JOHANN WALTER'S CANTIONES (1544):
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND SYMBOLIC INFLUENCES

BY

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Johann Walter's two songs for seven voices, from Volume V of his collected works, present what seems to be a confused assemblage: three texts sounded simultaneously in a hierarchical structure of musical parts, at the centre of which is the technical feat of an *ex unica* canon for four voices. Viewing these pieces as part of the larger world of sixteenth-century vocal music, it seems that the normative procedures of musical composition and textual exposition have been turned inside-out, with startling results. One of the two, the setting of the Vulgate Psalm 119 (118), was performed publicly at the inaugural service of Hartenfels Chapel on Oct. 5, 1544, in the presence of such dignitaries as the reformer Martin Luther and the Saxon Elector, Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous. Texts in praise of these two, and Luther's associate, Philip Melanchthon, are worked into this composition, which was printed by the Lutheran printer Georg Rhau in 1544.

The purpose of this thesis is to explain these two works in the context of Walter's own creative vision. The seven-part songs seem to be a bizarre experiment; seen from the viewpoint of the composer's life, which was dedicated to religious expression in music and poetry, they are a natural outgrowth of Christian and Classical traditions in verse, as well as music.
The songs are approached from the perspective of Walter's life, and from his works. The initial chapters are primarily biographical, tracing Walter's background and his participation in the events of his own day. The third chapter discusses the putative influences on these songs, and compares them with the available manuscript and print sources which Walter can have had at hand. The description of this material reveals that symbolic relationships were often the genesis of contrapuntal procedures: musical representation in sources with which Walter was familiar included exemplars of the 'Trinitas in Unitate' construction of three-voice canons. Works such as these in Walter's background indicate a more subtle kind of influence at work on the intent of these songs.

In addition to the musical influences that Walter drew upon in writing these works, there is also the influence of the revival of learning, and resurrection of the literature of the ancient world, in the presence of the use of Horatian meters and idioms. The relation of Medieval scriptural exegesis is an influence as well, for in these songs, Walter introduces the interpretive approaches to Biblical poetry and constructs the
music as an analogue to them. The mirroring of the Medieval exegetical tool of the quadriga in the four-part canon within the musical whole is an example of Walter's desire to achieve a complete artistic synthesis of words and music, a phenomenon which informs his poems on music and its relation to theology.

The final chapters treat this ideal, in reference to the songs themselves. The elements of the music are discussed at the end, and the symbolic aspects of the texts and music are detailed. These two songs raise a question. While the setting of Ps. 121 (120), which was not published, seems to provide a model for a composition that involves a synthesis of Biblical and Classical poetic traditions, in an innovative form involving Rennaisance contrapuntal approaches, the publicly-performed sister composition, based on Ps. 119, lacks this total integration of text and interpretive association of meaning through music.
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CHAPTER ONE. INTRODUCTION TO QUESTIONS IN JOHANN WALTER’S CANTIONES (1544).

The first edifice built by the Lutheran church was the chapel at Hartenfels Castle in Torgau (in the principality of Saxony), which had its inaugural service on Oct. 5, 1544; a service at which were present the leading religious and political figures of the reformed church of northern Germany: Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, and the Saxon Elector Johann Friedrich (the Magnanimous). During this service, a musical offering of praise was made by the famed Torgau Kantorei, a singing organization founded by the composer and poet Johann Walter; the song itself was a seven-voiced, five-part exposition of the Vulgate text of Psalm 119 (118), with interpolated texts referring to the religious and political leaders.

This unique work, composed by Walter, presents such a curious assembly of musical elements and texts that it has attracted both extremes of opinion by musicologists interested in the contribution Walter has made to music: "An artistic monstrosity" is what Otto Kade, the 19th-century editor of one of Walter’s publications called this work;¹ "Music of a high artistic quality" maintains Otto Schröder, the first editor of Walter’s collected works.²

¹ Cited by Otto Schröder, in his introductory essay to Vol. V of Johann Walter SW, p. V.

² Schröder, op.cit., p. VI.
The enumeration of the elements involved in Walter's only two seven-voiced works takes up six pages in Walter Blankenberg's survey of the composer's life and works. Blankenberg discusses two works for seven voices because the publicly-performed work on Ps. 119 has a sister composition: In the manuscripts of Walter's music, another seven-voiced song on the text of Psalm 121 (120) exists with identical musical structure and elements, and even more poetical adaptations of the texts from Walter's hand. This composition, easily comparable to the setting on Ps. 119, presents a further question as to its relationship to its counterpart: is it an early prototype, or are the two compositions somehow related? Is the Ps. 119 setting adapted from an earlier version, resembling the Ps. 121 composition, but with later textual amendments in order to suit the occasion in which it was performed? These questions are contained in a larger inquiry into the intent of this unusual structure: is Walter experimenting with a new form of setting of verse and music, radically different from the experiments of Petrus Tritonus and others before him, or are the symbolic associations of the text and the music so all-encompassing that they justify the intense concentration of musical and textual elements for only a single work?

These questions will be discussed in their proper place below. In examining these works, a number of different perspectives have been taken, in order to draw the clearest interpretation possible from them. The first perspective is biographical; Walter lived to the advanced age of seventy-four, and the religious life of Germany changed radically during his lifetime; indeed, Walter was one of the people who helped bring about this change through his part in the reformation of liturgical and educational life. As a composer, Walter’s creative life extended from the appearance of his first group of polyphonic songs, the Geistliche Gesangbüchlein in 1524, to his death in 1570; the seven-voiced songs stand in the middle of this time, during a period of intense development. A descriptive account of Walter’s life and works is necessary for the placing of these particular works in the larger perspective of Walter’s life.\footnote{Also, aside from the translations of the introductory essays of the Johann Walter SW, there is very little biographical information in English on Walter, aside from the article in the New Grove Dictionary [Vol. 20, p. 188-189] Chapter II is written to remedy this lack.}

The question of what models Walter may have drawn upon for these works has been raised by Otto Schröder,\footnote{Schröder, op.cit. p. VI.} however, as the argument of Chapter III concludes, the possibility that Walter was relying on earlier forms by Guillaume Dufay and the pseudo-Josquin for the genesis of these works overlooks the fact that Walter had
access to many sources for the techniques embodied in these songs; for instance, the extraordinarily rich fund of polyphonic music contained in the set of choirbooks now at the University of Jena were part of the performing repertoire that Walter made use of while he was a member of the Hofkapelle of Frederick the Wise between 1520-1526, and Walter may have had access to these manuscripts even up to 1555. These works, and material contained in publications of the time, are fully as likely to be sources for the musical and textual subtleties that are involved in these seven-voiced Psalm settings.

The musical symbolism that is embodied in these works constitutes a separate topic as well: the presence of extra-musical associations within the purely musical procedures is an example of a synthesis of Renaissance poetic impulses and the medieval exegesis of the Bible. Theologians of the Middle Ages had their own method for developing and controlling the use of allegory in Biblical poetry, and this is easily transferable to the revived epic and lyrical traditions of Homer, Virgil, and Horace; the latter was an author that Walter was sure to have known, since he reproduces Horatian meters and even unique idioms in the paraphrases of the texts in these seven-voiced works, along with the symbolization of Medieval structures of allegory.
in the contrapuntal procedures on the original Vulgate text. This sense of symbolic association is one of the features of the music of the Lutheran church, and much of the discussion on Walter by Lutheran musicologists centers around the issue of the relationship of music to theology. Walter's views on this question, as well as his congruence with Luther's opinions, and the discussion of later scholars, are presented also, as a larger backdrop to the symbolism of the two songs.

The discussion of these aspects helps to put the interpretation of the musical and poetic achievement in these works into perspective; textual exegesis would be necessary even if Walter had not been the author of the majority of the juxtaposed, simultaneously-sounded verses of these songs. However, the combination of paraphrased version of the psalm verses with a musical structure that embodies them completely is one of the curiosities in the setting of Ps. 121; this phenomenon is less apparent in the published composition on Ps. 119, where the interpolated texts, also by Walter, form a larger social vision, one perhaps derived from the psalm text rather than a complete portrait of the psalm text itself. These aspects are again symbolic transferences from the text to the music, and back again from the music to the words, with the
musical structures finding their genesis in the symbolism, and the symbolism justifying itself in the structures. The question as to the relationship between the two seven-voiced works compares this last aspect as well; whether the two form a pair of compositions, or if Walter had intended them to be truly independent works, rests in the differing affirmations of symbolic structure that the two songs represent in their unique combination of text and music.
CHAPTER TWO. A SURVEY OF THE LIFE AND WORKS
OF JOHANN WALTER

The dedication of Hartenfels chapel at Torgau in the
principality of Electoral Saxony on October 5, 1544 was an
occasion of high ceremony. For this event, which honoured the
construction of the first edifice of the reformed church under the
guidance of Martin Luther, both Luther himself and his counterpart,
Philip Melanchthon were present at the service, as well as the
Elector John Frederick the Magnanimous, the leading protestant
prince in the Holy Roman Empire. This event could be seen as a
high-water mark of Lutheran Protestantism; the reform movement
that Luther helped initiate and had become a symbol of, had been
in effect in the Northern German lands since the middle of the
third decade of the sixteenth century. Now, more than twenty years
after the 95 theses and the debates at Leipzig, and fifteen years
after the presentation to Emperor Charles V of the Augsburg
Confession, the Lutheran world was enjoying the results of its
widespread reform of congregations and schools in the form of the
first of its own buildings.

Another of the results of the reform of the schools
was the performance by the Torgau Kantorei under its leader, Johann
Walter, who was to become the prototype of the Lutheran cantors and
musicians who followed him. This chapter will summarize the events in Walter's life and place his works in a perspective of the theological and political events that unfolded around him. The discussion of his works centers around the praise-song that Walter's Torgau Kantorei performed in this inaugural service, a seven-voiced Cantio in five sections.

The musical offering presented by Walter's Kantorei at this service was an experimental rendering of Psalm 119 in a series of ostinato figures and canonic structures.\textsuperscript{1} This multi-textual composition had two poems, one in praise of Luther and Melanchthon, and one dedicated to the Elector Johann Frederick, all bound together with a canonic setting of the biblical poem beginning "Happy are those whose life is blameless, who conform to the law of the Lord."

The phenomenon of this event and its position as the apogee of the first period of the Lutheran church is matched by the singularity of the composition which Walter wrote and performed with his Kantorei; the seven-voiced song presents a combination of traditions in itself, from the Horatian meters borrowed from the recently-renved humanistic viewpoint of classical literature

\textsuperscript{1} Walter's two seven-voiced settings based on Psalm texts are printed under the title "Cantio septem vocum" and will hereafter be referred to jointly, because of their similar construction, by their Latin plural, cantiones. See Johann Walter Sämtliche Werke, Vol. V, edited by Max Schneider (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), pp. 3-12, on Ps. 118 (119); the similar setting of Ps. 120 (121) is on pp. 13-30.
to the musical symbolism derived from the musical tradition of the Netherlandish composers. By assembling the historical information about Walter, and relating it to the events of the Lutheran world that formed such a crucial background to his life and career as a composer and poet, what emerges is a view of Walter's creative development through the very long span of his life (1496-1570), which encompassed the upheaval of the Reformation, the death of Luther, the Schmalkaldic War, and the period of theological division prior to the signing of the Lutheran Formula of Concord in 1577.

Early Life (1496 - 1520)

Johann Walter was born to a peasant family at Grospürschütz by the name of Blankenmüller, but took the name 'Walter' after the family who adopted him in nearby Kahla, a village in Thuringia in the region of Saxony, which was part of the lands administered by the Wettin family since 1428. The Wettins had been holders of the Imperial Electorship since this time, but they did not subscribe to the right of primogeniture; therefore, succeeding generations of Wettin rulers had to cope with the dispersal of the inherited lands among the younger brothers of the family. By

2 Discussed in Chapter Three below.

3 This is sometimes referred to as the "Confessional" period in Northern German history.
the third generation of Wettins, the sons of Frederick II (died 1464), Ernest and Albert agreed by the Treaty of Leipzig in 1485 to divide the Wettin lands into two branches, the Ernestine, carrying the Electoral title and the Albertine Ducal lands. Albert established primogeniture in the Albertine line, and was succeeded by his son George in 1500. The Ernestines continued to divide the administration between brothers of the ruling family.

This was possible because of the wealth of the Wettin lands. They were advantageously placed on the Elbe river, and during the 15th century, the Wettins began the exploitation of Saxony's mineral wealth in the form of tin, silver, and coal. Ducal Saxony was even more endowed with mineral wealth: the second Albertine Duke, George, gained the epithet of 'the rich.' The Ernestine heirs were not far behind, however; Ernest's son Frederick III (the Wise) was able to found the University of Wittenberg in 1502, and used the wealth of his lands, which were administered in conjunction with his brother John Frederick to support ambitious projects in the arts and letters.

The region in which Walter grew up consisted of the villages of Kahla and Grospürschütz; together with the nearby stronghold of Leuchtenberg, it had become Ernestine by the agreement of 1485. The church associated with the

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4 The silver mines of Ducal Saxony were to become the largest of their kind in Europe. See William John Wright, *Capitalism, the State, and the Lutheran Reformation: Sixteenth-Century Hesse* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1988), p. 248.
castle, the parish of the Church of St. Margaretha, had had an endowed service since 1396, and in 1413 it was amalgamated into the parish at the castle of Altenburg. The region also had a good school; one of its teachers, Paul Rebhun, was widely known as a dramatist and poet. Through these institutions, Walter received instruction in basic letters and probably became acquainted with the musical aspects of the Roman rite; his Latin was good enough for him to undertake university training. Walter’s colleague, Conrad Rupsch, and the Baroque composer Heinrich Schütz, also came from this region.

Walter entered the University of Leipzig in 1517.

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5 These parts of Germany were referred to as "koloniallands", i.e., taken from the Slavs in the 10th century; the fortifications were built as protection against the Slavic uprising.


7 See Wolfgang F. Michael, Das Deutsche Drama der Reformationzeit (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), p. 70-74. See also MGG, Vol. 11, page 91; and NG, Vol. 15, page 642.

8 For a complete account of Walter’s family background, see Wilibald Gurlitt, "Johannes Walther und die Musik der Reformationzeit" in Luther Jahrbuch, 1933; reprint, München: John Benjamins N.V., 1967. The most recent discussion is contained in Walter Blankenberg, Johann Walter: Leben und Werke, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991), pp. 28-123.

9 See Otto Schröder, "Zur Biographie Johann Walters (1496-1570)" in Archiv für Musikforschung, 5 (1940), pp. 12-16. He also mentions that Walter was a boy chorister at the school of Rochlitz, which had strong ties to Leipzig, the capital of the Albertine Dukes. Blankenberg discusses the possible connection to Rochlitz, op. cit., pages 32-33.
The University had been founded by students from Prague, fleeing from the complications of the Hussite movement in Bohemia. It became one of the more liberal German universities; it was here, for instance, that the first native German poet laureate, Conrad Celtis, published his *Ars versificandi et carminum* in 1486, although the restless Celtis did not stay to be a permanent member of the Leipzig faculty.\(^\text{10}\)

Leipzig was beginning to be influenced by the dissemination of the new humanistic learning, as the presence of Celtis indicates.

Leipzig was also the location, in June 1519, of one of the early controversies stemming from the movement for church reform intitiated by the Wittenberg theologian Martin Luther: the Leipzig Debate with Johann Eck over topics resulting from Luther’s 95 theses against the selling of indulgences in 1517. This series of debates lasted for some eighteen days, and the outcome was a divisive one. The students and faculty were at odds, the students because reform of the Church was an issue that all of Europe recognized, and the faculty because Luther’s assertions

\(^\text{10}\) See Eckhard Bernstein, *German Humanism* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1983), pp. 56-67. Celtis did form societies in his wake, such as that of Martianus Rufus at Erfurt. See also MGG, Vol. 2, pp. 950-954; NG, Vol. 4, p. 54.
reminded them of the Hussite ideas of the previous century.\footnote{Andreas von Karlstadt debated Eck first, then Luther followed. See \textit{Luther's Works}, Vol. 31, "Career of the Reformer" (St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1957), pp. 307-312.}

The Albertine Duke George conspicuously left the debate when Luther maintained that it was possible for both the Pope and a council of the Church to be in error. This event fanned the flames of the reform movement and no doubt left many of the hearers examining their consciences.

Perhaps Johann Walter was one of them. There is no further record of his attendance at Leipzig, although he may have achieved his Master's degree.\footnote{Schröder, p. 16. The student population at Leipzig dropped in 1521 from 1770 to 940. See Heiko A. Oberman, \textit{Masters of the Reformation} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 296-297.} In any case, Walter is next recorded as being brought into the Hofkapelle of Frederick the Wise in Wittenberg, an institution in existence since 1491 and, at this time, being administered by Conrad Rupsch since 1520.

\textbf{The Chapel of Frederick the Wise (1520 - 1526)}

Frederick the Wise, of the fourth generation of Wettin Electors, was one of the Renaissance princes who, along with the Holy Roman Emperors Maximilian I and Charles V, the French
King Francis I, and Henry VIII of England, created and lived in an atmosphere of the mystique of secular power, which was to live on in literature and art long after the reality had passed. Frederick, like all the members of the electoral college of the Holy Roman Empire, had means far outweighing those of the Emperor he nominally served, and he had the education and culture to make his presence felt diplomatically within and without the Empire. He enhanced his prestige by undertaking the dangerous pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1493, which gave him the opportunity to make contact with important political figures on the way, and he subsequently maintained agents in Venice and the Netherlands. As Elector of Saxony, Frederick was Reichvicar to the Emperor, and responsible for the administration of the traditional law of the North German lands. Also, Maximilian appointed Frederick as head of a Council of Regency for the Empire in 1500, a position of high honour and trust, chiefly due to Frederick's efforts on behalf of reform, both in the

13 Maximilian I and his grandson, Charles V, both of the Hapsburg dynasty, drew their wealth more from their Burgundian and Spanish dominions, rather than from the German lands where, for instance, they had no direct power of taxation.

14 Venice was the gateway to trade in the Mediterranean; no doubt it was with Venetian help that Frederick reached the Holy Land. The Netherlands was dynastically linked with the Dukes of Burgundy, which was the richest and most powerful feudal state of the 15th century, and it became part of the Hapsburg inheritance. Economically, it was linked to England.
chaotic empire and the very corrupt church hierarchy.

It was through the political administration of this 'mystique' that the spread of the culture of humanism had been encouraged. In 1443, Maximilian's father, the Emperor Frederick III, had invited the Italian humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini to join the Imperial Chancellery, chiefly to bring the style of the imperial correspondence up to the level of the new rhetorical polish of the Papal Chancellery, which was very much in evidence at the Council of Basel. Piccolomini's greatest cultural influence, however, was as a historiographer; his treatise *Germania* was a description of the German landscape and culture that became highly influential when it was published in 1496.\(^\text{15}\) Frederick was also responsible for the crowning of the first German poet laureate, Conrad Celtis, in 1487. The cultural achievements of the Imperial court set the style for the other courts of the Imperial circles, including that of Frederick the Wise: representatives of the new humanism joined Frederick's court as administrators and helped strengthen ties between classical learning and court culture.

Some of the literary figures hosted by Frederick the Wise, or, receiving his patronage, were among the members of the Erfurt

\[^{15}\text{Eckhard Bernstein, pp. 8-12.}\]
circle around Martianus Rufus, particularly Georg Spalatinus, who became the Elector's secretary and biographer. The distinguished German scholar Johannes Reuchlin, the first German to claim expertise in the three Biblical languages of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, was received at court, as well as poets with a connection to the newly-founded University of Wittenberg, such as Christoph Scheurl, Georg Sibutus, Wolfgang Cyclopius, and Valentin Voigt. The Elector was a patron of the plastic arts as well: German artists such as Albrecht Dürer and Lucas Cranach worked for him, as well as Venetian artists, such as Jacopo de Barbari. There was also an exchange of artists between the Electoral and Imperial courts; the architect Conrad Meit worked for both Frederick and Margaret of Austria. And the Elector was the patron of the composer and historiographer, Adam von Fulda.

In the model of previous humanists, Adam von Fulda was employed as a writer, but his knowledge of music was such that in 1498 he was entrusted with the directorship of Frederick's Hofkapelle. The court chapel, or Hofsingerei, was another

16 Gurlitt, op.cit. quotes poems by Sibutus [in Latin, p. 8] and Valentin Voigt [in German, pp. 96-97]. Gurlitt contrasts the Voigt poem with Walter's 1538 Lob und Preis der Lüblichen Kunst Musica. See also Wolfgang F. Michael, Das Deutche Drama der Reformationzeit, pp. 51-119, for information on Wittenberg poets and dramatists.

17 He was first employed as a singer in 1490 (see Gurlitt, p. 16.) Von Fulda had already completed his treatise, De Musica, by that time. See Peter John Slemon, Adam von Fulda's 'De Musica,' Book II: A Translation and Commentary. Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, 1994.
artistic institution which received influences from across Europe; Maximilian I, the Emperor, had allowed the composer Heinrich Isaac to reside with Frederick’s chapel from 1497 to 1500, and the Netherlandish composer Adam Rener followed him. Perhaps as important as the presence of composers was the collection of music for the chapel; Frederick was the recipient of a gift of a series of manuscripts, copied by the atelier of Petrus Alamire at the Hapsburg court of Mechelen, containing hundreds of pieces of music necessary to the divine service.¹⁸ These were composed by the chief musicians in the Netherlands school: Josquin Desprez, Pierre de la Rue, and Heinrich Isaac are most heavily represented, in addition to twenty-two other composers.¹⁹

Frederick was a music-loving monarch; he insisted that his chapel accompany him virtually everywhere,²⁰ which meant that, in a year that contained no diplomatic missions or Reichtagen outside the Ernestine lands - which was a rare occurrence - the members of the chapel, some twenty-one lay and clerical persons, all men or boys, travelled between the Electoral capital of Wittenberg, subsidiary strongholds in Torgau and Altenberg, and seasonal

¹⁸ Of the original 36 books, 17 survive. See Karl Erich Rödiger, Die Geistlichen Musikhandschriften der Universitäts-Bibliothek Jena (Jena: 1935).

¹⁹ See Rödiger, op.cit. pp. 130-137.

²⁰ It is not known whether he took them all the way to Jerusalem, however.
quarters, such as Lochau (today Annaberg). All these people had to be housed and fed at the Elector’s expense, and their materials transported between the lodgings. This operation cost Frederick up to 3000 Gulden in a year.  

Walter’s participation in this closely-knit enterprise, with its peripatetic lifestyle and its indirect participation in the greater world of politics and diplomacy, must have been a seminal experience. The phenomenon of being part of a musical organization of such depth and specialization in itself would shape a musician’s perspective, but through the chapel, Walter had access to the above-mentioned choir manuscripts of the Elector, which was a rich resource of a wide variety of music. From these manuscripts, Walter had a chance to perform and study the music of the preceding generation of Netherlands masters.

In addition, Walter observed the issue of religious reform grow from a seemingly-localized squabble between members

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21 Necessary choirbooks and instruments such as organs.

22 Walter Buzin, "Luther on Music", The Musical Quarterly, XXXII, (1946) p. 91. This is an estimate from Martin Luther in the Tischreden.

23 Walter joined after 1519, the date that appears to mark the end of the period at Leipzig. The chapel records for 1518 through 1524 are unfortunately lost. See Gurlitt, op.cit., page 29, note 5.
of monastic orders in Saxony,\textsuperscript{24} to a general movement of protest against corruption in doctrine and practice of the Roman Catholic church.

Luther's 95 theses of 1517 against the selling of indulgences were spread through the new medium of printing all over Europe, and naturally attracted the immediate attention of the German church. The secular authorities became seriously involved only after the famous outcome of the Diet of Worms in 1520, but since Luther was a Saxon subject, the Elector was unwilling to let one of his German subjects be examined by a foreign religious tribunal. Frederick was also secretly in sympathy with Luther's ideas, and his protection of Luther was possibly the greatest single contribution that the Elector made to the Reformation.\textsuperscript{25}

Amidst the conflagration of the ideas that were to mean the end of the medieval concept of a unified Christendom,\textsuperscript{26} Walter

\textsuperscript{24} Martin Luther was an Augustinian monk; his initial opponent, the indulgence seller, Tetzel, was a Dominican.


\textsuperscript{26} That is, unified in the sense of a single authority in the interpretation of doctrine based on Holy Scripture. Two of the most pervasive themes of the early Reformation revolve around the reception of Holy Scripture. Firstly, the sacred text of the bible had to be comprehended without a sacerdotal intermediary; and any system of faith was to be erected
was composing the music that could be seen as the first-fruits of his musical experiences at Leipzig and in the Electoral Chapel: The Geistliche Gesangbüchlein of 1524, which contained forty-three polyphonic settings, thirty-eight in German and five in Latin, for three to five voices. The sources for the cantus-firmus songs were hymns and other religious pieces, and this material was intended to provide young people with alternatives to the worldly songs that were then available.\textsuperscript{27} The collection of songs was an immediate success, and was reprinted in 1525. Philip Melanchthon, writing in 1526, points out that Walter's music was widely performed at that time;\textsuperscript{28} in fact, the book of songs became so

\textsuperscript{27} See the facsimilie of Luther's original foreword to the Gesangbüchlein in Walter Blankenberg, Johann Walter: Leben und Werke, p. 419. Otto Schröder lists the provenances of the material in Johann Walter SW, Vol. III, pp. 88-98.

\textsuperscript{28} Letter of 20 June, 1526. Corpus Reformatorum, Vol. I, 1834, page 799, No. 385. This is quoted by Gurlitt, op.cit. pp. 34-35, and Walter Buzin, op.cit., p. 86; Melanchthon is protesting the dissolution of Frederick's Hofkapelle.
associated with the evangelistic movement that it became a symbol of the subversive undercurrent of protestant thought; the painter Hans Holbein depicted it lying open in his picture "Die Gestanden" as a subtle gesture, indicating the link between evangelistic song and its doctrinal and political associations.\textsuperscript{29}

The reform of the church had far-reaching consequences for the social life of late medieval society. The complex structure of religious life was disrupted; nuns and monks left their cloisters, religious properties and institutions were confiscated by secular authorities or looted by mobs, and the traditional offices of the church, such as canonries and benefices, were abolished. When Luther returned from confinement in 1521, religious riots had already taken place in Wittenberg, and more radically-minded reformers on the university faculty, such as Andreas Karlstadt\textsuperscript{30} had already abolished daily Masses, recited the Mass in the vernacular, and served communion in both kinds. It was necessary for Luther to find a middle course between the orthodoxy of Rome


\textsuperscript{30} Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von Karlstadt, c. 1480-1546, was, like Luther, a member of the theology faculty of the University of Wittenberg, and his religious radicalism influenced Conrad Rupsch and Paul Knod, both members of the Hofkapelle. Karlstadt’s reputation was tainted by his association with the Peasant’s Uprising of 1525-26. See Ronald J. Sider (ed.), Karlstadt’s Battle with Luther (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978).
and the extremism of the religious left.\textsuperscript{31}

One of the tasks Luther set about accomplishing was the restructuring of the divine service; he did not do away with the Latin rite and language completely, but provided guidance for services in Latin (for use where it was the language of the educated, such as university towns) and in the vernacular (where the vernacular was more appropriate). The German service was developed in 1525 and a version of it published in 1526.\textsuperscript{32} In the musical aspects of this service, Luther had the assistance of both Conrad Rupsch and Johann Walter; the Elector had sent them to observe, assist, and make a report on the new rite.\textsuperscript{33}

Conrad Rupsch’s presence had another significance as well; Rupsch was associated with Andreas Karlstadt, whose radicalism towards the musical aspects of religious service was already

\textsuperscript{31} For an account of religious radicalism and the Peasant’s War, see Leopold von Ranke, \textit{History of the Reformation in Germany}, trans. Sarah Austin. (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1905), pages 334-358.


apparent. After the death of Frederick the Wise in 1525 during the Peasants’ Rebellion, his successor, John the Steadfast, decided to dissolve the chapel, possibly as a concession to religious pressures and also to dismiss any religious radicals. Despite the protests of both Luther and Melanchthon, this was accomplished in May and June of 1526.

John the Steadfast’s fears that the radical social doctrines of Thomas Münzer and Karlstadt had undermined his authority affected many who were associated with them; consequently, Rupsch, although he was active as a composer as well as the leader of the Hofkantorei, chose to retire from public life in Torgau where he held a prebend. Luther’s and Melanchthon’s intercession in the matter resulted in the Elector’s consenting to a pension for Walter. Otherwise, the personnel of the chapel were dismissed and its resources dispersed.

34 Karlstadt’s treatise against polyphonic music, "De cantu gregoriano disputatio" complained about the cult of music in worship and advocated only monophonic chants. See Gurlitt, op.cit. pp. 30-31.

35 The correspondence for this is rendered into English by Walter Buzin, op.cit. pp. 86-88. See also Gurlitt, op.cit. p. 35.

36 He died in July, 1530.

37 This was some 25 Gulden a year for life. When the chapel was reinstated by the Albertine Maurice in 1548, this was the equivalent of a singer’s salary. See Gurlitt, op.cit. p. 35.
Walter's Activities During the School Visitations (1526 - 1546)

During the immediate period after the dissolution of the chapel, Walter settled in Torgau, where he married Anna Hesse (June 26, 1526) and lived, first with his mother-in-law, and then in the Torgau school building. A son was born to them in May, 1527. Although his active employment as composer and singer in the Elector's service was suspended, he had a yearly pension of 25 Gulden, and the proceeds from the two printings of the Geistliche Gesang Buchlein. Walter sought another chapel appointment, by making a submission to Duke Albrecht of Prussia,\(^{38}\) but nothing came of it. However, it was in the school re-organizations of Melanchthon, through the School Visitation programs, that led to a new role for Walter as the leader of a Kantorei established in the city of Torgau.

Already by 1524, Luther had issued a pamphlet urging the communities of Germany to undertake the burden of educating the young,\(^{39}\) and it was Philip Melanchthon who undertook the organization of curricula and classes. His three-part restructuring

\(^{38}\) This was a five-part composition in honour of the Duke. See Moritz Fürstenau, "Johann Walter, kurfürstlich-sächsischer Kapellmeister: eine biographische Skizze", Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung, 1863, p. 250 ff. See Gurlitt op.cit., p.37.

\(^{39}\) "Letter to the Aldermen and Cities of Germany to Erect and Maintain Christian Schools". English version is in Luther's Works, Vol. 10, p. 478.
of the school system became the foundation for almost all subsequent Lutheran Lateinschulen. The curricula were strongly influenced by the humanistic orientation of the university theologians; they prepared students in Latin grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric, and "...all the children both small and large, shall be trained in music during the first hour in the afternoon...." Music was an essential part of this structure: Luther himself regarded a knowledge of music as essential to anyone intending to minister to a congregation, and his support of musical study in the Lateinschulen was built into the daily lessons for the schools. When combined with the new ordinances requiring the participation of students in the musical aspects of the Lutheran services, the need for instruction in the school programs led to a new importance for the Kantor, or choir-leader in Lutheran communities.

In Torgau, the result of the visitation programs of 1527 and 1528 was that the town's religious institutions were restructured according to the Lutheran doctrines. The cult of the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints was discontinued, as

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41 Melanchthon, in James William Richard, loc.cit.

42 Walter Buzin, op.cit. page 90.
well as daily Masses. Monasteries were dissolved, their assets seized, and their liturgical or educational functions absorbed by branches of the new Lutheran authorities.\textsuperscript{43} Torgau received faculty educated in ideals of reform and humanism; along with Walter, Marcus Crödel, Georgius Wachsrink and Michael Schulteis oversaw a student population of some one hundred and seventy boys.\textsuperscript{44}

At least one hour a day was devoted to music instruction, in which all three levels of students participated. It was from this choral force that Walter was able to train the discant singers for the requirements of service music and to ensure the supply of singers and musicians for the town's future musical needs. These needs were expanded as he established a full Kantorei out of the existing singing organizations.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{43} The first visitations were doctrinal; in the summer of 1525, John the Steadfast divided the Ernestine territory into five regions, to be visited by five survey teams. The area of Kahla, Jena, Neustadt, Weida, and Auma was visited by a group consisting of Philip Melanchthon, Frederick Myconius, Justus Menius, Jerome Schurf, John von Planitz, and Erasmus von Haugwitz. This was initially to ensure that religious radicalism had not undermined the Elector's authority. See Clyde Leonard Manschreck, \textit{Melanchthon: The Quiet Reformer} (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), pp. 131-143.

\textsuperscript{44} See Gurlitt, p. 44. One of the visitation inspectors was Paul Knod, who was originally a Bohemian and boy chorister at Maximilian I's court. In 1513 he was ordained as a priest, and he graduated from Wittenberg in 1518; under the influence of Karlstadt, he left his prebend. After 1526, he became one of the School Visitation inspectors, and helped with the organization of the Torgau Lateinschule.

\textsuperscript{45} Gurlitt, op.cit. page 44.
importantly, the endowments that had been established for the
performance of sung masses were immediately absorbed into
the provision for musical services of a reformed character:
the salaries of the Baccalaureate and the Kantor were taken
from the endowments that already existed when their original
purpose (votive Masses for brethren in purgatory) was deemed
theologically obsolete. With the abolishment of daily Masses,
requiem services, and Marian and Saints' services, the chief
services were the Sunday morning and evening services (Vespers)
and the major feasts of the church calendar.

In the development of a polyphonic repertoire for the
groups under his direction, Walter was able to rely on existing
printed sources from his Geistliche Gesang Buchlein of 1524
and 1525, and a number of hand-written manuscripts which he
compiled from manuscript sources available to him. He also
collected and copied into performable form the traditional

46 Gurlitt, page 44. For instance, Electoral Saxony
was endowed with resources for 8994 Masses in every year.
The Wittenberg castle church had six student singers, since
1519, for the institution of Masses for the dead. See
Christoph Wetzel, "Das Kirchengesangbuch" in Das Jahrhundert der
Reformation in Sachsen: Festgabe zum 450 jährigen Bestehen D.
Evangelische Luther Landeskirche Sachsens (Berlin: Evangelische
Verlagsanstalt, 1989) p. 133.

47 See C. Gerhardt, Die Torgau Walter-Handschriften: eine
Studie zur Quellenkunde der Musikgeschichte der deutschen
Reformationzeit (Kassel: 1949).
Passion music for the use of vigils during Holy week.\textsuperscript{48} During this time, Walter also continued to amend and add to the \textit{Geistliche Gesangbüchlein}, improving sixteen of the German pieces and adding new compositions on Latin texts.\textsuperscript{49} According to the original foreword to the work, the songs were meant to provide material that was appropriate, musically and doctrinally, for students to sing. The five Latin-texted compositions, in a separate part of the volume, were probably meant for more advanced students.\textsuperscript{50}

\textsuperscript{48} Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, pp. 3-35.

\textsuperscript{49} The \textit{Geistliche Gesangbüchlein} was originally thought to have had three revisions, in 1537, 1544, and 1551. Recent scholarship has established versions of the book published in Strasburg and Nuremberg that contained continuing additions. Walter Blankenberg regards the first revision as taking place in 1528; see his comments, op.cit. pp. 128-130. See also Arno Forchert, "Ein Auflage des Walter-Gesangbuches von 1534", \textit{Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie}, 7, 1963, pp. 102-104. Blankenberg has also compiled an index of the four versions, op. cit. pp. 137-145.

\textsuperscript{50} Concerning Walter's Latin motets, the initator of the collected works, Otto Schroder, has this to say about the evangelical composer's development: "To a certain extent it is understandable that anyone knowing only the settings in (Otto) Kade's edition should have wished to attribute these Latin motets to some other superior composer." Johann Walter SW, Vol. II. (Translation, by Brian Jeffery, is appended to Vol. VI, pp. 205-207).
By combining the existing organizations with the Lateinschule pupils into a group that could explore polyphonic song repertoire, Walter was able to tap into the musical fount of the spirit of religious revival: the School Visitation Report for 22 March, 1534 gives this account of the Kantorei:

"Because God the Almighty has so graced this city Torgau before all others with a noble musical enterprise, the Visitors suggest that the people who so justly serve it should give an assembly of it [for the benefit of other communities who desire to partake of this worthy Christian study.]."

The fame of the Torgau convivia was described by George Rhau in his introduction to the 1545 Vesperarum Precum Officia. The new Elector, John Frederick I (the Magnanimous) granted the organization a yearly sum of 100 Gulden in 1535.

The period after the 1537 publication of the Gesangbüchlein was a decade of intense compositional activity for Walter. He published a verse pamphlet Lob und Preis der Löblichen Kunst

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51 Gurlitt, op.cit., p. 48; Blankenberg, op.cit., p. 64. See also Gurlitt, pp. 49-50 for a listing of the varied personnel taking part in the Kantorei.

52 Georg Rhau, Musikdrucke IV, hrsg. v. H.J. Moser (Kassel: 1960), XVIII. These were Magnificat settings on the eight psalm tones. Regarding Walter's settings in this collection, Werner Braun comments: "Although they are set in a contrapunctus simplex, they are musically on a rather higher level." See his commentary in Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, p. 20 (translation by Margaret Bent). These settings are also in the Torgau manuscripts, see Gerhardt, op.cit., p. 87.

53 Gurlitt, p. 48.
Musica in 1538, which discussed the relation of music to theological life, and enumerated the scriptural uses of it. In 1540, he contributed to Georg Rhau's collection, Vesperarum Precum officia, a series of fauxbourdon settings of Psalms associated with the Vespers service and set for levels appropriate for student performance. For the purposes of instrumental study, Walter wrote a series of two- and three-part fugues (canons) that gave wind and brass players experience at playing canonic parts. These were written on all eight psalm tones, but remained only in manuscript form. The year 1544 was particularly active: Walter made a substantial revision of the Gesangbüchlein, adding twenty-four Latin and twenty-six new German settings, bringing the index of the work up to one hundred-one pieces. It was also in 1544 that his massive seven-voiced ostinato compositions were probably composed, and the one on Psalm 119 performed.

This period of compositional activity shows Walter initiating a stage of experimentation with the possibilities of canonic and cantus-firmus techniques, whether it is in the creation of psalm-motets in the familiar style of the Netherlands tradition, or the highly experimental structure of the

54 See footnote 52.

55 Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, pages 77-120.
seven-voiced cantiones of 1544. The overall consideration is the necessity of writing for use by students, and to fit the demands of Lutheran reform of the liturgies, but Walter's own systematic intent and his use of canonic techniques is still uniquely his.

The Schmalkaldic War (1546 - 1548)

The year 1546 witnessed a series of religious and political upheavals that changed the certainties of Walter's world for the rest of his days. The death of Martin Luther in February of 1546 was a blow to the Reformed Church bearing his name, but far more destructive in its consequences was the 'German War' of the Emperor Charles V, who, in this latter part of his reign, had finally freed himself from the encumbrances of his other enemies in order to consider the questions of religion and Imperial authority in the Germanic lands. The Protestant German princes, led by John Frederick the Magnanimous of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, were arrayed in a defensive league, but as Charles, their titular feudal prince, was in a superior position diplomatically, he concluded private agreements with members of the Protestant group who were willing to betray the cause. More specifically, one member, Maurice, the Albertine

56 Walter composed a poetic epitaph for the Reformer, who was also his good friend. See Johann Walter SW, Vol. VI, pp. 162-163.

57 The League of Schmalkalden, first formed in 1532. The conflict has come to be known as the 'Schmalkaldic War.'
Duke of Saxony, agreed to switch sides at a critical point in the conflict in exchange for the Electoral title and most of the lands of the Ernestine.

Charles overran Southern Germany in the latter part of 1546. During the campaigning season of 1547, John Frederick was defeated and taken prisoner at the Battle of Mühlberg.\textsuperscript{58} By the terms of the Capitulation of Wittenberg,\textsuperscript{59} he gave up the Electoral title and a large part of the lands of the Ernestine inheritance. In addition, he was to remain a perpetual 'guest' of the Emperor's court; the remaining lands were administered by his sons, John Frederick II, John William, and John Frederick III (the younger).

More ominously, Maurice was given, along with the Electoral territories and power, the responsibility of reconciling the Roman and Lutheran Churches. Toward this end, Maurice began to call Lutheran theologians together in July 1547 in order to obtain their agreement on a confession of faith that reconciled Catholic and Lutheran dogma. In this question, physical force was on the Emperor's side; the Augsburg Interim of Charles V had already been imposed on Southern Germany, where over 400 Lutheran pastors had been driven out, and the churches handed over directly to the old religious establishment. Melanchthon, as the leading figure of the Lutheran church, understood the pressures

\textsuperscript{58} April 10, 1547.

\textsuperscript{59} May 10, 1547.
that Maurice was under from the Emperor, but he refused to support the Augsburg Interim, which contained less than two evangelical ideas in 26 articles of faith. Melanchthon was willing to grant changes in adiaphora,\textsuperscript{60} but not in doctrine. However, Maurice was not to be deterred; receiving Melanchthon's input in the form of an article on justification, the Elector forced agreement at a Diet at Leipzig on December 21, 1548.

"Adiaphora" referred to matters of religious observance that were not specified by scripture or scriptural interpretation; these included practices such as Extreme Unction, fasts, the Corpus Christi feast, the Mass, and ordination by Bishops. Melanchthon regarded them as theologically insignificant. The vital doctrines for Lutherans concerned justification by faith, and disregard of good works. In opposing the Augsburg Interim on this basis, Melanchthon had little success, even with those of his own party: Mathias Flacius (Illyricus) and a group of fugitive Lutheran divines resisted the Leipzig Interim from the city of Magdeburg.\textsuperscript{61} This group became angered by Melanchthon's cautious co-operation, and this led to a permanent faction against him that became known as 'Gnesio-Lutheranist.' Hostility between the 'Phillipists' and the 'Gnesio-Lutheranists' was to plague

\textsuperscript{60} literally, 'indifferent matters'.

\textsuperscript{61} This group consisted of Flacius, Nicholas Gallus, Johann Wigand, and Nicholas von Amsdorf. Walter corresponded with Amsdorf, Gallus, and Flacius on religious questions (see below, p. 43-44).
Luther's church until the Formula of Concord in 1577.

**Johann Walter’s Service as Kapellmeister in Dresden (1548 - 1554)**

Walter, along with the rest of the Lutheran world, probably viewed with dismay the occupation of Wittenberg by Spanish troops, the dispersal of its evangelical university, and the deposition of the Wettin elector, John Frederick I. But in the midst of the political and theological difficulties following upon the outcome of the Schmalkaldic War, Walter was asked by Melanchthon to form and lead a court-chapel organization for Maurice, who was familiar with the Torgau Kantorei from his visit to the court of John Frederick in 1537-1539.\(^{62}\) Maurice, it seemed, was determined to surround himself with all the appropriate trappings of the Electorate, which he had received from Charles V that year.\(^{63}\) Walter therefore received the request from the new elector to recruit singers and instrumentalists for a court-chapel organization, to be ready in time for the October wedding of Maurice’s brother Augustus, to the Danish Princess Anna.\(^{64}\)

Walter’s announcement of the Elector’s intent was published and distributed throughout the Elector’s dominions, especially in the university centers of Wittenberg and Leipzig.

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\(^{62}\) Gurlitt, *op.cit.* p. 60.

\(^{63}\) February 24, 1548.

\(^{64}\) Gurlitt, pp. 60.
The announcement called for both mature male singers - tenors, basses, and altos - and boy choristers (to sing the discantus parts) to arrange an audition at Torgau on the 24th of August and the Sunday after.\(^65\) Also, the rector of the University of Wittenberg, Caspar Cruciger, gave an academic speech on the theological importance of this project on August 19, 1548.\(^66\) Of the singers who tried out, nineteen were chosen, and on September 22, the Elector was able to draft an ordinance setting forth the duties of the new Hofkapelle or Kantorei, the procedures by which it was to be run, and, perhaps most importantly, the salaries and disbursements to be given its members.

The group that commenced performing sacred and secular music for the new Albertine Elector, Maurice, in the autumn of 1548 numbered 19 singers, 20 in all; as men in the Elector's service, they were uniformed in the Electoral black and bore his device 'Verbum Dei Manet In Eternum'\(^67\) on their shoulders in

\(^{65}\) The full text of this announcement is printed in Gurlitt, op.cit., p. 61. Walter's experience in dealing with the voices of boy choristers is revealed in this comment for the discantus singers: "for one finds often a voice in a young man, after the change of puberty, which one had not seen before." (Walter wished boys whose voices had already broken to consider auditioning).

\(^{66}\) See Gurlitt, pp. 70-71, and also Blankenberg, op.cit. pp. 85-86.

\(^{67}\) 'The Word of God Endures Forever.'
gold letters. The chapel was to make music for the Elector twice daily, before and after the mid-day meal, and to provide boys to read from the Bible in Latin and German, in addition to service music. When the Hofkapelle was to present itself, they were to meet at the Kappellmeister’s domicile (where the boys also had their residence, with their overseer, or paedegogus) and march, two by two, to the court. This would have made an impressive sight in the city of Dresden, and have been an outstanding display of the new Elector’s power and wealth.68

The singers were paid at a rate of 24 Gulden a year, and were permitted a table at the Hofstube, where they were fed with other members of the court, and they received one suit of the Elector’s livery (the leader received two). The organists were paid 30 Gulden; the Kappellmeister (Walter) and the paedegogus received 40, as well as the monies necessary to bear the expense of providing for the nine boy choristers, who received lessons in Latin as well as music. All members of the Hofkapelle were expected to study and attempt, under the Kapellmeister’s direction, the most challenging music that he could find.

The results of Walter’s labours as the head of the Hofkantorei

68 This information comes from Gurlitt, op.cit., pp. 66-67. Gurlitt has printed much of this ordinance, and of the kapelle ordinance of Maurice’s successor Augustus (pp. 65-68), and corrected errors printed by Moritz Fürstenau in his versions of these decrees, originally printed in Allgemeine Musikalishe Zeitung, 1, 1863, pp. 245-250; 261-267; and 282-286.
at Dresden are partially contained in the index of copied manuscripts which he compiled in 1554.\textsuperscript{69} The choral group sang from four large volumes of Masses, arranged for four to six voices, and from five volumes of similarly-voiced motets, arranged into winter and summer seasons. The collection featured music by Adam Rener, Ludwig Senfl, Johann Reuch, and Antonius Scandellus.\textsuperscript{70} Why the Hofkapelle had to compile compositions into new choirbooks, and did not sing from the manuscripts formerly belonging to the Hofkapelle of Frederick the Wise is answered by the fact that those manuscripts, apparently stored in the castle church at Wittenberg (or perhaps Torgau; see below) had disappeared. Walter himself offers this information on these books in a letter to the Ernestine John Frederick the Second, after the musician had left the service of Maurice’s successor, Augustus:

\begin{quote}
[Your grace] no doubt remembers that.. I safely brought various parchment manuscripts, which I
\end{quote}


\textsuperscript{70} Antonius Scandellus and Johann Reuch were contemporaries of Walter’s; Reuch, like Walter, was a schoolteacher at the Stadtschule in Meissen, 1543-1555. His principal work was \textit{Zehen Deudsche Psalm Davids} (1551), but after 1555, he stopped composing. Scandellus was an Italian musician brought into the chapel by Maurice; he converted to Lutheranism, and his first compositions were likely contributions to Maurice’s Hofkapelle repertoire, at Walter’s request. For Adam Rener and Ludwig Senfl, see MGG, Vol. 11, p. 291, and NG, Vol. 17, pp. 131-137, respectively.
had secretly, without anyone's knowledge, kept with me, as well as one once used in the castle church in Torgau, to Jena eight days before Pentecost, and humbly committed them [to your Grace] through the renowned Wolff Lauenstein, Secretary....

Walter had wisely secured the former chapel's manuscript books from Torgau, possibly for his own study, and possibly because, as a gift to the Elector, they might have been assigned to the Albertine Maurice, along with other Electoral titles and possessions of the heirs of John Frederick the Magnanimous. The fact that Walter did not turn over the manuscripts in his possession to the Albertines is indicative of the estrangement the composer felt with his position at Dresden - an estrangement that grew from the continuing conflict and confusion between politics and religion in Lutheran Germany.

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71 Letter of 1 January, 1556, printed in Gurlitt, op.cit., p. 71, and also in Blankenberg, op.cit. pages 100-101. Whether Walter was in possession of them from 1526, when they were made obsolete by the chapel's dissolution, is unknown. He may have had access to them, as a citizen of Torgau, for 18 years before he smuggled them away.

72 From Walter's correspondence with Mathias Flacius, it is apparent that he refused to partake of the Eucharist in Dresden, from 1549, shortly after the institution of the Leipzig Interim. He also kept the boy choristers in his care from communion services. See Karl Brinkel, "Zu Johann Walters Stellung als Hofkapellmeister in Dresden" Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie, 5, 1960, 135-143. See also Blankenberg, op.cit., pp. 91-97.
Developments after the Leipzig Interim (1548 - 1555)

During the six years between the conclusion of the Schmalkaldic War and the death of Maurice in 1553, Lutheran Germany had been struggling with the Emperor's determination to bring the reformers back into the Catholic fold. In Saxony, the cradle of the Lutheran spirit, Maurice had forced Philip Melanchthon into the Adiaphoristic controversy brought on by the Elector's Leipzig Interim, and Maurice was besieging the city of Magdeburg, the center of resistance to both the Elector and Melanchthon that resulted in the formation of the Gnesio-Lutheran faction.

Charles V had also promised that Protestant representatives would be heard at the Council of Trent. In preparation for this participation in the Church's reforming council, Charles secured a safe-conduct for the Lutherans, and Maurice summoned Melanchthon and two other Lutheran theologians to Dresden in January of 1551, in order to prepare for the presentation of a consistent statement of the Lutheran position to the Council. Melanchthon authored the Confessio Saxonica, which was ratified by Lutheran princes and church superintendents from Saxony. By December of 1551, Melanchthon was waiting upon Maurice's request to present the Confessio to the Council of Trent.

73 Battle of Sievershausen, Brandenberg, July 9, 1553.

74 John Bugenhagen and Joachim Camerarius.
But it was not to be. Maurice's ambassadors had failed to get a hearing from the Council, and left Trent on March 14, 1552. Maurice's position as Elector in a Protestant state was, in the long term, precarious; after four years of negotiations, the union of Lutheran and Catholic churches was no closer, and the possibility of forcibly returning Northern Germany to Catholic control was unlikely.

So between the months of March and August of 1552, Maurice made an about-face that essentially saved Lutheranism in Germany. He concluded an alliance with France and set about rebelling against the Emperor. This may have been ill-advised from a diplomatic standpoint, for Charles V seemed to be at the summit of his career, having defeated all of his enemies and mastered his imperial realm. In fact, the financial burden of maintaining the largely Spanish armies in Germany had all but ruined the Emperor;75 Maurice's sudden rebellion caught Charles with little

75 An excerpt from the treaty signed by the Pope and Charles V to undertake the Schmalkaldic War is reprinted in Philip Melanchthon (James William Richard, op.cit.), pp. 314-315. The Pope advanced 200,000 ducats, 100,000 to Charles and 100,000 deposited in the Bank of Venice, for the use of his agents in raising a force of 12,000 Italian foot soldiers and 500 horsemen, for 6 months. Charles was entitled to half of the Church revenue in Spain, and 500,000 ducats of abbey lands, in exchange for the mortgage of lands of the Spanish Crown, until six months after the war's end; "and because this is a new thing, and without a precedent, he [the Emperor] shall at the discretion of the Pope, give all the security he can...." Undoubtedly by 1552, these forces were still costing the Emperor a considerable amount to maintain.
or no capacity to make war, and the Elector's sudden advance forced the Emperor to flee across the Alps. By the Armistice of Passau, 76 Maurice wrung from Charles a deferral of all religious questions until 1555 77 and obtained the release of John Frederick and Philip of Hesse, two of the leaders of the Lutheran princes being held by Charles. The Emperor's initiative to return the Empire to Catholicism was unfulfilled, and at the Peace concluded at the Diet of Augsburg, Charles' brother Ferdinand was empowered to sign a treaty confirming the religious split, as well as the policy of eius regio, cuius religio. 78

Walter's Involvement in Religious Controversy (1554 - 1570)

In addition to the Adiaphoristic Controversy between the followers of Philip Melanchthon and Mathias Flacius Illyricus, the Lutheran world was plagued with the deviations in theology that were happening due to Luther's departure from the scene. At Königsberg in Prussia, Andreas Osiander taught a version of justification that was based on a mystical concept of the

76 August 2, 1552. Maurice was able to move quickly because he had forces besieging the city of Magdeburg. He raised the siege and used the army against Charles.

77 The Council of Trent had broken up upon the news of Maurice's approach.

78 1555. This Latin phrase means roughly "The religion of a region is that of him who is sovereign over it." The Augsburg and Leipzig interims became, in consequence, 'dead letters.'
"indwelling spirit" of Christ. This was rejected as an error by the Naumberg convention of 1554. Georg Major revived the doctrine of the importance of good works to faith, and was attacked by Flacius. A bitter controversy raged over the nature of the Eucharist, a question that had broken up the Colloquy of Marpurg in 1529 between Zwingli and Luther. After Luther's death, Joachim Westphal attempted to expand Luther's position, and was opposed by Nicholas Gallus. Melanchthon refused to be drawn into the conflict, but Lutherans who came to share Calvin's view of the Eucharist were extremely suspect and regarded as "crypto-calvinists", a charge that even Melanchthon was careful to avoid.

Amidst the doctrinal squabbles between theologians in Lutheran Germany, one trend was very clear: territorial princes, through the practise of eius regio, cuius religio, were extremely interested in the possiblities for territorial expansion presented by changes in religion, and in maintaining theologians who were favourably inclined to them. Thus Mathias Flacius was welcomed by the Ernestine heirs to a professorship at Jena; 79 John Frederick II was increasingly hostile to the Albertines, and by providing a haven for the Gnesio-Lutheran party,

79 The Gymnasium at Jena was opened on March 19, 1548. The inaugural address was by Melanchthon's pupil, Victorin Strigel, and the institution became a full university in 1558.
he could frustrate the religious initiatives of the Albertines, who sponsored the party of Melanchthon in Wittenberg.

For a record of Walter’s actions in the Adiaphoristic Controversy, there remain three letters from 1552-54 to two theologians, Nicholas von Amsdorf and Mathias Flacius, which show Walter leaning toward a Gnesio-Lutheran position.\textsuperscript{80} Walter’s first communication (to Amsdorf) is lost, but must have been made in response to the Leipzig Interim (Dec. 1548) and before the siege of Magdeburg (Summer 1550) was undertaken.\textsuperscript{81} Amsdorf advised Walter to resist the Interim. As the struggle between the Adiaphorists and the Gnesio-Lutherans dragged on, however, Walter wrote to Amsdorf again:

The Kapellmeister had abstained from the sacrament of the Eucharist, for himself and for the choir boys in his care, but the \textit{paedegogus} of the boys wished them to partake. Walter requested advice from Nicholas von Amsdorf in the summer of 1552, and, when that letter was delayed, from Mathias Flacius

\textsuperscript{80} See Karl Brinkel, "Zu Johann Walters Stellung als Hofkapellmeister in Dresden", \textit{Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie} 5, 1963, pp. 135-143.

\textsuperscript{81} Brinkel, op.cit., pp. 135-136. Its subject matter can be reconstructed from the remaining letters, in which Walter refers to earlier communications, and repeats his questions.
Illyricus. The theologians' advice was harsh and unyielding, and Walter's own view of the difficulties in store for the common Lutheran believer can be seen from a later missive, possibly to Flacius, dated approximately 1561, long after Walter had left Dresden and the Albertine Elector's service.

It was possible for Walter to write more openly about these questions because the political consequences of resisting the Interim were now uncertain; through the spring and summer of 1552, Maurice's rebellion against the Emperor made opposition less dangerous. The Armistice of Passau and the release of John Frederick I, however, did not cancel out the political ascendancy of the Albertines. When Maurice was killed a year later, his brother Augustus succeeded him, and Walter's antipathy for his position as Kapellmeister in their service must have become too much: he was pensioned in August 1554; the funeral Mass for Maurice was written by

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82 Letter of November 1, 1552. Brinkel, op.cit., p. 135. Amsdorf had departed to see the old 'geborenen' Elector, John Frederick I, when he was released from captivity in August, and was not there when Walter's letter came.

83 "Who accepts the Interim, whether it be the Augsburg or the Leipzig, betrays Christ and serves the Anti-Christ." This is Walter's reconstruction of Amsdorf's answer. See Brinkel, p. 136, note 9.

84 Brinkel, pp. 142-143.

85 The chapel organization now amounted to some 40 persons, Italian and Netherlandish instrumental musicians as well as choristers. See Blankenberg op.cit. pp. 89-90.
Antonius Scandellus, one of the new Italian musicians in the chapel. 86

**Torgau 1554-1570: Walter's Last Years**

Walter relinquished his position to Philip LeMaistre, 87 and drew up an inventory of the material possessions of the Kapelle. 88 He returned to Torgau, where day-to-day life was in sad contrast to previous times: the Ernestine court was removed to Weimar; at the deaths of John Frederick the Magnanimous and Maurice, the new Elector Augustus concluded a treaty with John Frederick II, passing over Altenberg and some other territories to the Ernestine heirs to settle the Wettin inheritance. The glorious days of the Ernestine heirs would not return. The conflict over the Leipzig Interim had had its effect in Torgau as well: the vicar Gabriel Zwilling had been dismissed, and the deacon Michael Schulteis had been driven away. 89

Although this period was, as Walter himself described it

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86 Neither did Walter produce an epitaph for Maurice, as he did for John Frederick the Magnanimous, who also died that year (See *Johann Walter SW*, VI, p. 163.)


89 Gurlitt, *op.cit.*, p. 70.
in one of his religious pamphlets, "a troubled time" he continued his creative work in both verse and music almost to the end of his life in 1570. In 1552, he published a contrafactum of a two-part song, "Herzlich tut mich erfreuen." During the latter part of his time at Dresden, Walter also composed his figural setting of the Magnificat text; it was set on each of the psalm tones in an alternatim arrangement, and is a fine example of his continued creative development. It was published in 1557 in Jena by Christian Rhode, a publisher with links to Ernestine and Gnesio-Lutheran factions.

This faction, consisting of Flacius and his students and adherents, continued to be an influence in theological controversy. In the year 1557, the Colloquy of Worms attempted to work out a consistent Lutheran viewpoint, but it was broken up when the


91 Gurlitt op.cit., pp. 89-90, published as a single print under the title Ein schöner geistlicher und christlicher Bergreihen von dem jüngsten Tag und ewigen Leben. The 33 additional verses relate the song’s original subject to apocalyptic themes. Johann Walter SW, Vol. III, pp. 73-75.

92 Set for four, five, and six voices, "One finds in them...power of expression, colouration, grouping of voices for the purpose of alternation, artistic and effective contrasts...." Otto Schröder, Johann Walter SW, Vol. V, p. 8. Translated by Walter Buzin.

93 These meetings were mandated by the Treaty of Augsburg in 1555 and occurred with the intent that a single Lutheran position be developed. See Jill Raitt’s introduction to Shapers of Religious Traditions in Germany, 1560 - 1600.
Gnesio-Lutherans left the meeting. In the following year, Melanchthon and Johann Brentz proposed another theological settlement, but at this point, the Ernestine heirs, led by John Frederick II, rejected this confession, and published their own document, authored by Flacius, who was now professor at Jena.

Walter's association with the Ernestines and his opposition to the Leipzig Interim made it logical that he should support the Gnesio-Lutheranist side, and this is seen in the doctrinal cast of Walter's religious song-poems of 1564. Also, a letter exists, possibly from 1561, to Mathias Flacius, and deals with the difficulties of parish life in Torgau, now that the old Lutheran vicar, Gabriel Zwilling, has been dismissed. Parishoners did not know whether to oppose the re-instatement of Catholic practices (in the spirit of Matthew 2:3), or if they should risk having their children baptized (and consequently registered) in a foreign parish where the presiding minister did not accept the Interim.

Walter's didactic poems from this period, dated approximately 1564, take a more theoretical line, and restate some of Luther's

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94 The Frankfurt Recess, March 1558.
95 Johann Walter SW, Vol VI, pp. 170-175.
96 Brinkel, op.cit., pp. 142-143.
main doctrines on the relationship of the Christian to God: there is no free will in matters of salvation; Good works bring no Christian closer to God, but faith does. In contrast to these works that discuss Luther's arguments in the confessional period is Walter's second Lobgedichte on Music: Lob und Preis der Himmlischen Kunst Musica. Here Walter remolds many of the themes from the 1538 poem, and entwines them with figures from classical legend. It culminates in a final vision of a selection of the nine muses, singing as individual parts a polyphonic chorus. Part of the visionary synthesis of this poem is the assertion that Music and Theology were 'sister' arts, and that Theology has Music 'concealed' in it.

Even as Walter entered his last decade of life, the faith that had shaped so many of his experiences and that had absorbed so much of his creative self continued to call forth works from him, even during this period of controversy. In 1566, he produced his last set of polyphonic compositions, the collection

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98 Erato, the muse traditionally associated with erotic song, is absent. Regarding the absorption of 'worldly' themes into Walter's artistic conception, see Joachim Stahlman's comments quoted below.

99 This idea is also put forth in the 1538 Lob und Preis poem. See Chapter Five below.
Das Christliche Kinderlied D. Martini Lutheri,\textsuperscript{100} in which texts used in the Lutheran service were given extensive polyphonic treatment. The 21-piece collection was completed by September 1566, and later dedicated to the ill-fated John Frederick II.\textsuperscript{101} Yet it pressed polyphonic settings into an even broader world of association; the six-part hymn-motet "Holdseliger, meins Herzens Trost" contains German and Latin versifications of an intent that show Walter transcending the bounds of 'worldly' songs. Joachim Stahlmann describes it in this way:

Here Walter attempted to provide the Old Testament Song of Songs with an analogy in the style of the German secular song. One could talk of a double parody: in the modern sense of the word, the realm of thought and feeling of the Song of Songs is parodied, just as, on the other hand, in the old sense of the word, is the form and mode of expression of the German song. In so doing, the game seems to be carried to extremes, insofar as the text - looked at by itself - remains fully in the realm of the secular love-song, without any extraneous help, but on the other hand, by dint of the verses prefixed to the voice-parts, it sustains a total reversal (which would indeed be shocking to a modern audience) in the sense of a spiritual love-song to Jesus.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{100} Johann Walter SW, Vol. VI, pp. 3-79.

\textsuperscript{101} In 1567, the Ernestine became involved in a conspiracy headed by the rebel, Wilhelm von Grumbach, to recover the Electoral lands. The rebellion failed, Grumbach was put to death, and John Frederick II remained a prisoner until his death in 1595.

Walter's last known composition was the setting of "Verbum caro factum est."\(^{103}\) Walter's reputation as a musical figure associated with the reform movement led to the use of some of these pieces quite far afield; one of his table graces was republished as far away as Scotland.\(^{104}\)

Walter's probably died in March of 1570,\(^{105}\) he was survived by his wife Anna, and his son, Johann, who arranged the payment for a publication from Walter's hand, dedicated to John Wilhelm of Saxony.\(^{106}\) Walter's grave-stone survived until the 19th century. It was partly due to his political and theological isolation that his death was unnoticed, and partly due to his long life. Many of his associates preceded him to the grave.

\(^{103}\) The opening of the Gospel of John. See Blankenberg op.cit., pp. 452-454 for hymn and transcription. Also, in 1568, two canons dating from the 1540s were published in a collection by Clemens Stephani, (Nürnberg: Ulrich Neuber, 1568) now in Johann Walter SW, Vol.III, pp. 67-68.


\(^{105}\) The date of his death is not recorded and must be deduced from documents relating to a benefice Walter held in Altenberg. See Gurlitt, op.cit., p. 79, note 3, and Blankenberg, op.cit, p. 121.

\(^{106}\) See Gurlitt, op.cit., p. 79.
During his earlier days, he enjoyed the friendship and regard of the Reformer Luther and Luther’s associate, Philip Melanchthon, and was highly regarded for his piety as well as his artistic contribution. He was well-known amongst the musical profession, even in later times. In assessing his life and achievement, it is important to note that Walter’s creative life, springing out of the complex of spiritual and reformatory ideas of the 1520s, continued from then until the very end of his life, in poetry and music; his Lob und Preis poems are a testament to the Lutheran church’s association with music even in its inception. During the times of the famous Torgau convivia during the 1530s, Walter brought some of the complexities of polyphonic, ‘figural’ music from the recesses of the court chapel to the forefront of the church community, and the imaginative power of music continued to impress him as a means of communication, and even as a means to understand the mind of God:

For Music also belongs in actuality and by inheritance to sacred Theology, in fact it is even contained and concealed in Theology; and he who would learn, and search into, and desire after Theology, there will he also find

107 For instance, Michael Praetorius included some of Walter’s motets in his publications. See also Otto Schröder, op. cit. ("Zur Biographie").
Music, even if he doesn’t see it; he will yet feel and understand, and perceive it beneath.\textsuperscript{108}

\textsuperscript{108} Walther’s introduction to a copy of the 1538 \textit{Lob und Preis}, dedicated to John Frederick and John William of Saxony. See Gurlitt, op.cit, p. 93, and Blankenberg, op.cit., pp. 426-428.
CHAPTER THREE. CANONIC ASPECTS AND INFLUENCES IN JOHANN WALTER’S CANTIONES (1544)

In examining Johann Walter’s two seven-voiced Cantiones of 1544,¹ Latin Psalm settings on Ps. 119 and a similarly-constructed, nine-part arrangement on Ps. 121, the previous chapter presented a chronological survey of the events of Walter’s life and identified where these particular compositions occurred in it;² this section seeks to draw a more detailed picture of the techniques that are embodied in these unusual Psalm settings, and trace what influences on Walter’s composition may have led to his adaptation in these works. Walter’s influences included the many compositions by musicians of the generation of

¹ Published in the collected works edition edited by Otto Schröder, Johann Walter Sämtliche Werke (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), Vol. V., pp. 3-12. Hereafter referred to as ‘Johann Walter SW.’ The similar setting of Psalm 120 (121) is on pages 13 - 30; it is in nine sections, as opposed to the five sections of the 1544 Cantio, on the selected verses of Psalm 119 (118). Both seven-voiced structures, the Cantio of 1544, and the setting on Ps. 121, are hereafter referred to as cantiones.

² See previous chapter, p. 29-30.
Josquin, as well as sources from his period as a student at the University of Leipzig (1517 - 1519), through the dissemination of music in prints and publications, chiefly from the reformation printers of Wittenberg and elsewhere.³

Otto Schröder, the first editor of the Johann Walter SW, has likened the structure of these cantiones to two pieces from previous composers: the 'ad modum tubae' section of a Gloria by Guillaume Dufay, and the song 'Guillaume va se chaufer,' which was formerly thought to be by Josquin Des Prez.⁴ Schröder saw a definite resemblance between the combination of ostinato part and canonic voices in both of these earlier compositions, and he comments that Walter "somewhat naively sought to overtrump the two-voiced canon [in the four-voiced song by the pseudo-Josquin] with a four-voiced canon of his own creation."⁵

The difficulty with Schröder's observation can be seen from a closer examination of the provenance of his two models.

³ Most specifically, this is the work of the musician and printer Georg Rhau, active at both Leipzig and Wittenberg. See Georg Rhau Musikdrucke aus den Jahren 1538 bis 1545 in praktischer Neuausgabe, hrsg. von Hans Albrecht, ab.Bd. VI von Joachim Stahlmann (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955). [see Bibliography for this chapter.] Also, for a history of music at the University of Leipzig during Walter's student period, see Nan Cooke Carpenter, Music in the Medieval and Renaissance Universities (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), pp. 249-260.

⁴ Otto Schröder, in his introductory essay to Vol. V of Johann Walter SW, p. VI.

⁵ Schröder, loc. cit.
A section from the Dufay movement Schröder cites is given as Ex. 1 below:⁶ although it contains an ostinato between alternating voices as the bass part, and a two-part canon in the treble above it, it does not contain the reciting-tone voice as Walter’s songs do, and the careful arrangement of the differing texts in the Walter songs is not present in the Dufay piece. Moreover, the Dufay selection is estimated to be from approximately 1420-1440, and has yet only been found in manuscript sources.⁷ For Walter to have been influenced by this structure, he presumably would have had to see it in manuscript. This is unlikely, especially when one considers that, when Walter was beginning to write, Dufay’s music was already almost 100 years old.

The song, ‘Guillaume va se chauffer’ provides what seems to be an easily-demonstrable source for Walter’s two seven-voiced cantiones. The song, given below in modern notation, suggested to Schröder that Walter had expanded the combination of the song’s two-note ostinato bass, a single-note ‘vox regis’ reciting-

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⁷ See introductory essay to Dufay Works, CMM, Vol. IV, p.IV.
Fuga duorum temporum

Triplum

Tenor ad modum tuba

Contratenor ad modum tuba

Et in terra pax hominibus bona voluntatis. Laudemus te. BENEDICimus te. ADORAMUS te. GLORIAE cunctibus. GRATias agimus tibi propter magnum glori-AM tuam. DOMINE Deus, rex caelestis, de-us pater omni-potens...
tone part, and a two-voiced canon into a multi-texted structure with a four-part canon 'overtrumping' the two-part one of the song by the pseudo-Josquin. The correspondence between these two pieces seems all the more convincing when one considers in what high regard Luther held Josquin's compositions.


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8 Dubbed 'the voice of the king' because it was, allegedly, the part reserved for the musically-challenged Louis XI (according to the Dodecachordon (p. 284).

9 See Luther's Works: Vol. 54, Table-Talk (St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1957), No. 1258, pp. 129-130.
Unfortunately, the chief attribution for the song by the pseudo-Josquin, "Guillaume va se chaufer" is the Dodecachordon of Glareanurus, which was published in 1547; Walter's published Cantio of 1544 (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1544) may precede it historically. Despite the fact that the Dodecachordon probably was written over a long period before it finally appeared in print, the apochryphal Josquin song it contains exists in no other printed source, and is transmitted in only one manuscript source of the period, from the monastery of St. Gall. The most recent scholarship does not regard the song "Guillaume va se chaufer" as one of Josquin's works.

There is the possibility that Walter may have seen the song in some source, either in manuscript or a print, that has not come to light, but it remains a documentable fact that, three years before the Dodecachordon became available generally as a printed source, Walter had two ostinato-structure compositions in print: the Cantio of 1544, and a setting of a text in praise of

10 Heinrich Glareanurus, Dodecachordon, loc.cit. For further information about the writing of this treatise, see Clement A. Miller, "The Dodecachordon: its Origin and Influence on Renaissance Thought." Musica Disciplina, xv (1961), pp. 155-166.


12 See NG, s.v. "Josquin Des Prez" (Vol. 9, p. 728)
the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V, "Vivat Carolus."\textsuperscript{13}

The possibility that Walter was experimenting with his own ideas on ostinato and canonic forms before seeing the structure in this particular song by the pseudo-Josquin is a subject that can be better understood by examining the print and manuscript sources that were current in Germany and the Netherlands during the period of Walter's early life. Aspects of the use of ostinati, and the regard for specialized canonic constructions, are featured in manuscripts and printed sources of music through this period, and Walter, from his viewpoint as composer to the Hofkapelle of Frederick the Wise, is as likely to have been influenced by them as he might have been by two pieces (by Dufay and the pseudo-Josquin) which survive mostly in isolated manuscript versions.

We know that Walter had ready access to the extensive collection of Netherlands-school manuscripts held by Frederick the Wise, which were finally passed from Walter to the Ernestine heir John Frederick II in 1554.\textsuperscript{14} We also know about the various musical activities from the time Walter was a student

\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Cantio}, (Wittenberg, Georg Rhau, 1544). See Johann Walter SW, Vol. V, pp. 3-12. "Vivat Carolus" from \textit{Bicinia}, (Wittenberg, Georg Rhau, 1545). This smaller composition is for five voices. Its introductory verses are in an acrostic form; see Georg Rhau Musikdrucke, Vol. VI p. 397. (The seven-voiced setting of Ps. 121 was not printed.)

\textsuperscript{14} See previous chapter, pp. 37-38.
at the University of Leipzig (1517-1519). Finally, the dissemination of music in prints and publications, chiefly from the reformation printers of Wittenberg and elsewhere has been thoroughly documented. These sources to which Walter had access contain a variety of technical procedures: cantus firmus construction, ostinato construction, and canonic structures, such as multiple voice compositions ex unica, and sophisticated mensuration canons. These were some of the models for Walter’s early compositions that were contained in the Geistliche Gesangbüchlein of 1524.

The cantiones of 1544 come from a later period in Walter’s composition; after 1540, Walter is expanding beyond the cantus firmus structure which he had established in the Gesangbüchlein, and the technical procedures he was absorbing are ostinato forms, and canon; these are the chief processes underlying the textual setting of the Psalms in the 1544 cantiones.

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15 See Otto Schröder, "Zur Biographie Johann Walters." Archiv für Musikforschung, 5, 1940, pp. 12-16, for the evidence of Walter’s attendance at the University of Leipzig.

[Ex 3: Opening of the Ps. 121 Setting, from Johann Walter SW, Vol. V, p. 13]

Prima pars

Tenor

"Le - va - vi o - cu - los me - os in mon - tes, in

In - grae - re - ni post - quam vi - o - len - ti tur - bi - ne ven - ti.
Moreover, this unusual polyphonic structure is used by Walter in two works, one a setting of selected verses from Psalm 119, and the other on the complete text of Psalm 121.\(^{17}\) In answering the question of the relation of this ostinato/canon structure, and its attribution to an apocryphal work of Josquin Des Prez, this chapter will trace the models for some of the canonic procedures that Walter may have had available during the period of his compositional development, and how he may have adapted and transferred these models in his own canonic compositions.

Since the sources to which Walter had access included not only compositions entirely derived canonically from a single line of music, but also compositions in which the process of canon is intended to symbolize an extra-musical, doctrinal meaning, it is possible to see Walter's 1544 *Cantio* as an achievement that absorbs these technical and semantic aspects of canon into its interpretation. It is the heritage of available canonic techniques which profoundly influenced Walter's approach to text setting in both examples of his seven-part *cantiones*, and, in the use of these techniques, Walter shows more than the 'intent of overtrumping'.\(^{18}\) Rather, there is the transferral

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\(^{17}\) Walter uses this ostinato technique in two other compositions as well: The setting of a text in praise of Charles V, printed in Georg Rhau's *Bicina* of 1545, and two songs printed later by Clemens Stephani, in his *Cantiones Triginta Selectissimae* of 1568. See *Johann Walter SW*, Vol. III, pp. 67-68.

\(^{18}\) Schröder, loc. cit.
of a symbolic doctrinal relationship, the 'Trinitas in Unitate,'
to a symbolic interpretive relationship in the musical depiction
of scriptural poetry, through the medieval concept of the quadriga,
that is apparent in Walter's use of such an unusual structure for
these two compositions.

Walter's Early Composition: Imitation and Latin Text Setting

Walter's first publication of polyphonic songs, the
Geistliche Gesangbüchlein of 1524\(^{19}\) contains 43 songs, thirty-
eight in German and five in Latin. The pieces all display the
structures of the tenor Lied style, described by Friedrich
Blume.\(^{20}\) The composer's setting of the songs uses either the
cantus firmus by itself, or in a canon, as a scaffolding for a
four-voiced or five-voiced 'figural' treatment, featuring a
wealth of melismatic movement and a continuous texture; or
the cantus firmus is set in a four-part texture with little
independence of line that emphasizes the vertical and rhythmic
aspects of the original Lied melody. In the former 'figural'
treatments, imitation is used only as a prelude to the cantus
firmus scaffolding, and in the latter style, there is little
imitative material.

\(^{19}\) Now contained in Johann Walter SW, Vols. I and II.

\(^{20}\) Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music (New York:
This distinction carries over from the German settings to the Latin ones, except for two which are motet settings featuring imitative material alternating with declamatory homophony. If the German settings of the Gesangbüchlein show Walter adapting contemporary Lied procedures to evangelical sacred purposes, the Latin settings show Walter’s efforts in an older style. Otto Schröder, in his comments on the volume of Walter’s Latin settings, has pointed to the presence of these Latin songs as an example of Walter’s connection with an older and more sophisticated art form; "a form with centuries of historical development behind it...Walter, in his training as a chorister, had learned to know it in his youth from examples of masters such as Isaac and Josquin." Walter’s early training as a chorister included singing in the electoral chapel from the choir manuscript collection of Frederick the Wise. Contained in these books were not only works of Isaac, Josquin, and La Rue, but those of seventeen other composers of this school, whose music was available

21 Blume, op.cit., pp. 73-76.


23 Between the years 1520-1526. See previous chapter, pp. 17-18.

24 Alexander Agricola, Jacques Barbiriaw, Noel Bauldeweyn, Antonius Brumel, Nicholas Champion, Loyset Compère, Antonius Divitis, Johannes Mouton, Jacob Obrecht, Marbiranus de Orto, Matteus Pipelare, Johannes Prioris, Adam Rener, and Gaspard Weerbeck, were all represented, as well as Pierre de la Rue,
to be studied as well as sung. The Latin compositions from the 1524 Gesangbüchlein therefore display the range of structural devices with which Walter was familiar when beginning to write in this style.²⁵

These five early Latin pieces show Walter mastering polyphonic techniques in two overall forms: the cantus-firmus based style (‘Vivo Ego Dicit Dominus’, ‘Quottidie’);²⁶ and a style free from cantus-firmus treatment, and instead pervaded by imitative motifs interspersed with homophonic sections (‘Deus, Qui Sedes Super Thronum’, ‘Deus Misereatur Nostri’).²⁷ These latter two works show Walter’s early understanding of a non-cantus firmus, Josquin, and Isaac.

²⁵ For the two styles of German lied setting established for the evangelical movement by Walter, see Friedrich Blume, Protestant Church Music (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974.), pp. 73-78. See also Walter Blankenberg for his comments on Walter’s Latin settings op. cit., p. 265.


imitative motet style, and his approach to expression of the text. A chart of one of these two non-cantus firmus works, "Deus, Qui Sedes Super Thronum" provides an illustration of the contrast between imitative structures and textual setting in this style.

**Figure A: Imitative Subjects in 'Deus, Qui Sedes***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Texture</th>
<th>Text Set</th>
<th>(Bar #)</th>
<th>Subject*</th>
<th>Length</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 4-part imitation</td>
<td>'Deus qui sedes super thronum'</td>
<td>1-14</td>
<td>A, a</td>
<td>4, 6 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 2-part (t&amp;b)</td>
<td>'et judicas aequitatem'</td>
<td>15-21</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>2 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 4-part (d,a,t,b)</td>
<td>'esto refugium pauper'</td>
<td>22-31</td>
<td>C, c</td>
<td>2 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 2-part (d,a)</td>
<td>'in tribulatione'</td>
<td>32-35</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>4 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[*the small letters indicate a 'motto' figure, while the capital letters show a subject of greater length, or one used in more than two voices; the bar lengths are taken from Kade's edition.*]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>4- and 3-part homophony</th>
<th>'in tribulatione'</th>
<th>36-40</th>
<th>(no imitation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>4-part (d,a)</td>
<td>'Quia tu solus'</td>
<td>40-47</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2-part (b,t)</td>
<td>'labores et dolores'</td>
<td>47-51</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2-part (d,a)</td>
<td>'labores et dolores'</td>
<td>51-56</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3- and 4-part counterpoint</td>
<td>'labores et/consideras'</td>
<td>56-73</td>
<td>(no imitation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2- and 4-part (b,a)</td>
<td>'Tibi enim derelictus'</td>
<td>74-82</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2- and 3-part (b, t)</td>
<td>'derelictus'</td>
<td>83-87</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4-part (t,b)</td>
<td>'derelictus est pauper'</td>
<td>88-93</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2-part (b,a)</td>
<td>'pupillo tu eris'</td>
<td>94-98</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>4-part (d,t)</td>
<td>'pupillo tu eris adjutor'</td>
<td>98-102</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>4-part (b,t,d)</td>
<td>'tu eris adjutor'</td>
<td>102-108</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Dividing the music according to its imitative points, Figure A shows some fifteen sections throughout the work, with thirteen sections containing some form of imitative writing. Some of the imitation is extended, such as the opening complex of entries, in which the lower three voices share a subject that extends for six bars (the discantus resembles the subject, but its imitation is not exact); others are short 'motto' figures that occur only to introduce a three- or four-part texture, such as the figures between altus, tenor, and bassus at bars 83 through 87.

What is noticeable is the wide variety of textures and their integration into the text. From the close of the first complex of imitation on the opening phrase of the text, the configuration of voices and their groupings are changed constantly as the music unfolds. While this is common to motets of the period, the interplay of the Latin words is particularly carefully anticipated by the composer (e.g., the setting of the phrase, derelictus est pauper "The poor man is left [for You]"). Because the predicative expression "derelictus est" agrees with the subject "pauper", the lengthy imitative extension of "derelictus" at bars 82 through 87 in a four-part texture draws the listener to its subject, "pauper."

An even more striking use of musical texture depicting the text is the setting of the phrase "consideras labores et

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28 In number, gender, and case; singular, masculine, and nominative.
dolores" ("You regard the toils and sorrows"). "Labores et dolores" ("toils and sorrows") is the object of the verb; "consideras" is both subject and predicate. The object, "labores et dolores" is first introduced by tenor-bassus and altus-discantus duos (at bars 47-51 and 51-55, respectively) and then the words are repeated by the upper three voices in free counterpoint at the end of the altus-discantus duet. As these upper voices continue to develop the grammatical object, the bassus enters with the subject-predicate ("consideras" at bar 58), which is restated three times, in an almost quasi-ostinato figure. This striking contrast of text and musical setting is remarkable in Walter’s early work, and also could be seen to foreshadow the texture of the settings of Psalms 119 and 121, in which the Psalm texts are expanded in words, and the redacted texts are set to individual musical procedures on a wider level. Perhaps Walter’s revision of the Gesangbüchlein brought forward ideas in his earlier writing that he developed further for the seven-voiced, multi-textual settings of Psalms 119 and 121.

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29 It is in the accusative case.

30 See Chapter Four below for a chart of the three revised versions of the psalm text of 121, pp. 95-96.
[Ex. 4: The discussed section (bars 56-73) of 'Deus, Qui Sedes Super Thronum.' Cf. the ostinato aspect of the text setting with Ex. 3.]

However, in sources available to him, Walter could see experiments in canonic structure that could press the structural and associative possibilities of canonic work to the limit, a limit which formed the criterion for the Cantio of 1544 and its sister work built on Ps. 121.

Sources Available to Walter

The question of where Walter might have drawn models for the structural elements of the 1544 cantiones can be clarified by looking at the various techniques used by musicians in the previous generation for large-scale forms, such as the Mass cycle. In many of these works, to which an active musician could have had access, there are numerous examples of the use of ostinato forms and canonic structures of various types.

The period between the first appearance of the Gesangbüchlein in 1524 and its 1544 edition31 was a time which saw the dissemination of musical works from mainly manuscript sources into music prints. The paradigmatic Lutheran example of this is

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31 The subsequent revisions following 1525 are now thought to be in 1528, 1544, and 1551. See Blankenberg, pp. 124-146.
the Wittenberg-based press of Georg Rhau. After leaving his position at the University of Leipzig, Rhau perceived the need for published musical material relevant to the new Lutheran school system. Between 1538 and 1545, Rhau brought out yearly collections of music for the use of musicians in school and service; Friedrich Blume regards Rhau's 1544 collection, Neue Deutsche Geistliche Gesänge as the 'second basic collection' (along with Walter's Gesängbüchlein) of the epoch. Rhau's heirs continued this work after his death in 1548. For two of his publications, Rhau was apparently dependent on the Jena manuscript collection: Opus decem Missarum and Postremum vespertini officia.

A good example of the process of distribution is the Missa Cum Jocunditate of Pierre de la Rue. This work was widely disseminated in print and manuscript sources, and it is essentially a study on ostinato construction. Walter himself could have

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33 See previous chapter, pp. 24-25.


35 Blume, op.cit., p. 80. Rhau's publications are summarized on page 114.

36 Blume, p. 118, regards the Jena choirbooks as having been the 'godfather' of these publications [RISM 1541 and 1545] (Blume, op.cit., pp. 114-119.)
performed it from at least one manuscript (now at Jena; Universitäts-Bibliothek, Chorbuch 22)\textsuperscript{37} and, moreover, have had a chance to study its intricacies in private, as a member of the Hofkapelle which originally owned the manuscript. By the time La Rue’s Missa Cum Jocunditate appeared in Germany in a printed version (in Hans Ott’s Missae tredecim quator vocum a praestantissimis artificibus compositae [Nuremberg: Johann Grapheus, 1539]),\textsuperscript{38} it had already been copied into a series of manuscripts now located in Vienna, Subiaco, ‘s-Hertogenbosch, Stuttgart, Milan, as well as the impressive choirbook collection sent to Frederick the Wise and stored in Torgau and Wittenberg during Walter’s lifetime. In addition, the three-voiced Benedictus was extracted by Georg Rhau and made into a contrafactum for Rhau’s press in 1542.\textsuperscript{39}

Canons in Musical Sources

Rhau’s interest in including canonic works for two and three voices in published collections such as his Bicinia and Tricinia

\textsuperscript{37} It is the principal source for the current modern edition. See Pierre de La Rue, Opera Omnia, CMM 97, Vol. II, page XXIII, and the filiation table, page XXV.

\textsuperscript{38} RISM 1539/2, Item no. VIII. The editor, Hans Ott, apparently overlooked the five-voice Credo.

\textsuperscript{39} "Si esurierit inimicus" in Tricinia (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1542) [RISM 1542/8].
collections was for pedagogical purposes. He did not include La Rue's full Cum Jocunditate Mass in the Opus Decem Missarum, but only the three-part canon in the latter part of this movement, and later the canon on the first part of the Sanctus (bars 1 - 25 of the modern edition) was anthologized in the Practica Musica Hermann Finckii, also published by Rhau’s press in 1556.

While the presence of ostinato development of La Rue’s Missa Cum Jocunditate is also observable in the Missa La Sol Fa Re Mi and Missa Hercules Dux Ferrariae of Josquin, however, an even more unusual example of the use of a three-part canon can be seen in the Missa L’homme armé (super voces musicales) of Josquin des Prez. The earliest manuscript source of the Mass itself dates from the last decade of the fifteenth century, when it was in use by the Sistine Chapel choir, and copied into their choirbooks at that time. It was published shortly afterwards in Petrucci’s print of Josquin’s masses in Venice, September 1502.

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40 But not only duo or trio; Rhau’s 1545 Bicinia collection contains canonic material for three, four, five, six, and even eight-voice combinations.

41 See La Rue, Opera Omnia, Vol. II, p. 78-79. The In nomine is a three-part canon.


43 Misse Josquin (Venice: Petrucci, 1502). RISM 1502/1. This volume contained also the masses "La Sol Fa Re Mi", "Gaudeamus", "Fortuna Desperata", and "L’homme armé (sexti toni)".
This edition was printed again at Rome in 1526, and the Mass in its printed form appeared in the aforementioned Missae tredecim quator vocum in Nuremberg (1539) and in another Nuremberg publication, Liber quindecim Missarum. Meanwhile, the Missa L'homme armé (super voces musicales) had also been copied in manuscript form into another Sistine Chapel choir source (now Capella Sistina 154) and had also been copied in manuscripts created in Mechelen, and sent to the German financiers, the Fuggers, and to the Saxon Elector, Frederick the Wise, where Walter could have seen it in the Hofkapelle.

This particular work of Josquin's was heard in many countries and elements in it drew the attention of musicians and music theorists. Particularly widespread was the three-part mensuration canon for the Agnus Dei II, in which three lines are derived,

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44 RISM 1526/3. The edition reappeared in 1513, 1516, and 1519.

45 Liber quindecim missarum a prestantissimis musicis compositarum, Nuremberg: J. Petreius, 1539. [RISM 1539/1].


47 The copies are now in Vienna and the Jena collection, respectively. See Census-Catalogue, manuscripts Jena 32 and Vienna 11778. There are also manuscript versions of L'homme armé (s.v.m.) in Basel and Modena, copies made for other patrons, by the atelier of Petrus Alamire in Mechelen.
through different mensurations, from a single line of music.\textsuperscript{48} Four different theorists thought the contrapuntal exercise so notable that they reprinted it in their works on music: Sebaldus Heyden, in \textit{Musicae, id est, artis canendi libri duo} (Nuremberg, 1532); Heinrich Glareanus, in \textit{Dodecachordon} (Basel, 1547); Henricus Faber, in \textit{Ad musicam practicam introductio} (Nuremberg, 1550); and Jacob Paix, in \textit{Selectae artificiosae et elegantes fugae} (Lavingen, 1606). In addition, a German manuscript of a theoretical treatise renders it as "Explicatio compendiosa doctrinae de signis musicalibus exemplis probatissimorum musicorum illustrata. \textit{De musica poetica}. Josquin des Prees. Fuga trium vocum ex unica."\textsuperscript{49}

\textsuperscript{48} Pierre de la Rue has a four-from-one canon in the \textit{Agnus Dei III} of his Mass on the 'L'homme armé' subject, not to be confused with Josquin's, mentioned above. See Karl Erich Rödiger, \textit{Die Geistlichen Handschriften der Universitäts Bibliothek Jena} (N.D. Hildesheim: 1935) p. 134. This four-from-one was also very widely reprinted by theoretical treatises of the time; see \textit{Dodecachordon}, (Miller trans.) p. 274 and Heyden's \textit{De Arte Canendi}, (Miller trans.) p. 98-99. La Rue has an even more extensive four-from-one Mass, the \textit{Missa O Salutaris Hostia}. A version in print is contained in RISM 1516/1, but as no German copy from the period exists, it is hard to say whether Walter may have seen it. Its \textit{Kyrie} was later printed in the \textit{Dodecachordon}, (III, 524).

The above discussions of the provenance and distribution of the two works, *Missa Cum Jocunditate* and *Missa L'homme armé (super voces musicales)*, show that the techniques involved in their musical construction were available for Walter's perusal and study well before he created the 1544 edition of the *Gesangbüchlein*. Both Masses, along with many others, were contained in the Jena choirbooks, which Walter had at hand from 1526 until at least 1548. The many other musical prints from Georg Rhau's press in Wittenberg can also have helped to disseminate new examples of writing in canon and to identify composers through reprints.\(^{50}\)

The question of the influence of "Guillaume va se chaufer" by the pseudo-Josquin on Walter's two seven-voiced constructions on Psalms 119 and 121 revolves around Walter's use of ostinato and canon, alleged by Schröder to be from the model of the song. Not only do two of Walter's songs in this form predate their putative model, but ostinato structures are common in many large-scale forms of the period. Walter had many sources available to him for ostinato compositions before the appearance of the *Dodecachordon* in 1547, with its apocryphal Josquin song; and canonic structures, where the entire composition is derived from

\(^{50}\) For instance, *L’homme armé (s.v.m.)* is not attributed to Josquin in the Jena manuscripts; subsequent print sources, and treatises such as Sebaldus Heyden's *De Arte Canendi* identify Josquin as the composer. See Heyden, *De Arte Canendi*, translated by Clement A. Miller, Vol. 26, Musicological Studies and Documents (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), p. 99.
a single part, fascinated musicians all through the sixteenth century. The Masses La Sol Fa Re Mi, Hercules Dux Ferrariae of Josquin, and La Rue's aforementioned Missa Cum Jocunditate, employ a form of ostinato procedure.\textsuperscript{51} As for the canonic element, the Heyden treatise, De Arte Canendi and other works from this period show the fascination that musicians had for this process, especially where the multiple parts or whole compositions were derived from a single line.\textsuperscript{52}

For the four-part canon for tenor that bears the words of the Psalm in the Cantio of 1544, Walter had not only the Agnus Dei III of Pierre de la Rue's Missa L'homme armé (four lines are derived from one; it is present in Choirbook 22 from the

\textsuperscript{51} It is also important to note that, regardless of the possibility of the Josquin song being circulated in manuscript, by 1545 Walter had at least two of his ostinato-based compositions in print: the setting of Psalm 119, which exists in printed form from 1544, and also a five-part song on the text "Vivat Carolus", published in Rhau's Bicinia of 1545 (Georg Rhau Musikdrucke, Vol. VI, No. 129, pp. 334-335.) Also, he could have studied and compared the many-voiced canonic compositions of the Bicinia volume: Nos. 114 through 132 are four-, five-, six-, and even eight-voiced canonic works, anthologized by Rhau.

\textsuperscript{52} Sometimes the procedures necessary for the construction and resolution of these canonic puzzles involved skills that challenged the ingenuity of the composer, and the virtuosic abilities of the choral singer: the mensuration canons listed by Seybald Heyden's 1539 treatise, for instance, require the singers to read the single notation of a line in a variety of tempus and mensuration signs at the same time. Glareanus says however, that "Certainly in compositions of this kind, to say frankly what I believe, there is more display of skill than there is enjoyment which truly refreshes the hearing...." (Dodecachordon, p. 274).
collection now at Jena)\textsuperscript{53} and also he could have seen the many-voiced compositions that Georg Rhau collected in his Bicinia of 1545.\textsuperscript{54}

The 'Trinitas in Unitate' Tradition: Three in One

The mensuration canon in Josquin's Missa L'homme armé (Agnus Dei II) holds more than just the musical interest of the interpretation of signs that theorists of the period found so absorbing; it is also one of the earliest examples of a direct relation between a musical procedure and a specific doctrinal subject that has been labelled by some observers as the 'Trinitas in Unitate' principle.\textsuperscript{55} Josquin's feat

\textsuperscript{53} See Rödiger, op.cit., p. 134.

\textsuperscript{54} Regarding the location of the Jena manuscripts, see above, Chapter Two, pp. 37-38. Regardless of whether they were stored in Torgau or Wittenberg, all or in part, Walter was familiar with them, and material from them could have passed through Walter's hands to the publisher during the editorial process of assembling the Bicinia anthology, and other volumes; Bruce Bellingham reports: "Of special interest is the large number of Latin-texted duos which have concordances with the group of manuscripts now known as the Jena University Choirbooks." (Introductory essay to Georg Rhau Musikdrucke, Vol. VI, p. VIII). Thomas Noblitt, editor of Rhau's Tricinia collection of 1542, notes that it is probable Rhau commissioned works from Walter for that volume (Georg Rhau Musikdrucke), Vol. IX, pp. VII-XII.

\textsuperscript{55} Willem Elders, Composers of the Low Countries, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991) p. 71 lists a number of works with the 'Trinitas in Unitate' figure, such as George de la Hele's parody of Josquin's Benedicta es, and Palestrina, Missa ad fugam. See also Andrews, Technique of Palestrina (London: Novello and Co.,
of three-from-one in the Missa L'homme armé (super voces musicales) is more than a virtuoso exercise in contrapuntal ingenuity, but also, when it is set into the text of the Mass, the musical procedure mirrors a symbolic meaning; in this case, the theological meaning of 'Trinitas in Unitate', the three individual aspects of God being combined in a single identity. The musical analogue of this in a mensuration canon was the phenomenon of a single canonic line, being resolved by three singers, into a complete single composition of three parts, with the notation being interpreted three different ways for each singer. This symbolic use of a compositional structure in the expression of a doctrinal point constituted a observable tradition in the Mass settings of the 16th century: the same figure was used by Palestrina in his Missa ad fugam and Missa Sacerdotes Domini, where it is more explicit than in the earlier Josquin example.

1958), p. 163. Willem Elders also lists examples from the motet repertoire, such as La Rue's "Pater de Coelis" and "Laudate Dominum", and Heinrich Isaac's "Angeli Archangeli."

56 See Perluigi da Palestrina Werke, ed. by F.X. Haberl. (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1881). Vol. II, pg. 57. The Agnus Dei II bears the motto; the motto is also used for the Benedictus (p. 67). See Vol. 17, p. 113 for the example in the Missa Sacerdotes Domini.
Canonic Aspects of Walter’s Writing, 1540-1544

The editions of his Gesangbüchlein show that Walter was continuing to write motets during the decade 1530-1540; and after 1540, there is evidence of other such works in his output: the contribution to Rhau’s Vesperarum Precum Officia (1540)\(^{57}\) and a series of fugues (that is, canons) in a manuscript that is dated approximately 1542.\(^{58}\) In 1544, the massive revision (with many additions) of the Geistliche Gesangbüchlein appeared. One of its many features was the revision of parts of earlier settings, or the creation of new settings on texts that had become common for the Lutheran service.

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\(^{57}\) These are fauxbourdon settings of Psalm texts associated with the evening service; see Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, pp. 39 ff.

\(^{58}\) The examples of the sample page and the realization are from Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV. Werner Braun’s essay in this volume summarizes what can be surmised about the provenance of this manuscript (e.g. pp. xxx and 77).
[Ex. 5: Title page of Walter’s Fugae manuscript, from Vol. IV of Johann Walter SW, p. XXIX]
[Ex. 6: The single-line manuscript of the first fugue, Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, p. XXX.]
[Ex. 7: Werner Braun's resolution of fuga 1, (Ex. 6), Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, p. 77.]
From the viewpoint of Walter’s knowledge of canon, the manuscript of fugae is most interesting and revealing. Werner Braun, who provided the edited resolutions for Volume IV of the Johann Walter SW, speculates that the manuscript is in a form preparatory to being printed; the single lines have no text, and are evidently designed for instrumental players who might have to ‘resolve’ canonic parts from single lines of music.59

This manuscript of 26 strict canonic compositions is dated approximately to 1542, during a period of compositional development for Walter.60 The various three-from-one and two-from-one compositions are simple, but bear a direct resemblance to the four-from-one canons in the cantiones of 1544 in that they involve the development of the compositional skill in order to construct them. Walter had already used cantus firmus canons in the Gesangbüchlein songs, and if he studied models of other types of canons, such as the mensuration canons discussed above, they were available in theoretic sources, such as Sebald Heyden’s De Arte Canendi.

59 For instance, fuga No. VIII is subtitled: "Bassus cum tenore in diapente, discantus in diatesseron" See Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, p. 90.

60 Werner Braun’s comment: "The contents of this fourth volume of the completed edition shows a striking concentration around the year 1540, and may prove to derive their coherent unity from the same origins." (translation by Margaret Bent), Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV, p. XXI.
or he could have examined them from manuscripts such as he had performed from as a member of the Hofkapelle of Frederick the Wise.

In principle, these fugues involved procedures that are very similar to the examples of Josquin, La Rue and others that were printed in the above-mentioned German theoretical sources from 1532 onwards. Studying the Josquin canon of the Missa L'homme armé (super voces musicales) would have meant that Walter was exposed to the musical/doctrinal subtlety of the 'Trinitatis in Unitate.'

Walter did not himself write mensuration canons like those by Josquin, La Rue, and the other examples in theoretical treatises of the time; perhaps the emphasis on writing music that was immediately practical for students, as in his canon manuscript, and his contributions to Rhau's Bicinia and Tricinia anthologies were, would have precluded this. Or perhaps it was beyond his capabilities. Musicians in this period valued these canonic subtleties as a demonstration of the different meaning of mensuration signs, and as an illustration of the intellectual skill of Europe's leading composers. It is perhaps a longer jump from the meaning of mensuration signs to the meaning of Scripture, but the the link the musicians made between a mensural canonic

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61 Walter Blankenberg sees the opening of the fifth section of Walter's 1566 cycle, "Erhalt Uns Herr Bei Deinem Wort" as a 'Trinitas in Unitate' symbol, but he is looking only at three contrasting rhythms on the word 'Gott' (op.cit., p. 240).
procedure and a symbolic concept is seen in the tradition of the "Trinitas in Unitate" motto.

What Walter did with the associative strain of the 'Trinitas in Unitate' concept is a question that will be part of the argument of the following chapters: as we shall see, the evangelical composer adapted the standard interpretive method for Scripture into a musical complex in which the four senses of meaning, literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical (the quadriga) are paralleled by canon in which four lines of music are resolved out of a single one. In doing this, the 'three-in-one' concept of the 'Trinitas in Unitate' tradition becomes the 'four-in-one' concept of the medieval quadriga; Walter follows the general tendency in reformation thought to move from a received doctrine based on a single authority in scripture to an individual interpretation of the Holy Word.62

62 If the 'Trinitas in Unitate' tradition did lead to canons being written as symbols, the differing mensurations of the Josquin example might be seen to reflect the fact that the deity is regarded as being outside of time (cf. St. Augustine, Confessions, Chap. X). However, the quadrigatic interpretation of scripture involves the derivation of four senses from the words themselves, or rather a literal interpretation and a spiritual one, the spiritual having three aspects: the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical. The four-part canon in Walter's settings of Ps. 119 and 121 is a representation of four interpretations being derived from one set of words, and yet still being fundamentally the same meaning, rather than interpreting three mensuration signs in three different ways such as in the Josquin example.
Historians of evangelical church music certainly do not lack examples in which the association of compositional technique can be made with Lutheran symbolism:

The **Lied** here develops symbolically the full magnitude of its religious potential and its social mission: it becomes the scaffolding and the axis of the composition, the constructive basis and the primary point of reference, and therefore stands in contrast to the other voices... The Tenor is fixed in the strict traditional manner required by its liturgical significance as bearer of the divine Word....

Wilibald Gurlitt, in his 1933 article on Walter, cites the descriptions of the **cantus-firmus** technique by Glareanus and Tinctoris, and similarly makes a symbolic pairing, as Blume does, between text and founding melodic structure.

Walter's own ideas on the relation of music and theology, as exhibited in his praise-poems on music, are examples of his ability to create his own synthesis. Since the thrust of the Reformed religions was toward an individual interpretation of the Word, it is necessary to see what linguistic tools of interpretation an evangelical composer had at hand. Given Walter's fondness for the symbolic complexities of acrostic, such as his 1564 **Lobgesang** on Music, or the poems that preface the

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63 Friedrich Blume, pp. 85-87.

64 Wilibald Gurlitt, "Johannes Walter und die Musik der Reformationzeit" (Luther Jahrbuch, 1933, p. 86).
ostinato composition "Vivat Carolus" in Georg Rhau's 1545 Bicinia collection, it comes as no surprise to find symbolic associations worked into the canon of the 1544 Cantio. As a musical structure, Walter's four-part canons in the settings of Ps. 119 and 121, derived ex unica, certainly had ample precedents, in manuscript and printed form alike, from the composers of the previous generations. And as a structure bearing a doctrinal association, the 'Trinitas in Unitate' tradition gave Walter an example of the possibilities invoked by what would be today be called the mystery of the sign and its meaning.

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65 See Georg Rhau Musikdrucke, loc. cit.
The verses of Walter's 1544 *Cantio* (listed below) were selected from the much longer text of Ps. 119, and were chosen by the composer to be part of a multi-textual composition for seven voices in a highly unusual setting arranged for the dedication of the new Hartenfels Chapel in Torgau in October, 1544.\(^1\) This setting, consisting of a four-part canon containing the original Vulgate text, is combined with an ostinato part, bearing another text, with two additional parts: a descant soprano voice on top (again with the Vulgate text), and a single-note alto voice, reciting yet another text. In this composition, the canonic setting of the text of Ps. 119 is contrasted against two other texts, and, in the manuscript version, the Psalm text is versified

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\(^1\) Johann Walter *SW*, Vol. V, pp. 3-12. Martin Luther's sermon at this service is available in English in *Luther's Works*, Vol. 51 (St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1957), p. 333; (hereafter abbreviated to *LW*.)
again, into the second Asclepiadeic meter, a Latin form of prosody used by Horace.²

The other texts woven into this structure include a reciting-tone setting of a text in praise of Johann Frederick the Magnanimous, Elector of Saxony, of the third generation of Wettin electors who had embraced the reformed faith, and probably the leading figure among the German princes of the protesting states, and a text praising Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, as leaders of the Northern German branch of that faith.

[English translation of the selected verses of Ps. 119.]

1. Happy are they whose life is blameless, who conform to the law of the Lord.

2. Happy are they who obey his instruction, who set their heart on finding him;

5. If only I might hold a steady course, keeping thy statutes,

6. I shall never be put to shame if I fix my eyes on thy commandments.

12. Blessed art thou, O Lord, teach me thy statutes.

13. Make me walk in the path of thy commandments, for that is my desire.

36. Dispose my heart toward thy instruction and not toward ill-gotten gains.

² Quintus Horatius Flaccus (Horace). See Helen Rowe Henze (translator), The Odes of Horace (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961), pp. 215-216. Otto Schröder has included these verses on the score of the modern edition of Johann Walter SW.
37. Turn away my eyes from all that is vile, grant me life by thy word.

171. Let thy praise pour from my lips, because thou teachest me thy statutes.

175. Let me live and I will praise thee; let thy decrees be my support.³

Psalm 119 (118)

The other setting in this structure, on the text of Psalm 121, which was not performed at this service, contains only the Psalm text, with the same musical structure: a four-voice canon containing the Vulgate, a reciting-tone voice, and a two-note ostinato. The discantus voice on the top sings the Vulgate text as well. Walter has apparently expanded the texts in order to fit the ostinato and reciting-tone voices, so that the entire complex of voices is singing different versions of the same text.

The intent of this chapter is to detail the symbolic influences apparent in these unusual compositions, through Walter's creation of tropes to the Psalm texts, his choice of the Psalms themselves, and the possibility of a symbolic association of the four-from-one canonic procedure used in them. The texts of both psalms are given an identical treatment in terms of musical structure; this leads to the inference that, while the Biblical poems reflect a contrast in subject matter, the

musical structure unites them. However, since it was only the setting of Psalm 119 that was performed and published, with textual additions that are detailed below, it is possible that Walter intended a different relationship of text and music for the single composition. In terms of the texts Walter is setting, the words of the reciting-tone and ostinato parts are from his own hand: in the Cantio on Ps. 119, the texts praising Johann Friedrich and the Reformers are by Walter himself; and in the setting of Ps. 121, the Latin paraphrases are again the poetic work of the composer.

Topical Themes of the Cantiones Septem Vocum: Psalms 119 and 121

The verses chosen out of Psalm 119 (118) [1,2; 5,6; 12,35; 36,37; and 171,175] present a series of themes common to evangelistic ideas, such as those of hearing the Word of God, (verse 12: "Blessed art thou, O Lord, teach me thy statutes") and speaking the praise of God (verse 171: "Let thy praise pour from my lips, because thou teachest me thy statutes.") The verses are arranged in a progression from desire of righteousness (1,2 - 5,6), to praise of God and the request for the Word (12, 35) and the final granting of grace (37: "grant me life by thy word") and subsequent praise. In these verses, the response of the created being to God is envisaged as a progression from a state of desire for righteousness to a state of fulfillment
in grace. This reception of a state of grace, in which the Christian is accepted in the eyes of God, is the central issue of the theological concept of justification.

The text of the other song quotes Psalm 121 (120) in its entirety, adding the opening verses of Ps. 146. In contrast, it opens with the despairing figure of the believer, contemplating the distance between the created being and God. The doubts that the Christian struggles with are portrayed in the statements that reflect moral conflict (3: "How could he let your foot stumble? How could he, your guardian, sleep?") and the implication that the initiative that leads to the resolution of the conflict comes from God.

A diagrammic layout of the differing texts of Walter's setting of the prima pars of the nine-part composition on Ps. 121 will clarify the relation of the words to the whole, as well as revealing the nature of Walter's textual amendments. This diagram is followed by a similar one with the texts of the Ps. 119 setting. It can be seen from this diagram that the Psalm texts are in an identical form: both are set to a four-part canon. Since the texts of the Ps. 121 setting are all different versions of the psalm text, it might be possible that the Ps. 119 Cantio was originally in this form as well; a poem equivalent to the reciting-tone voice of Ps. 121 exists in the manuscript of Ps. 119.
Figure B: Walter’s Textual Adaptations, Cantio on Ps. 121

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ostinato</th>
<th>reciting-tone</th>
<th>4-part canon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(trope #1, Walter’s)</td>
<td>(trope #2, Walter’s)</td>
<td>[Vulgate text]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingruerent postquam</td>
<td>Levatis oculis</td>
<td>Levavi oculos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>violenti turbine,</td>
<td>culmina montium</td>
<td>in montes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omne fretum cepit</td>
<td>Aspexi, mihi</td>
<td>unde veniet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumidis fervere</td>
<td>qua proveniet</td>
<td>auxilium mihi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>procellis</td>
<td>salus Nimirum</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auxilio</td>
<td>mea spes, portus et</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cassos oculos ad</td>
<td>anchora, virtus</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>culmina montis</td>
<td>auxilium, praesidium,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non sine lugenti</td>
<td>Deus, (Deus)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lacrarumar voces</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levabam,</td>
<td>[1st Asclepiadean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non animi stabam</td>
<td>meter of Horace]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dubius, quin tua</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dextra</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eriperet salvumque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dare, pressumque</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>levaret.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

translations:

After the violent winds, and the storm have seized the straits with furious raging tumults, for help I will raise my vain eyes to the heights of the mountains, not without the weeping of tears in my voice, [yet] I will stand in no uncertain spirit;

4 Otto Schröder points out in his introductory essay to these works that the initial letters of this poem form a Latin motto: IOANNE WALTHERO ELECTORIS SAXONIAE SIMPHONISTA AUTORE TORGAE. ["The poem is by the author Johann Walter of Torgau, the symphonista to the Elector of the Saxons."] See Johann Walter SW, Vol. V, p. VII (the underlined letters spell out the first word, IOANNE.)
Psalm 121 Texts, (continued)

ostinato reciting-tone 4-part canon

since your right hand has truly given help, and comforted the oppressed.

Walter’s Textual Amendments, Cantio on Ps. 119

(trope #1, Walter’s) (trope #2, Walter’s) (Vulgate)

Vive Luthere Vive Melanthon Vive Elector et
Vivite nostrae lumina terrae Dux Saxorum
Charaque Christo Vivat Defensor veri dogmatis
Pectora, per vos Reduxa, vestro
Munere, pulsis
Nubibus atris,
Prodiit ortu
Dogma salutis
Vivite longos
Nestoris annos

Vivat, vivat,
Joannes Friedrich
Vivat Elector et
Dux Saxorum
Vivat Defensor
veri dogmatis

Beati immaculati in via,
qui ambulant in lege, in lege Domini.
Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius in toto corde exqui-
unt eum.

(beside these parts:
Felices niumim,
qui sine crimine iussa sequi
student. Felices meditantes pia
dogmata et quaeerunt ea sedulo.
(2nd Asclepiadeic meter))

translations:

Long live Luther!
Long live Melanchthon!
Live, lights of our world, and stem of Christ, for by your famous steady fast hearts the doctrine of Christ was returned to us and, by your driving away of the dark concealments, show [that] Long live John Frederick, Long Live the Elector and leader of the Saxons! Long live the Defender of the true doctrine!

Blessed are they who walk freely in the way of the Lord.
Blessed are they who search His word, and in their whole hearts seek Him.
Cantio on Ps. 119, translations

the reclaimed doctrine [the poem is a
arises, and is paraphrase of Ps.
proclaimed in new 119.]
brightness! May you live the long years
of Nestor!⁵

The 'Huldingungs-motet' on Psalm 119 contains the identical musical treatment of the Vulgate Psalm text, (the third column in the above diagram) making the compositions equivalent in their musical setting; however, the reciting-tone and ostinato texts have been added that differ from the Ps. 121 textual paraphrases, as is shown in the diagram above. In addition, another versified rendering of the Psalm 119 text exists in the manuscripts, possibly parallelling the textual tropes of the 121 reciting-tone voice.⁶ This would lead to the possibility that both seven-voiced compositions shared an overall plan, with identical musical structures, and the contrasting of two themes.

The texts inserted into the setting of Psalm 119, however, make a contrast to the 121 texts: while the treatment of the theme of Ps. 121 between three verse traditions unites the classic lyric tradition of Horatian principles with the Biblical

⁵ Nestor is a character from Homer's epics, famous for his longevity and store of wisdom.

⁶ See Otto Schröder, loc.cit. The setting of Ps. 121 is for no known service, and was not printed.
tradition of the Book of Psalms and the Song of Songs, the
three texts of the Ps. 119 setting describe a more social vision:
three elements of society are depicted; the secular ruler, Johann
Friedrich the Magnanimous (in the text of the reciting-tone);
the religious leaders, Luther and Melanchthon (in the text of the
ostinato voice) and finally, the people themselves (seen metaphorically as the individuals of the Vulgate Ps. 119 text). The praise
of Luther and Melanchthon emphasizes their achievement in interpreting the Word of God, and apostrophizes them with a figure from classical legend; manifestations of special powers, such as were common in the cult of the saints, are absent. The verse praising
Johann Friedrich affirms his role as secular leader and upholder of
the reformed faith, while the Vulgate text depicts a people who
strive to 'walk in the way of the Lord.' In this sense, the
combination of texts (two of which were written by Walter) in the
Ps. 119 setting depict church, state, and populace in a single
musical vision.

To summarize this argument briefly, the different themes of
these two psalms remain as described above: Ps. 119 expresses the
desire for grace, and the guidance of a practice of faith; Ps.
121 suggests the anguish and doubt of the afflicted. In Walter's
trope of Ps. 121, this emotion is given extensive imagery. This contrast of two states of emotion has an echo is Luther’s own struggle to achieve justification; in the preface to the reformer’s first edition of his collected works, published a year after the performance of the Cantio of 1544 on Ps. 119, Luther describes the struggle in this manner:

Although I lived an irreproachable life as a monk, I felt that I was a sinner with an uneasy conscience before God; nor was I able to believe that I had pleased him with my satisfaction. I did not love—in fact, I hated—that righteous God who punished sinners, if not with silent blasphemy, then certainly with great murmuring. I was angry with God, saying 'As if it were not enough that miserable sinners should be eternally damned through original sin, with all kinds of misfortunes laid upon them by the Old Testament law, and yet God adds sorrow upon sorrow through the Gospel, and even brings his wrath and righteousness to bear through it!'

This summary was written by Luther a year after Walter’s setting of Psalm 119 had been performed at the inaugural service for Hartenfels Chapel; the contrast of the two Psalm texts is clearly reminiscent of Luther’s concerns. Walter was the author of the versified Ps. 119, in the song’s manuscript version,

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7 Translated in Alister E. McGrath, Luther's Theology of The Cross (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), p. 96. Luther wrote this for the introduction to the first edition of his works in 1545; it is a part of a summary of what the elderly Luther felt to be the central argument of his theological concerns.
and of the even more extensive textual renderings in the setting of Psalm 121. If the identical musical structure for these two seven-voiced songs show off the contrast of their texts, the overall juxtaposition of the themes reflects the viewpoint that the elderly Luther felt was the source of his theology.

Psalm 121 (120)

If I lift up my eyes to the hills, where shall I find help? Help comes only from the Lord, maker of heaven and earth.

How could he let your foot stumble? How could he, your guardian, sleep?
The Guardian of Israel never slumbers, never sleeps.

The Lord is your guardian, your defense at your right hand; the sun will not strike you by day, nor the moon by night.

The Lord will guard you against all evil; he will guard you, body and soul.
The Lord will guard your going and your coming, now and for evermore.

from Ps. 146:

O praise the Lord. Praise the Lord, my soul.

Luther's Exegesis on the Psalm Texts

The possibility that the conflicting themes and similar musical treatments of these Psalm texts suggests that the composer

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8 See Johann Walter SW, Vol. V, for facsimile reproductions of the Cantio (Ps.119) parts (p. 110 ff.)

wished them to be viewed as a whole can only remain speculative;\footnote{For instance, there are no paraphrased versions of Ps. 119 for the ostinato part of that setting, in the manuscript, as there are between the reciting-tone parts of both songs.} but as for the choice of the Vulgate texts themselves, which are set to a canon of four voices resolved from one, there is evidence that Walter had complex reasons for choosing Biblically-poetic texts for these motets. Creating commentaries on the Psalter constituted one of Luther’s first assignments as professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg.\footnote{See Alister McGrath, op.cit., Chapter 3, "Luther as a Late Medieval Theologian," pp. 72-92; see also pp. 98-99.} His lectures on the Psalms were first printed in 1516\footnote{For the correspondence regarding the printing of these lectures, see LW, Vol. 48, pp. 18-19.} and modern theological scholarship regards the course of these lectures, in their interpretive and philological excursi, as important stages of Luther’s thought.

Luther’s approach to the Psalms is Christological: all prophecy is to be taken as speaking about Christ, unless specifically otherwise.\footnote{LW, Vol. 10, "First Lectures on the Psalms," p. 312.} The method of textual interpretation, however, is four-fold: the literal, the allegorical, the tropological, and the anagogical. This four-fold approach to the connotation and denotation of holy Scripture dates from an earlier period; St. Bonaventure (1221-1274) describes it in...
The depth of Scripture consists in a multiplicity of mystical interpretations. Besides the literal sense, some passages have to be interpreted in three different manners, namely allegorically, morally, and tropologically. There is allegory, when one fact points to another, by reference to which one should believe. There is tropology or morality, when facts make us understand rules of conduct. There is anagogy or the elevation of the mind towards the eternal felicity of the saints.14

This expository method of Luther's Psalm-lectures was, by his day, a time-honoured one known as the quadrīga. Luther's exegesis draws a relationship to the Christology of prophecy and its expansion through the interpretation of the quadrīga: a symbol or concept such as "Mount Zion" means, literally or historically, "the people living in Zion;" allegorically, "the church, or any teacher, bishop, or prominent man;" tropologically, "the righteousness of faith or some other matter;" and analagogically, "the future glory of the heavens."15

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15 LW, Vol. 10, "First Lectures on the Psalms," p. 4. Luther also adds his own contrast between litera occidens and spiritus vivificans, derived in part from St. Augustine.
This four-fold interpretation, which the medieval theologian held as a standard form of exegesis of scripture, is, as Luther says, unified by Christ; as He is the Alpha and Omega of time, he is also the beginning and end goal of interpretation. So, for Luther, there is no contradiction of the four points of view: "In this way, all four interpretations of Scripture come together to one magnificent stream;"\(^\text{16}\) and on verse 9 of Ps. 64, "All of these are Christ at the same time."\(^\text{17}\) This interpretive structure is still influential in the modern day, through the concept of hermeneutics.\(^\text{18}\)

During the course of the development of Luther's thought through the Psalm lectures (published as the Dictata Super Psalterium in 1516), the reformer began to grapple with the issues of righteousness and justification that led to his soteriology.\(^\text{19}\) When Luther had become famous and the leader of a religious movement in which Johann Walter played a part, Luther's thoughts on the Psalms, and their quadrigatic

\(^{16}\) Luther, op.cit., p. 52.

\(^{17}\) Ibid. pp. 310-312. (on Ps. 64: "And they will declare the work of God.")

\(^{18}\) See Northrop Frye's recent study of the relation of western literature to the Bible, The Great Code (Toronto: Penguin Books, 1990), which concludes with a theory of 'polysemous' meaning, derived from observations of the poet Dante on Psalm 114 (pp. 220-221).

\(^{19}\) See McGrath, op.cit. 'Soteriology' is a modern theological term meaning 'the concept (or method) of salvation.'
expositions, were easily available for a follower of the reformed religion to read.\textsuperscript{20}

\textbf{Walter's Differing Settings of Psalm Texts}

Walter has set a number of the Psalms in both German and Latin,\textsuperscript{21} and he displays an awareness of the significance of the part played by music in this poetical section of the Bible:

\begin{quote}
Is not the entire Psalter's screed filled with music and God's praise indeed?\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

The significance of King David's cultivation of music was celebrated as part of the H\o{}fkapelle tradition of the late fifteenth- and subsequent sixteenth-centuries, and Walther's experience in the Kapelle of Frederick the Wise doubtlessly exposed him to the living example of this idea. But his recognition of the expressive powers of the Psalms goes deeper than a justification

\textsuperscript{20} In fact, these Psalm lectures apparently travelled widely; Erasmus had read some of them by 1520. See Robert H. Murray, \textit{Erasmus and Luther: Their Attitude to Toleration} (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1920), pp. 72-73.

\textsuperscript{21} Walter set psalms as early as 1524 and as late as 1566. His styles in Psalm setting range from the fauxbourdon approach in Georg Rhau's \textit{Vesperarum Precum Officia} (dated from 1540, contained in Johann Walter SW, Vol. IV) to the more polyphonic settings of the different versions in the Geistliche Gesangb\ü{}chlein.

for employing singers and musicians:

The Psalter is a living treasure
of music-works in every measure.
The music is the Psalter’s mouth,
stand they strong in single troth.
They speak together with a single art,
from unity, and not apart.23

Walter saw the Psalms as both an expressive ideal, with words
and music combined, and as presenting a further artistic
problem: how could a poet-composer achieve a contemporary
setting of a psalm in which both poetry and music are
(from the original poem) "gar fest in einem Bund" without
"zu scheiden aus einem Gewicht"? Walter was familiar
with a number of different approaches, some that could
be traceable to previous models, and some that are less
so. The settings for seven voices, on Ps. 119 and 121, seem
to be part of the latter category.

For instance, Walter’s only German Psalm-setting is from
his collection, Das Christliche Kinderlied von D. Martini Lutheri
(1566),24 and is an example of a five-voice motet, structured
around a canon ex unica between the lower two voices, with the

23 Ibid. Lines 82-84 ("Der Psalter ist ein starker Rück/
Der Music-Kunst in allem Stück./Die Musik ist des Psalters
Mund,/Sie stehn gar fest in einem Bund./Sie gehn beisamm’ in
eim Gewicht/Darum sie seind zu scheiden nicht.")

of German settings of the Psalter may be partly attributable
to the late translation of the Old Testament into German. He
may have been familiar with Johann Reuch’s contemporary
vernacular settings; see Chapter Two, p. 37, note 79.
upper three entering on an imitative 'motto' figure that diverges into free contrapuntal movement. The text is integrated into the polyphonic whole as clearly as possible, and the bipartite structure of the composition reflects the subject divisions in the text of Psalm 1.

The 1566 psalm setting is clearly reminiscent of a style that Walter had mastered in the Latin motets of the 1524 Geistliche Gesangbüchlein. The contrast of Walter’s setting in 1544 of Psalms 121/119 with that of Psalm 1 is a great one; instead of an integration of text and music on an ongoing level, as in his setting of Ps. 1, (described above) there is a curious threefold structure of musical elements. The two texts that Walter has redacted from the original text are set to ostinato and reciting-tone parts, as outlined above. The original Vulgate Psalm text is set to a canon for four voices, each voice reading its part from a single line of music, according to ex unica practice of the time.

The entire composition of Ps. 119 is broken up into five sections, structured around the four-part exposition of each sentence of the Vulgate text in canon. In the context of the two expansions of the psalm text in the musical setting of Ps. 121, the four-part canon on the original Vulgate text can be seen to be more than an exercise in contrapuntal technique. Just as a medieval theologian would expand upon a Scriptural passage in four derived meanings (literal, allegorical, tropological, and
anagogical: the *quadriga*), as Luther did in his Dictata Super Psalterium, the Vulgate text of Psalm 121 receives four separate musical lines; as in all canons, the effect of the whole is an inference from each of the parts, through the fact that the entire structure is meant to be an unfolding of four voices, temporally displaced, but containing the same originating line. The four-part canon *ex unica* is here an analogue to Luther’s comment on the quadrigatic psalm interpretations: "All of these are Christ at the same time."²⁵

Ex. 8: Four-part Canon of Ps. 121, *Prima Pars* (beginning)

²⁵ Luther, loc.cit. Semantically, these are still, however, four derived meanings from a single sense, i.e. the sense of Christ. This is where the phenomenon of canon is used by the composer: four identical lines make a complete piece of music.
The existence of contrapuntal procedures with supra-musical associations has already been mentioned in the previous chapter, and the fact that the 'Trinitas in Unitate' tradition seems to have been one of them has attracted the attention of modern scholars of music. For instance, in Walter Wiora's discussion of the religious aspects of Josquin's style, Wiora points to the associations present in the three-part canon *ex unica* in the *Agnus Dei II* of the *Missa L'homme armé* (*supra voces musicales*), where the canon is thought to be a symbol of the doctrine of the Trinity. Wiora concludes his discussion with a quotation from Martin Luther, who relates Josquin's style to his own conception of the relation between Law and Gospel:

> What is law doesn't make progress, but what is Gospel does. God has preached the Gospel through music, too, as may be seen in Josquin, all of whose compositions flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not forced or cramped by rules, and are like the song of the finch.

This saying is not only proof of both Luther's musical taste

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27 LW, Vol. 54, "Table-Talk" No. 1258, pp. 129-130. Wiora also cites other *lex* vs. *spiritus* examples, from Luther's sermons.
and the widespread acceptance of Josquin’s music throughout Western Europe, but has come to be one of the most enigmatic hypotheses of the relation of music and theology in the Lutheran church.\textsuperscript{28} Walter, through his own writings on music, particularly the \textit{Lob und Preis} poems of 1538 and 1564,\textsuperscript{29} and his close association to Luther, is equally a polemicist of this point of view. In order to develop our understanding of a possible symbolic association of the canonic writing in the settings of Ps. 119 and 121, it is necessary to determine what symbolic significance music may have had for Walter, especially in the form of the poetic conceptions concerning music that he has left in printed form. This will be the topic of the next chapter.

\textsuperscript{28} See Oskar Söhngen, \textit{Theologie der Musik} (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1967), pp. 80-99, for his discussion of Luther’s ideas.

\textsuperscript{29} Carl Schalk points out that in them, Walter develops Luther’s remarks into ‘a whole theology of music.’ See \textit{Luther On Music: Paradigms of Praise} (St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1988), p. 35.
CHAPTER FIVE. WALTER’S INTEREST IN RELATING MUSIC AND THEOLOGY

The question of to what extent Walter intended to portray the issues of the psalm texts in his 1544 cantiones expands ever outwards. In this process, ideas concerning music that are now common to the Lutheran faith, which have their roots in Luther’s theological ideas, are expanded, specifically by Walter, in a series of poems about the relation between music and theology;¹ It is this relation of Lutheran theology and music, described in Walter’s poems, that presents an enigma that later scholars have struggled to reconcile with Luther’s own remarks on the subject.² The discussion of these two unusual Psalm settings is made more clear by drawing an interpretation out of Walter’s own published ideas on this relation.


The 'Lob und Preis' Poems

Walter's beliefs concerning the origin of the musical art, and its relation to theology are described in a series of his poems printed in pamphlet form, including a summation of theological lore concerning music, in the composer's *Lob und Preis der Löblichen Kunst Musica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1538). Walter adapted these ideas in a later version of the work, called *Lob und Preis der Himmlischen Kunst Musica* (Wittenberg: Christian Rhode, 1564), in which the Biblical figures famous for their musical powers were entwined with characters from classical myth and literature, with the verses bound together in an acrostic that spelt MUSICA, either backwards or forwards, with the first letters of every line. Both of these poems date from significant periods of the composer's life; both poems reiterate the relationship between music and theology that remained a constant theme for Walter. This is apparent in a comparison of lines from both poems:

*Lob und Preis*, 1538:  (lines 41-42)

Sie is mit der Theologie
Zugleich von Gott gegeben hie
Gott hat die Musik fein bedeckt
In der Theologie versteckt.

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3 See Chapter Two, pp. 30 and 48.
[(Music) is equally given to us by God; God has concealed Music in Theology itself]

Lob und Preis, 1564: (verse 13)

Musik-Kunst ist in hohem Stand
Und der Theologie verwandt.
Schwestern sind sie billig genannt...

[The art of Music holds a high place, and is cognate with Theology. They are rightly named sisters... ]

This insistence on the composer's part of an a priori relation between music and theology is given a prose version as well in a foreword to the 1538 Lob und Preis, dedicated to Johann Friedrich II:

...for it [music] belongs in actuality and from the beginning to sacred theology, in fact, it is enveloped and enclosed in theology; therefore, for anyone who longs and searches for, and learns theology, there music will be...

It is apparent from these writings that the relationship between music and theology is as important to the composer Walter as to Luther himself, and that Walter’s pamphlet-poems precede the publication of Luther’s Tischreden (1566), the source of Luther’s well-known comment about Josquin.

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4 The two Lob und Preis poems are contained in Johann Walter SW, Vol VI, p. 153 ff.

Lutheran musicologists have struggled to articulate and reconcile the musical wealth of the church with the perspective derived from Luther's scattered remarks on the subject; from the writings of authorities such as Wilibald Gurlitt, Joachim Stahmann, Ulrich Asper, and Walter Blankenberg, it is possible to see some of the interpretations of Walter's relation between music and theology brought to light.

Scholarly Understanding of Johann Walter

The major perspective on Walter's contribution to music in the evangelical movement is derived chiefly from the research dating to Wilibald Gurlitt's 1933 article on the composer. The gradual unfolding of our understanding of Walter's conception of music has gone hand-in-hand with the increasing clarity of biographical information on the composer. Gurlitt summarizes Walter's contribution to the evangelical world by linking his view of music to an older medieval tradition, as exemplified by St. Augustine's treatise De Musica, and by pointing to Walter's addition of an active aspect of music-making to this older,

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'contemplative' tradition, an aspect which anticipates the Apocalypse. In his conclusion, Gurlitt identifies what he feels are the two tendencies that determine Walter's philosophical approach to music: the first, contemplative; and the second, active.\(^8\)

The Ars Musica has an essence that goes beyond an individual work or inspiration which is traceable back to Augustine and the medieval period. To this fundamentally contemplative aspect is added by Walter an active which gained meaning as the Reformation proceeded, without losing its original medieval conception. The active aspect ('Musik ist ein Wirken') lives from belief in God the Creator and Christ the Saviour; the music of created beings, whether sung or played, and the [passive] participation of the hearers, is an act that moves the participants in the direction of God, participants who, through the act of music itself are experiencing the reality of the heavenly kingdom. As a result of this experience, earthly beings are drawn to a vision of the Apocalypse in which one of the last things to remain is a transformed music - both as Existence and Activity - that absorbs its earthly, temporal uses and misuses into an eternal essence and praise.\(^9\)

Another view of Walter's conception of music comes from the scholar Joachim Stahlmann. In "Die reformatorische Musikanschauung des Johann Walter,"\(^10\) he poses the question that Walter, in parts of his Lob und Preis poems, places his idea of music on a basis related to the Christological theology of Luther:

\(^8\) "Musik als ein Werk...Musik als ein Wirken." Gurlitt, op.cit., pp. 99-100.

\(^9\) Gurlitt, loc.cit.

Walter replaces a metaphysical analogy through a Biblically-deduced anthropology on Christological principles and founds music on the basis of a Lutheran theory of justification, perhaps even more than Luther himself.\(^{11}\)

Stahlmann, one of the editors of Walter’s collected works, concludes that Walter’s idea of the relation of music and theology is somehow linked with Luther’s theory of justification. Since the reformer’s theology revolves around a Christological interpretation of Scriptural doctrine, we shall see below from what point Walter sees this relation arising.

The distinction between the medieval view of music and a view influenced by Lutheran theology that emphasizes the relation of God’s gift in salvation (in the form of Christ) and music is not primarily explored in subsequent Walter scholarship; Ulrich Asper’s chapter in his 1985 study, "Der Hintergrund: Johann Walter’s Musikanschauung"\(^{12}\) traces Walter’s thinking from the available documents,\(^{13}\) incorporating in his discussion the provenance of music, its function as the

\(^{11}\) Stahlmann, loc.cit.


\(^{13}\) These are in the form of Walter’s vernacular translations, prose, and verse, and are listed comprehensively in Walter Blankenberg, Johann Walter: Leben und Werke, (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991), pp. 365-368.
praise of God, its anthropological use,\textsuperscript{14} and concludes by contrasting Luther's widely-known comments from the \textit{Tischreden}\textsuperscript{15} with sections of Walter's \textit{Lob und Preis} poems.

In Walter Blankenberg's monumental \textit{Johann Walter: Leben und Werke},\textsuperscript{16} the chapter "Johann Walters Musikanschauung" provides a listing of prose and poetic documents from which the composer's ideas can be traced and assessment made of the relation between these sources and the position of music, seen through the eyes of Luther and other figures of the time, such as the theorist Tinctoris. The comparison between the concepts of Luther and those of Walter is closely followed,\textsuperscript{17} and Blankenberg finds very little difference between the reformer and the Torgau cantor.

However, Blankenberg does not find evidence for a direct correspondence between Walter's \textit{Lob und Preis} poems and Luther's theology.\textsuperscript{18} Luther's construction of an analogy that contrasts

\textsuperscript{14} The word 'anthropological' is used by modern theologians to mean 'having to do with mortal humans, rather than God.'

\textsuperscript{15} Such as No. 1258, listed below.

\textsuperscript{16} Op. cit.

\textsuperscript{17} Ibid., pp. 368-384.

\textsuperscript{18} "Keine Entsprechung findet bei Walter Luthers berühmtes Wort 'Was lex ist geht nicht von statten'" ["One finds in Walter no analogy to Luthers famous statement 'What is law doesn't make progress'"] Blankenberg, op.cit., p. 380. The comparison here is to the \textit{Tischreden}, no. 1258: "What is Law doesn’t make progress, but what is Gospel does. God has preached the Gospel through music, too, as may be seen in Josquin, all of whose compositions
lex (law) with evangelio (Gospel) in terms of mere notes, and Josquin's ability to compose them, is perhaps clearer when one examines Luther's Dictata Super Psalterium, ("First Lectures on the Psalms") which are filled with discussions of psalmic imagery, grouped under the opposing concepts of littera occidens and spiritus vivificans, i.e., the letter of the law which kills, and the spirit of the Word which brings life. The significance of Luther's choice of a musician (Josquin) to illustrate a fundamental tenet of his thought is an important one. Blankenberg describes this, referring to Luther's own words, as "a portrait and sign of the benevolence of God," and points out that Luther, as stated in the Tischreden, makes a connection between his theology of justification by faith and visionary perspective of a musical artist.

However, if Blankenberg did not feel that there was a correspondence between Walter's ideas and Luther's visionary perspective, as expressed in the Tischreden, it must be remembered that Luther's comments from this source are sometimes unreliable evidence; ideas from them are best illustrated by their equivalents in Luther's other works. In any case, the Tischreden flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not forced or cramped by rules, and are like the song of the finch."

19 Blankenberg, loc.cit.
20 See McGrath, op.cit., p. 39.
were first published in 1566, long after the reformer's death; and the question raised by Joachim Stahlmann - that Walter had established a Christologically-based role for music in theology, perhaps beyond that which Luther himself had envisaged - remains unanswered by Blankenberg, in his assessment of Walter's ideas on music and theology.

As we will see when looking at Walter's Lob und Preis poems, Walter saw the role of music as originating in the mythic truths of the fall from grace, and redemption through Christ. Looking back to the settings of Ps. 119 and 121, the symbolic intent of their constructive procedures, including the possibility of a canonic representation of the quadrigatic exposition of the psalm texts themselves, seems to be part and parcel of the poetic vision of an evangelical composer who hymns the news of the promise of Christ with a world of sound. When we compare these ideas of Walter's with their counterparts in Luther, we find that Walter has gone imaginatively perhaps one step beyond the reformer in making music not 'next to theology,' but insisting that music is 'contained in theology.'

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22 Lob und Preis, line 4.
Lutheran Conceptions of Music: "Music Concealed in Theology"

Luther's concern for the arts, and his particular love for the art of music, is evident in many passages in his written works, and modern scholars have gradually come to accept as genuine the many hymns attributed to the reformer; 23 certainly Luther's direct authorship of music is evident in the Deutche Messe of 1526. 24 As a polemicist on music, however, Luther left no systematic exposition of his ideas, even though he felt deeply the effect of music. His remarks on music are, as Carl Schalk observes, widely scattered; 25 many of them are contained in the records of his dinner-table conversation, the Tischreden. 26 Frequently in these remarks, Luther makes use of the contrast that occurs even in his early ideas, where he is developing the influence of St. Augustine and Pauline theology. 27

Some of Luther's writings on music were published during his lifetime, such as the forewords to Georg Rhau's Symphoniae

23 See NG, s.v. "Martin Luther."


25 Schalk, op.cit., p. 35.

26 LW, Vol. 54.

Jucundae, and the introduction to Walter’s *Geistliche Gesang-Büchlein* of 1524. Others are more private, such as Luther’s letter to Ludwig Senfl (dated 1530), and the pamphlet *Peri tes Musikes* of that same year. In these last two documents, a series of themes returns again and again: the use of music to assuage wrath, pride, and other negative states of the spirit; the fact that music is a direct gift of God, and also music’s proximity to theology in any consideration of the arts.

The sketch-treatise *Peri tes Musikes* provides a short summary of Luther’s ideas. Luther enumerates five main points, although qualifying points, in the manner of scholastic debate, are included below each thesis. The theses run as follows:

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28 Weimar Ausgabe of Luther’s works, Bd. 35, S. 483.


30 The letter of Senfl is in LW, Vol. 49, p. 428; the treatise-sketch, *Peri tes Musikes*, is published by Oskar Söhngen, in *Theologie der Musik* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1967) from the Weimar Ausgabe in the original Latin, with Söhngen’s German translation (p. 87-88).
I Honour Music

(even though the fanatics condemn it)

because:

1. It is a gift of God, and not of men;
2. It lightens the spirit;
3. It puts the devil to flight;
4. It makes innocent joy
   (it banishes anger, libidinousness, and pride);
   I give to music the first place after theology
   (this is shown by the example of David and
   all the prophets, since they made their
   offerings in meter and song)
5. Music reigns in times of peace.\(^3\)

This first point in Luther's 'treatise sketch,' the fact that
music is a gift of God and not of men, is given a lengthy and
quite dramatic exposition in the 1538 Lob und Preis, the first
of Walter's two extensive Lobgedichten on the importance of
music, the aforementioned Lob und Preis poems of 1538 and 1564.
In these, there exists the same complex of ideas as in Luther's
remarks, and, in addition, an insistence on Walter's part that
music and theology have an a priori relation which goes beyond
that of other arts.

In the opening narrative of the 1538 Lob und Preis, Walter
explains that the provenance of music informs the uses it creates,

\(^3\) Söhngen, loc.cit.
and justifies its high place. This originating point of music Walter traces to the story of the Fall. Lines 5 through 19 of the poem retell the creation story and the myth of the fall from grace; when the two original humans realize that they are doomed to die, they call upon God’s mercy. God’s promise of redemption through Eve causes such joy in them that, Walter relates, they are immediately moved to cry out; and so God quickly gives them the gift of music with which to praise Him. In this, Walter’s imaginative rendition of the origin of music, the kernel of Luther’s idea - that music is a gift of God, and not an invention of humans - is given a Christological basis, for the promised redemption comes in the person of Christ, from the line of Eve. In the 1564 poem, Walter repeats this concept, but in a reverse sense; the later poem features a personification of music, speaking directly to the reader, who pronounces "My music and joy/come from my saviour Jesus Christ."  

Luther’s other points from the Peri tes Musikes sketch are given this same kind of poetic commentary throughout both Lob und Preis poems: Luther’s second point, that music lightens the soul, is demonstrated by Walter in the figure of Saul (lines 54 and 62); other Old Testament uses appear in the poems, such

32 Lob und Preis, 1564 (verse 6; Johann Walter SW, Vol. VI, p. 157.)
as Elijah's use of music in the act of prophecy (line 65), and
David's ability to frame his praises in verse and music (lines 70-
78, Luther's fourth thesis). Some of Luther's points are perhaps
present in terms of an editorial contrast; the fifth thesis, that
music 'reigns in times of peace' is not explicitly stated in
Walter's poems, although the apocalyptic use of music, in which
it supercedes all the other arts, is given a description, starting
at line 146 of the 1538 Lob und Preis.

To the expansion of Luther's ideas that Walter undertakes in
these poems is added the poet/musician's own conception of music
'concealed' in theology itself: as the above quoted lines of
the 1538 poem (above, p. 111-112) illustrate, this idea seems to
be a Christologically-derived conception of music that goes beyond
even Luther, who tends to see a manifestation of the 'Law versus
Gospel' dichotomy in it. Walter restates his own enigma even
more strongly in a printed prose dedication to Johann Friederich
the Second:

... for it [music] belongs in actuality and from
the beginning to sacred theology, in fact, it is
enveloped and enclosed in theology; therefore, for
anyone who longs and searches for, and learns theo-
logy, there music will be...33

33 Blankenberg, op.cit., pp. 426-428.
The above discussion of Walter's *Lob und Preis* poems is necessarily brief; the lengthy works contain the full description of Walter's thinking on music, and the 1564 version is a particularly notable synthesis of Classical and Medieval influences and ideas. For the purposes of this chapter, Walter's imaginative rendering of the role music played in the story of the fall from grace is important in that it answers the question raised above by Joachim Stahlman: that music has a Christological basis in theology. The fact that music answers some of the moral and idealistic strivings of the unconscious mind in religious life is a force in the history of Lutheranism and its music. Returning to the specific question of Walter's Ps. 119/121 settings, the symbolic relation that Walter felt music had to theology makes it much more plausible that the complex canonic setting of the Vulgate psalm texts is more than a contrapuntal device: the symbolic representation of the *quadriga* - the literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical exposition of the scriptures - is depicted in a symbolic musical procedure that mirrors the phenomenon of interpretation in the spirit, as opposed to the letter. The full context of this symbolic association will be discussed in the next chapter.
The preceding chapters detail some of the influences that form a backdrop to Walter's composition as a whole; however, the musical setting of the texts of his 1544 cantiones remain experimental, and attributable to more than a desire to expand upon a structure derived from the pseudo-Josquin.\(^1\) In the creation of the structures of the music for the Psalm 119/121 setting, three elements are used: ostinato, canon, and reciting tone; each element has its own text, and each element plays a role in the musical structure.

Ex. 9: Ostinato, Ps. 119

\(^1\) This question is discussed in detail in Chapter Three, "Canonic Aspects and Influences."
Ex. 10: Ostinato from Ps. 121

The ostinato voice states two pitches: c and g. In the 119 setting, this fifth provides a definition of the tonal centre of the composition: the mode on 'c'. In the 121 setting, the ostinato voice defines another mode on c, but this time in its plagal form, with the g as the lowest pitch, ascending to the c. In this way, the ostinati of the songs, taken together, present the mode on 'c' in both forms as it was used by sixteenth-century composers: in the matching authentic and plagal forms.

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2 This is the mode that Luther specifies for the intonation of the opening psalm in his Deutsche Messe of 1526, which Walter had worked on; see LW, Vol. 53.

3 For the assimilation of plagal and authentic modes in polyphony, see Bernhard Meier, The Modes of Classical Vocal Polyphony, translated by Ellen S. Beebe (New York: Broude Brothers, 1988), Chapter Three, "The Modal Structure of Polyphonic Compositions A Voce Piena: Polyphonic-Authentic and Polyphonic-Plagal Modes" (pp. 47-88). Walter's cantiones are not scored in a voce piena (i.e. four-voiced tenor-discantus form), and the Ps. 121 ostinati contains internal differences: the tertia pars and the sexta descend to g from c, and the secunda and quinta finish on g. The pairing of the forms of the mode is still a factor that unites these two pieces, however enigmatically.
Four-Part Canon

The four-part *ex unica* canon, reproduced as Ex. 11 on the following page, provides a contrast to the static elements of the ostinato and reciting-tone voices. The unfolding of the canonic voices also defines the structure of the composition: in the Ps. 119 setting, the five sections of the whole stem from the necessity of starting and stopping the canonic structure when it has finished the exposition of its musical material on each verse. When the Vulgate text has been sung, and each of the four voices of the canon has either finished the primary material, or come to a notation instructing it to halt, the section of the music ends and the next verse of the Vulgate, with the next stretch of four-part canon, begins (the Ps. 121 setting contains nine such sections). This establishes the primacy of the four-part exposition of the Vulgate text. The entire composition is structured around it; this also avoids the sense of sameness in the musical texture, and avoids the problem of constructing a four-part canon running the length of the entire composition.
Ex. 11: Four-Part Canon and Reciting-tone voices, Ps. 119
Reciting-Tone Voice

The reciting-tone voice, seen also in the above example, reiterates the note g', the highest note of the canonic voices, and the fifth degree of the mode. It is one of the two treble voice parts; there is also an obbligato part for the discantus voice above the entire complex of voices.

In both of these songs, these elements appear in an identical structure; however, the textual aspects discussed in Chapter IV remain. The cantio on Psalm 119 contains three differing texts, while in the setting of Psalm 121, all of the texts are derived from the original psalm.

Walter’s 1544 Cantiones: An Interpretation

Returning to the festive occasion in which Walter’s setting of Ps. 119 was performed, the service at which the Hartenfels Chapel was dedicated was adorned with the presences of both religious and political leaders of Lutheran Saxony. The

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4 See Figure B, Chapter Four, for a comparative layout of the texts of these works (pp. 95-96).

5 See Chapter Two, page 7.
inclusion of texts praising the Elector, Johann Friedrich the Magnanimous, and the reformers, Martin Luther and Philip Melanchthon, in association with the Ps. 119 text, points to the strong sense of nationalism that was an undercurrent of the Reformation. Allied with this consciousness of the political strength of the Elector and the independence from the religious doctrine of Rome is the display of technical complexity in the seven-part structure of the music, requiring a highly-skilled performance to realize all of the parts, particularly the four-part *ex unica* canon. In this composition, the display of complex musical techniques and the marshalling of highly-trained forces to perform the work is an example not only of what had been achieved culturally by the reforms of the school system, but also what forces were available to Walter; a display of skill and complexity that was transferable to the Elector as well, since he was a sponsor of the Torgau Kantorei itself, who were performing the work. The Elector's power and position were re-affirmed by this ostentation of a sophisticated musical performance.

Within the musical and textual complication of the Ps. 119

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For Walter's role in school reform, see Chapter Two, pp. 26-27.
setting can be seen the reflection of the humanistic atmosphere of the Lateinschule culture in the wake of Melanchthon’s school reforms. Many of the performers in the Kantorei were present or former students of these schools, and the use of classical lyric meters in the texts, familiar to many from the writings of Horace, recalls the emphasis on, and interest in, the classical tradition.\(^7\) Walter’s rendering of the Ps. 119 verses into these meters is a hybrid in itself, uniting the poetic tradition of the Latin ‘Golden Age’ authors and the Biblical poetic tradition as well. This same combination of humanistic culture and the traditions of the ancient world is seen in the praise of the reformers as Homeric figures, ‘Nestors’ to the sixteenth-century world in matters of religious doctrine.

Summation of Symbolic Association

Considering the relevance of the texts to the occasion in the Psalm 119 setting, the juxtaposition of the entire three texts in the music seems also to present an ordering of society, each text

addressing one of three constituents: the people (the Vulgate Psalm text); church (Luther and Melanchthon); and secular prince (Johann Friedrich). The musical figures of the structure reflect symbolically the roles played by the subjects of each text, with the words from Ps. 119 addressed to the people in a general metaphoric sense, while Walter's created tropes address the representatives of church and state directly. If this is so, the treatment of the Psalm text can reflect the aspirations of a populace, desiring to follow the statutes of God through an orderly procedure, with canonic voices following upon one another at a regular distance (2 breves; see above example, page 128) and at a similar pitch. In order to be like the people depicted in the Psalm, they must not deviate from the musical structure, or social chaos will result. Yet there is a suggestion of freedom in the discantus voice, which shares the Vulgate text and creates an obbligato line, soaring above the four-part canonic tenors.

Continuing this symbolic association of text and musical structures, the ostinato part, whose text praises the religious leaders, features two notes, which reiterate the pitches of the

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8 See Chapter Four, page . I am indebted to my advisor, Dr. J.Evan Kreider, for suggesting this aspect of the symbolism.
bass range, providing a solid foundation and tonality for the upper parts; metaphorically, the relation between the text, and the function of the musical part in the texture, symbolizes the security of the faithful populace in trusting the new doctrine, reformed by Luther and Melanchthon; if the upper canonic parts 'walk in the way of the Lord,' as the psalm says they do, then they have a certain ground upon which to go. And uniting both of these parts is the single-note part of the altus, praising the secular prince, who provides protection and continuity to the state. This pitch re-inforces the highest pitch of the canonic and discantus voices as well, and the prominence of this note could be seen to reflect the importance of the secular order in the strivings of the populace.

Even the choice of the number of parts reflects a symbolic association: the number seven is symbolically associated with wisdom, as in the seven liberal arts of the quadrivium and trivium, associated in Christian symbolism since Cassiodorus with the seven pillars of Solomon's Temple.⁹ The seven voices of the 1544 cantiones can be seen as texts set and interpreted from the vantage point of wisdom. Although the setting of Psalm 119

contains a bewildering array of elements - three separate texts, and a structure of three musical elements to each (three being a number, as mentioned in the 'Trinitas in Unitate' canon, associated with the Trinity, and by transference, symbolizing perfection), the expansion of elements is justified through their symbolic association.

The numerological symbol of seven voices of wisdom in the Ps. 119 setting informs the parallel setting of Ps. 121 as well; the overall social vision in the Ps. 119 cantio is absent, but the contrasting musical and poetic treatments of the similar meaning of the text of Ps. 121 communicate their message from the perspective of wisdom as well: seven parts, reflecting the knowledge of Christian symbolism and poetry. This combination of message intrinsically bound up in its context is a favourite device of Walter, and perhaps was the form of the 119 cantio as well: the reciting-tone text from a possible earlier version still exists, and both compositions are structured around the two complimentary forms of the mode. They may have well been a combined pair, as is discussed above; Walter may have adapted

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10 At the conclusion of the 1546 Lob und Preis poem, Walter conceives of the classical muses as the individual voices of a complete polyphonic chorus (verses 50-56), another example of a concept reflecting itself in its structure.

11 Chapter Four, page 98.
the texts of the 119 setting in order to present them at the inaugural service of October, 1544.

General Conclusions

The topics raised in this chapter arose out of the impulse to find an explanation for the many experimental aspects of Walter's two seven-voiced cantiones on Psalms 119 and 121. As the third chapter looked at the musical models and sources that Walter drew upon for the techniques that are used in these settings, the fifth gathered together the poetic and theological materials that Walter has left as a guide in his setting of psalm texts. The relation of music and theology was discussed chiefly in relation to the presence of a four-part canon, symbolizing the interpretation of Scripture through the quadriga: since Walter felt that music and theology had a certain a priori relation, described in his Lob und Preis poems, it is very likely that he would use a purely musical procedure in this symbolic way. This forms a touchstone for the wider application of interpretive discussion of the music.
As a recapitulation of the main topics touched upon in this chapter, here are the main conclusions in point form:

1) The Psalm settings of 119 and 121 have an identical structuring of text elements: ostinato, canon, and reciting-tone. However, because the printed version of 119 contains different texts, while 121 contains a troped version of the same, original Psalm text, the setting on Psalm 121, which is for no known service, can be seen perhaps as the original part of a two-part composition, or paired setting. Walter may have removed the textual tropes in the 119 setting that paralleled the 121 verses, and inserted the texts in praise of Martin Luther, Philip Melanchthon, and the Elector, Johann Friedrich, when he decided to use the 119 setting for the inaugural service of Hartenfels Chapel on October 5, 1544. The presence of one re-versified text, paraphrasing Psalm 119 in the manner of the 121 texts, suggests this possibility.

2) The four-part canon, realized ex unica, is Walter’s musical representation of quadrigatic exposition of
Scriptural poetry. The four-fold understanding of the Psalm text (literal, allegorical, tropological, and anagogical) is symbolized by a single musical line on the Vulgate text that expands into four musical parts. Walter could have seen the symbolic use of canon from examples of the 'Trinitas in Unitate' tradition in Mass composition, where the process of canon mirrored the doctrine of the Trinity in passages where words of the Mass referred to the names or the person of the deity; quadrigatic exposition of the Psalms is featured in one of Luther’s early publications, the Dictata Super Psalterium, and Walter’s complex knowledge of the reformer’s ideas, reflected in the Lob und Preis poems, as well as others, show that he was familiar with a wide scope of theological ideas.

3) Walter’s concept of a relation between music and theology goes beyond Luther’s discussion of music in an Augustinian/Pauline dichotomy of lex vs. spiritus, and introduces an idea with mystic overtones, akin to
Luther's doctrine of the 'Absconditus Deus', the God concealed in His own revelation. Walter's ideas on this relation also pre-date Luther's remarks on music published in the Tischreden, and his role as an early polemicist for music has had a profoundly beneficial effect on the music of the Lutheran church.


Bente, Martin, *Vol. 17, pages 131 - 137. s.v. "Ludwig Senfl"


Bergquist, Peter, *Vol. 4, page 54. s.v. "Conrad Celtis"


———. *NG, Vol. 15, page 770. s.v. "Johann Reuch"


Geck, Martin MGG, Vol. 11, pages 372 - 376. s.v. "Georg Rhau"

Geering, Arnold MGG, Vol. 12, pages 498 - 515. s.v. "Ludwig Senfl"


Härtwig, Dieter MGG, Vol. 11, pages 472 - 480. s.v. "Antonio Scandello"


_____ NG, Vol. 10, pages 652 - 653. s.v. "Matthaeus LeMaistre"

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APPENDIX: Map of Modern Germany showing the area of Wittenberg, Leipzig, Torgau, and Dresden.
Saxony appears as "Sassonia"; Wittenberg and Torgau can be seen a little further down on the left-hand side.