁹² Peter Schubert and Christioph Niedhöfer, *Baroque Counterpoint*, (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Education, 2006), 277.

⁹³ Yearsley, “Ideologies of learned counterpoint,” 59-60.

century. He compares the mensural time signature, C , which, according to Reincken “indicates that it [the piece] must be sung two whole notes in one measure,” to the standard cut time signature of today, of which he says is incorrect for equal measure, meaning a measure in two. Julia Doktor writes “the meanings of these signs [mensural time signatures] changed dramatically from the Renaissance to the Baroque,”⁹⁴ and the confusion caused by this shift is on display here. Reincken indicates that less educated musicians are mistaking the mensural time signature for cut time and, by consequence, singing Renaissance motets by composers such as Palestrina twice as fast as they should be sung.

It should be noted that there is no instruction on thorough-bass in this manuscript. This treatise belongs to a sort of category of treatises which appears to have died out in the early 18th century, that is the “composition treatise.” In the seventeenth century, composition and harmony, or thorough-bass, were two separate subjects. Reincken himself even states “the actual making of harmony, or other notes around the harmonies, passing tones, are not discussed herein.”⁹⁵ This distinction is also seen in Johann Andreas Herbst’s 1653 treatise, *Arte Prattica & Poetica*. The treatise is divided into three parts, the first being “a short instruction [on] how one should make counterpoints and learn composition,” the second “a short tractate and instruction [on] how one should make counterpoints from the mind, not from the pen,” and the third “an instruction and guidance on General-bass.”⁹⁶ As early as the first decade of the 18th century, one can see the once separate subject of composition being absorbed into the subject of general-bass. The first part of Friderich Erhard Niedt’s *Musical Guide*, published in 1710, contains a description on the

⁹⁴ Julia Doktor, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2021), 91.

⁹⁵ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 34v.

⁹⁶ Johann Andreas Herbst, *Arte prattica & poëtica*, (Frankfurt, Anthonio Humme and Thomae Matthiae Götze, 1653).

front cover that reads “by means of which a Lover of Noble Music can perfect himself in a short time to the extent that he can not only easily play the Thorough-bass according to its few clear Rules but, as a consequence, can also Compose various pieces and call himself a proper Organist and Musician.”⁹⁷ Another example can be found in the introduction to Johann David Heinichen’s *Der General-Bass in der Composition*, published in 1728, which claims:

No educated musician will deny that thoroughbass, or so-called General-Bass is, next to composition, one of the most important and fundamental of the musical sciences. For what is the origin of thoroughbass if not composition itself? And what ultimately is thoroughbass other than the *ex-tempore* invention – that is, composition...⁹⁸

While Heinichen references the idea of composition as a separate subject, his statement “and what ultimately is thoroughbass other than the *ex-tempore* invention – that is, composition...,” plainly indicates his own views on the matter. The composition treatise, which emphasized the interactions between two or more independent melodies, is a holdover from the 16th century that would succumb to the rise of thorough-bass, beginning circa 1600. However, thorough-bass would not become the cornerstone of compositional instruction until the 18th century. Therefore, this dichotomy between thorough-bass and composition is a phenomenon of the seventeenth century, a phenomenon of which the following translation will hopefully provide great insight into.

Regarding the translation process, it was initially rooted in a literal, word for word translation, which sought also to preserve as much of the original word order as possible.

Throughout, there can be found words or phrases in brackets, these are editorial and are meant to

⁹⁷ Friederich Erhardt Niedt, *The Musical Guide: Parts 1*, ed. Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor (Oxford England: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁹⁸ Derek Remeš, “The opening of Heinichen’s Introduction to...” Facebook, October 23rd, 2022. <https://www.facebook.com/groups/compositionandimprovisationinjsbachsgermany/posts/3233480340301978/>.

supplement pieces of information that are understood in the original, but unclear in the literal rendering. These should not be confused with words or phrases in parenthesis, which are by the author. In areas where a literal translation was not possible, an idiomatic translation was used. A translation is idiomatic when “out of all the word combinations which are grammatically allowable in the target language, the translation uses only ones which are in fact habitually employed.”⁹⁹ Various parts containing a more literal translation were smoothed out later with the intention of making them read easier in English. The result was a hybrid between a literal and an idiomatic translation.

⁹⁹ Brian Mossop, “Translation Institutions and ‘Idiomatic’ Translation,” *Meta: Translators’ Journal* 35 no. 2 (1990): 343.

FIGURE 11. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, ND VI 5384, Facsimile of Reincken's autograph and proof of authorship.

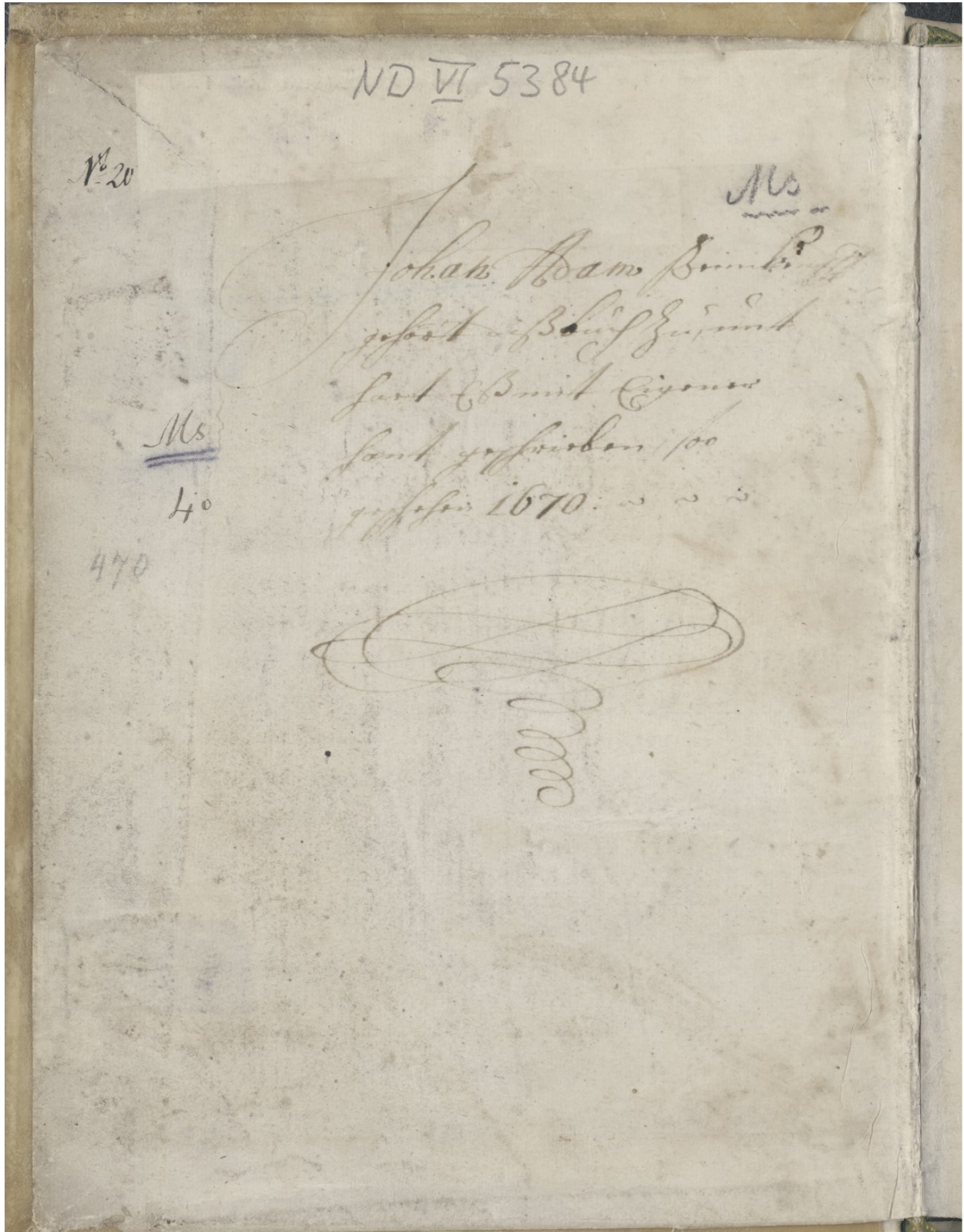


FIGURE 12. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, ND VI 5384, title page of *Erster und Anderer theil*.

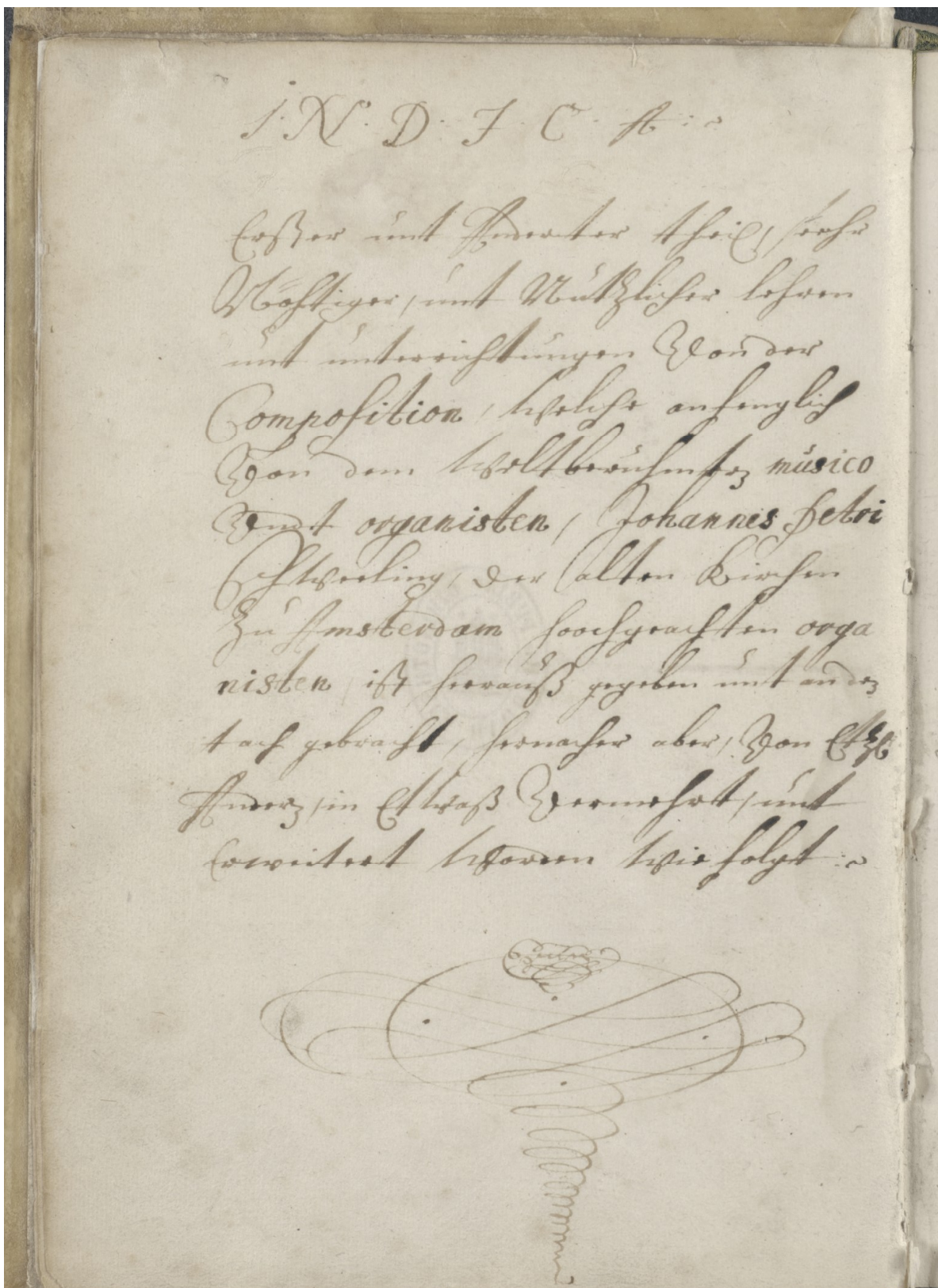
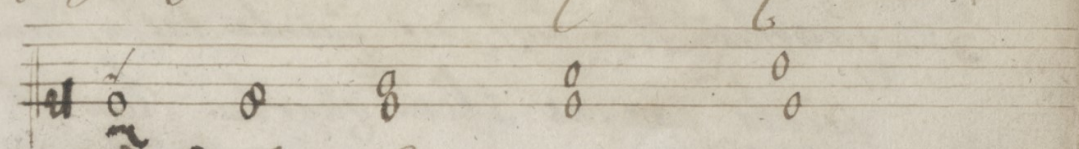


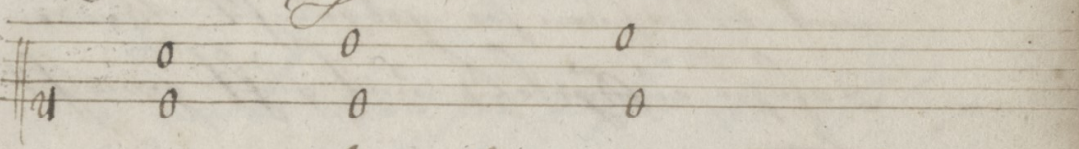
FIGURE 13. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, ND VI 5384, opening page of the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition*.

4

Unison: secunda: tertia: quarta: quinta: ~



secunda: tertia: octava: ~



Letzte unterweisung zur Composition: ~

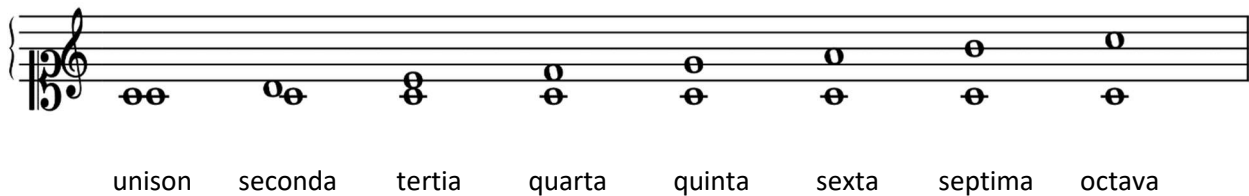
1. Consonantien sind diese octava, quinta, tertia, secunda, unison, weil die octava, weis für außerselbigen Entspringt ~
2. Dissonantien sind diese secunda, septima, weil die octaven weis für außerselbigen Entspring als Nonna etc. ~

CHAPTER 5: ERSTE UNTERRICHTUNG ZUR COMPESITION

¹⁰⁰This book belongs to Johann Adam Reink, who thus in 1670 has written it with his own hand.

I.N.D.J.C.A.¹⁰¹

¹⁰²First and another part of very useful and necessary teachings and instructions of composition are given here, which originate from the world-famous musician and organist Johannes Petri Schweeling, highly renowned organist of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam, and afterward but a few others [teachings] of today being used increasingly.



¹⁰³First instruction in composition

1. Consonances are these: octave, 5th, 3rd, 6th, unison. Outside the octave they are the same.
2. Dissonances are these: 2nd, 7th, outside the octave they become the 9th etc.
3. ¹⁰⁴The 4th, the diminished 5th, augmented 5th, and the tritone, are themselves dissonances and must be used in such a way that they are resolved properly.
4. If, however, the composition is for more than two voices, and they have a good fundamental below them, they become consonances, sounding as follows:




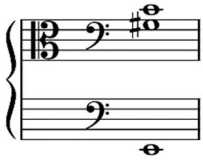

¹⁰⁰ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 1v.

¹⁰¹ In nomine domini Jesu Christi amen.

¹⁰² Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 4v.

¹⁰³ Ibid., fol. 4r.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., fol. 5v.

quarta fundament or		false fifth fundament		augmented fifth fundament	
false fourth fundament		tritonus fundament			

¹⁰⁵N.B. If the 4th is larger than it should be, it is called the tritone, or the augmented 4th. The false 5th, because it is smaller than normal, is called the diminished 5th.

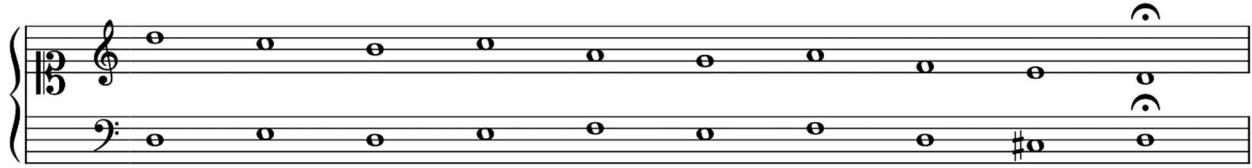
5. The octave and 5th are perfect consonances.
6. The remaining, 3rd and 6th, are imperfect consonances.
7. One is not permitted to place two perfect consonances of the same kind after one another.
8. ¹⁰⁶Two perfect consonances (even if they are not of the same kind) are not allowed to follow one another in a bicinium¹⁰⁷ if the voices rise or fall together. Even where there are more voices this is not the best.
9. Do not leap to a perfect consonance in a bicinium using parallel motion.

¹⁰⁵ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 5r.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., fol. 6v.

¹⁰⁷ The term bicinium, or bicinio, was “used in German-speaking areas of the period [Renaissance and early Baroque]...to designate pedagogical duos.” Bruce A Bellingham, "Bicinium," *Grove Music Online* (2001), Accessed 16 Oct. 2022, <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.03041>.

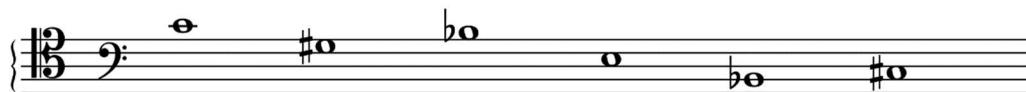
10. In a bicinium of slow notes in both parts, one does not use two major sixths or two major thirds in succession, according to the rule given by the old composers.¹⁰⁸ In other compositions this is not so closely adhered to as is in this bicinium.



11. If a semitone is raised in a scale to create a whole tone, it should not, after the raised note, descend without first ascending.

12. Also, in a \natural -dur song¹⁰⁹, a scale should descend following a flattened note before ascending.

13.¹¹⁰ The parts must create a good air, or melody, and must not present singers with strange and uncommon intervals, such as:



14. In a bicinium, avoid the following bass cadential patterns [clausulae]:¹¹¹



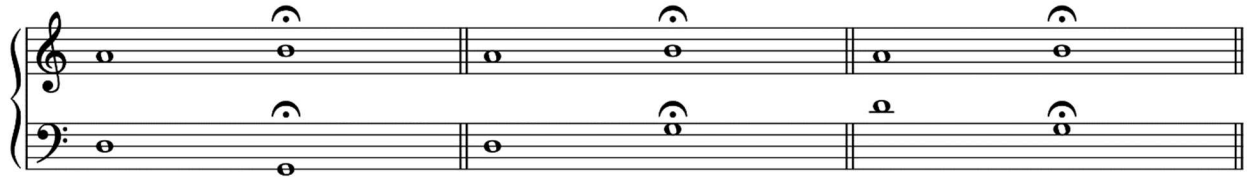
¹⁰⁸ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 6r.

¹⁰⁹ A piece in a non-transposed mode.

¹¹⁰ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 7v.

¹¹¹ Reincken uses the word “clausula” instead of cadence. The term “cadence,” clausulae eventually became synonymous with and replaced by in the 18th century, refers to a harmonic pattern used to terminate a musical phrase whereas “clausulae” refers to specific linear motions of the voices used to conclude a musical phrase. Rudolf Flotzinger, “Clausula,” *Grove Music Online* (2001), Accessed 16 Oct. 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.05897>.

The last, or third clausula, somewhat more permissible than the first two, should not be used in any bicinium except as follows.



¹¹²But normally with more than two voices.

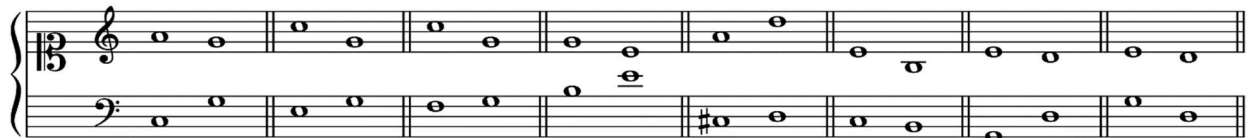
Without [the extra voices], in a bicinium, one can make these clausulae.



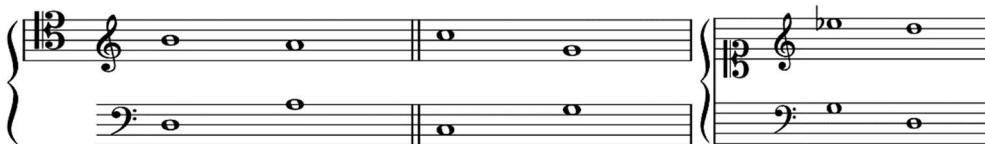
More [on this] below [weiter unt zum].

15. In a bicinio, one should end in a perfect [consonance], approaching with nice and sustained stepwise motion, not falling or leaping there on as one likes to do when beginning in a perfect [consonance], which is not as necessary as ending in one.

16. ¹¹³All untidy and misshapen leaps, such as the following, should be avoided.



In 5 voices, also avoid the following. ¹¹⁴



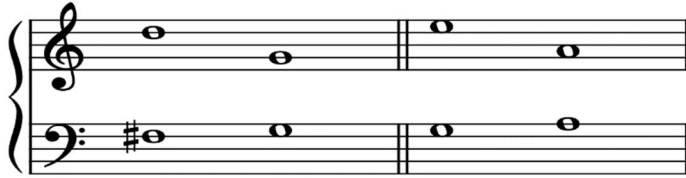
¹¹² Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 7r.

¹¹³ Ibid., fol. 8v.

¹¹⁴ This has been altered from the original for formatting purposes.

The third definitely not.

This is tolerable in fugues of more than 2 voices.



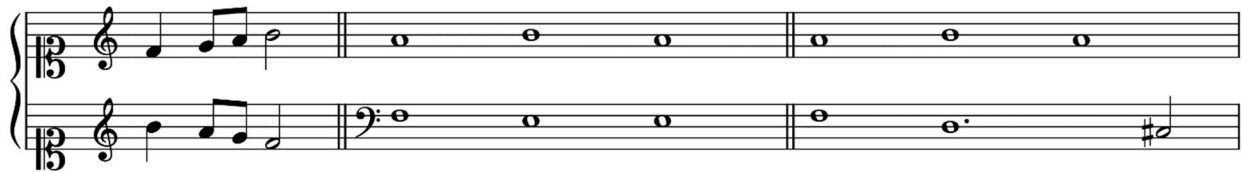
but the following is better.



17. ¹¹⁵This is to be avoided because it sounds like parallel 5ths. ¹¹⁶



18. One must not misshapenly place Mi-Fa¹¹⁷ after one another, either in the melody of each voice as well as in both of the following false oblique relationships.¹¹⁸



bad

better

good

¹¹⁵ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 8r.

¹¹⁶ The following musical example is on one staff in the tenor clef in the source material.

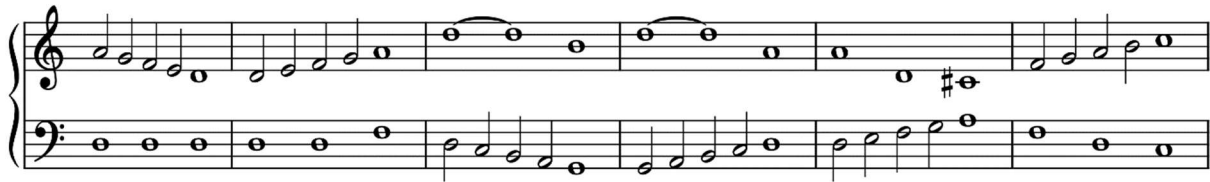
¹¹⁷ In hexachordal solfège, Mi-Fa refers to the placement of the semi-tone. The two overlapping hexachords in use here are the natural, beginning on C, and the durum, beginning on G, making Mi either E or B and Fa either F or C.

¹¹⁸ At the end of the sentence is the Greek word “to shit,” χεσω. This same word is found in Marco Scacchi’s *Cribrum musicum ad triticum Siferticum* when discussing improper Mi-Fa motion used by Paul Siefert. Marco Scacchi, *Cribrum Musicum ad Triticum Siferticum* (Venetiis: Alessandro Vincenti, 1643), 49.

On dissonance

In the interests of more sweetness, dissonances should be mixed among consonances, firstly in a stepwise and alternating manner so that the first note is a consonance.

¹¹⁹The following is a dissonance.



N.B. The part with passing dissonances should not reverse direction like this.



¹²⁰With more voices it could create erroneous affects, which anyhow is allowed in fast notes, like so.



Also, one should not leap from clear dissonances, like so.



¹¹⁹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 9v.

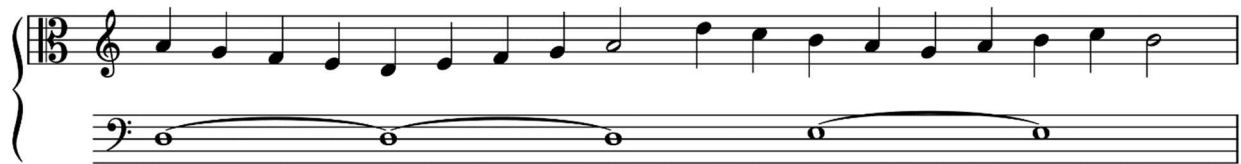
¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 9r.

The old composers did not even allow [this] in fast notes such as quarter notes and eighth notes, which are appropriate in today's new style of composition, as follows.



¹²¹These following are all used nowadays.

N.B. If the notes are moving stepwise, it should first be a consonance like the 3rd, 5th etc., with the others, the 4th, 6th, dissonances etc., alternating one around the other, as follows.¹²²



However, the old composers also allowed things like the following.



All leaps must be good.¹²³



1. Further on dissonances. the second resolves to the third (resolves or is made good), as such.

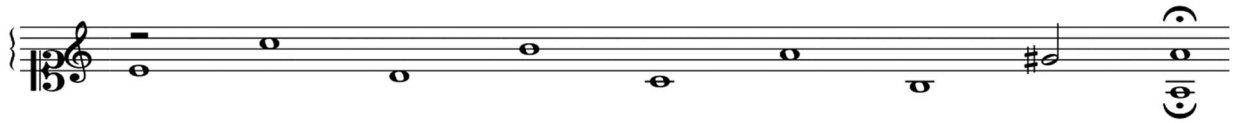


¹²¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 10v.

¹²² The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.


¹²³ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

2. ¹²⁴The 4th, I mean 7th ¹²⁵, resolves to a 6th.



3. The 4th to the 3rd. ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷



These days such dissonances are resolved differently, which the old composers were in general not familiar with or did not know how to use appropriately. At this symbol  ¹²⁸ one should follow.

4. If a dissonance is occurring, the voice or part that is tied should go down a second, and the other voice or part go to a desired consonance. A foreign harmonic effect will occur in two successive dissonances. ¹²⁹



Hereby should one follow the best compositions, they will bring forth the sweetest knowledge on the basis that one nevertheless does not misuse these rules and create a wild and completely harsh and unfriendly composition.

¹²⁴ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 10r.

¹²⁵ Here Reincken appears to have mis-spoken.

¹²⁶ The original example contains several errors and is difficult to discern what was intended. The ending bass note, originally f-sharp, has been changed to g-sharp. The penultimate soprano note, originally a-sharp, has been changed to a natural.

¹²⁷ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

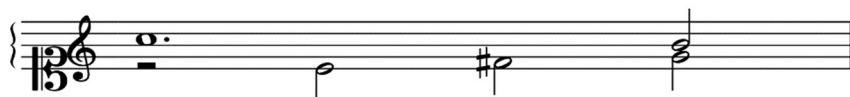
¹²⁸ This symbol has been lifted from the original. The musical example that corresponds with this musical symbol goes with the text found above it regarding the old composers and dissonance. This breaks with the ordinary flow of the manuscript, where the musical example is found immediately below the text it relates to.

¹²⁹ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

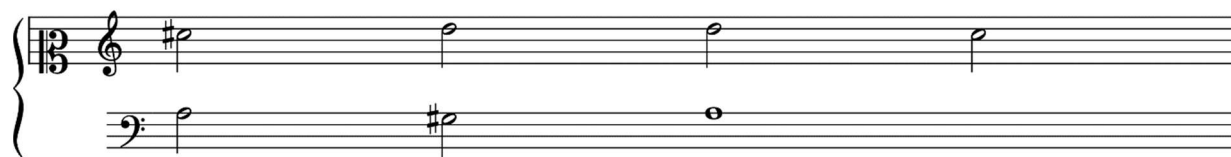
¹³⁰N.B. The 9th can be resolved to the octave from time to time.



5. The diminished 5th, or false 5th, well becomes a 3rd.



One finds these days that a slightly delayed resolution can be forgiven. ^{131 132}



Here one should observe good compositions and follow them with discretion.

6. The tritone is resolved by the upper part going up a second and the lower part going down a second, as follows.¹³³



¹³⁴Nota. The perfect 4th is also used in such a manner as follows.¹³⁵



¹³⁰ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 11v.

¹³¹ First example, bb. 2 f-sharp is editorial. F-natural in source.

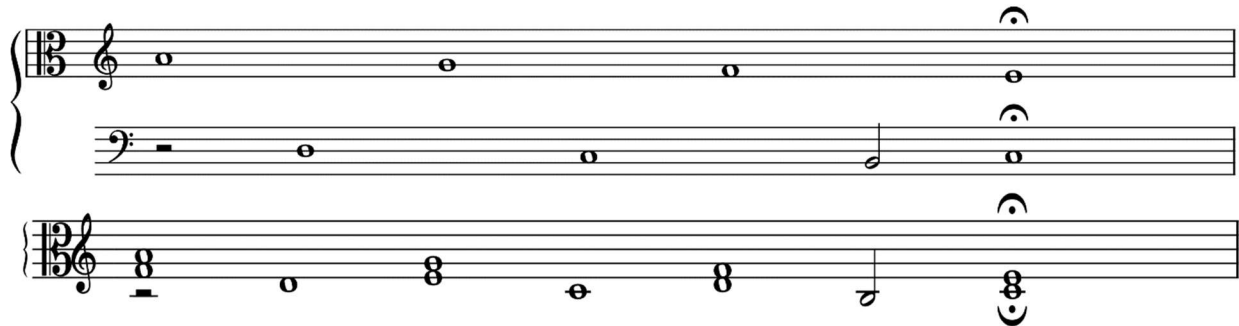
¹³² Second musical example is on one staff in mezzo-soprano clef in source.

¹³³ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

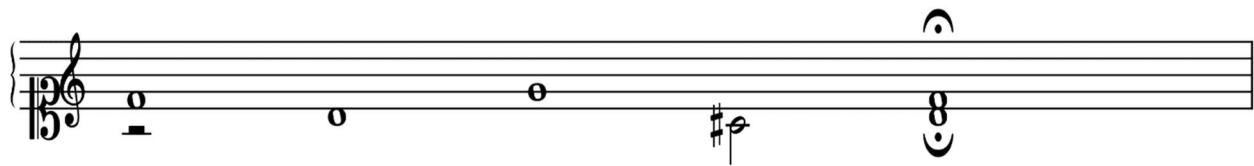
¹³⁴ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 11r.

¹³⁵ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

7. The 4th can also be resolved to the 5th, but this sounds better with more than 2 voices, seen in the following.¹³⁶



The above example also resists the tied part going down only a second, typically to a false 5th.¹³⁷



In other dissonances it would journey much too far,¹³⁸ as seen [below].



¹³⁹Nevertheless, one finds a similar manner of harsh to sweet in today's new style of composition, particularly in *stylo recitativo*, where the composition needs to somewhat match the manner of the text. N.B. *pro memoria*: if the tied notes are in half notes [tacte], the dissonances must occur on the downbeat and be resolved on the upbeat. If, however it is in

¹³⁶ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

¹³⁷ The intended meaning here is bass suspension typically form chains and rarely contain but one iteration. When there is only one iteration, it is normally to a tritone which resolves back to a third.

¹³⁸ Elaborating on the above point, if a singular bass suspension resolves to anything other than the tritone it will create an undesirable effect, possibly obscuring the mode.

¹³⁹ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 12v.

quarter notes, the dissonance goes with up or down beat, with the first quarter being dissonant and the other being nice and consonant, so that the dissonance is resolved.

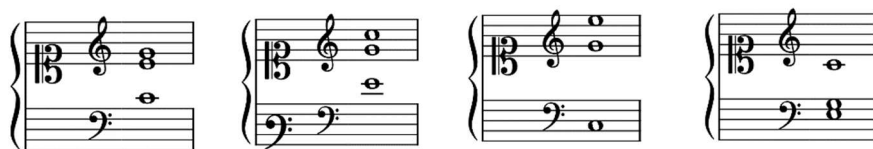
8. In a composition of more than 2 voices, one must begin on a perfect [consonance] if the voices are to nicely rise or fall together.¹⁴⁰



¹⁴¹However, one avoids these in two successive parts, because of the resulting 5th-like sounds.



N.B. With three parts, all three chord tones should be together, or heard, in the multiple parts as often as possible.



And thus so is appropriate with four and more parts.

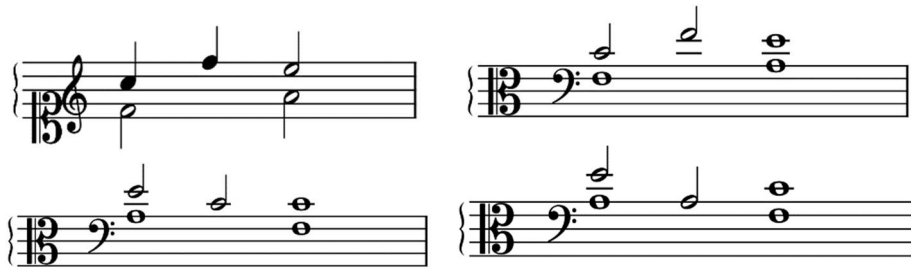
There now follow some further observations on how to avoid parallel 5ths.



¹⁴⁰ The following musical example is on one staff in alto clef in source.

¹⁴¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 12r.

Definitely not the following.



¹⁴²With more than 2 voices this is good, especially in the middle parts.



¹⁴² Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 13v.

The tones/modes of music

These are the 12.

Primus and secundus go on d

Tertii and quarti on e

Quinti and sexti on f

Septimi and octavi on g

Noni and decimi on a

Undecimi and duodecimi on c

These are all in \natural -dur (this is natural and self-evident)

¹⁴³If these are in b-molle, how they are normally transposed can be seen here.¹⁴⁴

Following the regular manner, these go:

Primus and secundus from g

Tertius and quartus from a

Quintus and sextus from b

Septimus and octavus from c

Nonus and decimus from d

Undecimus and duodecimus from f


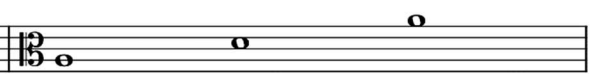

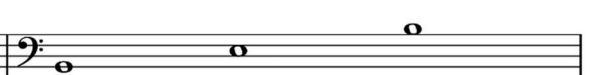
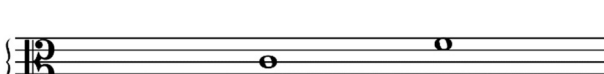
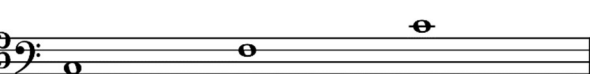
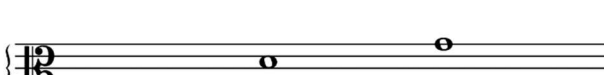
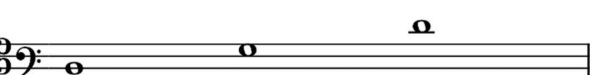


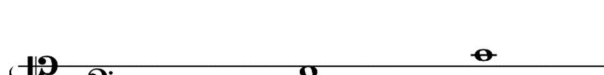

One can best establish the scale, or mode, in the tenor (in pieces for 4 to 5 voices). It contains the scale following in its order and indicates the location of the correct place of the final and principal cadence of the scale. Therefore, it should have the name tenor, from “tenere.” The other

¹⁴³ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 13r.

¹⁴⁴ This phrase contains a word, kopts, which does not appear to fit with the sentence, nor appears in any dictionaries.

notes [in the tenor] are the closest after the principal cadence, but yet not to be used as often as the previous [cadence]. Also, taste knows a cadence that belongs to the scale.

¹⁴⁵Concerning this, one can also use other scales, but not too often and one must not remain therein too long, but quickly return to the tonic.


Primus dorius: ¹⁴⁶	2 nd : hypodorius
	
3 rd : phrigius	4 th : hypophrigius
	
5 th : lydius	6 th : hypolidius
	
7 th : mixolydius	8 th : hypomixolidius
	
9 th : aeolius	10 th : hypoeolius
	
11 th : ionicus	12 th : hypoionicus
	

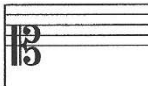
N.B. The Greek names come from the different areas of that land where the respective scale was common.


¹⁴⁵ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 14v.

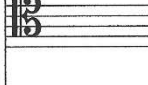
¹⁴⁶ The tenor clefs have been substituted with bass clefs, but the alto clefs are original to maintain the placement of the ranges of the scales within the tenor, which according to Reincken, is the ideal range for the establishment of the mode.

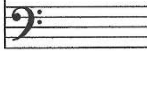
¹⁴⁷On the clefs of the voices

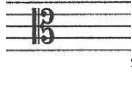
If the tenor is placed in  and the piece is in 4 voices, the other voices are usually written as follows.

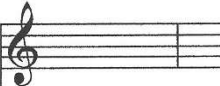
DISCANT: 

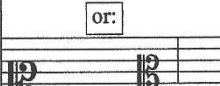
ALTUS: 

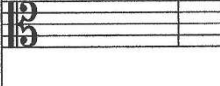
TENOR: 

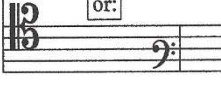
BASSUS 

If the tenor is placed in , as on the following page, so too must the other voices adjust their clefs, and are normally written as follows.¹⁴⁸

DISCANT: 

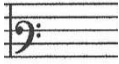
ALTUS: 

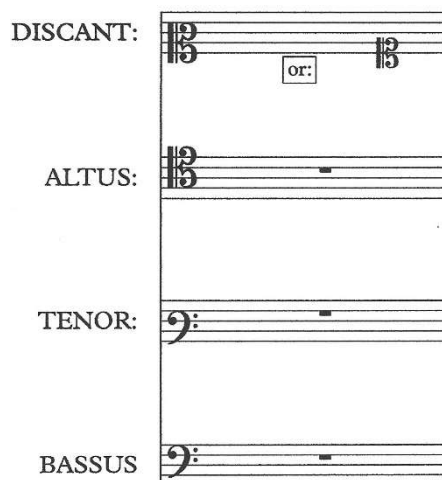
TENOR: 

BASSUS 

¹⁴⁷ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 14r.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 15v.

If the tenor is placed in , like a high bass, the other voices are written as such.

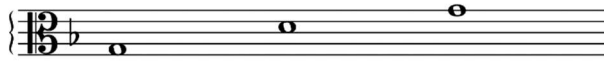
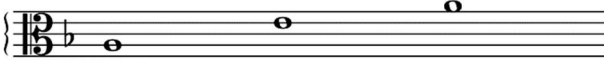
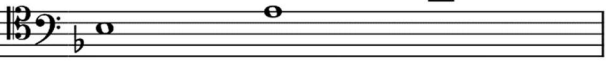
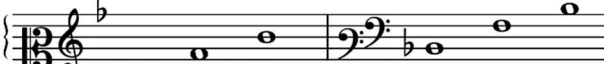

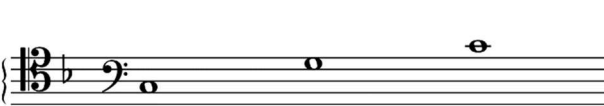

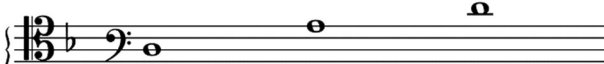
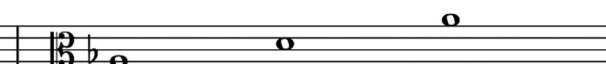
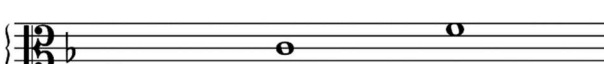
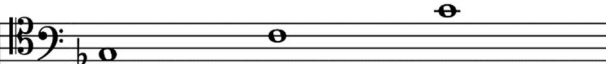


The image shows four staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled 'DISCANT:' and contains two treble clefs with a box containing 'or:' between them. The second staff is labeled 'ALTUS:' and contains a treble clef followed by a horizontal line. The third staff is labeled 'TENOR:' and contains a bass clef followed by a horizontal line. The fourth staff is labeled 'BASSUS' and contains a bass clef followed by a horizontal line.


¹⁴⁹And this is spoken of the 12 tones [scales] as they naturally are (as in h-dur).

¹⁴⁹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 15r.

Now follow the same scales transposed using “b-flat.” This common and older manner one otherwise calls the regular transposition.

<p>¹⁵⁰Primus dorius:</p> 	<p>2nd: hypodorius</p> 
<p>3rd: phrigius</p> 	<p>4th: hypophrigius</p> 
<p>5th: lydius</p> 	<p>6th: hypolydius</p> 
<p>7th: mixolydius</p> 	<p>8th: hypomixolydius</p> 
<p>9th: aeolius</p> 	<p>10th: hypoeolius</p> 
<p>11th: ionicus</p> 	<p>12th: hypoionicus</p> 

¹⁵⁰ Alto clefs are original, bass clefs are editorial.

¹⁵¹If the tenor is placed in , the other voices could be placed in.



DISCANT: 

ALTUS: 

TENOR: 

BASSUS  or: or:

These are the 12 scales, both b-flat and regular, and how they have long been normally transposed. Two false modes on h, the 13 and 14th, because of their false 5th with f, are not usable, as is the same [as the mode] on e with b-flat etc.

¹⁵¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 16v.

Here follow is the modus/tonus ficta

Now both of these manners, natural, or \flat -dur, and \flat -flat as stated, can be freely transposed as one desires, a second or third or a semitone higher or lower, as it pleases composers, and each scale remains what it is.¹⁵² One transposes it as one wishes, and primus tonus, which otherwise goes from d, does not become tertius if one who nicely transposes it into e is familiar with the ficta semitoniorum. The same proper order arises since it is transposed according to the natural manner belonging to the scale or mode. Similar in solimisation, as when I can sing (if the melody is concerned) the octave of the transposed scale with the same solimisation, that it gives the same intervals if it is the same in other keys.

As primus tonus natural, or \flat -dur.



Primus tonus with \flat -moll, regular transposition.

¹⁵³altus:

re mi fa ut re mi fa sol

Transposed using ficta, the 2nd made higher using the sharp, or #, so as to maintain the primus tonus.

tenor:¹⁵⁴

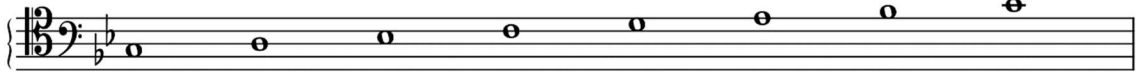
re mi fa ut re mi fa sol

¹⁵² Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 16r.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, fol. 17v.

¹⁵⁴ Sharps are editorial, implied through the solfege.

It is actually not just for this solmization; the same solmization can also be transposed to primus tonus a 2nd lower on c minor, as follows.

tenor: 
re mi fa ut re mi fa sol

[It] remains primus tonus, or modus, or fictus,¹⁵⁵ and thus could one transpose primum tonum ficta through all the keys, tone and semitone or black and white keyboard [keys], with it remaining yet primus [tonus] and becoming no other. And in the same way we can understand that the other eleven tones or modes can also be transposed as wonderfully as one wishes, but with their nature remaining as it is. Nevertheless, they are given a foreign-like sound.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 17r.

¹⁵⁶ Foreign-like is translated from “fremdigkeit.”

The dissonances in general go downwards.¹⁵⁷

The first musical example consists of two staves. The upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in alto clef. The music is in 13/8 time. The upper staff features a melodic line with a series of eighth notes and a final cadence. The lower staff provides a bass line with chords and single notes. The second example follows a similar format, showing a different melodic and harmonic progression.

¹⁵⁸Following are a few exceptions to the previously given rule¹⁵⁹ to not descend after a “#”, for example as in the 3rd and 4th tone at a cadence.

The first example shows a melodic line in the treble clef and a bass line in the alto clef. The music is in 13/8 time. The upper staff features a melodic line with a series of eighth notes and a final cadence. The lower staff provides a bass line with chords and single notes. The second example follows a similar format, showing a different melodic and harmonic progression.

These are commonly used, although rarely used by the older composers such as Palestrina, Merulo, and Orlando.

¹⁵⁷ The second musical example below is on two staves in source. Upper staff in soprano clef, lower staff in alto clef.

¹⁵⁸ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 18v.

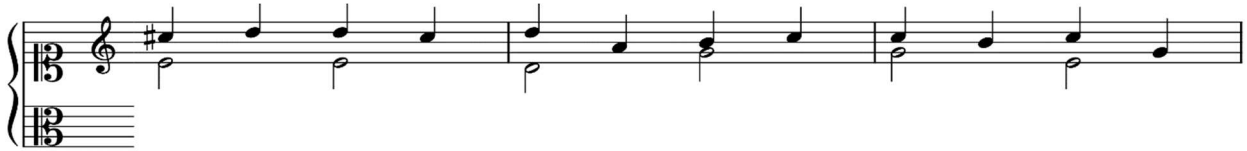
¹⁵⁹ See page 43.

On Dissonances

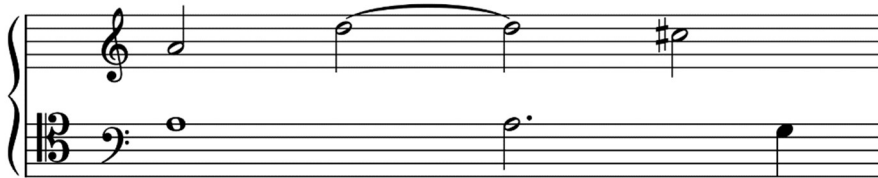
Dissonances normally go on the downbeat and resolve on the upbeat. However, if the old cadences or cadential figures are used, the dissonances sometimes go on the upbeat ¹⁶⁰and are held through the following downbeat, only then resolved on the following upbeat. ¹⁶¹



Such is particularly found in polyphonic pieces such as bicinia, and in somewhat faster notes, such as. ¹⁶²



Of course, one must approach dissonances or suspensions through stepwise motion. Therefore, the following, according to the old composers, is not good.

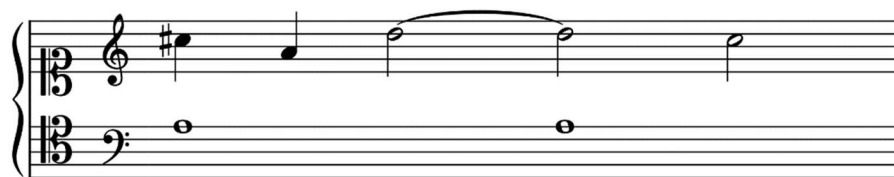


¹⁶⁰ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 18r.

¹⁶¹ The following musical example is on two staves in source. Upper staff in soprano clef, lower staff in alto clef.

¹⁶² The following musical example is on two staves in source. Upper staff in soprano clef, lower staff in alto clef.

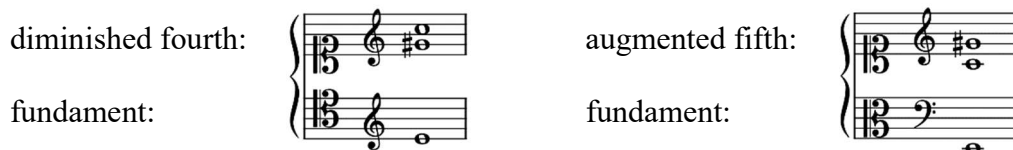
¹⁶³But the following is good according to the old style.¹⁶⁴



Also, one finds this particularly in Madrigal style.



NB: The “quarta deficient” [diminished 4th] and the “quinta exedente” [augmented 5th] must have a good fundament ¹⁶⁵underneath them if one wishes to use them.



In the old style, one does not find them [diminished and augmented 4th] otherwise, as namely in Orlando, Palestrina, and similar composers. The new composers also use them, but rather as suspensions.



¹⁶³ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 19v.

¹⁶⁴ Second bass semi-breve is c'-natural in source.

¹⁶⁵ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 19r.

One finds the augmented 4th among the new composers only in the following manners.¹⁶⁷

The image displays four musical examples, each consisting of a four-measure phrase in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The first example shows a melodic line in the treble clef with a half note G4, a half note A4, a half note B4, and a half note C5 with a sharp sign, all connected by a slur. The bass clef has a whole note G3. The second example shows a treble clef with a whole note chord G4-B4 and a bass clef with a whole note chord G3-B3. The third example shows a treble clef with a whole note chord G4-B4 and a bass clef with a whole note chord G3-B3. The fourth example shows a treble clef with a whole note chord G4-B4 and a bass clef with a whole note chord G3-B3.

¹⁶⁷ In the tenor in the fourth example, the final semi-breve is c'-natural in source.

¹⁶⁸The following on fugue

1.)

Each imitation must be appropriately adjusted to one of the 12 tones (or as some call them, the 12 modes).

2.)

Because each of the 12 modes (or tones) has a certain range, one should not exceed this ambitus¹⁶⁹ in the beginning of a fugue. The octave that the tone or mode primarily fits into is called the ambitus, and relies on a definite and limited order.

¹⁷⁰To begin one should, as mentioned before, observe the ambitus and not carelessly exceed it, as in this fuga primi toni where the range is between d and d', or d' and d'' in the discant, and thus is begun correctly.



The following design is incorrect, exceeding the octave, or range, of the scale.



¹⁶⁸ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 20r.

¹⁶⁹ Reincken uses “ambitus,” which is “the range of scale degrees attributed to a given mode...or the range of a voice, instrument or piece.” Harold S. Powers, Richard Sherr, and Frans Wiering, “Ambitus,” *Grove Music Online* (2001), Accessed 16 Oct. 2022, <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.00744>.

¹⁷⁰ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 21v.

1712.)¹⁷²

If it is a bit further into the piece (after the scale has been established), one can bring this in.



Or others too, such as the following.



And so forth. But if one wishes to digress from the scale, such things should occur subtly and gradually, and with grace. Also, one should not linger too long without soon and with good grace returning to the correct scale or ambitus.

1733.)

If there are imitations that fill in their 5th, one cannot alter them, and to go a little outside their ambitus at the start, as in this following, is correct.



¹⁷¹ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 21r.

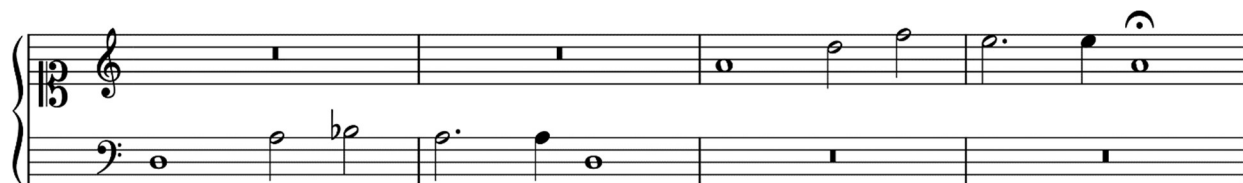
¹⁷² It is unclear whether this redundancy is a mistake or whether he is attempting to indicate that this content belongs with the content on the previous page.

¹⁷³ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 22v.

The following would not be a correct beginning.



¹⁷⁴This is better and correct.



If one must exceed the 5th or the octave of the scale at the beginning (because of stepwise motion of a 5th), one can disguise it so that it may not immediately burden the ear with an unfriendly melody that can arise. The following is not completely wrong, but it is unpleasant to hear.



¹⁷⁵N.B. It is often appropriate and better to put it in another key, such as the following, which is better in the 9th tone.



¹⁷⁴ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 22r.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 23v.

The following is not so painful to the ear and sounds much nicer than before.¹⁷⁶

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each consisting of four staves. The first system features a treble clef staff with a melodic line and a bass clef staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. The second system continues the melody and accompaniment. The third system concludes the piece with a final cadence in the bass staff.

¹⁷⁶ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 23r. The following musical example begins on folio 23v.

¹⁷⁷Or the following manner is also not so harsh.

A musical score for a fugue, measures 1-4. It consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom three are in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music features a melodic line in the top staff and a more active bass line in the bottom two staves.

A musical score for a fugue, measures 5-8. It consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom three are in bass clef. The key signature has one flat (Bb). The music continues the fugue with various rhythmic patterns and melodic lines across all staves.

¹⁷⁸Nota pro memoria: In the new style practiced by today's composers, though, one finds that they like to keep their fugues unaltered, even if it seems somewhat to run counter to the scale.

A musical score for a fugue, measures 9-12. It consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, and the bottom three are in bass clef. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music shows a continuation of the fugue with some rests and melodic fragments. The word "etc." is written at the end of each staff to indicate the continuation of the piece.

¹⁷⁷ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöthiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 24v.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 24r.

This [the above] is shunned by the best musicians, as is this following.¹⁷⁹



A musical score consisting of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the second in alto clef, the third in bass clef, and the fourth in bass clef. Each staff contains a sequence of notes and rests, with the word "etc." written below the end of each staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

You must go by the old rules, as follows.¹⁸⁰



A musical score consisting of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the second in alto clef, the third in bass clef, and the fourth in bass clef. Each staff contains a sequence of notes and rests, with the word "etc." written below the end of each staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

¹⁷⁹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 25v. Folio 25v begins with the following musical example.

¹⁸⁰ As Paul Walker points out, this comment suggests that tonal answers and projection of the mode “by this time had come to be considered one of ‘the old rules.’” Walker. “Fugue in German Theory from Dressler to Mattheson,” 339.

¹⁸¹N.B: It appears out of all 12 modes none is so difficult to remain within as the primus and secundus, especially if the fugue reaches the 5th of the mediated scale [the b-molle variant] or is in b-molle.

4.)

In such fugues one typically closes the first cadence (especially when they complete with most, but not all, of the voices) by taking the principal place of the scale, which in primus tonus \natural -dur being from d-d, is on D. ¹⁸²After this one can use the nearest after the principal cadence, the lesser principal, which in this case is on A. Next is on F, which must be used less (and not as often as the earlier cadences). After these, cadences in other keys are allowed, especially if they are not complete and conclude in other voices. Nevertheless, as stated, priority goes to the cadences that actually belong to the scale, and these should be used the most.

¹⁸³N.B. It is nonetheless not harmful if the first complete cadence is in the lesser principal, which one also finds in good music.

Nota pro memoria: In such compositions (as in counterpoints or otherwise based on or set against a choral), one takes neighboring parts together, as in a bicinium, altus and discant, tenor and altus, bass and tenor; but not bass and alto; rather bass and discant. Discant and tenor are also good together.

¹⁸⁴N.B. This [see above] is important to understand if the composition is intended for clavier or similar instruments or for singing in older motet style. Where a concerto or other instruments are intended, one can set together the bass and discant both in vocal music and in instrumental music

¹⁸¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 25r.

¹⁸² Ibid., fol. 26v.

¹⁸³ Ibid., fol. 26r.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., fol. 27v.

– setting together a cornet with a choraliter dulcian or fagott [bassoon], or similar instruments.
Now follows more on imitation of fugues directo modo, as well as of fugen mixta and inversa.

5.)

¹⁸⁵One cultivates the learning of composition once they acquire a strong command in the setting of counterpoints against a choral in two voices: likewise if one can set one or two obbligatos, as the Italians call it, against it [a chorale], next would be instruction on fugue, especially on short imitations, imitations that are brought in quickly behind one another. It occurs here, but is not always necessary, that the subsequent voice should exactly and completely follows the intervals of the first. The imitation directly uses the same intervals as the preceding voice.¹⁸⁶



Which is good when the imitation lends itself nicely. The following is also direct imitation.



Just like.



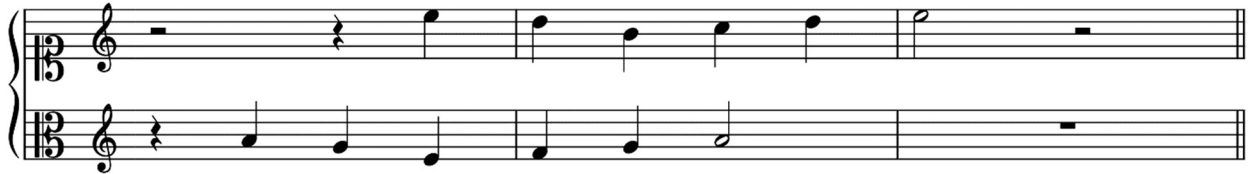
¹⁸⁵ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 27r.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 28v.

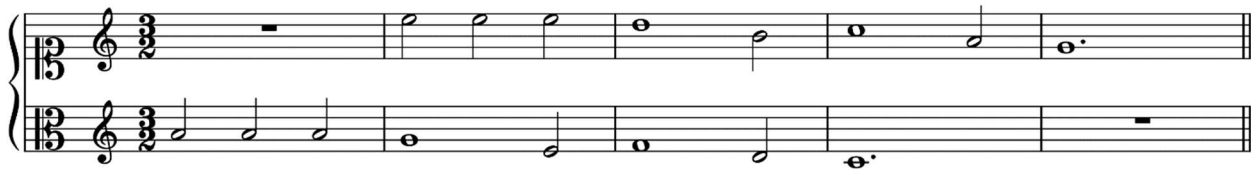
¹⁸⁷This is well proportioned.



This likewise.



Yet similarly.



Also this.



¹⁸⁸And more of the same.

¹⁸⁷ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 28r.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 29v.

6.)

Because it seldom happens that one can use “modo directo”¹⁸⁹ in all voices, one uses “fugam mixtam”¹⁹⁰ instead.



Here the other voice leaps a 3rd instead of a 2nd, without which the often occurring properties of the mode would otherwise not be present.¹⁹¹ This is called “fugam mixtam,” and one can accommodate imitations underneath one another if, from time to time, one substitutes a 3rd for a 2nd, and an octave, or other leaps, for a 5th. Also, one can substitute a half beat for a quarter beat, a dotted half note plus a quarter instead of 2 half notes, and thus make the voices sound well together. This is what musicians call “fugam mixtam.”

¹⁹²7.)

The following is on the fuga inversa, or “inverted fugue,” when one flips all the voices in the fugue, or inverts some voices while leaving the other voices in direct order.



The top voice is right side up and the bottom voice is inverted, or “reversed.”¹⁹³ Note that the reversed part does not have to follow the “right” part so directly all the time, but can also make

¹⁸⁹ “Modo directo” is the term Reincken gives for stretto.

¹⁹⁰ “Fugam mixtam” refers to the free manipulation of a subject to fit the needs of different situations, namely here to facilitate stretto.

¹⁹¹ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 29r.

¹⁹² Ibid., fol. 30v.

¹⁹³ Ibid., fol. 30r.

use of fugam mixtam, explained above as occasionally using one interval instead of another. Similar to fugue, whether “direct,” “mixta” or in inversion, it is not permitted in all voices all the time from beginning to end, which is helpful to note, and this is primarily for a learner of the fugue to observe the fundamental, or what the fundamental affects.

¹⁹⁴To write about ornamentation here would be far too long. The best procedure is to observe the best use of it, to find good authors and imitate and study them diligently, and through practice commit them to one’s memory and become familiar with them.

The following is on two imitations together, which are generally named “contrafugen.”

N.B. These require knowledge of double counterpoint, ¹⁹⁵which is very useful in markedly simplifying otherwise difficult work.

8.)

One cultivates procuring 2 or more fugues together, namely not continuously but rather individually as well as one around the other and then a few more times together and against each other, which is very artistic. Similar to each peculiar and per se imitation being as close as possible behind one another when direct imitation is not possible.

¹⁹⁶9.)

One normally makes such combinations thus that one voice or part comes to help the other avoid 4ths and such and to fill out harmony. One must alter some of the notes of the imitation or cadence a bit, or lengthen or shorten them etc., so that several imitations are suitable together.

¹⁹⁴ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 31v.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., fol. 31r.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., fol. 32v.

¹⁹⁷Because it sounds graceful if the imitations are unforced, the knowledge of double counterpoint is helpful and necessary as to how the imitations themselves might go together, although one must not completely bind themselves to these rules without also pursuing all different manners of rhythm, good melodies, or harmonies.

¹⁹⁸10.)

On double counterpoint

Latin: duplex contrapunctus

Italian: Contrapunto doppio

In these counterpoints, if one avoids the 5th it will sound appropriate above and also below in the same key¹⁹⁹, as such.



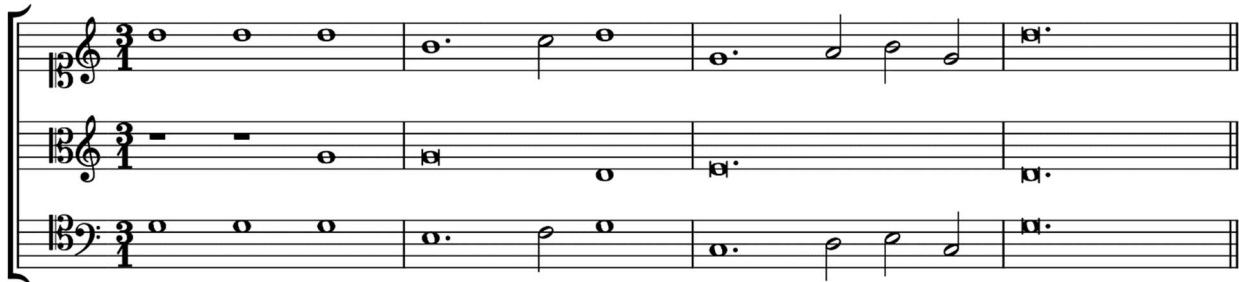
¹⁹⁷ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 32r.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 33v.

¹⁹⁹ Invertible at the octave.

200 11.)

When one avoids the 6th above, it will sound good below and above, but in a different way; not in the same but in a different key.²⁰¹



202 12.)

When there are both 5ths and 6ths above, the top part will not sound appropriate in the middle part or as the fundamental thereunder, in the bass or lowest voice. It goes approximately above the tenor.



²⁰³It would indeed be accommodable through inversion or fugue otherwise if I could make this as follows, but it is a bit foreign and not best.

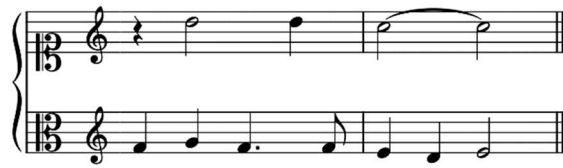


²⁰⁰ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 33r.

²⁰¹ Invertible at the twelfth.

²⁰² Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 34v.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, fol. 34r.



N.B. The c because of 4th/5ths.

N.B. Tend to them [invertible counterpoints] a bit before or later it shows, as in the example given which required assistance.^{204 205}

²⁰⁶Nota pro memoria:

What has been said here of counter imitations (as they are named), or of double counterpoint of the 5th ²⁰⁷ and 6th ²⁰⁸, is about only the notes. The actual making of harmony, or other notes around the harmonies, passing tones, are not discussed herein, as [in the following].



²⁰⁹Although both 5ths and 6ths are here, they also sound acceptable under as well, but it is not the best.



²⁰⁴ “Die handt anlegt”

²⁰⁵ Reincken is recommending working out combinations thoroughly before utilizing them.

²⁰⁶ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 35v.

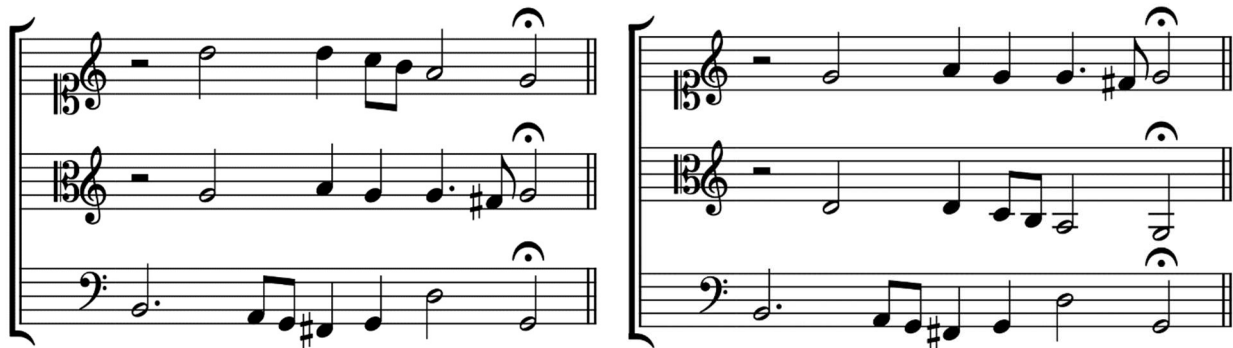
²⁰⁷ Double counterpoint at the octave.

²⁰⁸ Double counterpoint at the twelfth.

²⁰⁹ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 35r.

Nota: 3^{rds} and 6^{ths} can always be used above or below appropriately, comfortably, and in more than one way.

One must always avoid 2 fourths, for these become 2 fifths in inversion, as follows.²¹⁰



However, it is easy to make an accommodation so that the fourths can be avoided.

N.B. One should not bind themselves completely to these rules of double counterpoint, but also searching for other various ways of accommodating imitations and counter-imitations,

²¹¹although this knowledge of double counterpoint will make the work easier. Typically, when composers invert fugues, these here rules of inversion are particularly helpful for one to avoid the “liggatura oder durrezen”²¹² with dissonances in fugue and counter-fugue, thus they allow themselves easy and convenient inversions, where one does not wish to draw attention concerning the difficulty.

²¹⁰ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 36v.

²¹¹ Ibid., fol. 36r.

²¹² A reference to the ligature e durezza style of keyboard writing, a term originating from Zarlino which literally translates to suspensions and dissonances. "Durezza." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 16 Oct. 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.08392>

²¹³On the triple of which is proportional music

1.)

Because musicians seek to write their fugues, canzonas and capriccios etc., with triplets and similar proportions, so as to make such things as lovely to behold as to hear, we have deemed it necessary to give them [triplets and the like] some attention here. Firstly, of the triple major, where there are 3 whole notes per measure, and is drawn 3/1: N.B: This triple major necessitates a slow, heavy measure, or beat, ²¹⁴according to its manner and nature. However, it is sometimes used with other sections that are a bit faster, and then a bit slower and back again faster, often in a single piece; The Italian words which are given here.

Grave

Largo

Adagio

Lento

These all indicate a slow tempo.

²¹⁵The following are of a faster manner of tactus.

Presto – fast

Allegro – merry and happy

Allegra – merry and happy

Prestissimo – very fast

Through these pre-conceived words, the manner of the measure as slow, slower, fast, or faster, is shown and indicated to all those who understand music.

²¹³ Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 37v.

²¹⁴ Ibid., fol. 37r.

²¹⁵ Ibid., fol. 38v.

²¹⁶N.B: This triple alone wants to have just a half pause.²¹⁷

2.)

Here next is the triple minor (as it is called), or sesquialtera (3:2) since it has 3 half notes in one measure. Its nature is somewhat more cheerful and again does not require a fast beat. N.B: However, changing of tempo is also anticipated here, as usually observed in all music.

Pro memoria: Expect both triple ²¹⁸and sesquialtera occasionally being set using loud, black notes from the beginning all the way through, also occasionally without the usual numbers set at the beginning. The types of triples or sesquialteras are typically displayed as namely the triple major: 3/1 and in sesquialtera: 3/2. They also regularly are named hemiola major and minor.²¹⁹²²⁰

3.)

This smaller triple ²²¹that we now wish to discuss is characterized by 3 quarter notes in one measure, and it is normally drawn as 3/4. This warrants, according to its manner and nature, a quite fast and cheerful measure or beat. It is quite common in Italian singing of today.

²¹⁶ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 38r.

²¹⁷ He is probably referring to the tripla minor, but it is not entirely clear. It is also unclear what is meant by a “half pause” [halb pausir]. It could be a reference to section breaks within the piece, or that the accent pattern in tripla minor is predisposed to shifting into two, particularly during runs of quarter notes.

²¹⁸ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 39v.

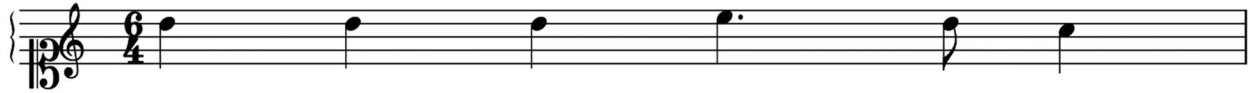
²¹⁹ “Hemiola, or the blackening of notes – i.e., the filling of normally white note heads with black ink.” According to Julia Doktor, this has an affect on tempo, usually implying faster, but not always in the case of sesquialtera; Doktor, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque*, 165.

²²⁰ “Coloration in a more general sense – full [black] notes used in opposition to void [white] notes for rhythmic purposes – survived in the 16th and seventeenth centuries especially for expressing hemiola rhythms in 3/2 time.” Ian D. Bent, David W. Hughes, Robert C. Provine, Richard Rastall, Anne Kilmer, David Hiley, Janka Szendrei, Thomas B. Payne, Margaret Bent, and Geoffrey Chew, “Notation,” *Grove Music Online* (2001), Accessed 16 Oct. 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.20114>.

²²¹ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 39r.

4.)

Following now on the sexdupla, therein 6 quarter notes in a measure, 3 in the downbeat 3 in the upbeat, and the up and downbeats are equal, going against the nature of other triples. ²²²This is in general drawn as follows.



These are the long known and normal proportions, used by the old composers.

5.)

It [the sexdupla] is used by neoteric [modern] composers but in yet another manner written as 6/4 or 12/8²²³, their manner is seen here. ²²⁴



The upbeats and downbeats become equal, giving further need to draw sextuplets in groups of 3, as follows here.



6.)

The new composers need yet another manner, and that is 18 eighth notes per measure, written ²²⁵generally as 9/12,²²⁶ and is seen nowhere as commonly as in sonatas and similar instrumental music.

²²² Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 40v.

²²³ This is the earliest written record of 12/8 in German speaking lands; Doktor, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque*, 138.

²²⁴ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 40r.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 41v.

²²⁶ He means 9/4. Being a measure three times longer than 3/4, Reincken multiples 3/4 by three to get 9/12. Julia Doktor argues that the different kinds of tripla, meaning which isn't analogous to an uneven vs even beat pattern,

N.B: Should an even proportion in vocal style be needed and possibly added, it is written as follows.



It is very charming to hear and should logically be written as 18/8 (where it is not as appropriate in the earlier manner).²²⁷ How I encounter and see it is as 18 eighth notes per measure with 9 in the downbeat and 9 in the upbeat.

7.)

The Italian singers need yet another manner of beat for the new singing style, of 3 eighth notes in a measure, giving to it a very fast measure, something like this.



²²⁸It is found also regularly in instrumental pieces, and this would shorten²²⁹ thus the noblest triples. It is actually found occasionally as another manner of triple, the *sesquialtera*, thus written with open white notes.²³⁰



can be derived from one another via mathematical operations; Doktor, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque*, 132-133.

²²⁷ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 41r.

²²⁸ Ibid., fol. 42v.

²²⁹ Translated from *gereft, reffen*, to reel, or to shorten, normally used in a nautical context.

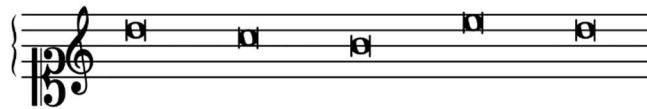
²³⁰ “The non-coloured forms of the semiminim and below, which in the 16th century often occur in sections in fast triple time where the time unit was the semibreve rather than the minim, survived until the 18th century;” Bent, Hughes, Provine, Rastall, Kilmer, Hiley, Szendrei, Payne, Bent, and Chew, "Notation," *Grove Music Online*. 2001. This whitening of otherwise black noteheads is called “void notation” and possibly indicates a slower tempo. “Whereas in *tripla* both the fundamental notes (semibreves) and their divisions into minims can be blackened, the division of the fundamental notes of the *sesquialtera* – quarter notes – cannot be blackened since they are already black;” Doktor, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque*, 169-171. This could be an alternate form of “hemiola” notation specifically for *sesquialtera*, which Reincken’s example does imply, along with a slower tempo indication.

²³⁶More on the triples and their signs

The old composers had a vast number of meters, most of which have been abandoned today.

But in particular not to forget, that you must place the sign of the perfect proportion before the triple, namely the circle \odot 3/1, the sign with a dot in the middle, which is to call into attention that the breves follow one another.

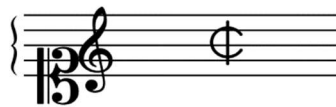
²³⁷How to be sung, seen here following in a few notes.



It is to be sung as if by each and every note a dot has been placed,²³⁸ henceforth observing such a manner.²³⁹ It [the sign] is completely passed over by most, and thus one must guess it [the meter], so to speak. Yet, Marco Scacchi observed it diligently.

²⁴⁰In particular indeed to note is that in equal measure, and not triple, it is still a triple manner.²⁴¹

Thus is heard in concerti and similar music of fast notes completely common these days, not the cut time symbol like most, out of un-educatedness, do.



²³⁶ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 44v.

²³⁷ Ibid., fol. 44r.

²³⁸ To be sung as dotted breves.

²³⁹ “Taliter qualiter,” used here, is a Latin expression translating usually having something between the two words, translating literally as such...such.

²⁴⁰ Reincken, *Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 45v.

²⁴¹ In mensural notation, both tripla and sesquialtera have a proportional relationship to a duple. It is unclear if he is referencing that, or the fact that a measure in duple (equal) can have its' beats subdivided into triplets. The music of his teacher and predecessor, Heinrich Scheidemann, is “almost exclusively in some sort of duple meter...Scheidemann (and his copyists) hardly used any triple meter at all, and when they did, it was usually notated in triplets;” Doktor, *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque*, 15, 66.

Of this time signature, ²⁴²which indicates that it must be sung two whole notes in one measure through the whole piece, of which also is the reason that one still pauses halfway and thus has two beats instead of one. And still at the present, if they in the Imperial Royal Choir and princely choirs sing the old Palestrina or Orlando style masses, or other similar masses or motets (as is customary), ²⁴³ either they sing in two beats in a measure, or alternatively thus they go so fast, as if the measure were set in a fast one and one can hardly recognize a piece of music, even if they had learned it in their own choir and were brought up with it, or learned it somewhere else.

²⁴⁴Those who otherwise like cut time for equal measures typically set it as this.



But this is not correct, and it is done by those who are uneducated in such matters as have previously been mentioned here, namely the various triple meters that an abler-minded musician should know how to deal with.

²⁴⁵Yet more could be added to these rules of composition already put forth. Because those things are handled in other writings, we regard it as unnecessary to give them further attention here, and so make an end to this work, in God's name.

²⁴² Reincken, *Erster und Anderer theil, sehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren und unterrichtungen von der Composition*, fol. 45r.

²⁴³ Ibid. fol. 46v.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 46r.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 47v.

FIGURE 14. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, ND VI 5384, final page of the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition*.

Es ist das bey dieß dieß
Vorsatzten Regeln der
Composition beyzutheilen
wie aber in andern der
bevorstehenden, pleß. B. satz
ist abgehandelt, als bey
Es ist innertief krafft
hinaus zu handeln, und was
deso ferner mit diesem
In der östlichen Maschinen ein
Ende: —————
—————
—————

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The disappearance of the source manuscripts for Reincken's *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition* following the Second World War made Gehrman's 1901 edition our only window into their contents which, as Ulf Grapenthin has noted, led to many false theories and hypotheses.²⁴⁶ Not only did the 1901 edition mislead scholars for decades, Gehrman failed to present the manuscripts in full. With this current edition, many of Gehrman's mistakes are rectified, new material from the source manuscripts is being presented for the first time, and access to the manuscripts and their scholarship has been broadened by creating this critical edition in English.

Despite the works of Dieterich Buxtehude, Nicholas Bruhns, Heinrich Scheidemann, and other contemporaries of Reincken being standard repertoire for organists worldwide, there has been relatively little scholarship on how they were taught composition. Through the creation of this English translation of Reincken's *Erste Unterrichtung*, a window into the musical education of North German organ composers of the seventeenth century has been opened. For performers and church musicians, this understanding is paramount to facilitating learning this repertoire of music.

False hypotheses have arisen not only about the manuscripts, but their author and caretaker as well. Much of our information regarding Reincken comes to us from the various writings of Johann Mattheson, theorist, composer, one of the earliest musicologists, and a Hamburger. Unfortunately, this has significantly tarnished Reincken's image, since almost all of Mattheson's reports on Reincken are quite scathing. For example, Mattheson claimed Reincken was a "lover of the brothels and Rats-Weinkellers," and that he had "unknown ladies whom he

²⁴⁶ Grapenthin. "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens," 71-73.

kept in his house until his death.”²⁴⁷ The earliest documented encounter between Mattheson and Reincken was in 1705 when “some of the church elders wanted to appoint Johann Mattheson as Reincken’s successor, but he [Reincken] successfully defended himself against this move.”²⁴⁸ 19th-century Dutch musicologist J.C.M. van Reimsdijk believed this was the cause of Mattheson’s slander.²⁴⁹ However, in the anecdote from J.G. Walther regarding Reincken and the Amsterdam musician, one of the words used to describe Reincken is “*unterstände*,” which translates as sub-status or sub-class. Regarding the various words used to refer to the working class, Meghara Eichhorn-Hicks writes, “Considering the range of incomes, professions, and lifestyles that fell under the banner of the lower class, it is no wonder that, as a homogenous group, they had so many titles...the poorest among them relied entirely on charitable intervention and were occasionally given their own designation as members of the “underclass.”” Contextualized by Reincken’s upbringing, the use of the word “*unterstände*” is clearly an attack on his lower-class upbringing. This class-based discrimination, not unprecedented in Reincken’s life, could have been a further cause for Mattheson, the son of a wealthy tax collector, to dislike the old organist.^{250 251}

Lindsey Rodgers, in discussing the famous painting by Johannes Voorhout of Reincken and [supposedly] Buxtehude, states “despite the fact that Reincken is the most prominent and visible figure in the painting [of Voorhout], scholars are often more interested in Buxtehude’s presence and, in a way, this sums up much of the modern approach to Reincken’s life and music

²⁴⁷ Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübek*, 112.

²⁴⁸ Grapenthin, “Reincken [Reinken, reinkinck, Reincke, Reinicke, Reinike].”

²⁴⁹ den Hertog, “Jan Adam Reinken en zijn Muziektuin,” 29.

²⁵⁰ Meghara Eichhorn-Hicks, “Observation, Surveillance, Voyeurism, and the Making of the Middle Class in Victorian England” (Ph.D., United States -- Kansas, University of Kansas, 2021), <https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/2631909840/abstract/94FEF99D019547C4PQ/1>.

²⁵¹ Buelow, “Mattheson, Johann.”

– it is interesting only insofar as it relates to Buxtehude and/or Bach.”²⁵² This peripheral nature of Reincken perhaps demonstrates why Mattheson’s comments have been taken at face value for so long, because Reincken by himself is not worth further investigation.

In his dissertation, “Fugue in German Theory from Dressler to Mattheson,” Paul Walker notes that “as a theorist, Reincken is usually described simply as a ‘commentator on Sweelinck’s composition primer,’”²⁵³ a falsehood originating from Gehrman. However, Walker counters this attitude by stating:

Reincken’s study of fugue represents an important advance on the north-Italian model. The regularity of the exposition in an eighteenth-century tonal fugue, with its alternation of tonic and dominant and fitting of the subject/answer combination into the key, forms one of its most fundamental characteristics. Reincken’s emphasis on this portion of the fugue, although undertaken within seventeenth-century modality, reflects its growing importance, and his thoughtful considerations of the problems inherent in preserving both mode and imitation made an important contribution to theoretical writings on this topic. In doing so, Reincken became one of the first writers in either Germany or Italy to take the theory of tonal answers as created for *stile antico* vocal music and transfer it in its many details to the monothematic fugue to the middle baroque.²⁵⁴

These advancements, along with the breadth of topics covered and the comparisons between the old and new styles, make the *Erste Unterrichtung zur Composition* a true novelty amongst the “Sweelinck theory manuscripts,” and manuscripts of its kind more broadly. Although the body of work Reincken left us is small, it is significant. His treatise provides insight into the musical education of his time and place. This critical commentary presents merely one of the manuscripts

²⁵² Lindsey Henriksen Rodgers, *The North German Chorale Fantasy: A Sermon Without Words* (PhD diss., University of Oregon, 2013), 156.

²⁵³ Paul Walker, “Fugue in German Theory from Dressler to Mattheson” (Ph.D., Buffalo, New York, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1987), 335.

²⁵⁴ Walker, “Fugue in German Theory from Dressler to Mattheson,” 342.

found in the “Sweelinck Manuscripts,” and lays the groundwork for further research into these treatises and the personalities with whom they are connected.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Reincken, Johann Adam. "Erster unt Anderter theil, seehr Nöhtiger und Nutzlicher lehren unt unterrichtungen von der Composition." Handwritten. Hamburg, 1670. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/recherche/detail?tx_dlf%5Bdouble%5D=0&tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=46456&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&tx_dlf%5Bpagegrid%5D=0&cHash=60084e8d97793d17c7bdf4f8c48f415a.

Reincken, Johann Adam, Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, and Johann Thiele. "Composition Regeln." Handwritten. Hamburg, n.d. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg. https://digitalisate.sub.uni-hamburg.de/recherche/detail?tx_dlf%5Bid%5D=6244&tx_dlf%5Bpage%5D=1&cHash=2cd57fd55a8f1a40509d6d5463116818.

Scacchi, Marco. *Cribrvm Mvsicvm ad Triticvm Siferticvm*. Venetiis: Alessandro Vincenti, 1643.

Secondary Sources

Bellingham, Bruce A. "Bicinium." In *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed October 16, 2022. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000003041>.

Bent, Ian D., David W. Hughes, Robert C. Provine, Richard Rastall, Anne Kilmer, David Hiley, Janka Szendrei, Thomas B. Payne, Margaret Bent, and Geoffrey Chew. "Notation." In *Grove Music Online*, 2001; Accessed October 20, 2022. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020114>.

Buelow, George J. "Mattheson, Johann." In *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 22 Aug. 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.18097>

Buxtehude, Dieterich, Johann Adam Reincken, and Johann Pachelbel. *Weimarer Orgeltabulatur*. Edited by Michael Maul and Peter Wollny. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 2007.

Carter, Tim, Marco Scacchi, and Agostino Agazzari. *Polemics on the "Musica moderna."* Ed. A, Italian-English. *Practica musica*; v. 1. Kraków: Musica Iagellonica, 1993.

Dirksen, Pieter. *Heinrich Scheidemann's Keyboard Music: Transmission, Style and Chronology*. Routledge, 2017.

Dokter, Julia. *Tempo and Tactus in the German Baroque: Treatises, Scores, and the Performance of Organ Music*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2021.

- Eichhorn-Hicks, Meghara. "Observation, Surveillance, Voyeurism, and the Making of the Middle Class in Victorian England." Ph.D., University of Kansas, 2021.
<https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/2631909840/abstract/94FEF99D019547C4PQ/1>.
- Flotzinger, Rudolf. "Clausula." In *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed October 20, 2022.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000005897>.
- Grapenthin, Ulf. 2001. "'Sweelincks Kompositionsregeln' aus dem Nachlass Johann Adam Reinckens." In *Beiträge zur Musikgeschichte Hamgurs vom Mittelalter bis in die Neuzeit*, edited by Hans Joachim Marx, 71–110. Frankfurt am Main; New York.
- . "Reincken [Reinken, Reinkinck, Reincke, Reinicke, Reinike], Johann Adam [Jan Adams, Jean Adam]." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; accessed August 22, 2022. <https://doi-org.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.23126>.
- Grove Music Online. "Durezza." Accessed October 20, 2022.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008392>.
- Hertog, Jap den. 2009. "Jan Adam Reincken en zijn Muziektuin." *Het Orgel* 105 (2): 18–31.
- Hicks, Anthony. "Handel [Händel, Hendel], George Frideric." In *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed October 20, 2022. <https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.proxy2.library.illinois.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000040060>.
- Historische Oper am Gänsemarkt. "Historische Oper am Gänsemarkt auf Facebook." Accessed October 20, 2022. <https://gaensemacht-oper.de/>.
- King, Steven. "Welfare Regimes and Welfare Regions in Britain and Europe, c.1750s to 1860s." *Journal of Modern European History / Zeitschrift Für Moderne Europäische Geschichte / Revue d'histoire Européenne Contemporaine* 9, no. 1 (2011): 42–65.
- King, Alec Hyatt. "Eitner, Robert." In *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed October 20, 2022.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000008672>.
- Maul, Michael, and Peter Wollny. 2008. "The Weimar Organ Tablature: Bach's Earliest Autographs." *Understanding Bach* 3.
<https://www.bachnetwork.co.uk/ub3/WOLLNY%20and%20MAUL.pdf>.
- Mossop, Brian. "Translating Institutions and 'Idiomatic' Translation." *Meta: Translators' Journal* 35, no. 2 (1990): 342–355. <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/003675ar>

- Niedt, Friederich Erhardt. *The Musical Guide: Parts I*. Edited by Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor. Oxford England: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Powers, Harold S., Richard Sheer and Frans Wiering. "Ambitus." In *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed October 20, 2022.
<http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000000744>.
- Reincken, Johann Adam. 1886. *Hortus Musicus*. Edited by Johann Cornelis Marius van Riemsdijk. Amsterdam: Den Algemeenen Muziekhandel.
- Reincken, Johann Adam. 2005. *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*. Edited by Pieter Dirksen. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel.
- Remeš, Derek. "The opening of Heinichen's Introduction to." Facebook, October 23rd, 2022.
<https://www.facebook.com/groups/compositionandimprovisationinjsbachsgermany/posts/3233480340301978/>.
- Rodgers, Lindsey Henriksen. "The North German Chorale Fantasia: A Sermon without Words." Ph.D., University of Oregon. Accessed October 20, 2022.
<https://www.proquest.com/pqdtglobal/docview/1430909757/abstract/54FD8D68845841DCPQ/1>.
- Rotem, Elam, dir. 2017. *Modes in the 16th and 17th Centuries*.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lyq48eybjZw>.
- Schubert, Peter, and Christoph Neidhofer. *Baroque Counterpoint*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson College Div, 2005.
- Sharp, G. B. "Jan Adam Reincken, 1623--1722." *The Musical Times* 114, no. 1570 (1973): 1272–75. <https://doi.org/10.2307/954763>.
- Snyder, Kerala J. 2007. *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*. Rev. ed. Eastman Studies in Music. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- . 1980. "Dietrich Buxtehude's Studies in Learned Counterpoint." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33 (3): 544–64. <https://doi.org/10.2307/831305>.
- Walker, Paul. "From Renaissance 'Fuga' to Baroque Fugue : The Role of the 'Sweelinck Theory Manuscripts.'" *Schütz-Jahrbuch* 7 (August 18, 2017): 93–104.
<https://doi.org/10.13141/sjb.v1986691>.
- . "Fugue in German Theory from Dressler to Mattheson." Ph.D., State University of New York at Buffalo, 1987.
- Williams, Peter. *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*. 2nd edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.