

Polyhymnia's Agent: Musical Humanism, Exordial Rhetoric, and the Veneration of Antiquity in the Works of Michael Praetorius (1571–1621)



Introduction

The Middle-German composer Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) has been considered a cultural agent between the Renaissance and Baroque periods, as well as between southern and northern Europe (Forchert 1959: ix–x; 2021; Rode–Breymann & Spohr 2011: 15; Limbeck, Schmitt & Wirth 2022: 13). Even if this is true, the viewpoint has hitherto concerned transferring only musical styles and practices. Praetorius's agentive role over time and place is still a more multi-faceted phenomenon than one might assume. His works, both writings and compositions, also reflect extramusical, educational, and ethical dimensions. I argue that one can find certain ideals of historical continuity and inevitable imitation of ancient things (*res antiquae*) in Praetorius's writings. In other words, these ideals have to do with the ethos of sincere veneration of antiquity, not only in musical practices but in all literary culture, both ecclesiastical and civic life. His literary, poetic, and rhetorical ideals reach far, from ancient Mount Parnassus¹ to the early modern organ loft of Wolfenbüttel's Court Chapel.

In this article, my aim is to outline and present an overview of how Praetorius positions himself within his contemporary culture of musical humanism, reflecting rhetorical ideas and historical-philological intentions. Musical humanism is an analytical concept which refers to rediscovering traditional traits of ancient music and literature of antiquity, i.e., the classics and the history of Christianity in Europe (Palisca 2006; Forgács 2010). To achieve the aim, I will ask, firstly, how Praetorius relates his views with antiquity in his own network; secondly, how he applies conceptions of classical educational ideals such as notions of rhetoric in the *studia humanitatis*²; and thirdly, what kind of plausible purposes

1 This is the mythological home of ancient gods and goddesses such as Polyhymnia who I am referring to in my text. She was one of the nine muses, the muse of sacred poetry and polyphony among else. As a daughter of Mnemosyne, her epithets also cover the veneration and admiration of antiquity in general.

2 The *studia humanitatis* consists of the educational curriculum tracing back to the Middle Ages and ancient

there are in his organ music, especially in the midst of multiple views on liturgical organ music among the different European confessional denominations of the time.

The definition of the term ‘antiquity’ is slightly complicated in the writings of Praetorius. First of all, it includes the European culture and literature of the pre-Medieval time. However, to Praetorius, the antiquity seems to imply at times both ancient and recent authors³, as far as they represent venerable Christian tradition and honest intentions of the classics. In the ecclesiastical environment, he uses a three-part analogy and states that exemplary antiquity can be labelled with the presence of mystical dignity of sanctity (*sanctionis mystica dignitas*), the usefulness of dogmatic intention (*intentionis dogmatica utilitas*), and purposeful old-established diligence (*functionis paradigmatica sedulitas*) (*SM I: Epistola dedicatoria*). Since ancient musical sources are still mostly unknown or deficient, I am relying here primarily on extramusical sources and poetical principles of the classics that were known to Praetorius.

On the whole, this article thus encompasses educational and spiritual spheres in trans-epochal perspectives. It deals with dialogue which crosses the temporal, geographical, and cultural borders, especially in literature and liturgy in European history. Firstly, I begin by defining some methodological issues and relevant contextual factors. Then, in the following chapters, I will analyse and explain some rhetorical ideas, as well as plausible historical-philological intentions in Praetorius’s works, and compare them to the sources used by him.

Methods and sources for tracing Praetorius’s historical-philological intentions

I will apply a philological method in order to examine and contextualise the sources in the educational curriculum of the time of Praetorius. Traditionally, philology is based purely on sources, not so much on theories that may even appear anachronistic. That is why in reference to the music-related works of Praetorius, I will use the term ‘musical philology’ to emphasise the musical hermeneutics which aims at interpreting the content, context, and purpose of his musical works. Musical philology is a broad topic but, in this article, my methodical point of departure is not so much that of analysing the scores or

Rome including the seven liberal arts (*septem artes liberales*): astronomy, mathematics, geometry, music, rhetoric, grammar, and dialectic, with emphasis on the last three language-related disciplines (Butt 1994: 3, 46–47; see also *De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii*). That also resulted in the concept of *musica poetica*, which means music inspired by poetics and was especially important at the time of Praetorius (see Lippius 1533; Burmeister 1606; Praetorius 1619).

³ By mentioning the recent authors, Praetorius surely refers at least to Martin Luther (1483–1546), Johann Walter (1496–1570), and Lucas Lossius (1508–1582) (see more below).

editions but, instead, primarily extramusical sources since they reveal the atmosphere and attitudes in which the music itself was composed. As Warren Kirkendale writes, historical musicology aims to deal with the concrete content of the sources and their meaning. In other words, the philologist-historian's major responsibility is 'to rediscover and reveal authors' intentions at the time of writing' (Kirkendale 2007: 598). Hence, the method is to explore historical-philologically the educational environment, personal network, and the literature that the authors such as Praetorius have been referring to; consequently, in the Renaissance and Baroque literature the notion of imitative nature in art is crucial (Kirkendale 1997).

In this article, my analytical framework owes a lot to the article of Kirkendale (1979) in which he studied the far-reaching links from the Cinquecento's humanist circles of Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) to the Leipzig Thomaskantor Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). However, my research material here differs from Kirkendale's. The material in this article consists of a three-part series of books by Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (1615–1619) (abbreviated below as *SM*), especially the first book (*SM I*) dealing with the history of ecclesiastical and secular music, as well as his preface to his collection of liturgical music, *Leiturgodia Sionia Latina* (1612) (abbreviated below as *LSL*). The latter was planned to be a polyphonic arrangement of the *Psalmodia* of Lucas Lossius⁴ but was never published, and only the preface survives (Leaver 2017: 329–331). In addition, I will focus on his two chorale ricercars for organ, published in the collection *Musae Sioniae VII* (1609) (abbreviated below as *MS*). These sources, the writings and organ chorales of Praetorius have not hitherto been studied from the viewpoints of classical rhetorical literature and Renaissance humanist education. Still, to understand the intentions and ideas of the composer which has been the primary aim of the historical-philological study of music since the time of Praetorius himself, one is supposed to examine written sources and music – *mutatis mutandis* – analogically from the literary perspective. Namely, according to Ernst Robert Curtius (2013: 436), 'from the Roman Empire to the French Revolution all literary art rests upon school rhetoric'.

An article related to Praetorius was published recently about the importance of scrutinising historical indices of libraries. In German this is called *Sammlungsgeschichte* (Limbeck 2022: 57) and it can have a great impact on historical musicology. In fact, it can supply the aim of understanding the cultural context and literature that inspired the authors. It can serve as a complimentary tool even if it does not necessarily open pathways to all the sources that the authors had access to. In the case of Praetorius, there are no traces left from his own personal library (Groote & Hakelberg 2016). Praetorius also

⁴ Lossius worked as a cantor in Lüneburg's Latin school (*Johannisschule*) and was also a colleague to Praetorius's uncle Christopher Praetorius there (*LSL*).

writes that his friends assisted him with collecting the information from the sources (SM I: 159). Thus, biographical information is invaluable since he had personal connections as well as contacts with other institutions, such as Latin schools and courts around the Electoral Saxony (e.g., collaboration with the composer Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) in Dresden). Hence, it is relevant to focus on the analogies of ideas that occur especially in the educational context of Praetorius's network and in his use of concepts. This can happen through phraseological comparison as well. In other words, some wider insights and close reading of the similarities of ideas, phrases, and conceptual connections are needed.

In the footsteps of his family – the biographical and educational background of MPC

Michael Praetorius was a composer, organist, writer, and court music director who lived primarily in Wolfenbüttel. He was born in a small town, Creuzburg, in 1571 and for that reason he uses the abbreviated signature of MPC (Michael Praetorius Creuzburgensis) in his works. These initials also served as a Latin motto for him: *Mihi Patria Coelum* ('Heaven is My Fatherland').⁵ Moreover, it is a well-known fact that Praetorius's father was a pastor and friend of the cantor Johann Walter in Torgau. Walter was a keen supporter of Luther's work and offered guidelines for the Latin school in Torgau. He served there just before Praetorius attended the school and Praetorius himself studied under the guidance of the cantor Michael Voigt, Walter's successor. In the previous research, the Gnesio-Lutheran⁶ network of colleagues, teachers, and disciples has been seen as clear evidence for Praetorius's acquaintance with the views of Luther's mature theology (Gurlitt 1915/2013; Vogelsänger 2020: 9; Forchert 2021). Furthermore, his writings, prefaces, and poems⁷ seem to support Lutheran views.

The church order of Torgau (*Verordnung der Visitatoren zu Torgau*, 1575), which included the school agenda, states that Luther's Catechism was read, and his hymns were sung daily in Torgau. Besides that, pupils were instructed to read classical treatises and texts such as Cicero's *Letters to His Friends*, and the *Bucolics*, a collection of pastoral poetry by Virgil. Regarding the texts of Cicero, the school order explicitly states that pupils should

5 An allusion to *The Epistle to the Philippians* (Phil. 3:20) was pointed out recently by Wellner (2011: 63). For more analyses about the mottos and the *symbola* of Praetorius, see also Wellner 2022.

6 Gnesio-Lutheran is a name attributed to those that defended the writings and the continuity of Luther's views; e.g., regarding the Lord's Supper and other disputes between Lutherans and so-called Philippists who followed Melancthon's compromising utterings on the doctrine and openness of Calvinism. See Hasse 2011.

7 There are also some hymns with texts from Praetorius's own hand included in the *Musae Sioniae* I–IX.

be instructed to understand principles of construction and disposition, and how Cicero employs exemplary figures and rhetorical artifices (*exempla der Figuren; artificii rhetorici*; see Sehling 1902: 677–678). After studying in Torgau, Praetorius went to the Latin school in Zerbst and then to university – in the footsteps of his elder brothers – firstly in Frankfurt (Oder) for a couple of years, and then in Helmstedt (Vogelsänger 2020: 9–15). In general, the purposes of education in the Lutheran regions of the time encompassed investigating and imitating the illustrious oratory of both recent and ancient authors, such as Luther, Cicero, Terence, and Livy (Chytraeus 1562: B2).

However, Praetorius ended up in the position of court chapel organist in Gröningen instead of becoming a pastor, and was soon entrusted with the post of court music director at the court of Heinrich Julius in Wolfenbüttel (Vogelsänger 2020: 18–37). That was also the hometown of the well-known theologian Martin Chemnitz (1522–1586) who had provided the church order for the parishes in the area. Praetorius obviously became acquainted with Chemnitz’s son Paul Chemnitz who also wrote epigrams in several works of Praetorius (see chorale collections *Musae Sioniae* VI, VII, and IX, published in 1609 and 1610). Interestingly, these epigrams echo not only biblical epithets but also reminiscences of classical poetry and mythological examples such as Apollo and the nine Muses, as well as Orpheus, which were held in esteem and used as metaphorical emblems at the time.⁸ That is why I now move on to examine some sources for Praetorius’s inspiration.

Trans-epochal and trans-local encounters within European literature and musical humanism

Renaissance humanists were used to utilising encyclopaedias as an indication of their erudition. The encyclopaedias were in fashion at the time when the epistemological principle was based on the premise that all human and theological knowledge could be collected on bookshelves (see Limbeck 2022). Praetorius follows the humanist tradition and uses, for example, Theodor Zwinger’s *Theatrum humanae vitae* (1565) and other volumes from Polydorus Virgil’s *De Inventoribus Rerum* (1499) to describe ancient customs and instruments. When dealing with Latin poetry, he consults many times the Italian Renaissance humanist Julius Caesar Scaliger and his *Poetics* (1561). That action could not be a coincidence since Scaliger’s treatise can be defined as a summa of Latin poetry modelled after Quintilian’s summa of oratory, *Institutio oratoria* (Marsh 2004, 667–668). Even though these books were written in a different confessional context, Praetorius

⁸ For more information on the emblematics, especially in the frontispieces of Praetorius’s publications, see Wellner 2011; 2022.

obviously regarded them as useful and relevant encyclopaedias – at least in such cases when he consults them. Möller-Weiser also makes a relevant proposal regarding Praetorius's abundant use of the books (e.g., *Melopoeia ex Zarlino*, 1582; *Exercitationes* 1600) of the Thomaskantor Sethus Calvisius (1556–1615) from Leipzig (Möller-Weiser 1993: 18). Praetorius had connections with Calvisius and likely with his successor Johann Hermann Schein (1586–1630) (Vogelsänger 2020: 97). Much of Praetorius's information about the musical thinking of Gioseffo Zarlino⁹ must have come through Calvisius and Leipzig's numerous book printers (Limbeck 2022: 63–65).

Now I will present some relationships between literature and music related to the articulation and composition of a rhetorical piece of art. Praetorius points out that music-making has much in common with the articulation and metrics of language. He refers to Quintilian who writes that the origin of all music is in the poetic inspiration that became communicated by measuring poetic feet with the ears of the listener (*SM* I: 166; *Quint. Inst.* 9,4,114). In fact, continuity can be seen in the relationship between music and textual matters over centuries since Plato (Harrán 1986). Praetorius also deals with articulation both in the prefatory text of his *LSL* and in the *Praetermissa* of his *SM* I. He speaks about musical, grammatical, and rhetorical accents¹⁰ relying on the information provided from the studies of Munsierus, Johannes Avenarius (1516–1590), and Valentin Schindler (d. 1610) (Praetorius 1614; see also Fleming 1979: 304).¹¹

Praetorius must have been impressed by trans-epochal encounters of musical ideas, the text-music relationship, and musical modulation based on the notions of ancient rhetoricians as well as Renaissance humanist scholars. Perhaps this is why he criticises some ahistorical musical practices of Scythians or Neoterics¹² who do not love music in its whole richness of tradition (*LSL*). Obviously, he does not underestimate previous musical innovations and the art of earlier eras. On the contrary, he believes that contemporary music has received its brightness from the narratives and testimonies of antiquity. Under these circumstances, both secular music and ecclesiastical music – according to Praetorius

9 Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590) was an Italian music theorist and composer. His contributions cover, e.g., contrapuntal theory as well as employing the system of twelve modes presented by the Swiss music theorist and humanist Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563).

10 The musical accent means the same as musical modulation (*modulatio sive melodia*), i.e., the ornamentation of the chant; the grammatical accent means the right articulation and pronunciation (*gustus*) of the syllable which makes the uttering sweeter (*prolationem reddit suaviorem*); and the rhetorical accent means either restraining (*retinaculum sive frenum*) the metric constituent or combining (*connexio*) the two sayings under one accent (*SM* I: 150).

11 Don Harrán has discussed thoroughly these connections from Renaissance humanism to Hebrew cantillation as well as Zarlino's role in transmitting this knowledge from philologists to music theorists (Harrán 1988).

12 Both of these names originate from ancient times when people unrelated to Romans and living in the steppes were referred to as Scythians, whereas novelty-seeking poets were called Neoterics.

– imitate the ancient tradition. He states that contemporary music of the time has hardly been improved any further than the music of ancient times – in its grand delight and delightful grandness (SM I: 160).¹³ In fact, Praetorius represents here quite an archaic ideal: we are indebted to the old times.

As far as the Ciceronian construction of rhetoric and notions on *exordium* – that is an introductory part of a speech – are concerned, there can be found some fascinating analogies in Praetorius’s writings. Already Aristotle calls an introduction or proem of an epideictic speech an *exordium* (in Greek: προοίμιον). An epideictic genus was the only one of the three *genera causarum* of speeches (epideictic, deliberative, and forensic) which was abundantly used in sixteenth-century Europe (Kristeller 1947: 273). By character, it is demonstrative and used for praise or censure. Aristotle compares the *exordium* of epideictic speech to the prelude played with the flute (*Ars rhetorica* 3, 14). When speaking about profane or societal music (*musica politica*), Praetorius also refers to Pindar’s second Olympian Ode and adds how Apollo first touches the lyre and then the Muses start singing.¹⁴ This implies that instrumental music preceded singing and all pure music was seen as having godly, spiritual, and sublime origins, corresponding to what the Roman poet Ovid writes:

The God dwells in us, by his operation we are heated up,
from the heavenly thrones comes the Spirit.¹⁵
(SM I: 168; Ovid. *Fasti* 6,5)

Regarding the ecclesiastical music, in the first part of *Syntagma*, the caput for the explanation of liturgy applies similar terminology and descriptions of functionality as in Ciceronian rhetoric. In Ciceronian rhetoric, the *exordium* is divided into two parts: *principium*, and *insinuatio* (Cic. *inv.* 1,15,20; see also *ad Her.* 1,4,6; Quint. *Inst.* 4,1,42; Bower 1958: 224). These parts have affective functions. Praetorius considers the introductory psalmody of the church service (e.g., *Matin*) as evoking benevolence and attention, which corresponds to what Cicero writes about the function of *principium* (SM I: 62–63; Cic.

13 ‘Plurimum inde [ex testimoniis antiquitatis, philosophorum, poetarum ac philologorum] lucis hodiernae afferetur Musicae, non tantum Ecclesiasticae, quae illam idololatricam pie et sancte abominatur et majestate sua πολλοῖς παρασάγγαις post se relinquit sed etiam Politicae liberaliori quae illam licite et honeste imitatur iucunda gravitate graviq̄ue iucunditate ei vix ac ne vix quidem cedit.’ N. B. In the end of this quote, Praetorius uses a chiasmic rhetorical figure from ancient eloquence, χίασμα as well as expression *vix ac ne vix* which occurs without one emendation in Cicero’s *Letters to Friends* that Praetorius has studied in Torgau. Cf. Cic. *Fam.* 9,8,2: ‘*vix aut ne vix*’. Similar occurrences are quite usual also elsewhere in his Latin texts.

14 ‘prooemium citharaedorum est proprium. Prius enim quam cantiones instituant, modos quosdam faciunt quibus introducat et attentos reddant auditores’ (SM I: 362)

15 ‘Est Deus in nobis, agitante calescimus illo, sedibus ethereis Spiritus ille venit.’ The prosaic translation in English is provided by the author.

inv. 1,15–18). At the same time, Praetorius adds the viewpoint of *insinuatio* exhibiting the purpose of congregants receiving aptness for being taught (*docilitas*). He seems to reflect what Cicero says, rather, that it is used to win the attention of a hostile audience by approaching the arguments more subtly and indirectly (*ibid.*). What is different is that Praetorius ascribes the attainment of docility and attentive affects solely to godly inspiration. Namely, concerning liturgical exordia in general Praetorius writes:

Finally, by beginning thus, they promise each other with faith, spontaneous attention to God in the performance of liturgical worship, and at the same time, they introduce docility into the church, along with attention, since they will surely sing and say with their lips and mouths only that which is divine and pleasing to God, and inspired by him.¹⁶ (SM I: 63; transl. in Fleming 1979: 149)

The eloquence with indirectness and politeness imitating polished epithets of the classics was still in common practice in the early modern era of Praetorius (*HWR* Vol. IV: s.v. ‘*insinuatio*’, 421). The phenomenon can be compared musically to fugal expositions (Kirkendale 1979: 25). In this essay, I will later discuss why this notion about *exordium* is relevant for understanding the plausible purposes of Praetorius’s organ music as well.

Therefore, Praetorius’s own understanding of liturgical music for the breviary seems to reflect the continuity of ancient rhetorical patterns. He applies rhetorical dimensions to the liturgy and uses the same kind of rhetorical vocabulary that authors have been using for centuries, still flourishing in his cultural and educational environment. That seems to be natural based on his understanding of speech and music (*concio et cantio*) being closely related counterparts to each other (see Leaver 2007; Arnold 2014). According to Johann Anselm Steiger, the role of rhetoric became even closer to the public sphere and individuals after the Reformation due to the rebirth of German sermons which served congregations, schools, pastoral education, and – always most importantly – proclaiming the Gospel (*doctrina evangelica*). Among other theologians of the time, David Chytraeus regarded grammar, rhetoric, and dialect as necessary servants (*necessaria adminicula*), and common tools (*communia organa ac instrumenta*) for composing knowledge of heavenly and secular things and, for example, Johann Gerhard (1582–1637) followed him (Steiger 1995: 534, 538–539).

16 ‘Hoc exordio denique de Deo gratuitam in cultum Leiturgeticum attentionem sibi cum fiducia pollicentur simulque Ecclesiae cum attentione docilitatem insinuant quod nimirum nihil nisi divinum Deoque gratum et ab ipso inspiratum labiis et ore sint cantaturi et praedicaturi.’

Church music, tradition, and innovation beyond the confessional and cultural borders

Even though Praetorius criticises – in agreement with the Lutheran Book of Concord (e.g. CA XXI, XIV; SA II,2) – the sacrifice of the Mass and the invocation of the saints in the Roman church, he still wants to underline the value of the past and traditional church music. He tells how he utilises the Medieval liturgical commentary, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, written by Durandus (1230–1296) in his SM I. In addition, relying on the information provided by Polydorus Vergil (c. 1470–1555) and William Perkins (1558–1602), he appreciates the impact of Pope Vitalian (d. 672) on the use of organ music in liturgical services (SM I: 69, 143–144). He also lists remarkable hymnwriters from earlier periods of church history, including authors such as Ephrem the Syrian from the East, and Ambrose and Augustine from the West. He even regards Moses as the first hymnographer, preceding the Greek authors (*LSL*). The overall principle for him seems to be recognising the roots (*ad fontes*). At the same time, he notices that the contributions of Ambrose and Augustine, for example, have occurred in the pre-Gregorian era, before the errors and Popish blasphemy as he understands them (SM I: *Epistola dedicatoria*). Still, he says elsewhere that he is not afraid of supporting any skilfully and piously established musical practice, although it could label him as a papist (*LSL*). In any case, it is obvious that Praetorius is of the same opinion as Augustine whose letter he cites. Defending the use of all good and revitalising things that are not contrary to faith, Augustine writes:

*Those things which are neither contrary to faith, nor to good morals, and which in some way exhort a better life, should not only not be condemned, but praised and imitated wherever we see them being established, or recognise that they have been established.*¹⁷ (Aug. *epist.* 55,18, cited in Fleming 1979: 16.)

Furthermore, in the third book of his *Syntagma*, Praetorius tells how Dutch and Italian masters have been composing good examples of innovative music (SM III, *Praefatio*). It is not certain, but it seems he had heard about the Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck's (1562–1621) school from Amsterdam from the North German organists, such as Jakob Praetorius (1586–1651), who had been studying under Sweelinck. Naming some Italian composers and organists, he refers to such examples as Andrea Gabrieli and Giovanni Gabrieli, but also praises the organist Hans Leo Hassler from southern Germany. The link to Italy via Hassler, who studied under Andrea Gabrieli in Venice, cannot be emphasised fully

¹⁷ 'quae non sunt contra fidem, neque contra bonos mores, et habent aliquid ad exhortationem vitae melioris, ubicumque justini videmus, vel instituta cognoscimus, non solum non improbemus, sed etiam laudando et imitando sectemur' (*Patrologia Latina* Vol. 33: 221).

enough. Michael Praetorius met him several times, already in Gröningen in 1596 during the organists' renowned convent, and then in Nürnberg (Vogelsänger 2020: 29, 74).¹⁸ According to Paul Walker, it was likely that Praetorius formed his conception of ricercars and fugues based on what was told to him by Hassler (Walker 2000: 119).

At the same time, the Franco-Flemish school must be seen as another prototype of Praetorius's work. Namely, Praetorius highly appreciates the compositions of Orlandus di Lassus, who wrote an extended output of polyphonic motets with enormous rhetorical qualities, and who likely taught Giovanni Gabrieli in München as well (*LSL*; see Haar 2001). Lassus receives an important role in Praetorius's preface to his *Leiturgodia* – to the extent that it inspires Praetorius to acknowledge his aspiration and veneration of antiquity. But what does this mean in the context of Lassus? At least, according to Praetorius himself, he admires Lassus's use of classical texts, and prosody (e.g., accentuation and pronunciation) in text-based music; that is, positing the grammar of the syllables correctly, corresponding to the metrics of poetry and music (*LSL*).

In addition, the veneration of antiquity concerns polyphonic and figural music (*figuraliter*) that Praetorius holds in high esteem (*LSL*). In my view, Praetorius calls for parallel practices that reflect both tradition and innovation, both old and new, and both imitative counterpoint and musical accents. This means utilising the text-painting diminutions of *seconda prattica* but still in the tradition of polyphonic music (*prima prattica*) as it occurs in Gabrieli's sacred concertos, and in the works of Lassus. In turn, Vincenzo Galilei (1520–1591) mostly favoured free texture, monody, and folksong-like characteristics, which seems quite contrary to Zarlino's intentions of composing polyphony (Kirkendale 1979: 33). Perhaps the emphasis of the debate between Galilei and Zarlino about the previously mentioned stylistic ideals still results in over-categorising the two styles, so that instrumental works of the older style seem to be absolute and of speculative origin; i.e., mere mathematics not allowing prosodic nuances besides numerical proportions. Why would there be any reasonable argument for treating polyphonic instrumental works as if they had deviated from text-related poetic inspiration and affective-rhetorical matters? Were these matters regarded as only a part of the new style?

Praetorius seems to think the contrary and finds rhetorical analogies for figural music by exploring both recent imitative music and ancient authors.¹⁹ Namely, besides the mutual rhetorical features of chant and speech, he links musical modulation to the ancient invention of imitating birdsong and refers also to the poet Lucretius. Praetorius

18 This was recorded by Andreas Werckmeister (1645–1706). See his report *Organum Gruningense redivivum* (1705).

19 In fact, in Burmeister's *Musica poetica* (1606), Lassus's works are exhibited as the best model for musical figures. Overall, the North-German theorists derive much of their rhetorical knowledge from, e.g., Quintilian's treatises. See also Wilson, Buelow & Hoyt 2001.

says, referring to Scaliger's *Poetics*, that after recognising the rhetorical and speech-related content (*cantus*), ancient people were at the same time inspired by the sweetness of the diminutive embellishment of birdsong (*modulatio*)²⁰ that offered pleasure to the ears and excited the desires of the heart (*SM I*: 166–167). Hence, for Praetorius, all music has its roots in nature created by God and in the spiritually rich and heartfelt inspiration of poets, which is illustrated and imitated both in oratory and birdsong (or in other musical creatures of nature).

What else does Praetorius mean with his veneration of antiquity? I argue that it does not only have practical and musical implications, but also extramusical and ethical dimensions. In the beginning of his writings, Praetorius often emphasises how he cannot appreciate any anti-musical, lascivious, and superstitious practice – he thinks that they are done in vain. In the first paragraphs of his preface to the *LSL*, he warns about lasciviousness and levity. Also elsewhere, he warns about intrusion and calls for sedulousness in one's own realm, referring to Saint Paul and regarding him as a Teacher of Gentiles (*gentium Doctor*) (*SM I*: 155; 1 Tess 4,11). He also quotes some verses from an anonymous Prussian poet to underline that personal talents and expertise should not interfere with the business of others (*SM I*: 158). Surely, this information mirrors the Lutheran understanding of one's own calling, as well as the ideal of Renaissance humanism that, for example, Charles G. Nauert points out: rediscovery not only of the ancient literature as such, but also of the values, knowledge, and wisdom, both classical and Christian (Nauert 2006: 204–205, 221).

Hence, Praetorius wants to say implicitly that it is a task for music lovers to study the depth of knowledge and history of music. People are supposed to consult them in musical matters both in church and in society, despite where the musical awareness of tradition and beneficial innovation come from. As was said above, Praetorius himself recognises the admirable inventions of the classics as well as the innovations of Italian theorists and composers: for example, close text–music relationship, polychoral performances, and figures for ornamentation (*SM I*; III; see also Kite–Powell 2011). This admiration becomes obvious in Praetorius's efforts in maintaining figural music based on chorales and inspired by the classical inventions of antiquity. With this issue, he turned again to Italy and picked up the collection *Il Transilvano* (1593; 1609) by Girolamo Diruta (ca. 1554–1610). He translated a great part of Diruta's preface which can be regarded as an apology of organ music and lifted it to its sublime (*SM I*: 140–143).

The admiration of such organ music differs from the discourse of Praetorius's Calvinist opponents and their polemics on the Italian example of using organ music in

20 In this article, the term *modulatio* does not refer to modern modulation (of keys) but was an integral part of composing and performing poetic music according to Praetorius's view, as stated above; musically this can be most sufficiently clarified and illustrated by exploring the treatises on ornamentation (see, e.g., *SM III*; Soehnlein 1975).

the Mass. According to Irwin (1983), Calvinists were concerned about secular music and ended up removing organs from churches. In turn, Lutherans defended the use of *musica instrumentalis* in churches, nonetheless allowing no space either for levity or abuse in organ music (ibid.; Herl 2008, 149; see also *SM* I: 116–118). One can find several examples from the Lutheran services during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that combine instrumental music and congregational singing (see, e.g., Herl 2008: 130–131). Especially among Roman Catholics and Lutherans, there were keen supporters of organ music in liturgical services already in the seventeenth century. Many pastoral clergymen from Lutheran parishes were even citing Praetorius's writings in their organ sermons, which were given, for instance, at the inauguration of a new church organ (Braun 2019; Schiltz & Braun 2022).

Above, I have offered some biographical and cultural information that describes the education, background, and personal network of Praetorius. Clearly, certain extramusical and educational ideas, especially classical ethos, rhetoric, and Italian innovations on modulation and diminution were constructing the context of his compositions. Next, I will study how these theoretical conceptions and their applications can be found in practice and in the purposeful use of Praetorius's music at the time. According to Praetorius, all instrumental music must be contrived purposefully: primarily for glorifying God, and secondly for delighting people (*SM* I: 436).

Praetorius's organ ricercars as a linkage between liturgical and rhetorical traditions

I argue that in the core of Praetorius's musical thinking, there is an exordial nature of imitative texture, especially in the liturgical context; however, this is once again a multifaceted phenomenon. As I have shown above from the classical sources, *exordium* can be divided into *principium* and *insinuatio*. Musically speaking, their stylistic features distinguish them either as free (Aristotelian) or strict (Ciceronian); in other words, either to improvisatory or imitative preludial matters. This ancient notion is repeated also in the books of German music theorists such as Dressler (1563: Caput XII) and Burmeister (1606: 72). Furthermore, rhetorical artifices related to imitation such as diminution and augmentation were associated with an *exordium* of epideictic oratory by Quintilian, and of gravity by Cicero (Cic. *inv.* 1,15–18; Quint. *Inst.* 4,1,15; see also Kirkendale 1979: 38). In the classical rhetoric, three rhetorical styles, *humile*, *mediocre*, and *grave* can be identified (Cic. *orat.* 3,177) of which the last was in favour by Renaissance musicians (see Kirkendale 1979: 33). Perhaps this explains why Zarlino also himself wanted to maintain the polyphonic tradition, as well as Lassus and Praetorius.

Kirkendale has explored these exordial elements, Ciceronian distinctions, and the characterisation of different types of ricercars in Bach's *Musicalisches Opfer* (BWV 1079). According to him, both the freely improvised (*principium-plenum*) and the imitative (*insinuatio-nuda*) types of preludial ricercars still continued to flourish in the Baroque non-dance keyboard repertoire (Kirkendale 1979: 38). Defending the importance of the latter type that mirrors the gravity of Ciceronian style, he writes:

Beginning with Andrea Gabrieli, the imitative ricercar soon became the most elaborately contrived music of its time, a true counterpart of Ciceronian oratory, characterized by contrapuntal artifices such as augmentation, diminution, inversion, and syncopation of the themes. (Ibid.: 29.)

Where can these exordial functions of music be found in Praetorius's works? I focus my attention on his two chorale ricercars for organ, due to their gravity, contrapuntal complexity, and catechetical chorale texts. Exhibiting the old style with the rich use of diminution, they echo what Praetorius himself was inspired by in chorale music: the gravity of *cantus* as well as the sweetness of *modulatio* (*gravis suavitas et suavis gravitas*; see *SM I*: 11). At the same time, I compare certain aspects of liturgical organ music traditions between the Roman Church and the Lutherans.

In the decrees of the Council of Trent, it is stated that the Credo should be sung in a way that none of the verses are played by an organ in the Roman Mass (Fellerer & Hadas 1953). This custom occurred in the Lutheran liturgy as well. In Wolfenbüttel, there was no organ accompaniment during Luther's German Credo hymn (*Wir glauben all an einen Gott*) in the Mass (Sehling 1955: 144). Still, many composers, such as Praetorius, as well as Hans Leo Hassler before him and Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654) after him, composed organ works based on German Credo. Praetorius's setting is the longest and most consistent chorale ricercar (Marshall & Leaver 2001), written in fugal style but with occasional Italian coloratura passages and diminutions, as well as his other organ work on Luther's catechism chorale about the Holy Baptism, *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*. It takes almost a quarter of an hour to play through each of these works, so that alternatim practice, that is playing interludes to the hymn verses, is not a plausible solution. Praetorius does not give any clues either for the use or function of his organ chorales in his prefatory notes but encourages skilled organists to transfer them to the new German organ tablature and to play them. However, there is no reason to assume that they were not at all part of liturgy but only didactic material without practical use even if there cannot be found any mentions of them in the church order for the Duchy of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

I suggest that these two catechism chorale ricercars for organ by Praetorius might have been intended to be played not only in the Mass but also in connection with the

catechism sermons and Vespers – besides the possible use outside liturgical occasions. Due to the length of the works, they did not necessarily have enough space only in the Mass. The Matins and Vespers were arranged on common Sundays and festival days; in village churches, Vespers were to be held on workdays or on the Eves of Sundays and other festival days. In Wolfenbüttel, according to the church order of Jakob Andreae and Martin Chemnitz (1569), the Sunday Vespers were preceded by catechism sermons, and the Matins were followed by catechism sermons on Luther's catechism and hymns from Luther's hymnal (Sehling 1955: 142, 153–155). What would be more obvious than the use of these organ works as an *exordium*, more precisely as an *insinuatō* to the sermons concerning the Credo and Baptism?

There is even some evidence from the early Reformation period that organ motets, in other words, chorale ricercars²¹, were played right after the reading of the Scripture or Luther's catechism before the sermon, either in the Mass or in the Vespers (Dremel 2015: 21; Schneider 2015: 141). One document from the 1530s describes playing the organ just before the congregation and choir begin to sing the German Credo *a cappella* in the Mass in Eisenach and Wittenberg (see Schneider 2015: 141; Wolfgang Musculus's *Itinerarium*²², cited in Rietschel 1892: 20). Interestingly, more evidence comes from Halle's Laurentius-kirche, where there was a grand organ motet played after reading the Gospel and before the Credo of the Mass. This source²³ dates to the 1580s (cited in Dremel 2015: 19–24). In turn, in Hamburg the catechism organ chorale *Vater unser im Himmelreich* was played after the sermon (Porter 2002: 62). These examples support the claim that there could have been similar practices elsewhere. Certainly, at least Wittenberg's liturgical practices were known to many Lutheran clergymen, including Praetorius's father, who had been studying in Wittenberg in the 1530s under Luther and Melancthon (Gurlitt 1915/2013: 3–35).

Could the organ ricercars have been used in connection with the catechism sermons on Sunday mornings in Wolfenbüttel? Considering the estimated timetable of Matins before the Mass beginning at seven o'clock, the church order says quite strictly that the Matins begin at five o'clock in the morning and the catechism sermons at six o'clock. Before the sermon, there was antiphony singing of psalmody, as well as a reading of the Epistle, and then, *Te Deum*, Benedictus, and Collect were to be sung. They hardly took one hour. Before all the congregants sang Luther's hymnal and listened to the one-hour sermon, there would have been a relevant time for organ music as well. Even playing a longer organ chorale was a comprehensible habit since the sermon was also long, and

21 For consistent naming of the organ chorales, see Marshall & Leaver 2001.

22 'Post hanc lectionem ludebatur in organis, succinente ecclesia: wir glauben all in eynen Gott'.

23 'Nach dem Evangelio wirdt das Patrem intonirt, welchs der Chor allewege sol absoluiren. Darnach soll der Organist das teutsche Patrem, oder sonst ein grauitetische Moteten schlagen, der Chor aber undt das gantze volck sol den glauben singen.'

the music, singing and playing, were an integral counterpart of preaching according to Praetorius. Likewise, the organist should have been there because the Mass began an hour later. As can be expected, it was likely all the congregants including the musicians were supposed to be already there listening to the early sermon. If so, the organ chorale as an *insinuatio* would also emphasise the Lutheran understanding of the importance of catechism sermons and catechism hymns. These organ chorales were published in the collection (MS VII) which, in fact, begins with several catechism chorale settings for choirs. Furthermore, during the decades and centuries following Praetorius, music has also carried out an important function in Lutheran catechesis as is well documented in the context of Bach (Leaver 2007: 277–282; 2010). However, it seems that a similar practice of liturgical use of musical settings on catechism chorales was established much earlier, already in the network of Praetorius.

The intentional use of chorale *ricercars* as suggested would reflect the classical and musical rhetoric in the continuity of the long liturgical traditions. Namely, this kind of practice of playing *ricercars* was already in use in Italy in the sixteenth century, not just before the sermon but before the Eucharist, the main part of the Roman liturgy; the Offertory (*Offertorium*) was thus an exordial introduction (*insinuatio*) to the Eucharistic (Kirkendale 1979). What would be a better way to also awaken sleepy citizens in Wolfenbüttel early on Sunday mornings than by an organ insinuation in which voices imitate each other like singers! Namely, Quintilian writes that the *insinuatio* was used especially when listeners were getting tired²⁴ (Quint. Inst. 4,1,48). The crucial part of the Lutheran church services, the sermon on the word of God, should be preceded by musical solemnity, i.e., dignity and gravity (*gravitas*), that was appropriate to ecclesiastical ceremonies in order to serve spiritual purposes and evangelical doctrine (Chemnitz 1603; see also Dremel 2015: 19–24). Praetorius's organ compositions on Luther's catechism chorales can be regarded as *insinuatio*-type *ricercars* that express the required dignity and gravity of *exordium* for the catechesis. They encourage people little by little and prepare them for instructive arguments of homilies. Both also employ contrapuntal techniques such as augmentation and diminution of the chorale melody, which is analogous to the characteristics of epideictic *exordium* (Quint. Inst. 4,1,15).

The next musical examples (based on the edition of Beckmann 1988) demonstrate the *insinuatio*-type solemnity of the imitative sections at the beginning (Example 1), as well as in the *stretto* passage in diminished manner (Example 2) which is preceded by some diminution and birdsong-like embellishment. The voices have also been composed in a way that the *cantus firmus* can be played on a different manual or in the pedal with a relevant solo registration. Moreover, the augmented and diminished theme passages occur

24 'si dicendum apud fatigatos est'.

by turns with joyful *corta* figures²⁵ and bright Ionian harmonies right there when Luther's chorale text (verse 1) speaks about the new life of a person who has been baptised into the death and resurrection of Christ (Example 4). When the chorale text, in turn, speaks about the bitter death of Christ (verse 1), the texture is quite dark with the sonorities of B flat as well as several suspensions, syncopations, and dissonances (Example 3). Hence, the implicated function of the catechism chorales exhibiting the close text-music relationship is apparently to promote proclaiming the content of the catechism.

²⁵ *Corta* figure is the rhythmic pattern of dactyl (long-short-short) or anapest (short-short-long). In Roman comedy, the anapest is the most exuberant meter representing emotional intensity (e.g., overwhelming joy), although the association with exuberance is not always inevitably immutable (Moore 2012: 201–202). The positive character of such metrical units has still been recognised in the later literature of musical-rhetorical figures, as it has been well-documented since the renown Bach-biographer Albert Schweitzer (Forsblom 1985: 60–62).

Example 1. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 1-9.

Musical score for Example 1, showing Organ and Pedals parts for bars 1-9. The Organ part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature (C). The Pedals part is written in a single bass clef staff. The Organ part features a series of chords and melodic lines, while the Pedals part is mostly silent.

Example 2. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 61-68

Musical score for Example 2, showing Organ and Pedals parts for bars 61-68. The Organ part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature (C). The Pedals part is written in a single bass clef staff. The Organ part features a series of chords and melodic lines, while the Pedals part is mostly silent.

11

Musical score for Example 2, showing Organ and Pedals parts for bars 61-68, starting at measure 11. The Organ part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature (C). The Pedals part is written in a single bass clef staff. The Organ part features a series of chords and melodic lines, while the Pedals part is mostly silent.

Example 3. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 233-243.

Musical score for Example 3, showing Organ and Pedals parts for bars 233-243. The Organ part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature (C). The Pedals part is written in a single bass clef staff. The Organ part features a series of chords and melodic lines, while the Pedals part is mostly silent.

Musical score for Example 3, showing Organ and Pedals parts for bars 233-243. The Organ part is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature (C). The Pedals part is written in a single bass clef staff. The Organ part features a series of chords and melodic lines, while the Pedals part is mostly silent.

Example 4. Michael Praetorius: *Christ, unser Herr, zum Jordan kam*. Bars 307-323.

The first system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a common time signature. It contains a melodic line with various intervals, including a tritone (F#-B) and a diminished fifth (C#-F). The middle staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, featuring a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, which is mostly empty, indicating a resting bass line.

The second system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a common time signature, showing a more active melodic line with sixteenth-note patterns. The middle staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, providing a rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, which is mostly empty.

The third system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a common time signature, featuring a melodic line with a tritone (F#-B) and a diminished fifth (C#-F). The middle staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, providing a rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, which is mostly empty.

The fourth system of the musical score consists of three staves. The top staff is a treble clef with a common time signature, showing a melodic line with a tritone (F#-B) and a diminished fifth (C#-F). The middle staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, providing a rhythmic accompaniment. The bottom staff is a bass clef with a common time signature, which is mostly empty.

The rhetorical functions of *ricercars* and the Italian tradition were not necessarily unfamiliar to erudite Lutheran composers. Also, Hassler and Scheidt wrote their Credo compositions in a manner of *ricercar*, and Hassler was surely acquainted with the Venetian liturgical practices since he had studied there. Hassler did not – nor Praetorius or any Lutheran German according to my knowledge – write any musical setting named *Offertorium*, apparently to show that the sacrifice of the Mass does not belong to the Lutheran doctrine of the means of grace, but is condemned. However, this would not necessarily imply that Lutheran musicians, for example Praetorius, who was an enthusiast of Italian musical culture and possessed scores sent to him directly from Italy, were not aware of the functions of *ricercars* in the liturgy of Rome even if he only writes about the prelude functions of *ricercars* (*SM III*). Kirkendale (1997) still assumes the contrary due to the Lutheran background of Praetorius. Even if my current interpretation of the use of Praetorius's organ *ricercars* must be discussed to a greater extent in the future, it seems that many factors support linkages between these two musical traditions. Among these factors there are notions of the classics, the network of colleagues, and itinerary reports. In fact, it would be relevant to study more musical florilegia, that is motet anthologies, of the time and to explore the extent Praetorius was familiar with them.

In search of continuity in the narrative *rerum antiquarum*

Altogether, it was an integral part of Lutheran identity and will to show respect for the past ecclesiastical life. This approach would not conflict with the use of *ricercars*. Hence, the Lutherans in the context of Praetorius wanted to point out that there was no novelty in the Lutheran faith, but there was continuity and originality from the nativity of Christ.²⁶ For the Lutherans, the reformation meant a return to the sources (*ad fontes*), especially to what is in line with prophetic and apostolic writings. That did not however mean excluding the more recent literary achievements either from Praetorius's lifetime or from earlier centuries (*SM I: Epistola dedicatoria*).

The veneration of antiquity is also presented by Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) and his co-workers, who were responsible for writing the expanded volumes of the church history from the Lutheran perspective, *Magdeburg Centuries*.²⁷ Praetorius writes

²⁶ *Magdeburg Centuries* (abbreviated as *Cent.*; see below) regards the nativity of Christ as the birth of the Church. See *Cent.* 1562; see also Bollbuck 2021. Of course, this does not exclude some impact of Early Judaism, which was important for Praetorius, coming through the Old Testament, including, e.g., Hebrew cantillation. See above.

²⁷ 'est autem iure antiquitas veneratione digna' (*Cent. Praef.*). *The Centuries* can be seen as a major contribution to historical method with an emphasis on what was later called 'history of doctrine' (*Dogmengeschichte*) (Backus 2003: 4, 327; Bollbuck 2021: 100).

that he consulted the *Magdeburg Centuries* while composing his *Syntagma*, especially the history of ecclesiastical music (SM I). For Flacius and his colleagues, as well as for Praetorius following them, the historiographical intention of the author was to describe piously historical examples because the ecclesiastical history was the history of Christ himself (*Cent. Praef.*).²⁸ They wanted to point out both good examples and cautionary cases of struggles, and corruption (*pugnae et corruptela*), for the sake of sincere doctrine and true religion (*sincera doctrina et verus cultus Dei*) (ibid.). Praetorius also juxtaposes these two principles, the sincere notion of God and the celebration of God with music, as the basis for his practical theory, not only in ecclesiastical (*musica ecclesiastica*) but also in societal music (*musica politica*) (SM I: *Epistola dedicatoria*). Related to this, the notion of godly providence (*providentia vel gubernatio Dei*) and benevolence (*benevolentia*) becomes obvious in both Flacius's and Praetorius's writings (*Cent. Praef.*; SM I). In my view, this kind of belief and overwhelming spiritual attitude toward history – both allegorical and Christian – form a crucial theme in understanding Praetorius's acceptance and veneration of ancient musical narratives.

Both Praetorius and ancient authors notice that understanding history and biographs serve didactic values, as is the case with the rhetorical catechism chorales. In the first book of his *Syntagma*, Praetorius uses examples from the history of European literature to depict satisfying musical practices. As is the case with the ecclesiastical history above, he depicts both good and false, both rewarding and unsatisfactory examples from classical literature. This was also an ancient custom among Roman authors. For example, Livy employs such examples (*exempla*) in his historiography of Rome. In addition to historiographical purposes, they had rhetorical functions and were used for transmitting the moral models and previous practices in Roman society (Liv. *Ab urbe condita*, *Praef.* 10; see also Chaplin 2000: 1–5). Interestingly, Praetorius explicitly makes an abundant use of such historiographical writings of ancient authors. In addition to Livy, he refers to the narratives of the Roman polymath Varro, the ancient biographer Laertius, and the Byzantine encyclopaedia Suidas, to mention only a few.

Is it so that, by presenting the vast palaestras of history with musical humanism, Praetorius encourages people to look at the future and enjoy the music – but with enriched ethos and with remembrance of instructive narratives of ancient things (*rerum antiquarum*)? While collecting golden grains of musical art (*musicae artis analecta*), Praetorius himself writes: 'What would be more pleasant than watch and listen the rites, feasts, funerals and other actions of ancient people building upon musical singing and instrumental playing as if they were present in front of us.' (SM I: 162)²⁹

28 'pius hoc officii [sic] debere Christo cuius historiam conamur contexere'.

29 'Ecquid enim iucundius veterum sacrificia, convivium, funera et studia cantu musico et organo instructa aspectare coram et velut impraesentiarum auscultare?'

As far as church music is concerned, the same kind of idea of continuity is present in Praetorius's writings when he acclaims the more recent work of Johann Walter and Lucas Lossius for their efforts in maintaining old church melodies and enriching their musical use in liturgy (*LSL*). Praetorius criticises people who do not understand past musical life, but rely on something new such as strict, plain, and homophonic settings that do not correspond to the ancient type of figural ornaments as he sees them (*ibid.*). He may refer to the musical accents, i.e., melismatic modulation, that was used already in the Hebrew cantillation of Psalms as I mentioned above (*SM I: Praetermissa*) and in classical poetry. Also, he explicitly adores Ambrose and Augustine who – according to Praetorius – were mastering Latin prosody and pronunciation, that is treating poetic feet and articulation, correctly. And not the least, these notions inspired him to say: 'oh, how much I honour the antiquity'³⁰. These words echo his ardent love and joy for the sake of vigorous classical ideals.

Conclusions

In this article, my aim was to study how Praetorius relates himself to musical humanism and classical literature. As I noted above, Praetorius demonstrates his sedulous intention to collect the far-reaching *exempla* and narratives of past centuries, especially citing them from primary sources, but also referring to them with the aid of encyclopaedic treatises such as Scaliger's *Poetics*. Obviously, he wanted to lead people by example to study and understand the heritage of both ancient and recent literature. However, this work was not carried out alone but through his large network of friends and colleagues.

Praetorius's writings thus reflect classical educational values of musical humanism, such as veneration and sedulity. In other words, this means that by scrutinising treasure troves of literature related to music and the classics, both churchmen and musicians as well as all lovers of art can enrich their poetic inspiration and erudition from historical examples. There are no barriers between antiquity and Praetorius's own time, as far as one can deduce from the superstitious abuse of human cults. This kind of historiographical motivation, veneration, and search for sincere religion become obvious from the basis of writings of Praetorius, as well as both Livy and Flacius, for example.

Furthermore, the veneration of antiquity as such had a remarkable impact on Praetorius's music. In this article, I have gone through some insights of the rhetorical function of his chorale *ricercars*, as well as the transmission of musical innovations from Italy based on classical philology (e.g., prosody and accentuation). It seems that Praetorius

³⁰ 'quantae venerationi mihi sit antiquitas' (*LSL*).

was aware of the two-fold exordial style of classical rhetoric as he is mirroring precepts from Cicero and Quintilian. Drawing on Kirkendale's research, I argue the case for the relevance of exordial nature, not only in Praetorius's *ricercars*, but also in the Lutheran liturgical context. What is most interesting is that Praetorius applies classical ideals also in explanations of liturgical context, as far as they occur in agreement with, and for the sake of, the purpose of church music. The purpose is, thus, to evoke benevolence and pious affects in partakers of liturgy, for example before catechism sermons. This can happen through organ music as well, which was highly appreciated by Praetorius. In fact, he was following the long tradition, imitating motet singers in instrumental compositions, and transmitting the diminution figures and writings of the Italian organist and composer Diruta.

The classical ideals of Renaissance humanist education, *studia humanitatis*, and all rhetorical art besides music in Praetorius's context, seem to align with the Lutheran theologians of the time, such as Chytraeus. He encourages the imitation of Luther's sermons and Ciceronian epideictic oratory in the life of schools and churches. Still, for Praetorius it did not mean denying the sovereign gubernation of the word of God and the exultant inspiration of the Holy Spirit, whose allegorical emblem was the ancient poetic inspiration of the Muses. The author himself knew best why he chose the name *Polyhymnia* for his large collections of chorale concertos; however, Praetorius drops hints to his readers by mentioning a mythological association. He links the classical muse, Polyhymnia, to the remembrance of ancient things³¹ (*SM I*: 321).

31 'propter memoriam rerum antiquarum'.

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