INSTRUMENTS OF PRAISE: SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PEDAGOGY, LUTHERANISM, AND THE *26 FUGAE* OF JOHANN WALTER

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ABSTRACT

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In 1517, Martin Luther posted his ninety-five theses and began a religious revolution that would later be known as the Protestant Reformation. It was a fundamental reorganization of Christian practice, extending beyond church services to include education, family life, and even music. Instrumental music, which had previously played a prominent role in festivals and church services, virtually disappeared from the Protestant church; in the decades leading up to the Protestant Reformation, instrumental music had become increasingly associated with worldly values. Johann Walter (1496-1570) was at the forefront of early Lutheran musical reforms. His *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* (1524), with its simple, tuneful polyphonic chorales, served as the foundation of Lutheran church music for over a hundred years. Walter was also a leader in German educational reform during his time as a teacher at the Torgau Latin school. In spite of the arguments against instrumental music and its disappearance from church services, in 1546 Walter wrote his *26 Fugae*, a collection of pieces for instruments of equal range.

In this thesis, I examine the place of Walter's fugues in the context of instrumental music in the early Lutheran church and in comparison to other German pedagogical fugues of the same time period. Although instrumental music was not commonly used in early Lutheran services, performing instrumental music continued to be a popular pastime during the Reformation. Walter's fugues, in addition to being clearly pedagogical in intent, are modally ordered, creating an association with the sacred through the use of the eight church modes. Just as Walter's *Gesangk-Buchleyn* was intended to be a wholesome alternative to secular songs, I argue that the *26 Fugae* are an educational and edificatory alternative to secular instrumental music of the time.

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INTRODUCTION

Johann Walter (1496-1570) was famously the first cantor of the Lutheran church and fundamentally influenced the way Lutheran music was conceived and used in both schools and services. For over one hundred years, his *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* of 1524 shaped the way Lutheran hymns and chorales were written. Influenced by the tradition of the German *Tenorlied*, Walter emphasized the chorale melody through the use of a tenor- or cantus-centered cantus firmus while allowing for greater complexity and musical interest in the other voices. The vast majority of his compositional output was sacred vocal music, both in Latin and German, for use in worship and education. His *26 Fugae* of 1546 is a collection of twenty-seven instrumental pieces, written for instruments of equal range, "particularly zinks."[1] They are unique in his compositional output as they are the only purely instrumental pieces he is known to have written.

There is a clear pedagogical intent to Walter's modally ordered fugues. Walter was a schoolmaster at the time the fugues were written, and the title page indicates that they were intended for young boys; one can likely assume those under his charge. The works introduce several melodic and harmonic concepts, while the canonic form of the pieces insures equal difficulty for all performers. The use of canonic technique was a popular pedagogical tool during Walter's time, appearing in several works, including Agricola's *Rudimenta Musices* of 1539 and Hermann Finck's 1556 *Practica Musica*. Modally ordered instrumental collections, while used in pedagogy, also suggest a sacred connection. Each of the eight church modes had specific emotional and spiritual connotations, and a conversation between Luther, Walter, and Conrad Rupsch while writing Luther's 1526 German mass suggests that Reformers continued to be

[1] Werner Braun, foreword to *Johann Walter: Samtliche Werke*, vol. 4, trans. Margaret Bent (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), XXIX.

concerned with the spiritual effects of mode in sacred music. Thus while Walter's collection is without text, it has strong spiritual associations and intent.

CHAPTER I: BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Little has been written about the life and works of Johann Walter, and what has been tends to focus on the religious aspects of his music rather than the music itself. When the music *is* written about, often the writings either glorify Walter's role in early Lutheran music or are critical of his perceived lack of musical ability. For example, G. B. Sharp, in his 1971 article, "The Fathers of Lutheran Music: 1: Johann Walter," describes Walter's works as "unbelievably dull from any angle," having "crudity;" he goes on to state that "Walter's Lutheran piety far outweighed his musical common sense," and that "Walter's music rarely rises above a level of competency."[2] During Walter's time, however, his music apparently enjoyed a higher degree of popularity as his *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* appears in the painting *The Ambassadors* by Hans Holbein the Younger.[3]

Otto Schröder undertook the task of preparing a complete edition of Walter's works in the 1940s, but did not live to complete it.[4] Although he had transcribed the music for all six volumes, only the first volume was published during his lifetime. Max Schneider oversaw the publication of the second, third, and fifth volumes; however, he died before the fourth and sixth volumes could be completed. Werner Braun completed the fourth volume, and Joachim Stalmann completed the sixth.[5] Although this edition of Walter's works is rich in information about Walter's music, it provides little biographical information. General biographical information about Walter is limited to a handful of articles and books, the most important of which are Werner Braun's entry in *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Carl Schalk's

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[2] G. B. Sharp, "The Fathers of Lutheran Music: 1: Johann Walter," *The Musical Times* 112, no. 1545 (1971): 1061-1063.

[3] Carl Schalk, *Johann Walter: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 26.

[4] Interestingly, Schröder was the last cantor of the Torgau church at which Walter was famously the first. See Max Schneider, foreword to volume 3 of Walter's complete works, XII.

[5] Joachim Stalmann, foreword to *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 6, trans. John A. Parkinson. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970),VII.

book, *Johann Walter: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church*, and Walter Blankenburg's 1991 biography, *Johann Walter: Leben und Werk*.[6] These three biographies are generally similar in content but vary in the amount of detailed biographical information provided.

Johann Walter was born Johann Blanckenmüller (alternately spelled Blanckenmoller) in Khala in 1496.[7] His parents were apparently peasants and likely lived near the *Blanckenmühle*, a mill from which their surname originated.[8] By the time Walter began attending school he had been adopted by another family, the Walters, under whose name he pursued his studies. Walter evidently had three brothers, but they were not adopted by the Walters and kept the Blanckenmüller name.[9] It is unclear why Johann was the only son adopted from that family, but Blankenburg speculates that young Walter showed academic potential that his parents' limited means could not support.

The dates of Walter's attendance at various academic institutions are somewhat unclear, but it is known that he first attended the Latin school in Kahla, during which time he served as a choirboy.[10] According to Blankenburg, the Kahla Latin school was well regarded in the sixteenth century, so it is likely that Walter received a good educational foundation there. Unfortunately, it is impossible to know with certainty who any of his instructors in Kahla were. His studies did not end there, however. After his time in Kahla, he moved to Rochlitz to attend the Latin school

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[6] Werner Braun is a German musicologist specializing in 17th- and 18th-century sources from northern and central Germany, as well as the history of church music. His role in Johann Walter research began when he contributed to Otto Schröder's edition of Walter's works after Schröder's death in 1946. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s. v. "Werner Braun." Carl Schalk is an historian of Lutheran music, as well as a composer. Walter Blankenburg was a German musicologist who wrote extensively on Lutheran music, from Walter to J. S. Bach. He died in 1986, but his biography of Johann Walter was not published until 1991, with the assistance of Friedhelm Brusniak, listed as the editor of the book.

[7] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Johann Walter" (by Werner Braun), http://www.grovemusic.com/ (accessed March 21, 2010).

[8] Walter Blankenburg, *Johann Walter: Leben und Werk* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1991), 30.

[9] Walter named them in a will from 1562, and referred to them as Hans, Hans, and Nickel. He also had a sister, Clara, who was a Walter by birth. See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 31, 107.

[10] Carl Schalk, *Johann Walter: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Conocordia Publishing House, 1992), 4.

there.[11] Michael Coelius, a teacher well-respected by Luther, taught in Rochlitz from 1513 to 1523, and Walter would almost certainly have studied under him.[12] As in Kahla, Walter was likely also a choirboy in Rochlitz, contributing further to his musical education. During his time there, he also probably met Johannes Matthesius, a Rochlitz native and the first Luther biographer.[13] Although the dates of Walter's residence in Rochlitz are uncertain, it is known that he appeared on the record at the University of Leipzig in 1517.[14] In Johann Gottfried Walther's 1732 *Musikalisches Lexicon*, he refers to Walter as "Magister," though there is no indication that he had earned a Master's degree in Leipzig.[15] The University of Leipzig had a tradition of providing good musical education, especially in music theory, and Walter would have become familiar with several musical treatises there. Walter's exact dates of attendance are unknown, though he matriculated in 1527.[16]

By 1521 Walter was a bassist in the Elector of Saxony's *Hofkapelle*, which was primarily centered in Altenburg, Torgau, and Weimar.[17] Frederick the Wise was elector during Walter's time there and created a welcoming environment for the arts, including music.[18] Schalk lists Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach the Elder, and Hans Vischer as just a few of the many artists patronized by Frederick the Wise. Conrad Rupsch was the *Hofkapellmeister* while Walter was there. Rupsch had succeeded Adam Rener, one of the most famous musicians of his day.[19] The repertory of the Hofkapelle included works by Alexander Agricola, Heinrich Isaac, Pierre de la

[11] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 32.
[12] Ibid., 32.
[13] Ibid., 32.
[14] In the summer of 1517, he was recorded as being in seventeenth place of the "Meißniche Nation" at the University of Leipzig. See Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 33.
[15] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 33.
[16] Braun, "Walter."
[17] Ibid.
[18] Schalk, *Walter*, 4.
[19] Ibid., 4.

Rue, and Adam Rener, among others.[20] Thus, through the *Hofkapelle*, Walter was exposed to some of the best music of his time. By 1525 Walter had attained the post of court composer.

It was during his time at the Elector's Hofkapelle that two of the most important events in Walter's life as a composer took place. In 1524, he was asked by Luther to assist in the creation of the *Deudsche Messe*, (completed in 1526). Also in 1524, the first edition of Walter's *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* was published. Robin Leaver suggests that the *Buchleyn* served the double educational purpose of exposing the schoolboys to "good" music and giving the congregation new music for worship.[21] A collection of sacred German and Latin songs for use in worship and education, the *Buchleyn's* enormous popularity is evidenced by its several subsequent editions published in 1525, 1537, 1544, and 1551.[22] Each edition had additions and improvements; between the 1524 and 1551 editions, the *Buchleyn* had expanded from 38 German chorales and five Latin motets to 78 German chorales and 47 Latin motets.[23] Further evidence of the *Buchleyn's* popularity is given by its subsequent use in English sources. In about 1535, an English hymnal edited by Miles Coverdale, *Goostly psalms and spirituall songes*, was published, which was mainly comprised of translations of German hymns, including 20 from Walter's 1524 edition of the *Buchleyn*.[24] Hans Holbein the Younger's painting, *The Ambassadors*, painted in London in 1533, includes two pages from the 1525 edition of the *Buchleyn*.[25] After Henry VIII's death, however, the influence of Lutheran theology fell out of favor with the Anglican church, and as Calvinism became more popular traces of Johann

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[20] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 41.
[21] Robin Leaver, "The Lutheran Reformation," in *The Renaissance: From the 1470s to the End of the 16th Century*, ed. Iain Fenlon (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1989), 270.
[22] Max Schneider, foreword to *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3, trans. Walter E. Buszin (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955), XII.
[23] Blume, Friedrich, "The Period of the Reformation," in *Protestant Church Music: A History*, ed. Frederich Blume, trans. F. Ellsworth Peterson (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974), 74.
[24] Robin A. Leaver, "Johann Walter's Reputation and the Publication of his Music in England and America," in *Johann-Walter-Studien. Tagungsbericht Torgau 1996*, ed. Friedhelm Brusniak (Tutzing: Schneider, 1998), 145.
[25] Ibid., 146.

Walter's music disappeared from the Anglican repertory.[26] The fact that the *Buchleyn* was included in English sources shortly after its publication, however, serves as an indication that its popularity and influence extended well beyond Lutheran German borders.

Generally, the chorales in the *Buchleyn* show a tendency towards musical simplification; melodies are tuneful and often move in stepwise motion, and range seldom expands beyond an octave. Free imitation is frequently employed, ensuring that the chorale melody is performed in all voices. In both the homophonic and imitative settings included in the collection, the tenor or cantus usually preserves the chorale melody in its original form while the other voices decorate it, often with stepwise runs. A good example of this is a setting of "Ein feste Burg" from the 1551 edition, where the melody occurs in the tenor, while the other voices move around it in florid stepwise passages.

This high point in Walter's early career was unfortunately followed shortly by chaos. Frederick the Wise died in 1525 and his successor, John the Steadfast, threatened to eliminate the Hofkapelle.[27] Both Philip Melanchthon and Martin Luther wrote to John the Steadfast on Walter's behalf, asking that his position be retained and citing the widespread popularity and spiritual benefits of his *Gesangk-Buchleyn*.[28] Walter had further reason to dread the loss of his position as he was married to Anna Hesse in 1526, and their only child was born in 1527.[29] Fortunately for Walter, though the Elector could not be convinced to keep the *Hofkapelle*, he agreed to grant Walter a yearly allowance for the rest of his life.[30]

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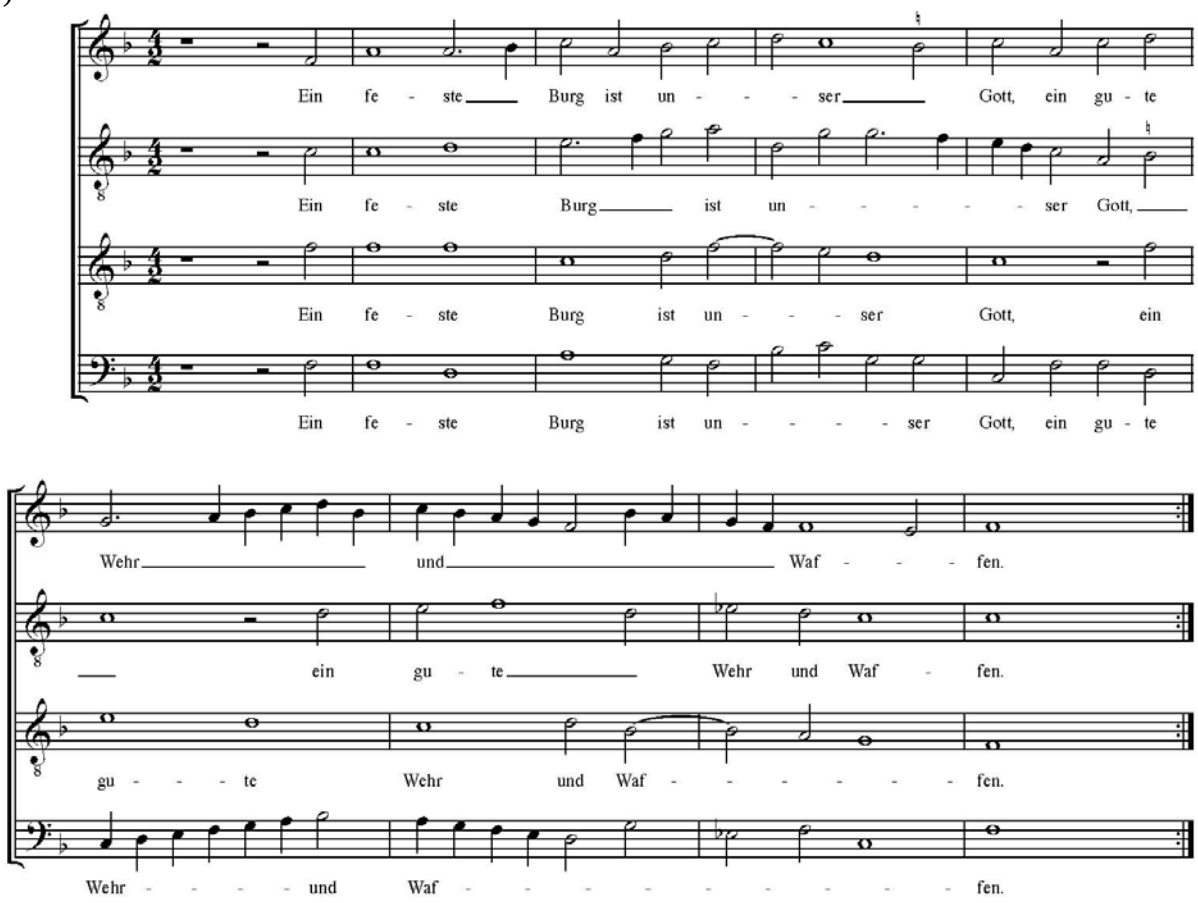
[26] Leaver, "Reputation," 146-147.
[27] Schalk, *Walter*, 6.
[28] Ibid., 7.
[29] Ibid., 7.
[30] Ibid., 8.

EXAMPLE 1: *Der XLVI. Psalm. Deus noster refugium: Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* (measures 1-9)[31]



Following the disbandment of the *Hofkapelle*, Walter became cantor of the newly formed city choir, as well as the school choir, in Torgau. His Torgau municipal choir's interest in preserving high-level sacred music set an example for other German towns, where other voluntary city choirs were formed.[32] During this time Walter bought a house and settled more permanently in Torgau. Torgau's school admitted over 170 students, and his teaching duties primarily involved music.[33] Walter remained at the Torgau school until 1548, and it was during this time that most of his works were written, including three further editions of the *Gesangk-*

[31] Otto Schröder, ed., *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1953), 26.
[32] Schalk, *Walter*, 8. Interestingly, Walter continued to refer to himself as the "choirmaster to the Elector of Saxony" until 1551, in spite of the *Hofkapelle's* disbandment. See Braun, "Johann Walter."
[33] Ibid., 8.

Buchleyn (in 1525, 1537, and 1544—the final edition was published in 1551), each of which included edited chorales from previous editions as well as entirely new compositions, eight Latin Magnificats (1540), the Matthew and John Passions, Latin Psalm settings, and the *26 Fugae* (1546), as well as a lengthy poem in praise of music. His prolific period of composition at Torgau earned him the nickname "the father of Lutheran music."

Shortly after Luther's death in 1546, a series of conflicts between Catholics and Protestants shook the stability of Walter's Torgau post. A new Elector of Saxony, Moritz, was appointed in 1547, and in 1548 he invited Walter to join him in Dresden.[34] Schalk speculates that this was an unhappy time for Walter, due to what he saw as the compromised religious values of the Dresden court. Whether that was the case or not is uncertain, but Moritz was definitely seen as a threat to Lutheranism; however, Walter did remain there until his retirement in 1554.[35]

Upon his retirement, Walter returned to Torgau. His son had married in 1551, and Walter moved in with him and his wife.[36] Between his return to Torgau and his death in 1570, he wrote very few works, among them a set of Magnificats (1557), a second poem in praise of music (1564), and his final work, *Das Christlich Kinderlied D. M. Lutheri Erhalt Uns Herr, etc.* (1566), a setting of Luther's last hymn. Walter died on March 25, 1570 and was buried at the Church of the Holy Cross.[37] His tombstone, which simply read "Natus 1496, denatus 1570," was destroyed by Napoleon's armies in 1811, and according to Blankenburg the only known picture of Walter disappeared at an art auction in about 1935.[38]

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[34] Ibid., 11.
[35] Ibid., 11.
[36] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 98.
[37] Schalk, *Walter*, 12. Blankenburg does not give this exact date, saying instead that Walter died sometime before April 24, 1570.
[38] Blankenburg, *Johann Walter*, 121-122. The exact date is uncertain.

CHAPTER II: PEDAGOGY AND LUTHERANISM AND INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN THE EARLY LUTERHAN CHURCH

The Reformation was intended to reform not merely religious practice, but society as a whole. One of the most fundamental ways this goal was expressed was in the modification of education systems. In a 1524 letter "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools," Luther stated:

> A city's best and greatest welfare, safety, and strength consist rather in its having many able, learned, wise, honorable, and well-educated citizens…So it was done in ancient Rome. There boys were so taught that by the time they reached their fifteenth, eighteenth, or twentieth year they were well versed in Latin, Greek, and all the liberal arts (as they are called)…Their system produced intelligent, wise, and competent men, so skilled in every art that if all the bishops, priests, and monks in the whole of Germany today were rolled into one, you would not have the equal of a single Roman soldier. As a result their country prospered; they had capable and trained men for every position. So at all times throughout the world simple necessity has forced men, even among the heathen, to maintain pedagogues and schoolmasters if their nation was to be brought to a high standard.[39]

The German education system in Protestant areas was taken over in the 1520s by the Reformers, who controlled everything from curricula to the appointment of schoolmasters.[40] Lewis W. Spitz notes that, "The reformers emphasized three main points in their educational philosophy: (1) universal compulsory education; (2) teaching as a divine vocation; (3) the importance of the humanistic curriculum."[41] The Lutheran emphasis on education is easily illustrated by comparing the number of German books published before and during the Reformation; during the fifteenth century about 40,000 titles were published, but between 1500 and 1550 about 150,000 titles had

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[39] Theodore Tappert, ed. "To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany That They Establish and Maintain Christian Schools," in *Selected Writings of Martin Luther: 1523-1566*, trans. Albert T. W. Steinhaeuser (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), 48.
[40] Scott C. Dixon, *The Reformation in Germany* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 2002), 177.
[41] Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation: 1517-1559* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985), 372. "Universal" education in this sense included both boys and girls; girls were taught to be better household managers, wives, and mothers. See Spitz, 372.

been published—a significant increase.[42] It is also during this time that the Lutheran catechism was created, a simply worded booklet including the main tenets of Christianity that every member of the congregation was expected to become familiar with.[43] Music was not exempt from educational reform; even Walter's *Geystliches Gesangk Buchleyn* was explicitly designed for schoolboys who would presumably disperse among the congregation and sing during services.

Walter became a leader in the reformation of music education as cantor in Torgau.[44] Music education was of great importance in the early Lutheran schools. According to Leo Schrade:

> In this organization, school and church work side by side. The musical education is entrusted to the school. The results of the education are presented in the church. The cantor of the church is the teacher in the school. His position gives him social distinction. Next to the rector he is second in the faculty. Rector and cantor decide upon the admission of pupils to the school, whereby very often the cantor makes the musical interests bear upon the decision. For the school *Kantorei* comprises all the students of the school. The singing is compulsory. All pupils have to participate in choral singing.[45]

Walter's choir (*Kantorei*) was renowned for its discipline and Luther himself sent his son Hans to be educated under Walter in Torgau.[46] The importance of music in education was heavily emphasized and reflected the school's strong connection to the church in early Lutheranism, where music was also deeply encouraged. Luther stressed the importance of music in the schools several times, stating: "Necessity demands that music be kept in the schools. A

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[42] Ibid., 90.
[43] Dixon, *Reformation*, 177.
[44] Blume, "Reformation," 65.
[45] Leo Schrade, "The Choral Music of the 'Kantorei'," *The Musical Heritage of the Church* 5 (1959), http://www.goodshepherdinstitute.org/OLD/musical-heritage/volume/5/lutheran_kantorei.php (accessed August 13, 2010).
[46] Braun, "Walter."

schoolmaster must know how to sing; otherwise I do not look at him. And before a youth is ordained into the ministry, he should practice music in school."[47]

He also wrote:

> In addition, if the schoolteacher is a godly man and teaches the boys to understand, to sing, and to practice God's word and the true faith and holds them to Christian discipline, then, as we said earlier, the schools are truly young and eternal councils, which perhaps do more good than many other great councils [of the church].[48]

Although the importance of vocal music in education was heavily emphasized in early Lutheranism references to teaching instrumental music are rare.

In his 1545 treatise *Musica instrumentalis deudsch*, Martin Agricola observes the students at Wittenberg using instruments as a way to socialize, but no mention is made of its pedagogical importance.

> I have been astonished to see, when boys come to Wittenberg and especially to the university, how they fare with their fellow students, who when they sit down at table or get up from it, joyfully engage in singing and playing instruments such as lutes, fiddles, and winds; or they pick up harps and other instruments.[49]

While references to teaching instrumental music are few and far between, perhaps the single most important statement comes from Luther himself, "If I had children, and were able, I would have them learn not only languages and history, but singing and instrumental music and the entire course of mathematics."[50]

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[47] "What Luther Says: An Anthology," in *Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*, 6 vols., trans. and ed. Ewald M. Plass (St. Louis: Concordia, 1959), no, 3092. Quoted in Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications,* (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 42.

[48] "On the Councils and the Church (1539)," in *Luther's Works: American Edition* (St. Louis: Concordia and Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955-1986), 41:176. Quoted in Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Cambridge: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2007), 42.

[49] *The 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch' of Martin Agricola: A Treatise on Musical Instruments, 1529 and 1545*, trans. and ed. by William E. Hettrick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 71.

[50] B. Sears, *Select Treatises of Martin Luther in the Original German with Philological Notes and an Essay on German and English Etymology* (Andover : Allen, Morrill and Wardwell), 262.

Instrumental Music in the Early Lutheran Church

In spite of Luther's positive assessment of music as a vehicle for worship, the foothold of instrumental music seems to have been somewhat tenuous in the early years of the Lutheran church. Although Germany had a rich tradition of supporting instrumental music by the time of the Protestant Reformation, according to records of services and festivals in the early Lutheran church suggest that there was no use of purely instrumental music, except for the occasional use of organ music to assist the choir and even organs were scarce and used sparingly.[51] It is not until 1558 that records of instruments being used in services (besides the organ) appear, and their use was evidently not widespread until after 1584.[52]

Perhaps one explanation for this is that instrumental music, by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had become associated with Catholic festivals and processions that increasingly espoused worldly, secular pleasure, and had lost nearly all connection with Luther's vision of the church.

Instrumental music's association with the secular is evidenced in several ways, but perhaps most strongly by sources of patronage. Prior to the Reformation, Roman Catholic bishops were the most prominent religious supporters of instrumental music in medieval Germany. These wealthy religious officials were often almost exclusively responsible for the patronage of church music.[53] Because of this, the instrumental music they supported came to be associated with the extravagant lifestyles of the Catholic bishops.[54]

In spite of the slow arrival of instrumental music in early Lutheranism, Luther himself said little on the subject. His actions, however, may speak louder than his words. In addition to

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[51] Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism: Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 48.
[52] Ibid., 48.
[53] Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages: Players, Patrons and Performance Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 87.
[54] Ibid., 106-107.

being a talented singer, he was also an accomplished lutenist. Justas Jonas, a contemporary of Luther's, writes in a letter from 1538:

> It happened some thirty-two years ago…in Erfurt…Luther sold all his law books secretly and ordered a grand banquet, an evening repast…invited several scholars, some virtuous, chaste young ladies and women, and dined with them in an unusually cheerful spirit, playing on the lute (which he by now was able to do quite well).[55]

The fact that Luther gained proficiency on the lute, a difficult polyphonic instrument, suggests that he did not view instrumental music as inherently sinful. He also worked with both singers and instrumentalists employed by Frederick the Wise at the *Schlosskirche* at Wittenberg and had "close associations" with the organists Georg Planck in Zeitz and Wolf Heinz in Halle.[56] He also writes, "It has been commanded unto all men to spread and propagate the word of God by every possible means, not merely by speech, but by writings, paintings, sculptures, psalms, songs [and] musical instruments."[57] Furthermore, Luther wrote an introduction to Walter's *Lob und Preis der loeblichen Kunst Musica*, in which he extensively praises both vocal and instrumental music, writing:

> Of all the pleasures, joys, and mirth
> There is no finer on the earth
> Than sound of woodwind or of string
> Or of the voice with which I sing.[58]

Luther's involvement with Walter's *Lob und Preis der loeblichen Kunst Musica*, which is itself an extensive encomium of music, likely indicates his full support for instrumental music.

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[55] Paul Tschakert, "Justus Jonas' Bericht aus dem Jahre 1538 über Martin Luthers Eintritt in das Kloster (1505). Aus dem handschriftlichen Zusatz zu einem Urdruck der Confessio Augustana," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 70 (1897): 578-579. Quoted in Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's Liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2007), 30. Emphasis in Leaver's quotation.
[56] Kathryn Ann Pohlmann Duffy, *The Jena Choirbooks: Music and Liturgy at the Castle Church in Wittenberg under Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony* (diss., U of Chicago, 1995). Cited in The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, s.v. "Martin Luther" (by Robin Leaver), http://www.grovemusic.com (accessed August 13, 2010).
[57] Jules Michelet, *The Life of Luther as Written by Himself*, trans. William Hazlitt (London: George Bell and Sons, 1898), 287.
[58] Schalk, *Walter*, 23.

In the poem introduced by Luther, Walter writes:

> When David came to royal power,
> He brought the art to fullest flower.
> Thus many kinds of music mark
> The progress of the golden ark:
> First human voice, then dulcet lute,
> The noble harp, the psaltry, flute,
> The pipe, the ram's horn, the cornet,
> The trumpet, cymbal, and timbret.
> …
> See, out of his own means he hires
> Fine instrumentalists and choirs.
> Such things have favor in God's sight,
> For his Word notes them with delight.[59]

Contemporary of Luther and Walter, the music theorist, teacher, and composer, Martin Agricola was an enthusiastic supporter of instrumental music. In his *Musica Instrumentalis Deudsch*, Agricola wrote:

> Although…several people who have shamefully scorned the *Instrumental Music* and me on account of it, might almost have discouraged me from my intended and useful writing, I reasoned finally that, indeed, because they speak about the subject so monastically (as in a monastery, where one lives quite meditatively and sings only plainsong without any musical instruments) and perhaps do not understand anything in particular of this noble art, you might therefore excuse them this time; you will not follow them, but rather Moses, David and many other excellent people who have thought very highly of it (as the Psalter etc. indicates) and have presented and bequeathed us examples of how to praise

[59] Ibid., 17-18. Formatting in source. The following German text is taken from Otto Schröder, *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 6, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 154-155.
Da David letzlich König ward,
Erst braucht er recht der Music zart./
Al ser die gulden Lad einführt,
Ich mein, die Music ward gerührt/
Mit Singen, Klingen, Harfenspeil,
Mit Psaltern, Pauken, Zimbeln viel./
Posaunen und Drommeten gut
Und alles, was sur Music tut,/
…
Er hat viel Sänger selbst bestellt,
Darauf gewandt ein großes Geld./
Die Heilige Schrift solchs klar anzeigt,
Drum dieser Kunst Gott sehr geneigt./

> God in various ways. Now in our own time, among many others, Dr. Martin Luther (God be with him and grant him a long, healthy life) also does the same thing.[60]

Agricola—whose book was published by Georg Rhau, an early publisher of Lutheran music[61]—uses Biblical examples to highlight his argument for instrumental music, just as Luther used the Scriptures as his final authority in all theological matters.

[60] William E. Hettrick, ed., *The 'Musica instrumentalis deudsch' of Martin Agricola: A treatise on musical instruments, 1529 and 1545* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 64-65.
[61] Carl Schalk, *Music in Early Lutheranism: Shaping the Tradition (1524-1672)* (Saint Louis: Concordia Academic Press, 2001), 53.

CHAPTER III: FUGA, CANON, AND MODE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The title "fuga," which Walter applied to his own instrumental works, is today somewhat misleading. In Walter's time, the distinctions between the terms fuga and canon were in flux. Zarlino is thought to be the first to acknowledge and attempt to explain the differences between the terms *fugae*, *imitationae*, *consequenza*, and it is not until after his *Istitutione Harmoniche del Rev. Messere Gioseffo Zarlino* of 1558 that other theorists and composers began to make conscious distinctions among the terms.[62] Zarlino's distinctions, summarized, are that *fuga* meant imitation at the unison, octave, fourth, or fifth, where the intervallic quality was thought to remain the same throughout the parts; *imitatione* meant imitation where the interval numbers remained the same, but their quality might change in different parts, depending at which interval the imitation took place, and *consequenza* referred to what is today called canon. By Zarlino's definition then, the majority of Walter's instrumental *fugae* were in fact *consequenzae*; however, the term *consequenzae* does not appear to have entered into common use.[63]

Earlier theorist Pietro Aron used the terms *fugae* and *imitationae* interchangeably in his 1516 *De institutione harmonica* writing:

> Imitation or fugue between parts is customarily practiced in musical compositions. It is called imitation or fugue because the consequent (or antecedent) voice repeats the very notes of the preceding part or else repeats notes identical in name though different in location. Thus it sings as it were in imitating; or seems, in following, as it were to give chase.[64]

The term "name" likely refers to solfege syllables, indicating that Aron's definition of *fugae* and *imitatione* both refer to what Zarlino later called *consequenza*. By 1545, a year before Walter's

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[62] James Haar, "Zarlino's Definition of Fugue and Imitation," in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24, no. 2 (1971): 231-232.
[63] Many of the fugae are canons at the unison; exceptions are numbers 3, a canon at the fifth, numbers 8, 10, and 12, canons at the fifth and octave, and number 17, the "egregia fuga."
[64] Haar, 232.

fugues were written, Aron's views on the various distinctions among types of imitation had begun to move closer to those of Zarlino.[65]

Canons, and imitative works in general, were enormously popular with composers of sacred polyphony in the generations before Walter's.[66] Canonic technique was especially popular in Magnificat settings; composers using this method include Josquin des Prez, Pierre de la Rue, and Giaches de Wert.[67] By Walter's time, however, the use of canon as a compositional technique had greatly diminished outside of Germany.[68] Zarlino, writing in Italy in 1558, suggesed that *fuga* was a tedious, clichéd technique and gave only one example to illustrate the concept.[69] Hermann Finck, however, writing in Germany in 1556, used a plethora of canons in his *Practica Musica* to illustrate a wide variety of concepts as did Agricola, also writing in Germany, in his 1532 *Musica Figuralis Deudsch* and his 1539 *Rudimenta Musices*. Although the technique of canonical writing conflicted with the Lutheran preference for audible chorale melodies, it continued to be popular in pedagogical works of Lutheran composers of Walter's generation. The conflict between chorale melody audibility and musical interest in non-pedagogical works was often resolved by having canonical sections enter later than the other voices, thus ensuring that attention was primarily focused on the chorale melodies.[70] A good example of this is Johann Walter's setting of Psalm 70 of 1545, in which the four tenor parts form an exact canon at the unison, entering at two-measure intervals from the beginning of the piece.

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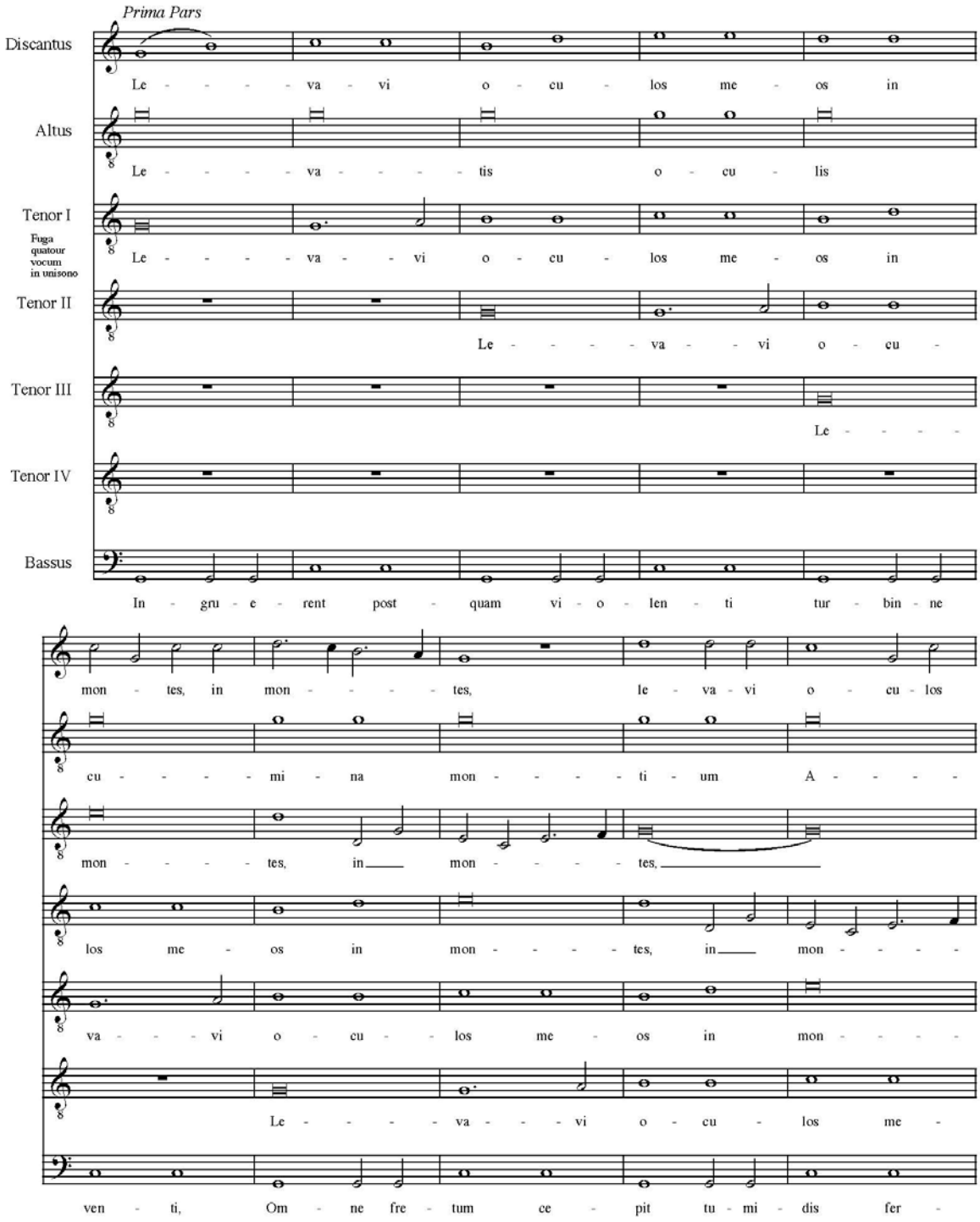
[65] Ibid., 232.
[66] Lundberg, "Canon ," 224.
[67] Gasch, Stefan. "Canons in Magnificat Settings," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven-Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 264, 270.
[68] Lundberg, "Canon," 232.
[69] Peter Urquhart, "The Persistence of Exact Canon Throughout the Sixteenth Century," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven-Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 171.
[70] Lundberg, "Canon," 225.

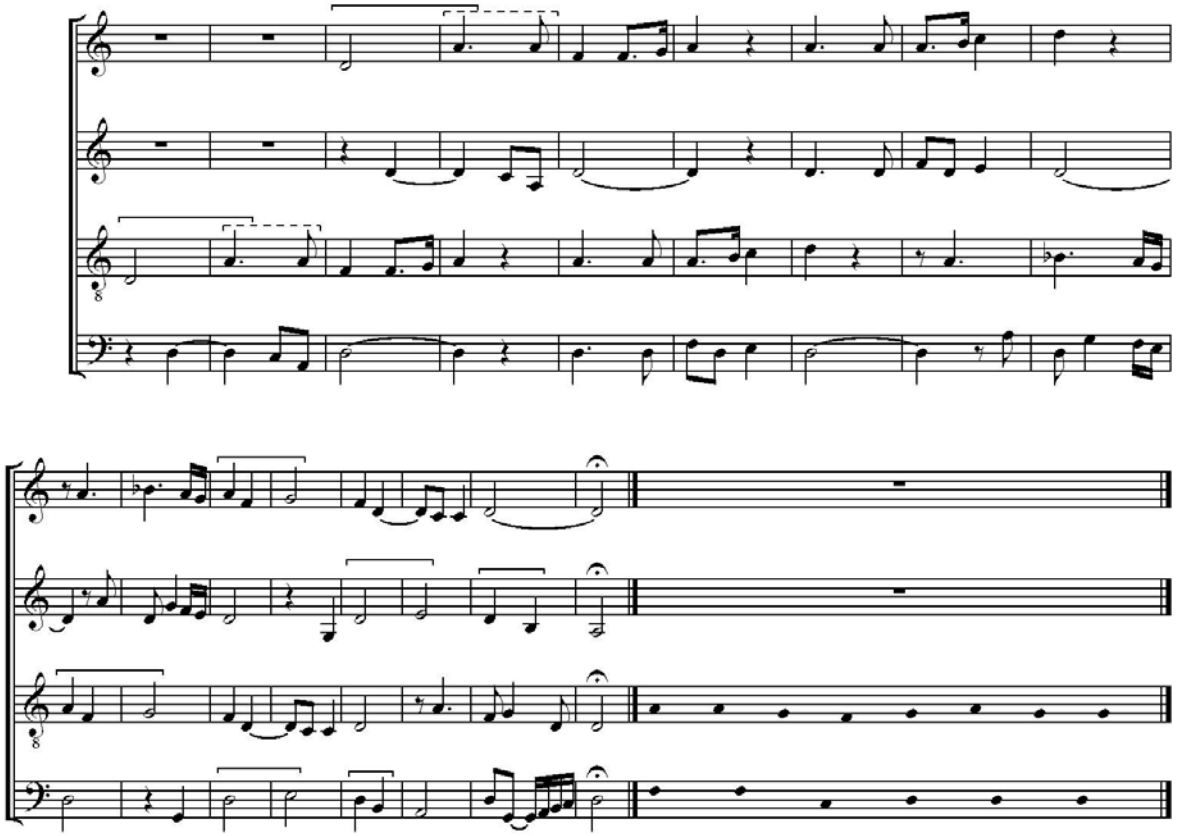
EXAMPLE 2: *Psalmus CXX*, measures 1-10[71]



[71] Otto Schröder, ed., *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 5 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1961), 13.

In pedagogical writing, canons were used to illustrate a wide variety of musical concepts including mensuration and mode. Canons were frequently used for practical reasons, as a two- to four-voice canon could be written in one line of music.[72] Thus it is not surprising that Walter chose to use canon to illustrate the modes. He was not the first to do so; Martin Agricola's *Rudimenta Musices* of 1539 made use of four four-voice canons to illustrate the authentic and plagal forms of the eight church modes. The authentic form appears in the tenor and discantus and the plagal form appears in the bassus and altus of each.

EXAMPLE 3: Agricola's Dorian/Hypodorian canon[73]

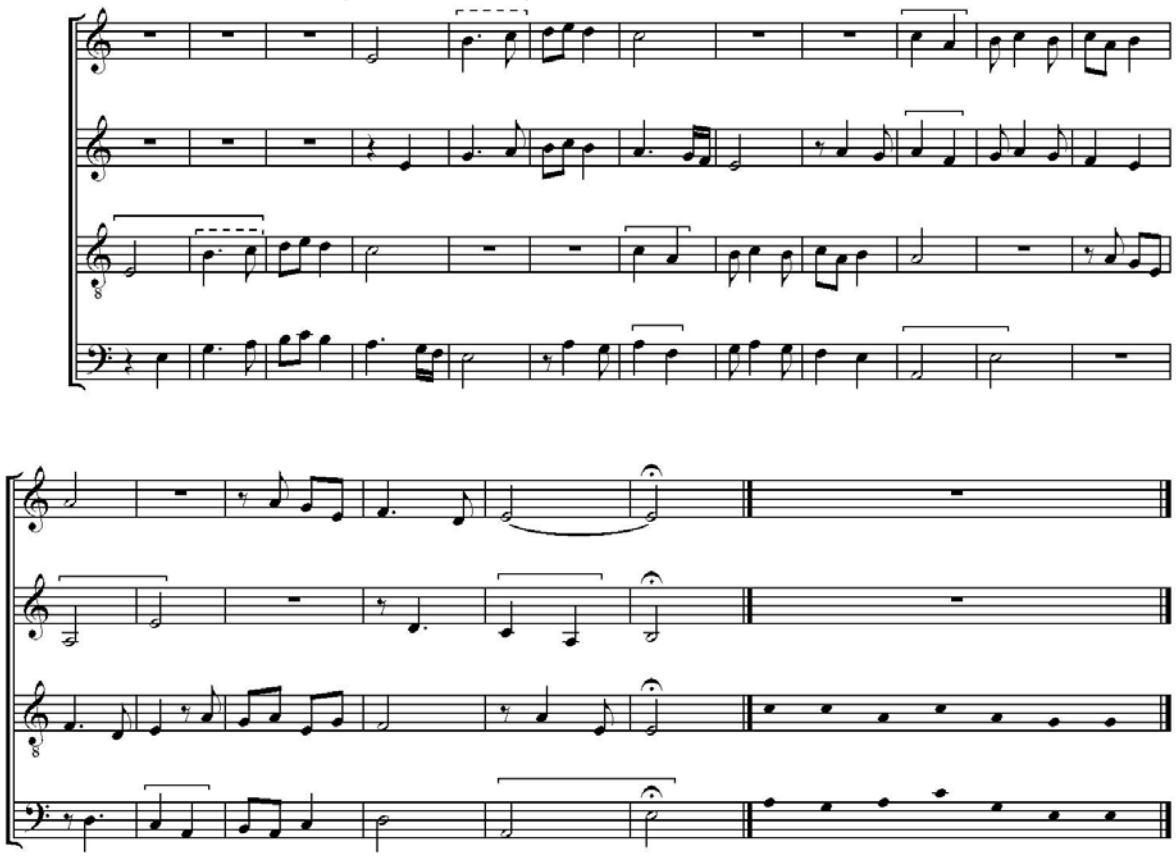


[72] Bonnie J. Blackburn, "Two Treasure Chests of Canonic Antiquities: The Collections of Hermann Finck and Lodovico Zacconi," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven-Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 304.

[73] Martin Agricola, *Musica Figuralis Deudsch, 1532, Im Anhang: Musica instrumentalis deudsch, 1529; Musica choralis deudsch, 1533; Rudimenta Musices, 1539* (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms, 1969). Transcriptions of Agricola's canons are my own.

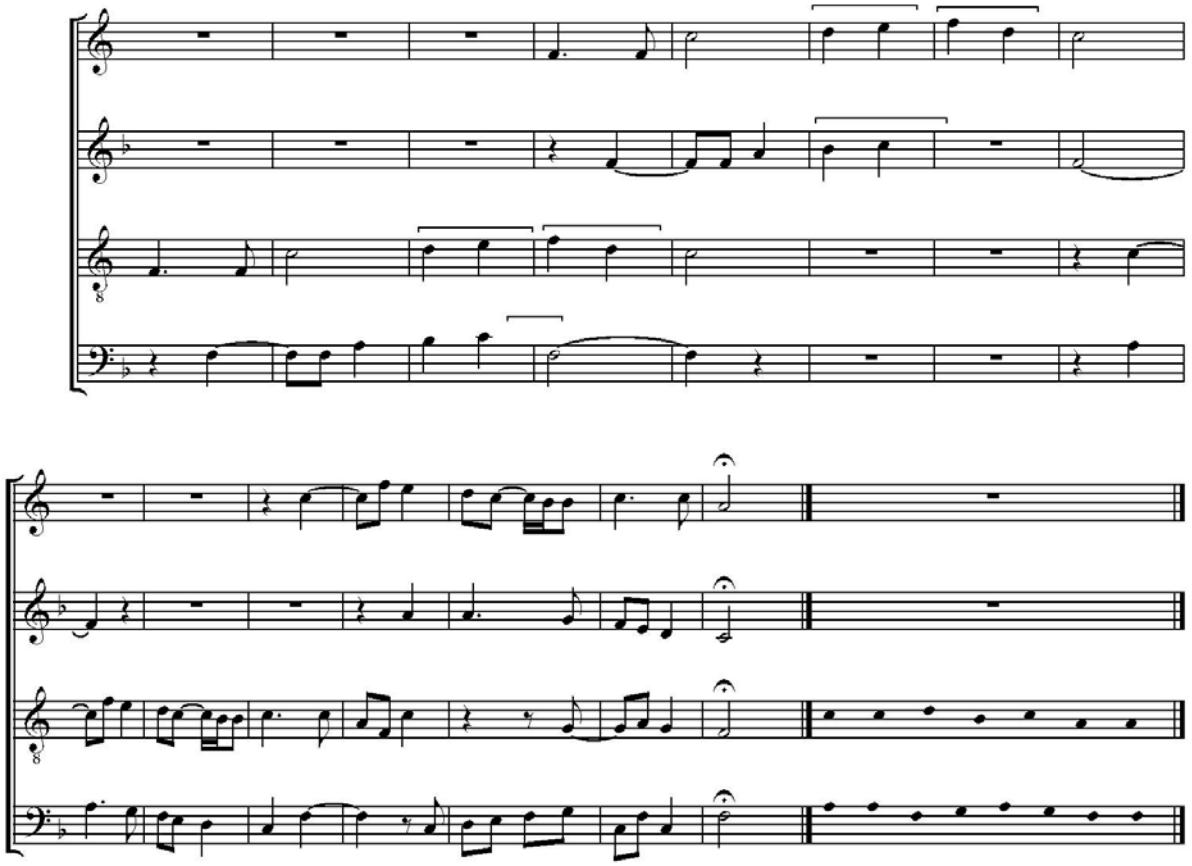
Agricola's first canon on the modes has a very narrow range, only going as wide as an octave in the tenor and cantus and a ninth in the bassus and altus. The altus and cantus are identical to the bassus and tenor, respectively, except that the higher voices enter two measures after the lower voices an octave higher. Motion is mainly stepwise and rules of counterpoint are followed closely. Three types of melodic figures are introduced: passing tones in all voices, neighbor tones in the tenor and cantus (measures 9 and 11, respectively) and also a portamento figure in the tenor and cantus (measures 13 and 15, respectively). At the end are the first and second church psalm tones in the tenor and bassus. Including the psalm tones suggests a connnection between church modes and psalm tones which is reinforced by their inclusion in all of Agricola's modal canons. This connection reinforces the ties between modes and sacred music.

EXAMPLE 4: Agricola's Phrygian/Hypophrygian canon



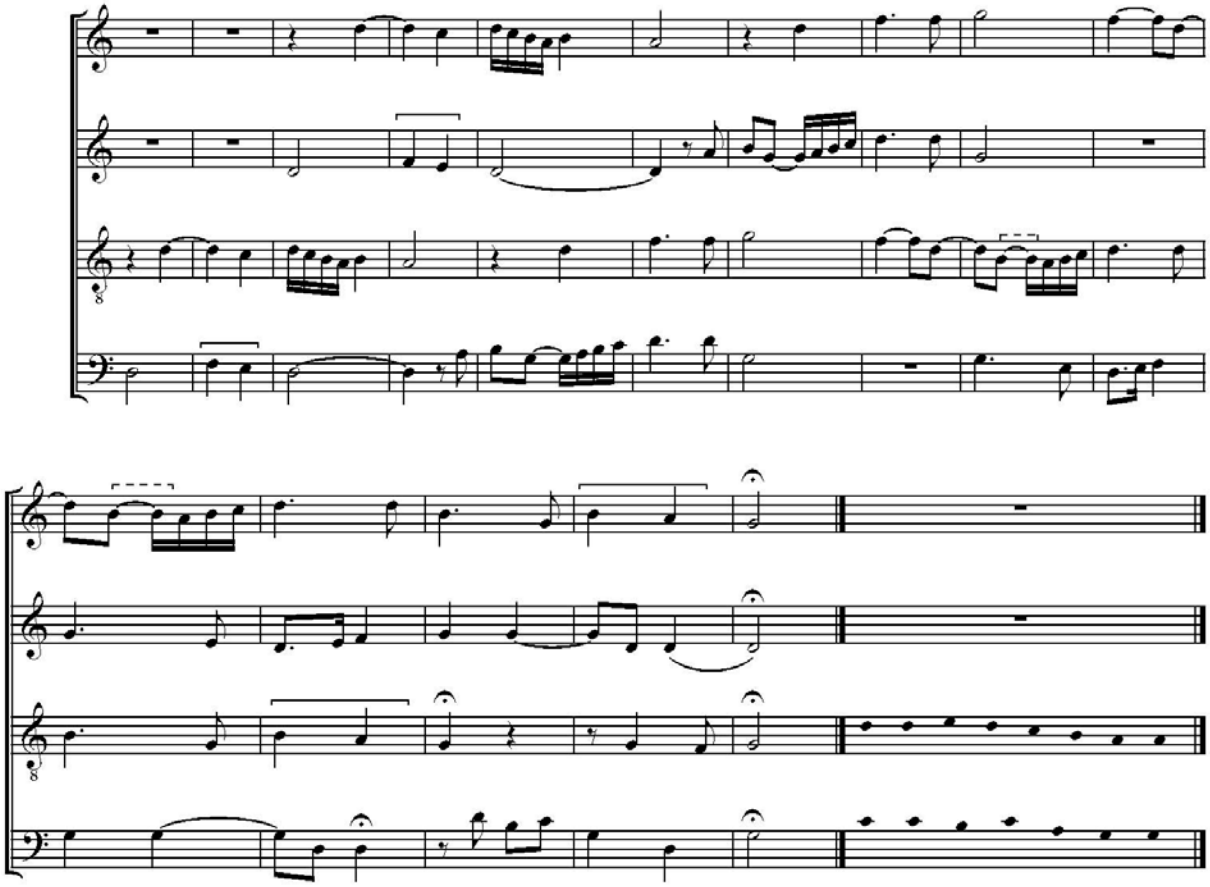
This second canon is similar to the first in length and the fact that it includes the third and fourth psalm tones at the end. The range, however, is wider in the bassus and altus, encompassing a tenth. Passing tones are again used in all voices, but there are a wider range of intervallic leaps and more rests. Neighbor tones are also used more frequently and in all voices. Another difference is that the higher voices enter after three measures, instead of two measures in the first canon.

EXAMPLE 5: Agricola's Lydian/Hypolydian canon



The Lydian/Hypolydian canon is similar to the other two in length and the use of the psalm tones at the end. What sets this one apart, however, is the change of character that occurs beginning in measure 9. Rhythmic values are much shorter and more melodic figures are used than in the first section, including passing tones, neighbor tones, and portamentos.

EXAMPLE 6: Agricola's Mixolydian/Hypomixolydian canon

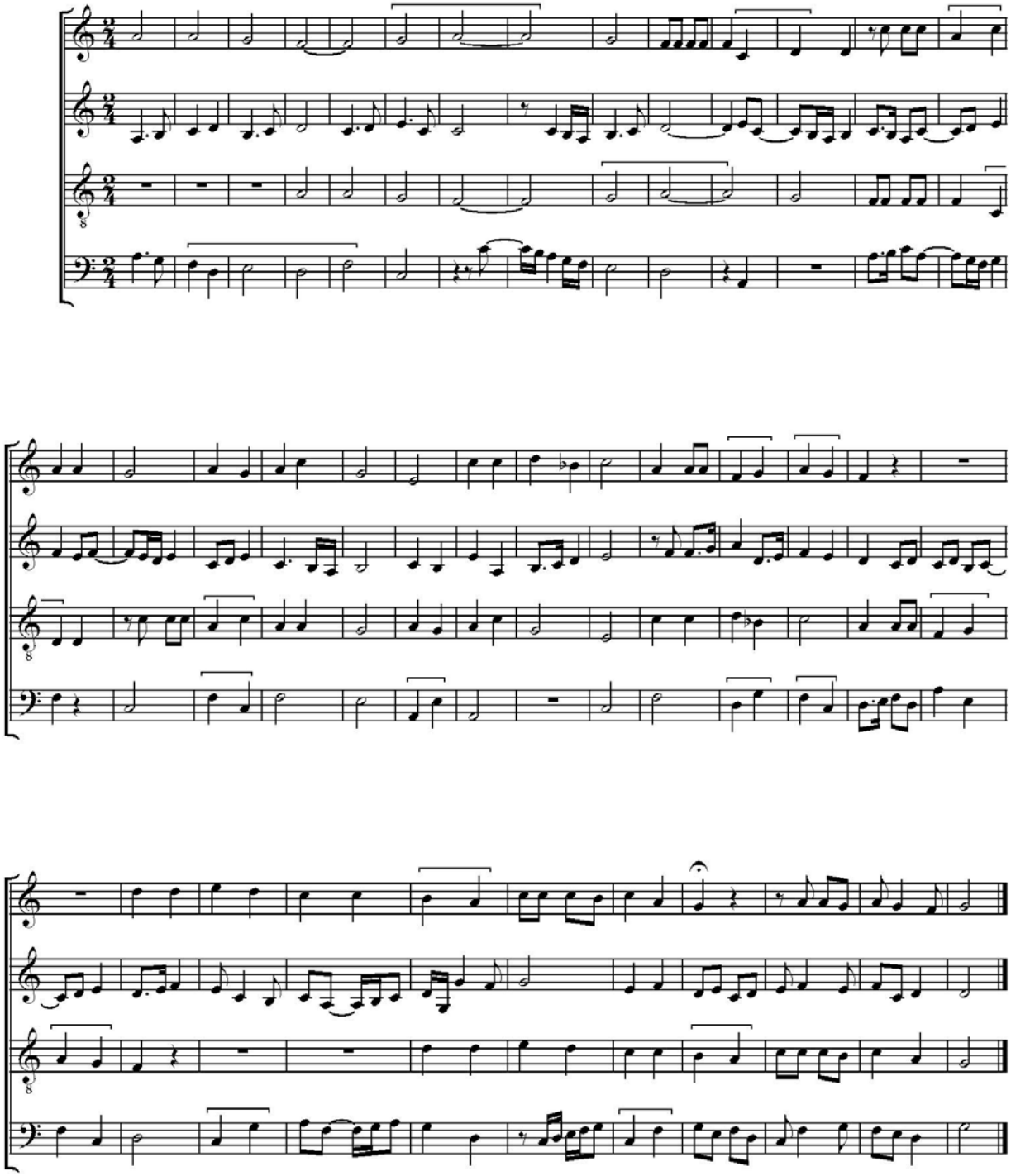


Agricola's final modal canon, although similar to the other three in most ways, overall makes use of far shorter rhythmic values than the previous three. Many of the same melodic figures are used throughout, several stepwise passages appear, and the upper voices enter after two measures, as in the first canon.

Although canons appear in multiple places throughout his *Practica Musica* of 1556, Hermann Finck apparently ran out of room by the time he got to the fourth book in the treatise, which is on the modes and includes one example; however, it is a canon on the eight psalm tones and not based on any one of the eight church modes.[74]

[74] Blackburn, "Treasure Chests," 305.

EXAMPLE 7: Finck's canon[75]



[75] Hermann Finck, *Practica musica. Exempla variorvm signorvm proportionvm et canonvm, ivdicvm de tonis, ac qudam de arte svaviter et artificiose cantandi continens* (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms, 1971). Transcription is my own.

Finck's canon differs greatly from Agricola's four modal canons. First, it is not based on church modes but on the eight psalm tones. These psalm tones appear in longer rhythmic values, first in the cantus and two measures later in the tenor. Although not based on the church modes, it is associated with them because it is the only musical work to appear in his book on the church modes. In contrast to Agricola's works, the altus and bassus are not in canon with each other; rather, they are two independent musical lines. This canon is also quite a bit longer than any one of Agricola's, and rhythmic values in the bassus and altus are generally shorter. Similarities between the canons are found in the somewhat narrow ranges and melodic figures used.

For the church modes, instead of giving specific musical examples, Finck listed motets by other composers, including Clemens non Papa and Crecquillon, which he felt sufficiently illustrated the modes.[76] These are his suggestions, given in order of the mode they illustrate:

First Mode:
Iheruſalem ſurge by Clemens non Papa

Second Mode:
Tulerunt dutem fraters eius by Clemens non Papa

Third Mode:
Peccantem me quotidie by Clemens non Papa

Fourth Mode:
Domina clamaui by Clemens non Papa
Vel, Erraui by Thomas Crecquillon

Fifth Mode:
Fremuit ſpiritus by Clemens non Papa

Sixth Mode:
Vide Domina afflictionem meam by Clemens non Papa

Seventh Mode:
Dum aurora finem daret by Thomas Crecquillon

Eighth Mode:

[76] Blackburn, "Treasure Chests," 305.

Mi∫it me uiuens pater by Clemens non Papa[77]

Mode and Affect

With the rise of humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries came increasing interest in the modes and their influence on morality. The general belief in the modes to influence behavior is summed up in Gioseffo Zarlino's *Istitutioni harmonice* of 1558:

> It is not a great wonder that some deem it strange that harmony and rhythm (numero) should have the power to dispose and induce various passions in the soul because these are undoubtedly extrinsic things that have little to do with human nature. But, truly, it is only too evident that they do, for the passions are located in the sensitive corporeal and organic appetite as its true subject. Each of these passions consists of a certain proportion of hot, cold, humid, and dry according to a certain material distribution. When one of these passions is active, one of the named qualities prevails. Thus humid head predominates in anger, inciting its arousal; cold dryness predominates in fear, constraining the spirits. The same happens in the other passions, which are generated by the dominance of one of the named qualities.[78]

The eight Boethian modes, Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Mixolydian, Hypodorian, Hypophrygian, Hypolidian, and Hypomixolydian were believed to correspond to the ancient Greek modes. Although eloquent in their descriptions of the power of the modes, Renaissance theorists often failed to provide their own explanation for the modes' effects. Rather, Plato's *Republic* and other Classical writings were common sources for information on the modes and affect. In spite of common sources, there are often inconsistencies between Classical views of the modes and Renaissance explanations. Hermann Finck's 1556 *Practica Musica* gives a summary of the state of the modes in Reformation Germany, and it is interesting to compare his interpretation with those found in Classical treatises since they are often inconsistent with each other.

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[77] Finck, *Practica Musica*.
[78] Zarlino, *Istitutioni* (1558), 73. Quoted in Claude Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 187.

TABLE 1: Mode and affect[79]

Mode	Classical	Gaffurio, *De harmonia*	Aron, *Trattato della natura*	Glarean, *Dodecachordon*	Walter's fugues in this mode
I. Dorian	majestic, masculine, steadfast	constant, severe, moves phlegm	happy, joyful, excites all affections	grave, prudent, dignified, modest	1, 12, 22
II. Hypodorian	haughty, pompous, confident	slow, slothful, sluggish	tearful, grave	severe, forbidding, submissive	2, 13, 14
III. Phrygian	exciting, martial	incites to anger, war	pugnacious, angry	mournful, incites to battle, rage	4, 15
IV. Hypophrygian	austere, appeases anger	quiet, grave, calms excitement	restful, tranquil	melancholic, plaintive	5, 9, 16
V. Lydian	funereal, sad, convivial	weeping, lamenting	relieves melancholy, burdens	convivial, Bacchic	6, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25
VI. Hypolydian	Bacchic, intoxicating	tearful, lamenting	induces tears, compassion	pleasing, not elegant	7, 19, 26
VII. Mixolydian	threnodic, lamenting	exciting, withdrawn	mixture of modesty, joviality	suitable for praises	8, 20
VIII. Hypomixolydian		sublime, free of corruption	merry, happy	natural charm, sweetness	11, 21

Theorists were not alone in exploring mode and affects. Lutheran composers were also interested in the possible effects of mode on the spirit. Regarding the time spent with Luther working on the *Deudsche Messe*, Walter wrote:

[79] Palisca, *Music and Ideas*, 81. The column with Walter's fugues is my own addition.

> When he, Luther, forty years ago desired to introduce the German Mass in Wittenberg, he communicated this wish to the Prince Elector of Saxony and to the late Duke Johann. He urged his Electoral Highness to bring the old singing master, the worthy Konrad Rupsch, and me to Wittenberg. At that time he discussed with us the Gregorian chants and the nature of the eight modes, and finally he applied the eighth mode to the Epistle and the sixth mode to the Gospel, saying: "Christ is a kind Lord, and his words are sweet; therefore we want to take the sixth mode for the Gospel; and because Paul is a serious apostle we want to arrange the eighth mode for the epistle."[80]

This quote suggests that Luther and early Lutheran composers had a strong preoccupation with mode and affect. It also suggests that Lutherans saw mode as not only having emotional affects, but deeper spiritual meaning as well. Johann Walter's spirituality is reflected in the text of all of his vocal works, but his modally ordered pieces may have drawn their connection to the sacred through the church modes.

[80] *Verba des alten Johan Walters* in Michael Praetorius' *Syntagma Musicum I*, Wittenberg 1614/15, 449-453. Quoted in Paul Nettl, *Luther on Music* (Muhlenburg Press, 1948) 75-76. Quoted here in Carl Schalk. *Johann Walter: First Cantor of the Lutheran Church* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1992), 6.

CHAPTER IV: WALTER'S *26 FUGAE*

Johann Walter's 26 fugues are a collection of pieces written for instruments of equal range, "particularly zinks."[81] The title, however, is misleading: there are in fact twenty-seven fugues in the collection. Fugue XVII, subtitled "*egregia fuga*" appears to be the anomalous piece in the collection for reasons that will be discussed below. The fugues were not published during Walter's lifetime, although the careful arrangement of the title page suggests that Walter did intend them for publication (see Figure 1).[82] Martin Agricola had apparently intended to publish them in 1545 under the title "*Instrumentische gesenge odder exercitia*," ("Instrumental songs or exercises") although his plans did not come to fruition until after Walter's death.[83] Werner Braun suggests that the late publication date was due to the reluctance of Georg Rhau, the well-known German Reformation publisher, to print solely instrumental collections, for either economical or religious reasons.[84]

The *26 Fugae* are the only instrumental works Walter is known to have written, and they are among the very few compositions in which he explicitly used the term "fuga," a term that was frequently used in his time for pedagogical works. The only other works in which he used the term "fuga" are a set of seven-voice psalm settings from 1545, where fugues appear as three- and four-voice tenor parts within the full seven-voice structure, and a later psalm setting from 1566, where the term "fuga" appears in the direction "Fuga. Bassus et Tenor post semibrevem."[85] The *26 Fugae* bear no resemblance to any of these psalm settings and are not thematically or stylistically related to any other works in Walter's compositional output.

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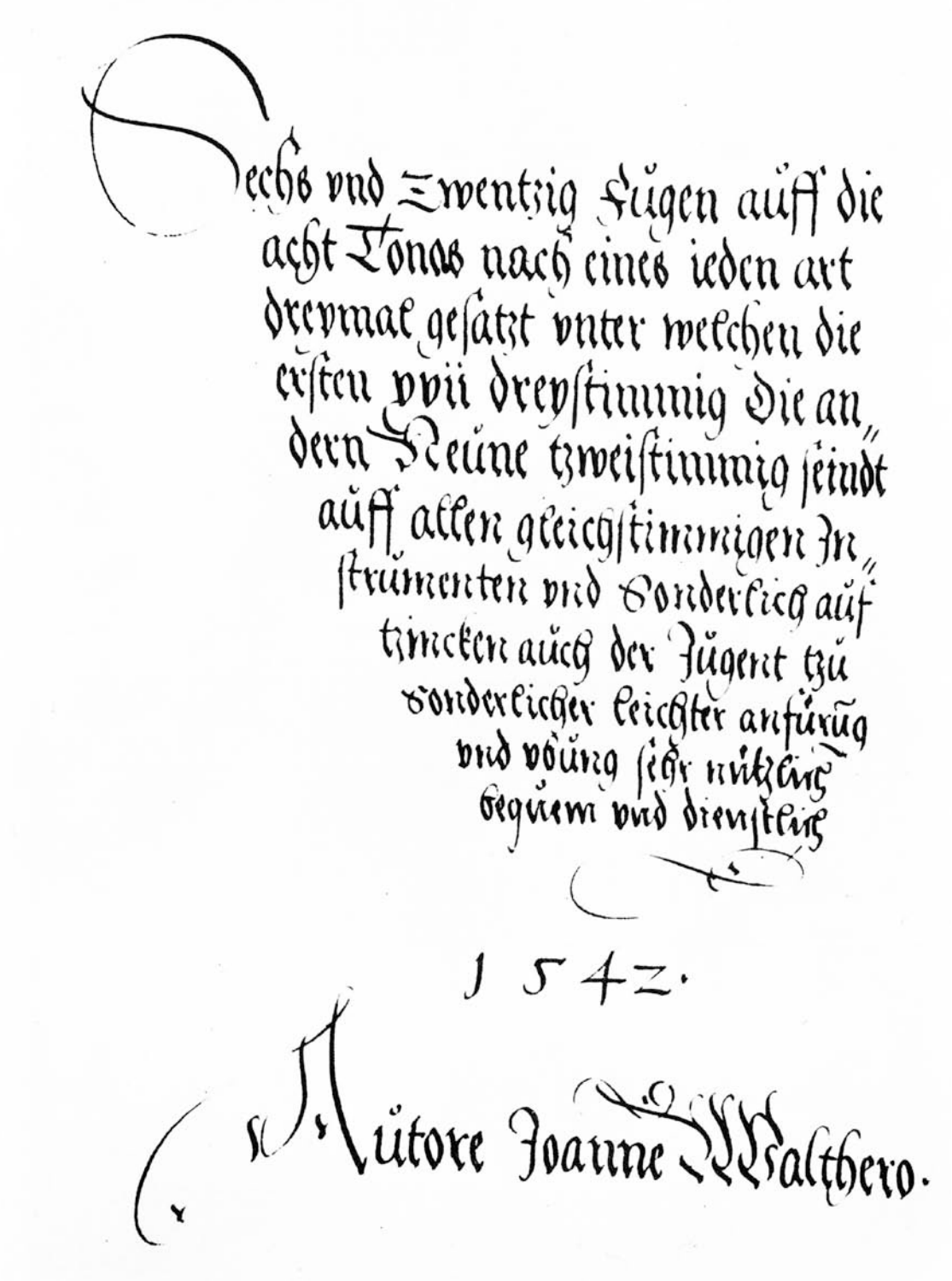
[81] Werner Braun, foreword to *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, trans. Margaret Bent. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), XXIX.
[82] Ibid., XXIX.
[83] Ibid., XX.
[84] Ibid., XX.
[85] Otto Schröder, ed., *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 6. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1970), 33.

FIGURE 1: Title page of Walter's *26 Fugae*[86]



[86] Title page image taken from Braun, foreword to *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, XXIX. My translation of the title page reads: Twenty-six fugues on the eight modes in two or three voices for instruments, especially zinks, of equal range, directed to young people, as they are especially easy to perform and practice.

The fugues are so anomalous to Walter's output that in the foreword to the third volume of his edition of Walter's complete works, Otto Schröder apparently forgot about them while discussing Walter's compositional output. Schröder states:

> In contrast to other master composers of his day, Walter seems to hove [sic] chosen not to compose secular songs. This silf-imposed [sic] restriction may have been due do [sic] a fundamental philosophy which underlay all his work as a composer. No other composer of his day dedicated his talents so completely to Martin Luther and his reformational program as did Johann Walter. This self-surrender was grounded in profound inner convictions and was fed by faith in the Lutheran cause which was exceptionally virile. It is not surprinsing [sic], therefore, that he resolutely eschewed secular music in order that he might concentrate all his efforts on the composition and dissemination of music for the evangelical Church.[87]

The fugues are not mentioned here or anywhere else in Schröder's introduction.

In spite of the objections to purely instrumental music in early Lutheran church services, playing instruments remained a popular pastime in Walter's time and pedagogical instrumental works had an established place in Reformation Germany. Sebastian Virdung's *Musica Getutscht* of 1511, though written before the Reformation, had laid the groundwork for the German musical treatise of the sixteenth century and influenced numerous later pedagogues, including Martin Agricola and even Michael Praetorius, who quoted Virdung in his famous *Syntagma Musicum*.[88] In southern Europe, instrumental music had become especially popular by the mid-16th century, and works similar to Walter's fugues appeared in Italian publications of this time.[89]

The title page of Walter's fugues indicates these works were for young people because they were, as the title page states, easy to perform and practice. Walter was a teacher at the time that the fugues were written, and in spite of the lack of specific indication, the pieces are clearly intended for his students; this intent is indicated by the variety of clefs, intervallic exercises, and

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[87] Otto Schröder, foreword to *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 3, trans. Walter E. Buszin (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), IX.
[88] Beth Bullard, *Musica Getutscht: A Treatise on Musical Instruments by Sebastian Virdung* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 59-61.
[89] Braun, foreword to *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, XX.

equality of the parts. The fugues also bear resemblance to those found in other pedagogical works of the time, such as those found in Agricola's *Rudimenta musices*. Like Luther, Walter was interested in music as an educational tool and as a means of inspiring devotion, as evidenced by his two poems in praise of music, including the lengthy and pedantic *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica* of 1538 and *Lob und Preis der himmlischen Kunst Musica* of 1564.

With a few exceptions, Walter's fugues are canons in two or three voices. They are primarily designed to teach counterpoint. Two- and three-voice canons were primarily used for practice, as they were considered "too simple" to be interesting pieces for performance.[90] As canons, all parts are equal, thus providing each performer, presumably the boys at Walter's school, with an equally important and challenging part. Most of the fugues are titled by their mode, indicating that they were also intended to illustrate the eight church modes. Braun suggests that canon was a particularly useful method "for the clarification of modal relationships."[91] The fifth mode is the most frequently employed, used in six of the twenty six fugues. The fifth mode was seen as "convivial" and believed to "relieve melancholy."[92] Perhaps these alleged properties of the fifth mode were thought to make the pieces more uplifting for the schoolboys who played them. The third mode appears only twice throughout the collection; the third mode was considered "angry" and "mournful," which perhaps made this mode less desirable as an educational tool.[93] A variety of clefs are used, further indicating pedagogical intent: the clefs used include alto, tenor, baritone and bass, exploring the full range of almost any instrument (in particular the zink) and giving the student practice reading in several clefs.

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[90] Ibid., XXI.
[91] Ibid., XXI.
[92] Claude Palisca, *Music and Ideas in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 81.
[93] Ibid., 81.

As a composer who devoted almost the whole of his compositional lifetime to sacred music for the enlightenment of the laity, it seems likely that with these fugues Walter is providing a wholesome alternative to the secular instrumental music of his day; however, unlike his vocal compositions, these works, not surprisingly, do not include chorale tunes or any hint of a chorale melody. For Walter the melody, in the tenor, was the most important part of a piece of music, carrying the weight of the message, and as such, was not to be tampered with so as to become unrecognizable.[94] In his *Lob und Preis der himmlischen Kunst Musica* he writes:

> Middle part, tenor, is my name
> I have pride of place over the others in the group.
> I stand firm and hold the others together,
> In singing one can hear my Ton [cantus firmus].
> Chorale [cantus firmus], my foundation, is the goal
> That all seek who do not wish to err.[95]

In the same poem, having compared polyphony to a dance, he states:

> In this dance is heard:
> Chorale [cantus firmus] with canons is best.
> One [part] chases after the other very neatly,
> turns around, and soon returns.[96]

Since fugues in Walter's sense of the word do not have a tenor, there is no place for a tenor chorale melody to appear.[97] When the direction *fuga* appears in Walter's other works, it is as the tenor part and thus needs no tenor of its own. A connection to sacred music is therefore not found in the melodic material of the fugues; however, the fact that they are modally ordered suggests that they are in fact intended for the edification of student performers. By the sixteenth

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[94] Friedrich Blume, "The Age of Confessionalism," in *Protestant Church Music: A History*, ed. Frederich Blume, trans. Theodore Hoelty-Nickel (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1974), 150.
[95] Johann Walter, *Lob und Preis der himmlischen Kunst Musica* (Wittenberg, 1564), 54. Quoted in Mattias Olof Lundberg, "Canon and Cantus Firmus for the Edification of the Laity in Early Lutheran Music," in *Canons and Canonic Techniques, 14th-16th Centuries: Theory, Practice, and Reception History*, ed. Katelijne Schiltz and Bonnie J. Blackburn (Leuven-Dudley: Peeters, 2007), 223. Translated by Lundberg.
[96] Lundberg, "Canon," 26.
[97] Virginia Ervin Newes, "Fuga and Related Contrapuntal Procedures in European Polyphony ca. 1350-ca. 1420," (doctoral dissertation, Brandeis University, 1987), 64.

century, works associated with the church modes would have had sacred connotations. As shown earlier, early Lutheran composers were clearly concerned with mode and affect in their compositions, and that concern reflects a connection between mode and sacred music.

When one takes into account the clear pedagogical intent of the fugues and the fact that they are modally ordered, they become less on an anomaly in Walter's compositional output. Additionally, when one considers the great popularity of instrumental music, and especially of the zink, in Germany by the sixteenth century, they become even less of an oddity. The timbre of the cornett was often likened to that of a young boy's voice; perhaps this also influenced Walter's decision to write for that particular instrument as some of his best-known music, including the *Geysliches Gesangk Buchleyn*, was written for boys.

Here follow examples of the four types of fugues used in the collection: *unisono, diapente, bassus cum tenore in diapente, discantus in diatessaron*, and number 17, the "*egregia fuga*."

Unisono

Twenty one of the twenty-seven fugues are canons at the unison.[98] Of these, eight are in two voices and the rest are in three.[99] All of these fugues are generally similar to each other in style and content. Each of them maintains modal stability, uses regular cadences, and in them sections are usually marked by distinct changes of character.[100] Overall, the structure of the pieces tends to lend itself to a type of ternary division, usually ABA', ABB' or ABC, where A

[98] Numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, and 26. The numbers given in this paper correspond to those used by Otto Schröder in his edition of Walter's complete works. See *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973), 77-120.
[99] Numbers 9, 14, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 are in two voices.
[100] The term "character" in this paper refers to a change in the nature of the piece, including structural changes such as a shift in emphasis from one tone to another, widening or narrowing of range, prevalent rhythmic and/or melodic devices in use, note values used, and the use (or lack) of repetition.

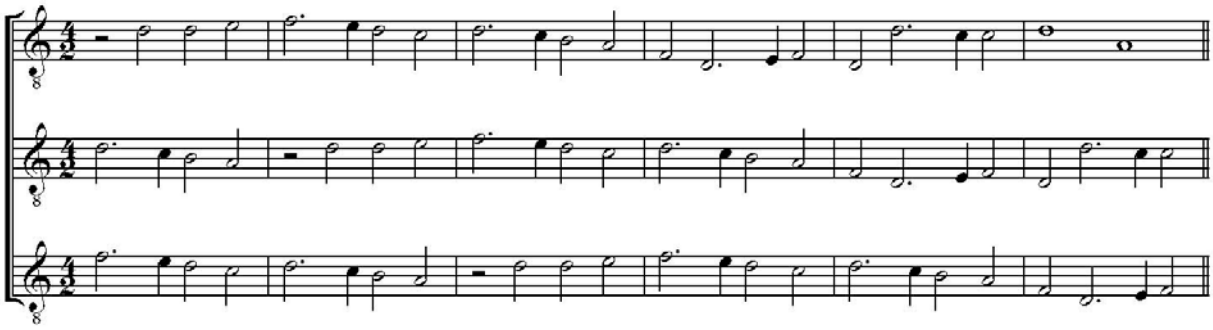
and C may use similar rhythmic values and center on the same tones but overall melodic contours may be remarkably different. Because of the number of unison fugues appearing is much higher than any other type in this collection, these fugues also make use of the widest variety of melodic devices, the widest ranges, and encompass the most modal variety of any type of fugue represented (with the fifth mode being the most common). A few departures from these generalities, however, are worth mentioning. Fugues 11, 15, 18, and 19 use longer rhythmic values (breves, semibreves, minims, and very rarely semiminims) than other fugues in the collection (most fugues make frequent use of the semiminim and occasionally the fusa).[101] Fugues 11, 18, and 19 also contain far more two- , three-, and four-note ligatures than any other fugue in the collection, suggesting their primary pedagogical use may have been as practice reading ligatures. By way of contrast, fugues 22, 23, 24, and 27 feature several scalar passages and florid semiminim runs throughout, as well as the rare (for this collection) appearance of the fusa, suggesting that their emphasis was more likely on technical proficiency in rapid, extended runs. Fugue 25 is the only one in the collection with a temporal interval between entrances of half a measure (the others are either one or two measures), and fugues 24 and 26 are the only ones to employ meter changes within the piece.

The first fugue in the collection is one of the longest and is generally representative of the unison fugues. It is written for three voices and is in the Dorian mode. Fuga 1 serves as an introduction to several melodic figures, including the cambiata, passing tones, neighbor tones, and the portamento. Often these melodic figures occur simultaneously in two voices, sometimes as the same melodic figure in thirds (example 8, measures 50, 52, and 53), or as two separate

[101] Note-length terminology is based on Robert Gauldin's, *A Practical Approach to Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1985), 5.

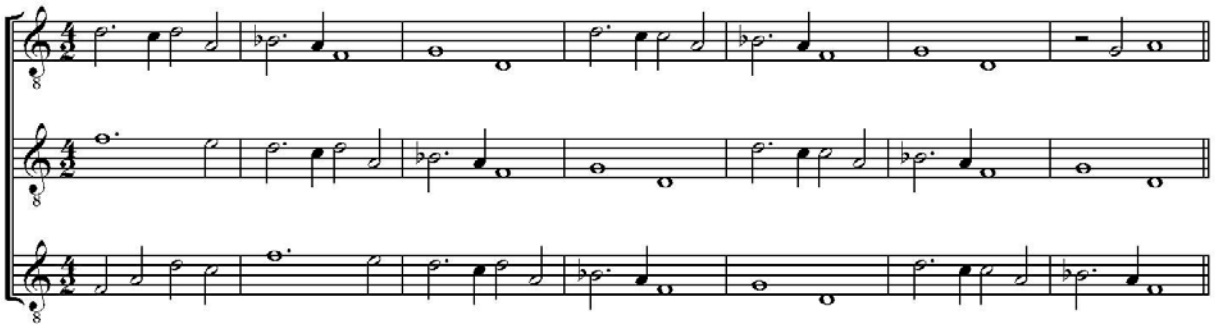
melodic figures against each other, such as a neighbor tone and a portamento (example 8, measures 54 and 55).

EXAMPLE 8: Fuga 1, measures 50-55[102]



Melodic repetition occurs at several points in the fugue, serving to reinforce the melodic concepts introduced. For example, in measures 60-66, a melodic figure including a neighbor tone and a cambiata is immediately repeated.

EXAMPLE 9: Fuga 1, measures 60-66



Dissonances are correctly resolved throughout the piece, and cadences focus around D, reinforcing the mode's final. Additionally, it utilizes both stepwise motion and intervallic leaps of up to an octave, introducing the student to a wide range of intervallic relationships. In this manner, musical concepts are simultaneously introduced and placed in the context of a musical piece, rather than introduced as isolated excerpts. Students learn not only what the figures look

[102] Musical examples 8-19 are taken from the following source: Otto Schröder, ed., *Johann Walter: Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 4 (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1973). Ficta is the editor's.

and sound like, but where they can be used within a piece and how they interact with other voices in two- and three-voice textures. By Walter's time, this practice was standard in music pedagogy; as previously discussed, most musical treatises of the sixteenth century included short musical pieces to put the concepts into context, such as the numerous canons in the pedagogical works of Agricola and Finck. The difference between these and Walter's canons, however, is that Walter's are not accompanied by any writing discussing the musical concepts; instead, they are presented without explanation.

Diapente

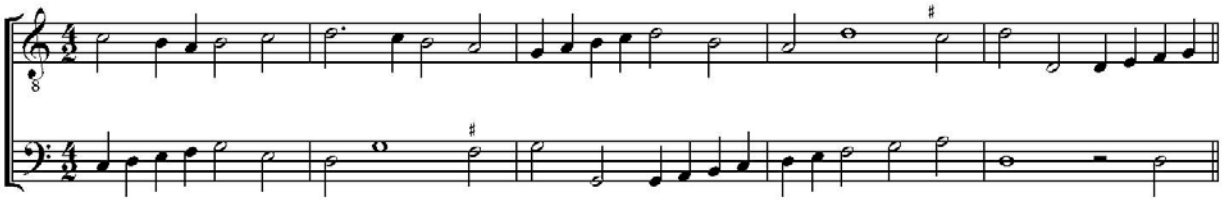
Only fugue number three is in *diapente*, or a canon at the fifth. It presents the authentic and plagal forms of the Dorian mode simultaneously, with the authentic form appearing in the lower voice and the plagal form in the upper, and it is one of the shortest fugues in the collection.[103] As in the unison fugues, no unusual dissonance resolutions appear and cadences primarily reinforce the modal center. Initially, the lower voice enters and establishes a D Dorian center; however, shortly after the upper voice enters, the voices cadence on A, moving to the plagal form. The range of this fugue is somewhat wider than others in the collection, encompassing a twelfth.

This fugue can be divided into three parts, each beginning in D Dorian. The first section, lasting from the beginning to the second beat of measure 14, introduces the modes in mostly stepwise motion, and groups of semiminims are alternated with notes of longer duration. Passing tones and neighbor tones appear in the first section, but the focus seems to be more on successive stepwise passages of increasing range. A cadence on G occurs in measures 11-12, but it is

[103] The only other fugue in the collection to employ two forms of a mode simultaneously is number 10, which presents Mixolydian and Hypomixolydian together. See Appendix A.

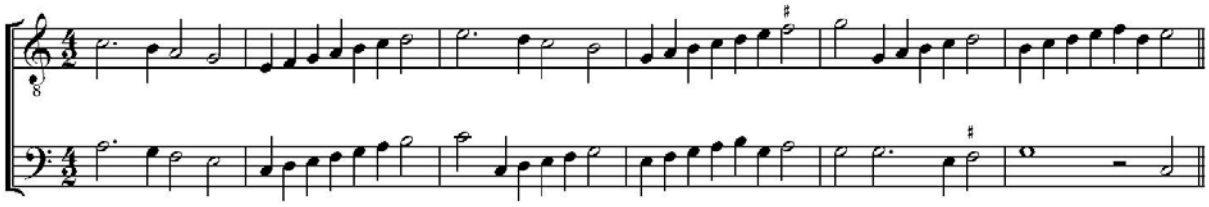
quickly followed by a cadence on D (example 10, measures 13-14). With only two exceptions, the stepwise semiminim passages in this fugue are in ascending motion.

EXAMPLE 10: Fuga 3, measures 10-14



The second section, beginning on the second beat of measure 14 and lasting until the first beat of measure 25, features several scalar semiminim passages. An extended section of parallel thirds occurs in measures 18-20, and the only melodic figure appearing in this section is the passing tone (example 11, measures 18 and 22). Like the first section, it features a cadence on G, followed by a cadence on D. Another concept introduced in the second section is how to use intervallic leaps preceding passages of semiminims. A leap into a passage is immediately followed by motion in the opposite direction (example 11, measures18-19 and 20-21 in both voices; measures 22 and 23 in the upper voice).

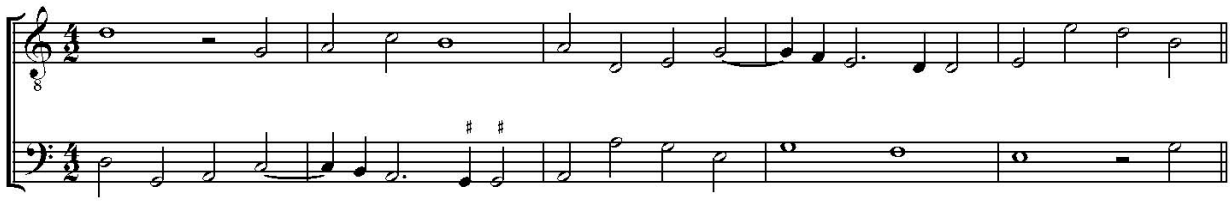
EXAMPLE 11: Fuga 3, measures 18-23



A marked change of character occurs in the final section of this fugue, which firmly establishes the authentic and plagal Dorian modes by cadencing only on A and D. Semiminims only appear in this section as single passing tones (example 12, measure 26 in the lower voice, and measure 28 in the upper voice) or as part of a portamento figure (example 12, measure 26 in

the lower voice, and measure 28 in the upper voice), and the prevailing note length is the minim. Stepwise motion still occurs in this section, but it is more frequently alternated with leaps of a third, fifth, or octave.

EXAMPLE 12: Fuga 3, measures 25-29



Bassus cum tenore in diapente, discantus in diatessaron

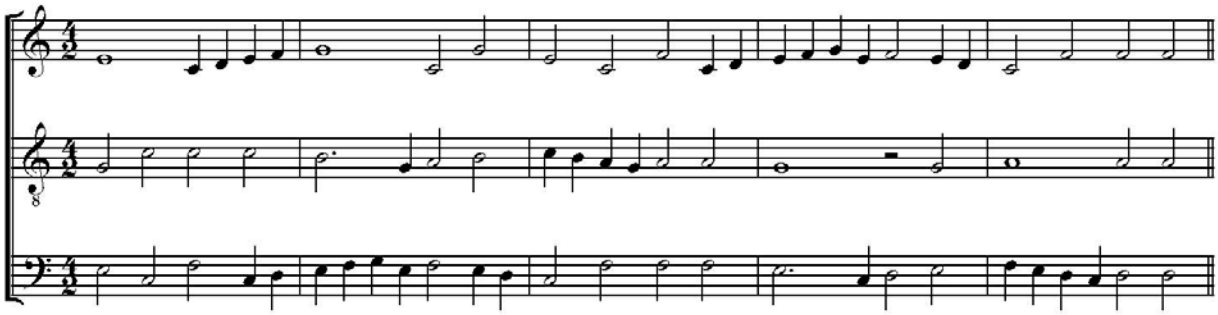
Three of the twenty-seven fugae use these intervals for imitation: a canon with the tenor a fifth above and the discant an octave above the bassus.[104] They are similar to each other in many ways. All three begin with the same pattern of rhythmic values, a semibreve followed by two minims. The tenor is the first voice to enter in each fugue, followed by the bassus and then the discant. Numbers 8 and 20 use a temporal distance of two measures between entrances, while 10 only has one. Although they vary slightly in length, a three-part structure with similar character changes can be found in each one. Their similarity in structure and style suggests that the primary focus of these fugues was to illustrate proper counterpoint in three voices with differing intervals of imitation. Varying, less prominent pedagogical emphases can be found in each fugue, though. Number 8, for example, employs a wider variety of melodic figures than the other two, while number 20 provides numerous opportunities for the use of *musica ficta*, specifically B-flat, indicating that its use in a variety of melodic and cadential contexts was the emphasis of

[104] Numbers 8, 10, and 20.

that fugue. Fuga 10 uses longer note values and sharper changes of character than the other two, perhaps to illustrate contrast as a means of providing structure in a piece.

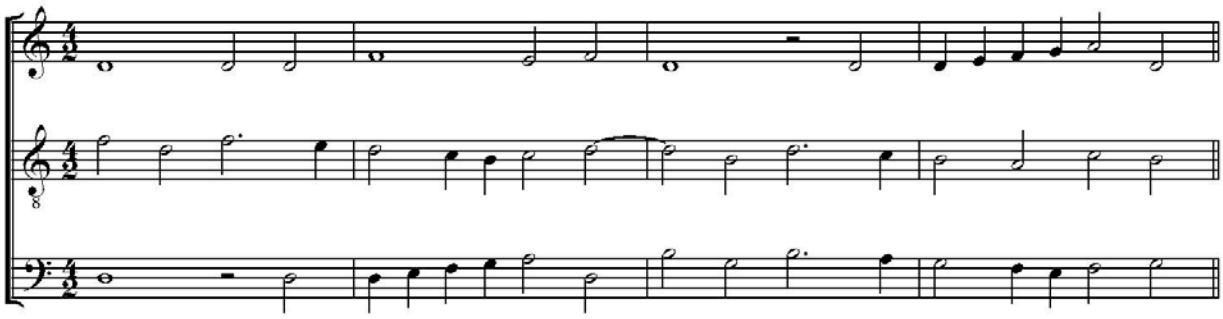
Number 8, titled “Septimi toni,” is the first in the collection to follow this pattern, and the only one to appear with this specific direction. Generally it is representative of all three of these fugues. The middle voice enters first, followed by the lower voice after two measures, and the higher voice after four. The first section of the piece is centered around G, cadencing on a G center twice in the first seven measures. Stepwise passages are frequently employed, both ascending and descending.

EXAMPLE 13: Fuga 8, measures 9-13



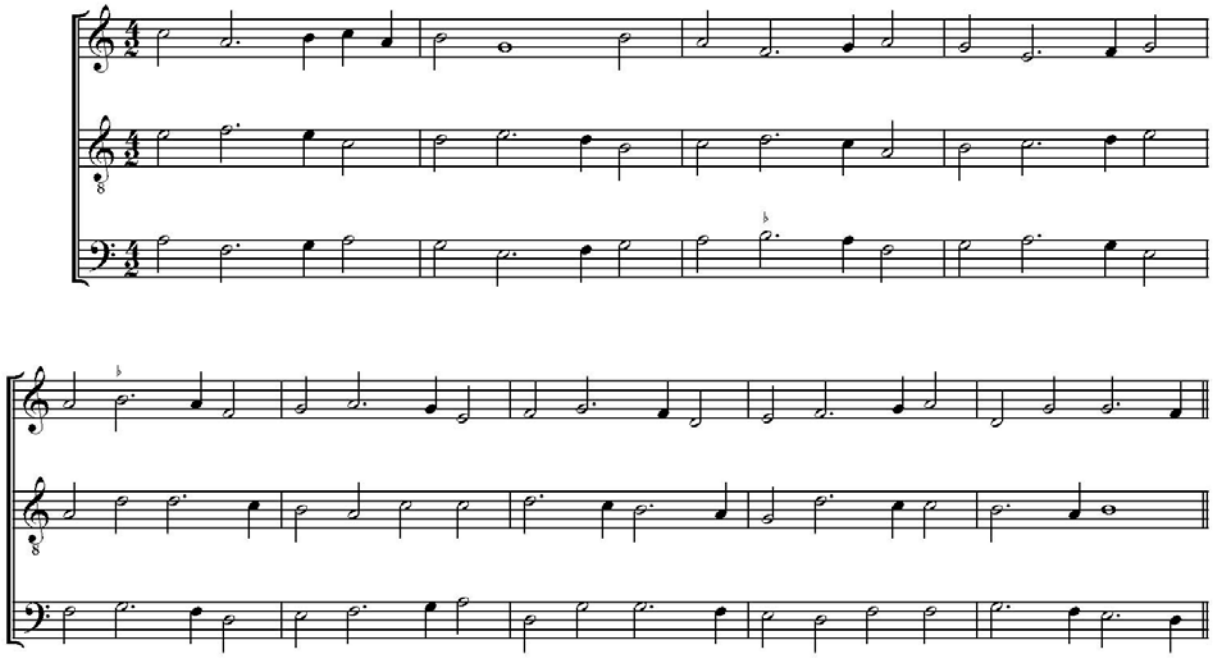
A cadence on C occurs, and melodic figures are introduced, including the neighbor tone and the passing tone, which appear as semiminim figures among longer note values. In the first section, the occurrences of melodic figures within each part are widely spaced, with at least half a measure between each passing tone and neighbor tone (example 14, measures 17 and 19 in the middle voice).

EXAMPLE 14: Fuga 8, measures 17-20



In measure 38, a D-centered cadence occurs and the second section begins. Another melodic figure, the cambiata, is introduced for the first time in the piece, and there are brief sections of parallel thirds between the voices. Starting at measure 49, a three-measure chain of cambiatas occurs in the middle voice, and is imitated in the upper and lower voices in conjuction with passing tones and a portamento figure. This second section appears to be an attempt to introduce several melodic figures and demonstrate their possibility for simultaneous use in several voices while still utilizing standard counterpoint. The almost tedious repetition of these melodic figures seems to have been a means to emphasize their functions, while also showing the students what to do with the other two voices when using cambiatas.

EXAMPLE 15: Fuga 8, measures 49-57



After a cadence on C, a final section begins in measure 63. The only melodic figure used is the passing tone, and the piece ends on a G center.

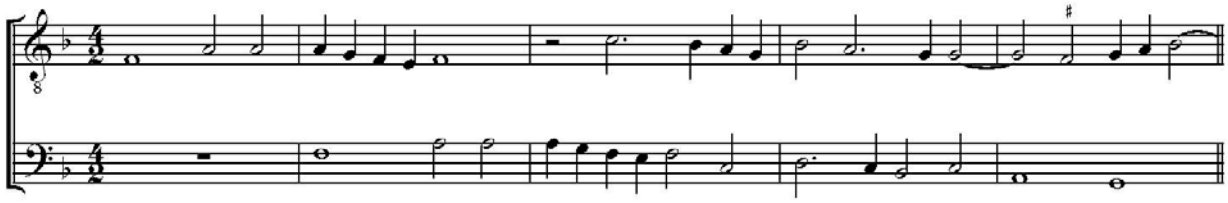
Number XVII, “egregia fuga”

Fuga 17, the “egregia fuga,” is the “twenty-seventh” of the *26 Fugae*. The word *egregia* suggests something exceptional or unusual. Used in this sense, it also ironically suggests that this “fine fugue” is anything but.[105] The tongue-in-cheek title combined with the numerous errors in counterpoint would likely have appealed to Walter’s students. This piece exemplifies egregious errors throughout and likely served as a model that Walter’s students were definitely not meant to follow. It is an unusual piece for several reasons. The opening measures and key signature set the framework for the Lydian mode, with the upper voice entering first, and the lower voice entering after one measure. Although the second voice begins as exact imitation of the first voice

[105] Thanks to Leofranc Holford Strevens for the subtleties in the Latin translation.

at the lower octave, it quickly asserts a separate identity with the introduction of melodic material not found in the first voice.

EXAMPLE 16: Fuga 17, measures 1-5



A cadence on G occurs in measure 5, followed by a dissonance of a second on a strong beat in measure 6. Already Walter has strayed from all the other compositions in this collection by not following exact imitation. Modulation to a G pitch center is also strange, especially so soon after Lydian has been established. The following table illustrates mode-defining tones and cadences; note that G is nowhere mentioned in conjunction with the Lydian mode.

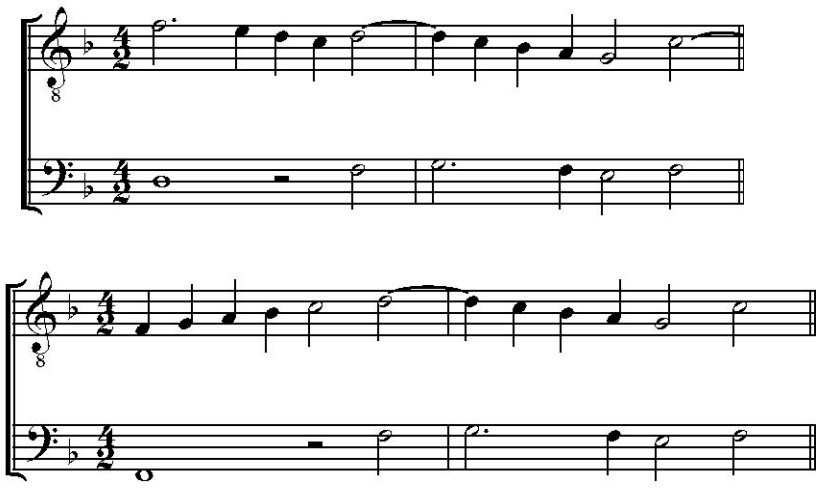
TABLE 2: Mode-defining tones in the 16th century[106]

Mode	Finalis	First Tones	Most Frequent Interior Cadences	Less Frequent Interior Cadences
Dorian	D	A, D	D, A, F	G
Phrygian	E	E, A, (B)	E, A, G	C
Lydian	F	F, C	F, C, A	D
Mixolydian	G	G, D	G, D, C	A

The perfect consonance in measure 9 is uncharacteristically highlighted by the parallel motion, when both voices move in the same direction into a perfect fifth. This same pattern occurs again in measure 14.

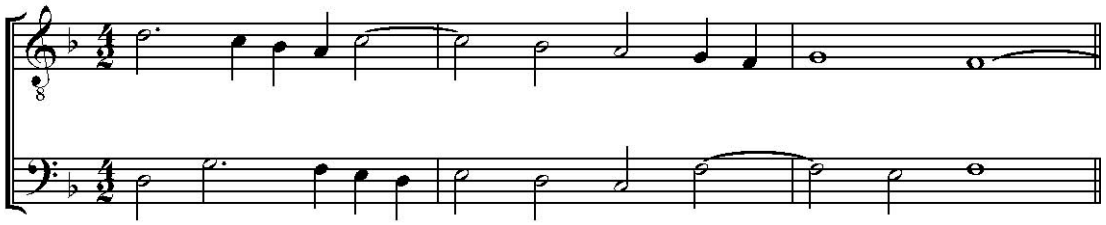
[106] Gauldin, *Sixteenth-Century Counterpoint*, 13. Although he includes the Aeolian and Ionian modes in his table, I have omitted them here as they do not pertain to this analysis.

EXAMPLE 17: Fuga 17, measures 8-9 and 13-14



Measure 11 features a pair of passing tone minims in the upper voice occurring on the first beat of the measure, which would have been more commonly found on a weak beat.[107] In measure 13, the center moves back to F with a cadence but it is changed again with a cadence on D in measure 18, another unusual cadence for this mode. A dissonance of a second occurs on a strong beat in measure 19, followed by a cadence on F. The same cadence is repeated in measure 27, but with the voices reversed.

EXAMPLE 18: Fuga 17, measures 18-20

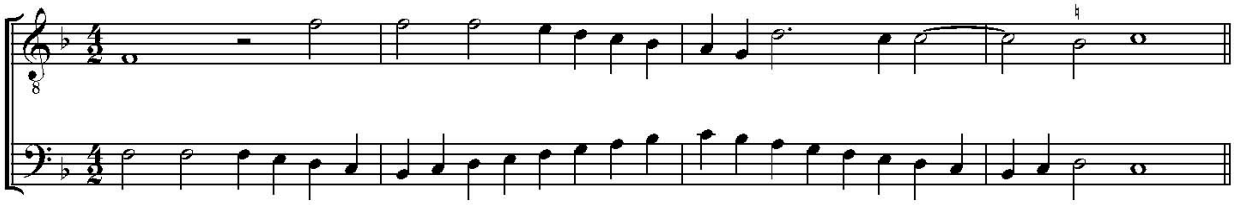


After the cadence in measure 27, a new section begins, and imitation again occurs between the two voices. As in the beginning, however, the imitation is short-lived, and the lower voice begins an independent line. An unusually long run of semiminims unbroken by rests or longer rhythmic

[107] Ibid., 36.

values occurs in the lower voice in measures 33-36. In the upper voice, the highest note of the piece, an F, is repeated three times in succession. According to Robert Gauldin, "The highest (peak) and lowest (valley) notes of a melody are crucial tonal events, and it is essential that their role not be diminished by undue repetition."[108] Although repeating the F in this way fits into the repetitive melodic structure established in this section, that very repetition cheapens the effect such a climactic pitch may have had in the piece; however, its effect may have already been somewhat diminished by the frequent use of that same F several times earlier in the piece. Perhaps Walter intended to make a strong point by comically overemphasizing the same pitch in two different ways within the same fugue.

Example 19: Fuga 17, measures 33-36



This run is followed by a cadence on C and an extensive period of parallel thirds between the two voices. The piece ends with a brief, somewhat bizarre section of free melodic material in the lower voice, ultimately terminating on an F pitch center.

Several melodic figures, including passing tones, neighbor tones, and the portamento are used, more often than not correctly, in this piece, but not frequently enough to suggest that teaching their proper use is the focus of the piece. Rather, the focus seems to be on what *not* to do when writing counterpoint. A good example of bad writing can be an enormously effective pedagogical tool, and it seems to be exactly what Walter intended with this piece. That intent is evidenced by the breaking of several rules of counterpoint, poorly executed melodic lines,

[108] Ibid., 19.

startling, misplaced dissonances, and the rapid succession of cadences on unrelated centers. Although the errors are certainly numerous and amusing, the piece is also not nearly as "bad" as it could have been; perhaps he is reminding his students that not all errors of counterpoint are immediately apparent or comically overblown. This piece alone provides ample proof for the pedagogical intent of the collection as a whole. And since the Lydian mode was labeled "Bacchic" by Glarean a year after these fugues were written, it possible that this provided a good joke for the students as well.

Further evidence of the pedagogical and edificatory intent of the *26 Fugae* becomes apparent when they are compared to the pedagogical canons of Agricola and Finck. The canons of all three composers illustrate similar concepts, including various melodic figures, counterpoint, and the modes. All of these works were also intended for schoolboys learning counterpoint as well as instruments and are thus less complicated than a piece for performance might be. Most importantly, canonic technique is used (although in different ways) by all three composers as a pedagogical tool. Walter's fugues, however, differ from Agricola's and Finck's in many respects. Perhaps the main difference is the intended performing forces. Although the canons of Agricola and Finck could have been performed on instruments, they were more likely to have been sung on solfege syllables than played on instruments. Both Agricola's and Finck's canons used four voices while Walter's had only two or three. Another difference is that Walter's fugues are more numerous and generally far longer than Agricola's and Finck's; this is perhaps partly due to the lack of written instruction accompanying them, making it necessary for him to teach melodic figures and counterpoint through frequent repetition of those concepts within a work. The lack of a written counterpart to Walter's fugues is especially unusual when they are compared to the other two collections; however, there is no indication that one ever existed. One

final element that sets Walter's fugues apart is the "egregia fuga," a humorous example of bad counterpoint which would appeal to his schoolboys. In spite of these differences, Walter's, Agricola's, and Finck's works are remarkably similar in style and intent, and the argument for the edificatory intent of Walter's fugues is strengthened by the fact that the canons of Agricola before his and Finck after associated church modes with psalm tones, reinforcing a connection between modally ordered works and the sacred.

CONCLUSION

Johann Walter was a leader in the development of Lutheran church music, and his leadership also extended to pedagogical music in Lutheran schools. The polyphonic vocal works in the vernacular from his *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* cemented his place in the history of Lutheran music as its first major composer and reflected his and Luther's desire for congregational participation in the service and their belief in music's power to inspire religious devotion. Walter's later works, however, indicate that he wished to separate himself from his perceived role as merely a capable setter of German text and prove himself as a competent composer and educator. The former inclination is suggested by the Latin works of his later years, which were longer, more complex, and more numerous than his earlier vocal works, while the latter is suggested by the *26 Fugae*. With these fugues, Walter shed his identity as a composer of sacred vocal works and wrote his first and last set of instrumental works. He did not, however, sever all ties with the sacred; in addition to being a pedagogical vehicle, the fact that the fugues are modally ordered suggests a connection to sacred affect. This connection is emphasized in the earlier pedagogical canons of Agricola and the later treatise on the church modes by Finck.

Although purely instrumental music was not a part of the earliest Lutheran services, it continued to be popular in Reformation Germany, and Walter's fugues seem to be an attempt to reconcile the secular connotations of instrumental music with the sacred implications of the eight church modes. The result is a collection of twenty-seven instrumental pieces that teach several aspects of music theory while maintaining interest for the performers, originally probably Walter's own students at the Torgau school.

As yet, there has been little research on the Protestant Reformation's effect on instrumental music in services and schools in other European countries; it would be interesting to

compare Walter's fugues to pedagogical instrumental works (if such works exist) written in Italy during the Counter-Reformation, in the early church of England, and in the early Calvinist church. Also of interest is the lack of a written counterpart to Walter's fugues. It was standard for pedagogical musical works of his time to include a written manual of sorts describing the techniques illustrated in the music. If such writing did not appear alongside the music in the same book, it would have appeared as a companion volume. No indication is given that any such companion volume exists for these fugues but it is certainly conspicuous by its absence, especially since any other such pedagogical work Walter encountered would have had one. It is unclear why he would have chosen to omit it. Finally, the difference between acceptable music in the church, school, and home also merits further consideration; although there was no "separation of church and state" during the Reformation, music in the home, school, and church differed greatly in style and performing forces. Perhaps Walter's fugues are also an attempt to reconcile these differences; instrumental music was generally most acceptable in the home, less acceptable but still tolerated at school, and discouraged in the church, but Walter's fugues combine elements of all three places using pieces with a certain level of inherent musical interest, pedagogical elements, and sacred connotations.

APPENDIX A: OVERVIEW OF THE *26 FUGAE*

Fuga	Mode	Interval of Imitation	Voices
1	Primi	Unisono	3
2	Secundi	Unisono	3
3	Primi et secundi	Diapente	2
4	Tertii	Unisono	3
5	Quarti	Unisono	3
6	Quinti	Unisono	3
7	Sexti	Unisono	3
8	Septimi	Bassus cum tenore in diapente, discantus in diatessaron	3
9	Quarti	Unisono	2
10	Septimi et octavi	Bassus cum tenore in diapente, discantus in diatessaron	3
11	Octavi	Unisono	3
12	Primi	Unisono	3
13	Secundi	Unisono	3
14	Secundi	Unisono	2
15	Tertii	Unisono	3
16	Quarti	Unisono	3
17	Quinti	Free Imitation	2
18	Quinti	Unisono	3
19	Sexti	Unisono	3
20	Septimi	Bassus cum tenore in diapente, discantus in diatessaron	3
21	Octavi	Unisono	3
22	Primi	Unisono	2
23	Quinti	Unisono	2
24	Quinti	Unisono	2
25	Quinti	Unisono	2
26	Sexti	Unisono	2
27	Octavi	Unisono	2

APPENDIX B: TIMELINE OF EVENTS IN JOHANN WALTER'S LIFE[109]

1496	Johann Walter born in Kahla
1517	Walter in attendance at the University of Leipzig Martin Luther posts his *Ninety-Five Theses*
1521	Walter serves as bassist in Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony's *Hofkapelle*
1524	Luther asks Walter to assist in creating the *Deudsche Messe* First edition of Walter's *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* published
1525	Walter becomes court composer for the Elector of Saxony's *Hofkapelle* Second edition of *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* published Frederick the Wise dies, replaced by John the Steadfast, who eliminates the *Hofkapelle* but grants Walter a yearly allowance Walter becomes cantor and teacher at the Torgau school and cantor of the Torgau municipal choir
1526	Walter marries Anna Hesse Luther's *Deudsche Messe* completed
1527	Walter matriculates at the University of Leipzig Walter's son born
1533	The *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* appears in a painting by Hans Holbein the Younger in London
1535	Miles Coverdale's *Goostly psalms and spirituall songes* published in England, which includes several hymns from the *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn*
1537	Third edition of the *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* published
1540	Eight Latin Magnificats composed
1544	Fourth edition of the *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* published
1546	*26 Fugae* composed
1547	Moritz appointed Elector of Saxony
1548	Walter leaves his post at Torgau and moves to Dresden
1551	Fifth edition of the *Geystliches Gesangk-Buchleyn* published Walter's son marries
1554	Walter retires and returns to Torgau
1566	Walter's final work, *Das Christlich Kinderlied D. M. Lutheri Erhalt Uns Herr, etc.* composed
1570	Walter dies on March 25

[109] Condensed from Chapter 1

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