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## **Freie Beiträge**



# Early nineteenth-century harp pedalling according to Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen (1768–1839)

Maria Christina Cleary

Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen (1768–1839) was a German harpist, clarinetist, basset-horn player, and composer.<sup>1</sup> His harp method was first published in 1801,<sup>2</sup> and then was later edited and re-published in 1807<sup>3</sup> and 1827.<sup>4</sup> The first two editions, both titled *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel*, contain rather similar material, while the third edition, *Backofen's Harfen-Schule*, includes the first movement of Backofen's Harp Concerto with both fingerings and pedal indications.<sup>5</sup> It would appear from the updated introduction that this final edition is directed towards the 19th-century double-action pedal harp,<sup>6</sup> but all the pieces are clearly composed for the earlier 18th-cen-

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1 Heidrun Rosenzweig, "Johann Georg Heinrich Backofen: die deutsche Harfe um 1800", in: idem (ed.), *Historische Harfen: Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis historischer Harfen*, Dornach/Basel: Musik-Akademie der Stadt Basel 1991, 80–97; Hans Joachim Zingel, "Backofen, Johann Georg Heinrich", in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2. Ausgabe, *Personenteil*, Bd. 1 (1999), Sp. 1584–1586.

2 Johann G. H. Backofen, *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel*, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1801.

3 Johann G. H. Backofen, *Anleitung zum Harfenspiel*, Neue Ausgabe, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1807.

4 Johann G. H. Backofen, *Backofen's Harfen-Schule mit Bemerkungen über den Bau der Harfe und deren neuere Verbesserungen*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 1827.

5 Perhaps this was the Concerto performed in Leipzig by Dorette Scheidler-Spohr (1787–1834), harpist and first wife of Louis Spohr (1784–1859). Newspapers mention that on 16 December 1805 she played a "Concert" by Backofen and a "Fantaisie" on the harp. See *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, Achter Jahrgang, no. 15, Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel 8 January 1806: 206, 230; *Berlinische Musikalische Zeitung*, no. 104, Berlin 1805: 412.

6 Sébastien Erard (1752–1831) patented the mechanism for the *harpe à double mouvement* between 1800 and 1810. This harp had one row of strings and seven pedals which

tury pedal harp with a single-action mechanism, namely the *harpe organisée*.<sup>7</sup> Backofen's method is extraordinary in the context of other harp methods of the time.<sup>8</sup> From 1774 to 1840, over 100 harp methods and study books were written in French or English<sup>9</sup>, but only five in German.<sup>10</sup> When Backofen published the *Anleitung* in 1801, pedal harps were relatively novel for German readers, being much more widespread in France and England. Backofen is not only the sole German writer that discusses pedalling, but his 1801 method is the earliest dated harp method to describe multi-pedalling techniques.<sup>11</sup> The three editions of Backofen's method combined are the most comprehensive sources for most aspects of pedalling techniques. The 1801 method includes a pedal notation that shows where and how to pedal and, employing musical examples, explains how and why to choose one ped-

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alter each string by two semitones; this mechanism is still used on the standard pedal harp today. The new pedal harp's mechanical possibilities were not fully exploited for years after Erard's invention. An example of a piece that was conceived for the double-action pedal harp and therefore unplayable on the earlier harp with a single-action pedal mechanism is: Frederic C. Meyer, *Adagio patetico and Waltz of the Black Forest*, op. 26, London: Cramer, Addison and Beale [late 1830s], (Pl. no. 1993). The first chord of the Adagio bar requires the use of the three adjacent strings E $\flat$ , D $\flat$  and F $\flat$ . On page 8, F $\sharp$  is required, so the F string functions as F $\flat$ , F $\natural$  and F $\sharp$  in the piece.

7 Maria C. Cleary, *The "Harpe organisée", 1720–1840: rediscovering the lost pedal techniques on harps with a single-action pedal mechanism*, PhD dissertation, University of Leiden 2016. See section below: "Harps in the time of Backofen".

8 Like many methods of this period, Backofen's includes a history of the harp, information on harp maintenance and musical examples showing fingerings, ornaments, and pieces.

9 Cleary, *Harpe organisée* (see n. 7), Appendix I, 241–248.

10 Johann C. G. Wernich, *Versuch einer richtigen Lehrart die Harfe zu spielen: wobey die Grundsätze nach welchen dieses Instrument erlernt werden muss, mit der grössten Deutlichkeit, und solcher-gestalt vorgetragen*, Berlin: Winter 1772; Johann Herbst, *Ueber die Harfe, nebst einer Anleitung, sie richtig zu spielen*, Berlin: Rellstabschen 1792; Joseph F. Schwanneburg, *Vollständiges theoretisch-praktisches Lehrbuch zur Davids- und Pedalarfe, mit vielen in Kupfer gestochen Figuren, Notenbeispielen und einem Anhang von Tonstücken, mit Bezeichnung des Fingersatzes*, 1797; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2); Anton G. Heyse, *Anweisung die Harfe zu spielen*, Halle: Hendel 1803.

11 See Table 1 below for a list of harp methods that discuss multi-pedalling techniques.

al over another – techniques which are closely correlated to the usage of enharmonics on the harp. The choice of using an enharmonic note points directly to the 18th- and 19th-century approach to temperament. These pedal and enharmonic choices also imply that a harpist today listens to the acoustical implications of the overtones of the harmonic series while approaching harmony in a historical way.

This article will assess the three editions of Backofen’s harp method as primary sources for historical pedalling, and discusses the most relevant aspects of Backofen’s pedalling techniques that can be used as practical guides to the performance of 18th- and 19th-century pieces by harpists today.

## Harps in the time of Backofen

The 1801 harp method was written for the two principal types of harps played in Germany in the 18th and early-19th centuries. The *Hakenharfe*<sup>12</sup> is a single-rowed harp with a series of J-shaped hooks (= “Haken”) that are attached to the neck below the tuning-pins. These hooks are manually turned, usually by the left hand, which prevents the left hand from playing for that instant. The hooks alter the vibrating length of a string by one semitone.

The second type of harp has one row of strings and seven pedals that correspond to the seven notes of the diatonic scale. Each pedal moves by one step, altering the vibrating length of a string in every octave by one semitone. The pedals, found at the base of the harp, are operated by the feet, producing seven additional semitones to the seven pitches of the “open” strings of the instrument. Therefore, each string produces two pitches, resulting in a total of fourteen pitches per octave. The invention of the first harp with pedals is normally attributed to Jacob Hochbrucker (1673–1763) from Donauwörth,

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12 Nancy Thym-Hochrein, “Die Hakenharfe: Bauweise, Spieltechnik, Geschichte”, in: Monika Lustig (ed.), *Zur Baugeschichte der Harfe: vom Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert: 13. Musikinstrumentenbau-Symposium in Michaelstein am 6. und 7. November 1992*, Michaelstein: Das Institut 1995, 86–103.

Germany.<sup>13</sup> The earliest pedal harp, with a handwritten label marked “Hochbrucker/Donauwörth 1720” is housed in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.<sup>14</sup> The earliest term referring specifically to a pedal harp is *harpe organisée*, found in the *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d’Alembert in 1765 and 1767, respectively.<sup>15</sup> Today, it is commonly referred to as a single-action pedal harp.<sup>16</sup> Pedals on harps transformed the physicality of the instrument in the 18th century: harpists now used not only their hands for playing, but also, for the first time, their feet. The harpist Nicholas C. Bochsa (1789–1856) underlines this novel feature in his 1813 method:

When the harp began to be known in France, it was about fifty years ago, [...] the modulations were extremely simple, and moving pedals presented no difficulty. This is no longer true today: those more ambitious artists have multiplied the modulations, and moving pedals has become the greatest difficulty of the instrument.<sup>17</sup>

Perhaps complex pedalling was the technique that truly divided the amateur harpists from the *virtuosi* of the day.

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13 Ludwig Wolf, “Johann Baptist Hochbrucker (1732–1812) und die Harfenmode in Paris”, in: *Musik in Bayern* 31, no. 2, Tutzing: Schneider 1985, 95–114.

14 Inventory no. SAM 565, *Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente*, Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

15 Casimir M. Oginski, “HARPE”, in: Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (eds.), *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Paris: Briasson 1765, vol. 8: 45–46; Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (eds.), *Recueil de planches, sur les sciences, les arts liberaux, et les arts mécaniques, avec leur explication, Tome 22, Quatrième livraison, 248 Planches*, Paris: Briasson 1767, LUTHERIE, Seconde suite, Planche XIX.

16 The word “harp” will be used throughout this article to refer exclusively to the *harpe organisée* with a single-action pedal mechanism.

17 All translations are by the author unless stated otherwise. Nicolas C. Bochsa, *Nouvelle méthode de harpe en deux parties*, op. 60, Paris: Duhan 1813, 21: “Lorsque la harpe commença à être connue en France, il y a environ cinquante ans, [...] les modulations étant extrêmement simples, le jeu des pédales ne présentait aucune difficulté. Il n’en est plus de même aujourd’hui: quelques artistes plus ambitieux ont multiplié les modulations, et le jeu des pédales est devenu la plus grande difficulté de l’instrument”.

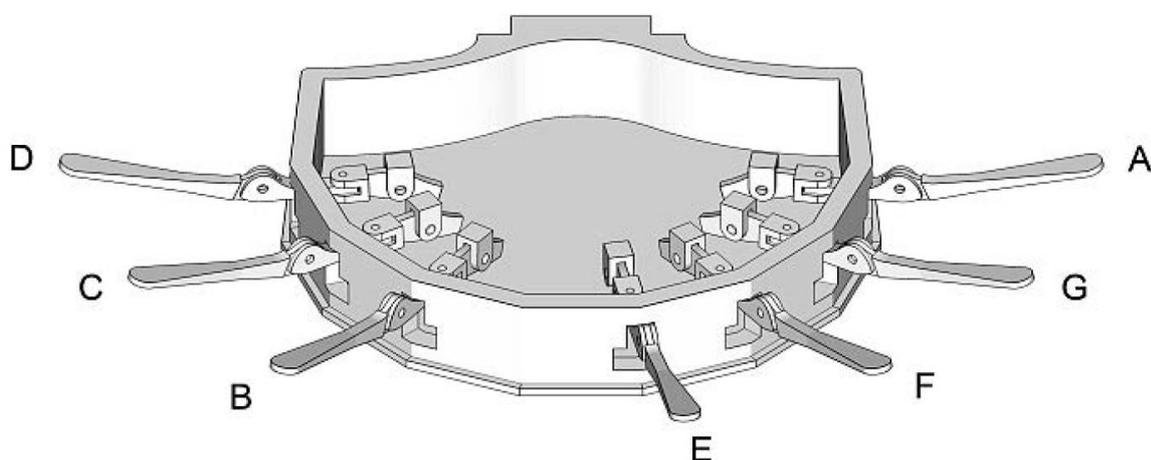


Figure 1: The position of the pedals in the upper position, after Diderot (1767), computer graphics by Vittorio Cazzaniga of “C+G Architetti”, Italy.

## Understanding the Function of Pedals

In order to use pedals in a historical way, it is essential to first understand how pedals actually function and how to set-up the harp in a suitable “base key”, according to the necessities of a chosen piece. Two important matters are directly linked to the set-up key on a harp with a single-action pedal mechanism. These matters are the implied temperament indicated by Backofen and most of his contemporary writers on the harp, and the historical approach towards the usage of enharmonics on the harp. Both of these aspects are discussed following a survey of how to pedal according to Backofen.

The harp mechanism works by pressing down and releasing the pedals to alter the required pitch, with two positions for the pedals: either up or down. The upper position (Fig. 1) is the initial one where the mechanism is not in use, the strings are open, and the seven strings in the octave are tuned to a diatonic major scale, usually  $E\flat$  major. When a pedal is pressed into the lower position, the vibrating length of the string is shortened, resulting in a pitch that is a semitone higher. For example, when the B pedal is in the upper position, all the B strings sound as  $B\flat$ . When a pedal is pressed down and in the lower position, the sounding pitch of every B string is  $B\sharp$ . A pedal can be pressed down and held with the foot in the lower position without effort, as the pedal springs on early pedal harps are light. Alternatively, a

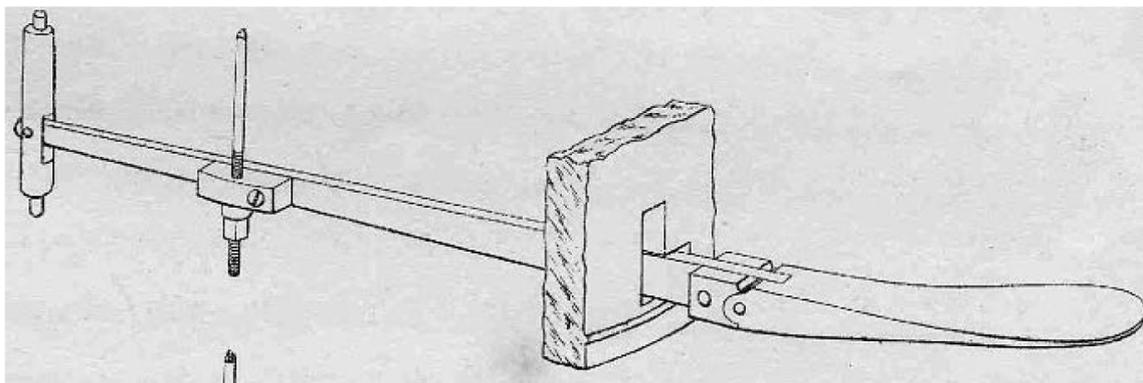


Figure 2: Pierre Erard, *The Harp in its present improved state compared with the original pedal harp*, London: Erard 1821, Plate V. An example of a pedal in the lower position, fixed in the side notch.

pedal can be fixed by sliding it into a side notch (Fig. 2), leaving the foot free to rest on the floor or to move other pedals.

The seven pedals are distributed at the base of the harp: three are on the left-hand side (from left to right): D, C, B; and four on the right: E, F, G, and A (see Fig. 1). A harp set up in the “base” key of E $\flat$  major can play in keys from three flats up to four sharps, resulting in a total of thirteen major (E $\flat$ , B $\flat$ , F, C, G, D, A, E) and minor (C, G, D, A, E) keys. The following pitches are available to the harpist, when the harp is set up in the “base” key of E $\flat$  major:

C $\natural$ , C $\sharp$ , D $\natural$ , D $\sharp$ , E $\flat$ , E $\natural$ , F $\natural$ , F $\sharp$ , G $\natural$ , G $\sharp$ , A $\flat$ , A $\natural$ , B $\flat$ , B $\natural$ .

This includes the twelve semitones of the chromatic scale, with two notes doubled, in this case: E $\flat$ /D $\sharp$  and A $\flat$ /G $\sharp$  (see Fig. 3). There are two ways to achieve the remaining missing enharmonic notes like C $\flat$ , D $\flat$ , E $\sharp$ , F $\flat$ , G $\flat$ , A $\sharp$ , B $\sharp$ , and the remaining keys of D $\flat$ , A $\flat$ , B, F $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$  major and B, F $\sharp$ , C $\sharp$ , F, B $\flat$ , E $\flat$  minor. The first way is to tune the harp to an alternative “base” key rather than to E $\flat$  major, and the second is to replace a note which is not part of the “base” key spectrum with an enharmonic note (Fig. 3).

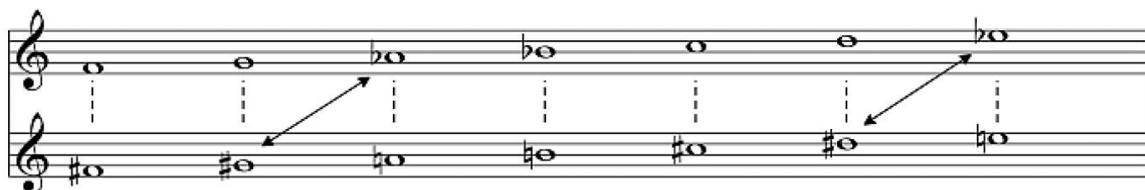


Figure 3: Harp set-up in the “base” key of E $\flat$  major with the fourteen pitches available. The upper staff shows the upper “open” position of the strings; the lower staff shows the pitches available to the harpist when all the pedals are pressed down in the lower position. The doubled notes, E $\flat$ /D $\sharp$  and A $\flat$ /G $\sharp$ , are indicated by arrows.

### “Base” set-up key

The initial major key is referred to as the “base” set-up key.<sup>18</sup> This is the key in which a harp is tuned, before playing a piece, where all the pedals are in the upper position. The strings are then said to be in an “open” position. The “base” key determines what fourteen semitones per octave are available to the harpist for an entire piece, or a movement of a piece. The harp can be set up theoretically in any key as a “base” key, the most common set-up keys are E $\flat$ , B $\flat$  or A $\flat$  major.<sup>19</sup> B $\flat$  major is usually suggested as the alternative “base” key to E $\flat$  major in 18th-century harp treatises and methods,<sup>20</sup> whereas after

18 Cleary, *Harpe organisée* (see n. 7), 21–22, 38–42, 83–85. In this present article, the “base” set-up key is assumed to be E $\flat$  major, unless otherwise specified.

19 For alternative “base” keys, see: François-Vincent Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe: pour apprendre seul et en peu de temps à jouer de cet instrument; avec un principe très simple pour l'accorder*, Paris: l'auteur 1779, 30–31: F and C major; Jacques-Georges Cousineau, *Méthode de harpe suivie d'un recueil de petits airs de differens auteurs*, op. 4, Paris: Cousineau 1784, 14: B, F $\sharp$  and C $\sharp$  minor; Louis-Charles Ragué, *Principes de la harpe*, op. 8, Paris: Le Duc 1786, 11: D $\flat$  and G $\flat$  major; Anonymous, *Méthode de harpe avec laquelle on peut accompagner à livre ouvert toutes sortes d'ariettes et de chansons*, Paris: Boüin 1787, 11, 26: C $\flat$  major. This last solution most likely refers to Cousineau's fourteen-pedal harp.

20 Philippe-Jacques Meyer, *Essai sur la vraie manière de jouer de la harpe avec une méthode de l'accorder*, Paris: l'auteur 1763, 4; Michel Corrette, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe avec des leçons faciles pour les commençans [...] et la partition pour l'accorder avec les pédales et sans pédales*, Paris: l'auteur 1775, 2–3; Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe*, 31; Cousineau, *Méthode de harpe*, 14; Jean M. Plane (ed.), *Principes*

1800, A $\flat$  major is more common.<sup>21</sup> This trend from major keys with fewer flats to those with more flats is mirrored in the repertoire. Works by Philippe-Jacques Meyer (1737–1819), François Petrini (1744–1819) and Jean-Baptiste Hochbrucker (1732–1812) are often in B $\flat$  or E $\flat$  major, or their relative minor keys, whereas 19th-century composers like (Martin)-Pierre d’Alvimare (1772–1839), Louis Spohr (1784–1859) and Bochsa often wrote works in A $\flat$  major, F minor, or in keys that require an A $\flat$  “base” set-up key.<sup>22</sup> Backofen is the only writer-composer in the 19th century who still includes B $\flat$  major as an alternative “base” set-up key to E $\flat$  major, and he even seems to propose F major for performing a *Prélude* by Krumpholtz.<sup>23</sup> The inclusion of these more old-fashioned “base” set-up keys are probably aimed at the *Hakenharfe* which is usually set up in F or B $\flat$  major.<sup>24</sup> The “base” set-up key, the use of enharmonics, and pedalling are mutually

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*pour la harpe par J. B. Krumpholtz*, Paris: Plane 1809, 14. This method was published in 1809 by Jean-Marie Plane (1774–post-1827), harpist and composer, but if the treatise was actually written by Krumpholtz, then it pre-dates his demise in 1790.

21 Mademoiselle Merelle, *New and complete instructions for the pedal harp in two books*, London: Broderip & Wilkinson 1800, 22; Theresia Demar, *Méthode de harpe divisée en 3 parties*, op. 21, 1ere Suite, Paris: 1800, 12; Xavier Desargus, *Nouvelle méthode de harpe*, Paris: 1803, 2.

22 Cleary, *Harpe organisée* (see n. 7), 84–85.

23 Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 41; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 48; Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 29. This is both a problematic textual and musical example. Backofen is describing the *synonyme* effect: the effect of employing two notes, usually in rapid motion, to play the same pitch, like E $\flat$  and D $\sharp$  or A $\flat$  and G $\sharp$ . In the 19th century, the effect was compared to the strumming of a mandolin. However, the musical example is an extract from Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz, *Recueil de douze préludes*, op. 2, Paris: Cousineau [1777], *10ème Prélude*: bars 48–52. The extract is transposed one tone higher than the original *prélude*. The musical example has been transposed to show how to use the *synonyme* effect on a *Hakenharfe* set-up in the “base” key of F major, using the F and E string, with the E hook raised to sound as E $\sharp$ . The sentence preceding the musical example explains how to achieve the same effect on the pedal harp by using E $\flat$  and D $\sharp$ , or A $\flat$  and G $\sharp$ .

24 The *Hakenharfe* can be set up in any key, as much as the *harpe organisée*. However, most of the repertoire for this instrument adheres to the commonly-used keys of that time.

dependent on one another. A composer-harpist may choose a particular “base” set-up key in order to employ particular pedal movements and exploit certain enharmonic notes on the harp. Historical pedal techniques are explained with musical examples by Backofen in the following section.

## Historical Pedalling Techniques

The basic foot technique for moving one pedal with one foot, called single-pedalling, consists of three different movements:

1. The whole foot is lifted off the floor,<sup>25</sup> the toe is placed on the pedal and then the pedal is pressed down and held until the music demands it to be released. This is the most commonly-used foot movement. Backofen describes the position of the pedal as “not fixed”.<sup>26</sup>
2. The second pedal movement consists of pressing a pedal down and then fixing it into the lower pedal notch, described as “fixed”.<sup>27</sup> This fixing action occurs at the beginning of a piece, depending on the key signature of the work. For example, a piece in F major, with a harp set up in the “base” key of E $\flat$  major, requires that the harpist fixes the A and E pedals into the lower pedal notch before playing.

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<sup>25</sup> Nicolas C. Bochsa, *A new and improved method of instruction for the harp*, London: Chappell & Co. 1819, 12, 35: “In pressing the Pedal only the extremity of the foot must be used, the heels must be kept elevated”. This is quite different from modern pedal technique, cf. Yolanda Kondonassis, *On playing the harp*, New York: Fischer 2006, 22–23: “Your heels should always rest on the ground”.

<sup>26</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 49: “nicht gesteckt”. This initial pedal move can be seen in the anonymous illustration *A man approaching a woman playing a harp*, showing a woman in a pale dress and flat pumps with her left foot placed above the D pedal. German, 19th century, design for a book illustration, pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, 9.2×6.8 cm, New York, Metropolitan Museum, accession no. 52.567.7. [www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/335766](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/335766) (13 November 2017).

<sup>27</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 49: “gesteckt”.

3. The final pedal movement occurs when a pedal which has been previously fixed is released towards the upper “natural” position. This refers to the unfixing or “releasing” of a pedal.<sup>28</sup>

In his 1827 edition, Backofen offers further advice to harpists when pedalling:

The pedals must never be moved at the same time as striking the strings, but rather a moment before; otherwise a disgusting buzzing will occur. For the same reason, they must not be released immediately after the striking of the strings. Therefore, it is essential to practice reading the notes, so that the added semitone can be seen a few notes ahead of time. The pedals should not be pressed in a timid manner, but rather boldly; otherwise the strings will not be stopped enough and will buzz.<sup>29</sup>

These instructions are very similar to Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz’s (1747–1790) four considerations when pedalling.<sup>30</sup>

The most important action in historical pedalling techniques is the simple up-and-down movement. The action of fixing pedals is only used in exceptional cases. Harp music up to the mid-19th century curiously lacks pedal markings, but this can be easily explained by putting historical pedalling technique into practice. Pedal markings are redundant in tonal music when the feet movements become the musical gesture. Just as the hands move when reading a score, the feet “read” the accidentals in the score and act upon them.

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<sup>28</sup> Idem, 49: “aufgemacht”.

<sup>29</sup> Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 30: “Die Pedale dürfen nie gleichzeitig mit dem Anschlag der Saiten – sondern müssen einen Augenblick vorher angetreten werden, sonst entsteht ein widerliches Schnarren. Aus demselben Grunde dürfen sie auch nicht sogleich nach dem Anschlag der Saiten losgelassen werden. Daher ist es wesentlich nötig, sich im Notenlesen zu üben, damit man den zu steckenden halben Ton schon um einige Noten voraus sieht. Die Pedale dürfen nicht ängstlich – sondern müssen keck getreten werden, sonst werden die Saiten nicht genug gepresst und schnarren”.

<sup>30</sup> Plane, *Principes par Krumpholtz* (see n. 20), 14–15.

## Multi-pedalling

Multi-pedalling is the art of moving either two or three pedals at a time with one foot, consisting of double-pedalling and triple-pedalling. Double-pedalling is the act of moving two adjacent or non-adjacent pedals on one side of the harp with one foot. This is achieved by raising the whole foot and placing it perpendicular to the harp, across the pedals, which are then pressed down together or separately by pivoting the foot. The heel moves an inner pedal and the toe moves an outer one. When the pedals are not adjacent to each other, double-pedalling involves folding away a pedal against the resonance box of the harp, usually the C pedal on the left or the F or G pedal on the right side of the harp. The non-adjacent D and B pedals on the left and the F and A pedals on the right can then be operated with one foot.<sup>31</sup>

### Double-pedalling with the left foot, double-pedalling with the right foot

Backofen's methods include an example of double-pedalling with both feet (Fig. 4), and one example of triple-pedalling (Fig. 5). The first example states that "there are also occasions where two adjacent pedals must be pressed down together".<sup>32</sup> The left foot presses down the B and C pedals together at the beginning of bar 1, holding them down and then releasing them on the fourth crochet of the bar. The two notes, B $\flat$  and C $\sharp$ , are marked with a line above them indicating to press down the two pedals and hold them down, whereas no notation is used to show the releasing movement on the last cro-

31 The earliest dated evidence of double-pedalling is found in: Jean-Baptiste Krumpoltz, *L'Amante Abandonnée, Air Parodié en français et en italien sur l'Adagio de œuvre XIV, avec accompagnement de harpe ou de forte piano, d'un violon et contrebasse ad libitum*, Paris: [1787 or 1788], 4. The *contrebasse* in the title probably refers to Krumpoltz's invention of the *Contrebasse ou Clavicorde à marteau*, a pedal board that was placed under the harp and played with the feet. It was one of the inventions that Krumpoltz presented to the *Academie Royale de Sciences* in November 1787.

32 Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 52; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 44; Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 33: "Es gibt auch Fälle, wo 2 neben einander stehende Pedale zugleich getreten werden müssen".



Figure 4: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801, 52: Double-peddalling.

Zuweilen muß man mit einem Fuß 3 Pedale zugleich treten, wie aus folgendem Beispiel deutlicher zu ersehen.

 This figure includes a short paragraph of German text and two systems of musical notation. The text reads: "Zuweilen muß man mit einem Fuß 3 Pedale zugleich treten, wie aus folgendem Beispiel deutlicher zu ersehen." The first system of notation is in 3/4 time, featuring a treble staff with a complex, ascending melodic line and a bass staff with a few notes. The second system continues the piece, with the treble staff showing a similar complex melodic pattern and the bass staff providing accompaniment. The notation includes various accidentals and dynamic markings like 'fis.' and 'b'.

Figure 5: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801, 52: Triple-peddalling.

chet of bar 1.<sup>33</sup> The same double-peddalling is required in bar 3, but then the pedals are held down until the end of the example. The lines above the notes

33 See explanation of Backofen's notation below.

are positioned incorrectly on the third crochet of bar 3 (above  $c\sharp''$  and  $d\flat''$  instead of over the  $b\flat'$  and  $c\sharp''$ ).<sup>34</sup>

Bars 3–4 show double-pedalling with the right foot pressing the G pedal down at the end of bar 2 and releasing it at the beginning of bar 3. The F and G pedals are then pressed down together during the second crochet of bar 3 and held until the end of the piece. Another possible solution would be to press the F and G pedals down together on the last quaver of bar 2, avoiding the  $F\flat$  that proceeds the ultimate quaver, but Backofen does not notate this. The G pedal movement in bar 2 is not notated because it is a single pedal movement. The right foot could simply employ single-pedalling, by fixing the G pedal at the end of bar 2 and move the F pedal alone in bar 3. However, the point of the example is to show not only that double-pedalling is possible, but also that it is easier and musical, as the pedal movements occur with the changes of harmony, rather than being mere mechanical movements.<sup>35</sup>

### Triple-pedalling

Triple-pedalling occurs when three pedals are pressed down together with one foot. This is usually carried out on the right-hand side of the harp, with the F, G and A pedals, but it can also be performed with the D, C, and B pedals on the left-hand side. Backofen gives an example, writing: “Now and then, one must press down three pedals with one foot”.<sup>36</sup> The sub-dominant chord on  $A\flat$  with an added 6th is followed by a diminished 7th chord on  $A\flat$ ,

<sup>34</sup> Helmholtz system of pitch notation. The musical example in the 1801 and 1807 editions is the same; it is printed differently in the 1827 edition.

<sup>35</sup> P. I., “On harps”, in: William Ayrton (ed.), *The Harmonicon*, London: Pinnock 1826, vol. 9, pt. 1, 31: “It so happens that the two pedals required are next to one another on the harp, and an expert player will press both with the right foot at once; but the safest mode is, to fix the  $F\sharp$  at the commencement of the bar, and then go to the  $G\sharp$  pedal, but should the notes descend again immediately, thus: To press both pedals at once will be the best mode.”

<sup>36</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 52; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 44; Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 34: “Zuweilen muss man mit einem Fuss 3 Pedale zugleich treten”.

which serves as a pivot chord resolving to the cadential 6/4 chord on the dominant chord of B $\flat$ , then resolving to the tonic (Fig. 5). The notated G $\flat$  in the music shows the harmony while the harpist knows to use the enharmonic F $\sharp$ .<sup>37</sup> This example is followed by this extended explanation:

For women this is, however, very difficult because they have shorter feet than we do, so they cannot press with equal strength the three pedals F, G and A, because of the middle pedal, even if they were able to reach them. I therefore want to strongly advise the ladies that at such places as earlier described, should they occur, that the inner pedal, namely the G, which has no reason to be pressed down, can be lifted up [beforehand] with the toe and leaned against the body of the harp, but immediately afterwards should again be folded down.<sup>38</sup>

The same musical example is included in the 1827 edition, indicating to fold up the G pedal as an alternative to triple-pedalling. The double-pedalling is notated with an “x” on the third crochet of bar 1, and the unfolding movement is notated with “xx” at the beginning of bar 4.<sup>39</sup> Double-pedalling with the G (or C) pedal folded up can substitute triple-pedalling in most cases in the *harpe organisée* repertoire.<sup>40</sup> Two musical examples of double- or triple-

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<sup>37</sup> This approach to notating music in order to respect the rules of tonal harmony is often lost in modern harp editions, where enharmonic alternatives are notated and thus the visual score makes no sense for understanding harmony.

<sup>38</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 52; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 45: “Für Frauenzimmer ist dies allerdings sehr beschwerlich, denn da sie kürzere Füße haben, als wir, so können sie die 3 Pedale F, G und As, wenn sie selbige auch zugleich erreichen, dennoch des mittlern Pedals wegen, nicht gleich stark treten. Ich wollte daher den Frauenzimmern unmassgeblich anrathen, wenn solche Stellen, wie die erst angeführte, vorkommen sollten, das zwischen inne liegende Pedal, nemlich das G, welches ohnehin umsonst getreten wird, vorher mit der Fussspitze aufzuheben, und an den Körper der Harfe anzulehnen, es aber sogleich nachher wieder herunter zu treten”. Similar advice is found in the 1827 edition, page 34–35.

<sup>39</sup> Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 34.

<sup>40</sup> Exceptions occur when three pedals on one side of the harp are required to alter the pitch of three strings contemporarily. Pierre d’Alvimare, *Trois Grandes Sonates pour la harpe*, op. 18, Paris: Erard 1802; Maria C. Cleary, “The Invention of the 18th Century: the *harpe organisée* and Pedals”, in: *American harp journal*, 27 (2018), 51–52.

pedalling are found in Backofen's *Fantaise* in the 1807 *Anleitung*,<sup>41</sup> and in his Concerto from the 1827 edition (bars 15, 16 and 17).<sup>42</sup>

There are many explicit examples of multi-pedalling in the harp repertoire of this time (see Table 2, p. 452). One of the earliest works is *Les Folies d'Espagne* by François Petrini (1744–1819) which includes the instruction "to take the F and A pedals together, lowering the G pedal at the same time".<sup>43</sup> Figure 6 shows the work from bar 122 onwards. This instruction is marked with an asterisk pointing to bar 125, where the A and F pedals change from A $\flat$  and F $\natural$  to A $\natural$  and F $\sharp$  in a semiquaver motion.<sup>44</sup> The three pedals are pressed down in bar 125 and then released with the F $\natural$  in bar 126. Triple-pedalling can also be used in bars 23, 107 and 125. Alternatively, the whole piece works with only double-pedalling movements. The work contains no G $\sharp$ , so the G pedal could be folded away from the beginning of the piece leaving the right foot to move the F and A pedal with ease. Examples of double-pedalling and combinations of moving the F and A pedals separately (using a pivoting motion with the heel and toe) are found in bars 7–8, 23, 39–41, 107, 141–142 and 173–177.

In Louis Spohr's harp pieces, every time a pedal is folded or unfolded the harp part contains at least a half-bar's rest, or the texture thins out to one hand, or an implicit or explicit *fermata* is written in the music. The harpist therefore has ample time and the necessary composure to fold or unfold a pedal and the physicality of these gestures become an inherent part of the music. Multi-pedalling is not explicitly written in the scores, but the rhetorical silences in Spohr's harp parts are tacit clues to this virtuosic technique

41 Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 68 (bar 20), 71 (bar 21). This *Fantaisie* is not part of the first edition of the *Anleitung* but was possibly performed by Dorette Spohr in Leipzig in 1805 (see n. 5).

42 Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 44–46.

43 François Petrini, *Les Folies d'Espagne avec XII variations pour la harpe*, op. 28, no. 2, Paris: Naderman 1789.

44 I have found no explanation why this instruction is written so late in the score, considering that multi-pedalling is possible in several passages before bar 125. The piece is a set of variations with a repeating harmonic structure that returns in nearly every variation, so it would make musical sense to use the same foot gesture for harmonically parallel passages.



Figure 6: F. Petri, *Les Folies d'Espagne*, bars 122–144.

and to the harpist Dorette Spohr's (1787–1834) extraordinary wizardry on pedals.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Cleary, *Harpe organisée* (see n. 7), 179–180, Tables 6.5, 6.7.

Das ex in Mordenten muss mit dem linken Fuss getreten werden, weil der rechte schon mit dem Axx beschäftigt ist.

Eben so verhält es sich mit folgendem Beispiel: Hier muss das h mit dem rechten Fuss getreten werden.

Figure 7: Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827, 35: Crossed foot pedalling.

### Crossed foot pedalling (Left foot on E pedal, right foot on B pedal)

This pedal move entails using either foot for pedals on the opposite side of the harp and is introduced in the 1827 edition of Backofen's method. He explains and includes a musical example as shown in Fig. 7. The E [with an] "x" on the mordent must be pressed down with the left foot, because the right foot is already busy with the A "xx". The next example is similar: here the B must be pressed down with the right foot.<sup>46</sup> Though there is no written evidence of it in any harp treatise until 1827, the technique of using the left foot for the E pedal (on the right-hand side of the harp) is a natural consequence of double-pedalling. Musical examples can be found in Backofen's Concerto (bars 45, 54, 55, 58, 59, 67, 68, 69),<sup>47</sup> Krumpholtz's *10<sup>ème</sup> Prélude*, op. 2 (bars 24, 27, 30), and also in Spohr's *Fantaisie pour la harpe*, op. 35 (bars 107, 142–44).

### Pedal notes

Another special pedal technique is included in Backofen's final edition of his method, even though the first musical example is in Philippe-Jacques Meyer's, *Essai* of 1763. The pedals that alter the resonating length of the string<sup>48</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 35.

<sup>47</sup> Dorette Scheidler-Spohr performed Backofen's Concerto in 1805, so it can be presumed that using the left foot to move the E pedal was part of her technique. See n. 5.

<sup>48</sup> Pedal harps can have additional pedals, like the *pédale à renforcement*, that is an effect pedal and does not alter the pitch of a string.



Figure 8: Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827, 32: Pedal notes.

can produce pitches on their own, which can, in fact, be a beautiful musical gesture: if a string is plucked and then the pedal pressed down or released, the pedal movement produces another sounding note – either a semitone higher or lower – where no intermediary pitches between one semitone and another are audible. This is commonly called a pedal slide or *glissando* and will be referred to here to as “pedal notes” as there is no 18th- nor 19th century standard term.<sup>49</sup> A pedal note is only audible if the string is still resonating; the second note, when “played” by the pedal, is invariably softer since it is produced merely from the string’s vibrations. The resulting articulation is like a slur, where the first note is strong and the second is weak. Pedal notes are usually notated actually with a slur. The effect can be used in the treble part of the harp during fast passages, but is even more effective in a slow-moving bass line because the bass strings ring longer.

<sup>49</sup> The first source for pedal notes is found in the earliest dated harp method treatise, Philippe-Jacques Meyer, *Essai* (see n. 20), Tab. VI, Fig. 96; Anthony Maydwell, *A translation and comparative study of two methods for harp by Philippe-Jacques Meyer from 1763 and 1773*, MA Thesis, University of Western Australia 1982, 163–165. The technique also exists in at least five other harp methods, including Corbelin, *Méthode de harpe* (see n. 19), 81; Plane, *Principes par Krumpholtz* (see n. 20), 60; Benoît Pollet, *Méthode de harpe*, Paris: l’auteur 1817, 45; Stéphanie Félicité de Genlis, *Nouvelle méthode pour apprendre à jouer de la harpe en moins de six mois de leçons*, Paris: Duhan 1802, 33; Bochsa, *Nouvelle méthode de harpe* (see n. 17), 55.

The notation for pedal notes in Backofen's third method (Fig. 8) marks the strings that are to be plucked with the sign ']', and after the notes have faded away, one lets go of the pedal quickly so that the strings marked 'o' will sound, without striking the string again.<sup>50</sup> The first two crochets of each bar in the bass line are plucked. In bar 1, the E $\flat$  octave is played with its enharmonic equivalent D $\sharp$ ; the D pedal is released in the third crochet and will then sound as D $\natural$ .

An important musical example of pedal notes can be found in Mozart's *Concertante a La Harpe, e Flauto*.<sup>51</sup> In the third movement *Rondo*, bars 728 and 732 require pedal notes with the B and F pedals in the bass line and bar 655 could be played as a pedal note with the G pedal in the melody line.

Within Backofen's three editions and musical examples every possible pedal technique is discussed, including single-, double- and triple-pedalling, crossed foot pedalling, and pedal notes. All of these techniques were invented on a *harpe organisée*, and most are still used today on double-action pedal harps.

Table 1 lists the five harpist-authors who describe various aspects of multi-pedalling in their harp methods. Table 2 lists the pieces that explicitly require these expert techniques. This paltry list shows the rarity of these practices among the common harpists of the period, and that these techniques were probably exclusively used by few harpists: the true *virtuosi* of the 19th century. Most of the harp repertoire requires only single-pedalling movements, so the more complex movements were not necessary for the amateur players when performing and enjoying the harp.

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50 Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827, 33: "Man spielt nämlich blos die mit einem ']' bezeichneten Saiten, und nachdem sie nach dem Werth der Noten ausgeklungen haben, lässt man geschwind das Pedal los, so klingen die mit 'o' bezeichneten Saiten, auch ohne Anschlag, noch nach". See Fig. 8.

51 Wolfgang A. Mozart, *Concertante a La Harpe, e Flauto*, KV 299, MS, 1778.

**Table 1: Methods which include multi-pedalling techniques, 1801–1833**

Author	Title	Date	Place	Page
Backofen	<i>Anleitung zum Harfenspiel</i>	1801	Leipzig	51
Backofen	<i>Anleitung zum Harfenspiel</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.	1807	Leipzig	43
Desargus	<i>Cours complet</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed. <sup>52</sup>	1812	Paris	37
Bochsa	<i>Nouvelle méthode de harpe en deux parties</i> , op. 60 <sup>53</sup>	1813	Paris	51
Challoner	<i>A new receptor for the harp</i> <sup>54</sup>	1816	London	22–23
Bochsa	<i>A new improved method of instruction for the harp</i> <sup>55</sup>	1819	London	43
Backofen	<i>Backofen's Harfen-Schule</i> , 3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.	1827	Leipzig	34–35

**Table 2: Repertoire which specifies multi-pedalling techniques**

Author	Title	Date	Place
Krumpholtz	<i>Amante abandonnée</i> <sup>56</sup>	1788	Paris
Petrini	<i>Les Folies d'Espagne</i> , op. 28, no. 11 <sup>57</sup>	[1800]	Paris
Naderman	<i>Thèmes favoris de l'opéra des bardes</i> <sup>58</sup>	1805	Paris
Dauprat	<i>Air écossais varié pour cor et harpe (ou piano)</i> , op. 22 <sup>59</sup>	Pre-1837	Paris
D'Alvimare	<i>Trois grandes sonates pour la harpe</i> , op. 18 <sup>60</sup>	[1802]	Paris

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52 See n. 21.

53 See n. 17.

54 Neville Butler Challoner, *A new preceptor for the harp*, op. 16, London: Skillern 1816.

55 Bochsa, *A new and improved method* (see n. 25).

56 See n. 31.

57 See n. 43.

58 François Joseph Naderman, *Thèmes favoris de l'opéra des bardes*, Paris: Imbault 1805.

59 Louis François Dauprat, *Air écossais varié pour cor et harpe (ou piano)*, op. 22, Paris: Zetter [1837].

60 See n. 55.

Figure 9: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807, 42: Backofen's three-stave pedal notation.

## Notation

Backofen proposes a unique notation showing which pedals to move and how to move them. He uses a notation with three music staves: the upper and lower staves are for the right and left hands, and the pedal movements are notated on an inner stave. A systematic use of the pressing-down-and-holding pedal movement, without fixing for several bars at a time, can be noted:

In the following example, each pedal [movement] is shown, those in the middle stave, denoted with a line [—], are not fixed, but only those marked with an “+”. Those with an “0” are to be unfixed or [released].<sup>61</sup>

<sup>61</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 49–51; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 42–44: “Im folgenden Beyspiel werden diejenigen Pedale, die ich in der mittlern Linie anführe, und die mit einem Querstrich bezeichnet sind, nicht gesteckt, sondern nur die mit einem ‘+’ bezeichneten. Die mit einem ‘0’, werden aufgemacht”.

Figure 9 shows the first page (bars 1–20) of an extract from a “Concerto by Krumpholtz”<sup>62</sup> for a harp set up in the “base” key of E $\flat$  major.<sup>63</sup> In bar 1, the A pedal is unfixed before beginning the piece. In bar 3, the left foot presses the B pedal down and holds it until bar 6 where it is then released in order to play the second quaver in the bass. In bar 5, the right foot fixes the A pedal, marked with a “+”. In bar 7, the right foot presses the F pedal down and holds it until the first crochet of bar 10 where the F is released to play the second quaver in the bass. On the second crochet of bar 10, the right foot presses down the E pedal, holding it until the beginning of bar 14, where it is fixed in the lower notch. In bar 11, the left foot presses the C pedal down and holds it until bar 14 where it is then released in order to play the second quaver in the bass. With both feet now free, the left foot presses the B pedal down, the right foot presses the G pedal down in bar 15, and both are held until the first crochet of bar 18, where the B pedal is fixed and the G pedal is released in order to play the G $\natural$  on the second quaver of the bar. On the second crochet, the F pedal is pressed down and then in bar 19, the D pedal is pressed down with the left foot.

Figure 10 is the second page of Backofen’s pedal notational system. Bar 29 shows the first example in his method of double-peddalling with the F and A pedals with the right foot. The example is an unusual case of double-peddalling, due to the harmonic progression and that, in this situation, both pedals must be unfixed from a fixed state. Leading up to bar 29, the A pedal has been already fixed from bar 5. The F pedal is fixed in bar 26, in order to leave the right foot free to release the E pedal in bar 27. In unfixing both the F and A pedals, the right foot presses and pushes them out of the pedal notches to the right, and then releases them.<sup>64</sup> To carry out this movement, the G pedal would need to be folded away in bar 25 from the second crochet onwards,

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<sup>62</sup> Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 33. He does not specify the origin of the work in the 1802 or 1807 editions.

<sup>63</sup> The harp is set up in E $\flat$  major, because the piece requires a D $\sharp$  in bar 19 and Backofen indicates to use the D pedal for the D $\sharp$ . In bar 35, the notated D $\flat$  in the upper stave is played as a C $\sharp$  as notated in the middle pedal stave.

<sup>64</sup> Krumpholtz *Recueil*, op. 2 (see n. 23), *12ème Prélude*: this same pedal movement can be found in bar 21.

The image shows a musical score for harp, consisting of four systems of three staves each. The top staff is the right-hand melody, and the bottom two staves are the left-hand accompaniment. The key signature is one flat (B-flat), and the time signature is 3/4. The word "Pedale." is written above the first system. Pedal notation is indicated by horizontal lines with a '+' sign above them, placed between the middle and bottom staves. The notation shows various pedal changes throughout the piece, including a double bar line with a '+' sign in the middle of the first system. The score includes measures 6, 11, and 16, with measure numbers placed at the beginning of their respective systems.

Figure 10: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807, 43: Backofen's three-stave pedal notation.

which Backofen does not discuss in this musical extract. To avoid this difficult and most risky of all pedal moves, Backofen suggests:

For those for whom it would be too difficult to move these two pedals, namely the F and A $\flat$ , together, they can thereby be helped by letting the F $\sharp$  vibrate only for three

quavers and then dampening the strings on the fourth beat; the pedal can then be released, therefore making it easier to release the A $\flat$ .<sup>65</sup>

This means that the F pedal is released after dampening the F string in the bass on the fourth quaver of bar 28, thus leaving the right foot free to move quickly to the A pedal in order to release it in time to play A $\flat$  in bar 29. In the 1827 edition, Backofen offers another solution to avoid double-pedalling by instructing the harpist to play the A $\flat$  in bar 29 with its enharmonic alternative of G $\sharp$ .<sup>66</sup> Backofen provides the amateur harpists with an easy solution to avoid this unusual double-pedalling movement, of unfixing two pedals simultaneously. This sequence of two diminished 7th chords in bars 23 and 25 is one of the most frequently used harmonic progressions in the *harpe organisée* repertoire, usually in situations where the diminished 7th chord on F $\sharp$  is prepared and resolved to keys like F or C minor, or some close tonal area which contains A $\flat$  and F $\natural$ .

There are several issues worth noting regarding Backofen's approach to pedalling. Firstly, the marking "°" does not differentiate between the action of unfixing a fixed pedal and releasing a pedal that has been simply pressed down and held. Indeed several "°"s are omitted from the score: bar 6 for the B, bar 10 for the F, bar 14 for the C and bar 18 for the G pedal. These omissions could be due to a publishing error, but considering all of the omissions are pedals that have been simply pressed down, perhaps the marking was not necessary for a harpist at the time who knew when to release a pedal by reading the music. The notation marking "°" is used to indicate an unfixing pedal movement for the B pedal in bar 25, the C and E in bar 27 and the F and A pedals in bar 29. This notation is cumbersome and occupies a great deal of space, thus Backofen revises it in his 1827 edition, writing the symbols between two music staves: a dash "—" to indicate the pressing-down move-

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<sup>65</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 51; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 43: "Diejenigen, für die es zu schwer fallen möchte, diese 2 Pedale, nemlich das F und As beynahe zugleich aufzumachen, können sich dadurch helfen, dass sie das Fis vorher nur drey Achtel lang singen lassen, und bey dem vierten die Saiten dämpfen, indessen können sie das Pedal aufmachen, und also um desto bequemer das As auflösen". This is not included in the 1827 edition.

<sup>66</sup> Backofen, *Harfen-Schule*, 1827 (see n. 4), 34, bar 29, or second bar of this page.

ment, an “=” (transformed from the 1801 and 1807 “plus” sign “+”) for fixing, an “ō” to indicate the preparation of the foot on a certain pedal which will soon be unfixed, and finally an “°” for indicating a normal releasing movement of a pedal that has been simply held down. He also suggests a different sequence of pedal moves (see bars 5–6, 10, 14, 18, 22, 24–30).

The second issue is the way in which pedals are sometimes held down, like the E pedal in bar 10 and the B pedal in bar 15, and then fixed at the last moment, just before the foot is required to move another pedal. This shows that the foot movements are not prepared beforehand. Both pedals could have been fixed from bars 10 and 15, but that would imply that the harpist must read several bars in advance, namely five and four bars in advance, in order to know that those pedals could be fixed. These two situations are revised in the 1827 edition, so pedals are fixed at the earliest possible moment.

Some pedal solutions in this last edition lead towards a modern approach to pedalling, where the “third stave”, even albeit a virtual one, is read by the harpist and is integral to the score. This is in drastic opposition to a more historical and musical approach whereby the harpist, in the act of reading the music, can deduce the foot movements. Backofen’s unique 1801 pedal notation is fascinating, as it shows that pedals can be simply pressed down and held over several bars. Moreover, this action would appear to have been the rule, rather than the fixing of pedals in the lower notch.

## Enharmonics

Pedalling involves the physical act of moving the pedals, but also entails knowing which pedal to choose. On the *harpe organisée*, the same pitch can sometimes be played on two different strings in each octave,<sup>67</sup> meaning that the harpist can choose either the notated pitch or its enharmonic when a written note is sometimes not ‘naturally’ available on the harp. The above example of triple-pedalling in Fig. 5 demonstrates this. A harp set up in the

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<sup>67</sup> See the above section “Understanding the function of pedals”.



Figure 11: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807, 45: Krumpholtz's rule in two musical examples.

“base” key of E $\flat$  major does not include, for example, the pitch of G $\flat$ ,<sup>68</sup> and so this pitch can only be played as F $\sharp$  using the F string. However, enharmonics are often employed even when the pitch *is* part of the tonal spectrum of the instrument. The reason is principally a musical and not a functional one. Krumpholtz explains this approach:<sup>69</sup>

To facilitate the execution of moving the pedals for all music composed for the harp: the author in his op. XI sometimes indicates a G $\sharp$  in place of an A $\flat$  in order not to release the A $\natural$  which is found in the key signature, or the C $\sharp$  in place of a D $\flat$ , and the D $\sharp$  in place of the E $\flat$  [...]. By observing this method in general, one will find fewer difficulties on this instrument.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> A *harpe organisée* set up in the “base” key of D $\flat$  major does contain the pitch of G $\flat$ . See for instance Louis Spohr, *Sonate*, WoO 27, Manuscript, [1806–1807], uses this set-up “base” key and the harp part is in F minor, while the violin part is in E minor.

<sup>69</sup> Jean-Baptiste Krumpholtz, *Deux symphonies pour la harpe seule ou avec accompagnement de violon*, op. 11, Paris: Naderman 1784.

<sup>70</sup> Idem, frontispiece. “Pour faciliter l’exécution dans le maniement des Pédalles [sic] pour toute Musique quelconque composée pour la Harpe: l’Auteur indique quelque fois dans son Œuvre XI<sup>e</sup> le Sol $\sharp$  en place du La $\flat$  pour ne pas décrochez le La qui se trouve naturel à la Clef, ou bien Ut $\sharp$  en place de Re $\flat$  ainsi que le Re $\sharp$  au-lieu de Mi $\flat$  [...]. En observant généralement cette méthode, on trouvera bien moins de difficultés dans cet instrument”. The editions of this work by Cousineau and Momigny do not include these instructions.

I refer to this approach as “Krumpholtz’s enharmonic and pedal rule”. The rule contains information on the “base” set-up key of the harp.<sup>71</sup> Krumpholtz instructs the player to use C♯ as an enharmonic for D♭ and D♯ as an enharmonic for E♭ (see also Fig. 11). Therefore, on a harp tuned in E♭ major the harpist has the possibility of playing D♮ and D♯, but not D♭. Every D♭ is therefore played as C♯. Other aspects include Krumpholtz’s curious recommendation to prioritise the sharp pitches, as well as his seemingly unnecessary overuse of enharmonics, substituting the notated A♭ and D♭, with the enharmonics G♯ and D♯. These enharmonic pedal moves are pressing-down pedal movements, rather than releasing-upwards ones. Consider the situation of a harp set up in the “base” key of E♭ for a piece in F major where the harpist fixes the A and E pedals in the lower notches before playing. The historical approach entails taking the initial tonality of the piece and its individual set-up of the pedals as the new “base” key, and the harpist tries to remain true to this “base” set-up key for the remainder of the work. This means that any accidentals or fleeting modulations are added (a downwards-pressing action) rather than subtracted (an unfixing-pedal action) from the tonality of the piece. This approach results in fewer unfixing movements of the pedals – the principal cause of extra-musical noises – and an increase of simple pressing-down-and-holding movements. This downwards-pressing action creates a physical tension in the harpist, which is then relaxed as the pedal is released and the music returns to the main tonality.

Backofen reiterates Krumpholtz’s rule:

[...] when the A is not already in the scale of the key of the piece to be played, as for example, in A♭ major, F minor, E♭ major and C minor, it must be made as often as possible with the G♯; it would then be necessary that the modulation go into the aforementioned keys in another section of the music, and stay there. There is also the case with E♭, which must be made as much as possible using D♯, especially in F major and D minor, as can be seen from the following examples.<sup>72</sup>

71 This does not imply that all works by Krumpholtz were conceived for a harp in the set-up “base” key of E♭ major. At least four of Krumpholtz’s *Préludes* require an A♭ major set-up “base” key.

72 Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807, 45: “[...] das As wenn es nicht schon in der Skala des Grundtons des abzuspieldenden Stückes liegt, wie z. B. in As dur, F mol, Es dur, C mol, es

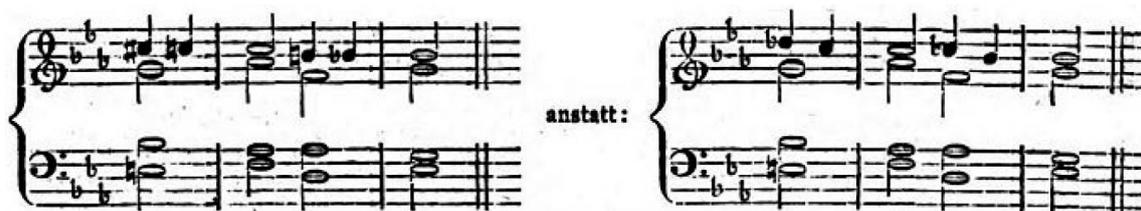


Figure 12: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801, 49: Notation of harmony.

## Harmony and Enharmonics

The 1807 edition includes two short four-bar musical extracts showing this approach to pedalling and enharmonics (Fig. 12). The first example is in G minor; the A pedal is fixed in the lower notch before playing. Bar 1 contains an  $A\flat$  in the diminished 7th chord on the second crochets, but Backofen suggests using the enharmonic  $G\sharp$ , which resolves to the  $G\flat$  on the fourth crochets. The G string is thus plucked thrice in this bar. This signifies that the sounding pitch of  $G\flat$  and consequently the overtone series of  $G\flat$  are abruptly stopped when the string is used for the second crochets,  $G\sharp$ . When the diminished 7th chord is resolved to the sub-dominant chord of C minor, once again the overtone series of  $G\sharp$  is stopped by re-striking the G string for the  $G\flat$  on the fourth crochets. If the A string had been used to sound as  $A\flat$ , the resonance of this string and the whole overtone series of  $A\flat$  would linger over the C minor chord. Using the G string thrice means that the natural resonance and overtones on the harp are controlled by the use of enharmonics; the harmonic tensions of a diminished chord are mirrored in the pressing-down foot movements on the pedal. The resolution chord is not only a resolution in harmonic terms, but also a physical foot resolution when the G pedal is finally released.

The second example shows two similar situations for the left foot. The D string is employed thrice: first as  $D\flat$  on the upbeat of bar 1, then as  $D\sharp$ , as

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so oft als möglich durch das  $Gis$  gemacht werden muss, es müsste denn sein, dass die Modulation in einem anderen Tonstücke förmlich in erwähnte Tonarten überginge, und sich darin verweilte. Eben so verhält es sich auch mit dem  $Es$ , welches besonders in F dur und D mol so viel als möglich durch  $Dis$  gemacht werden muss, wie aus folgenden Beyspielen [...] zu ersehen ist". This is not included in the 1801 nor the 1827 edition.

the enharmonic of E $\flat$ , and then again for the notated D $\sharp$ . The C string is used for the sounding pitches of D $\flat$  (using the enharmonic C $\sharp$ ) and C $\sharp$ . This latter solution adheres to all of the above-mentioned harmonic and acoustic criteria, but it is also a mechanical necessity, as a harp set-up in the key of E $\flat$  major does not include D $\flat$  as a sounding pitch.

Backofen writes about this relationship between harmony and enharmonics:

There are in the works for pedal harp (particularly in movements by Krumpholtz), passages which are easy for those harp players who are very skilled in reading music, [in using the] pedals, and (for those who already have sufficient theoretical knowledge of *basso continuo*), in anticipating the harmonic digressions [enharmonics]; but for the players who do not have these skills to a high degree, [these works] might seem impossible to play. Among these are, above all, rapid changes [...]. Before, however, I must remark that the French usually put the  $\sharp 6$  instead of the  $\flat 7$ , which they probably do only with the intention of indicating more clearly the pedals to be engaged.<sup>73</sup>

The first example in Fig. 12 shows, according to Backofen, the typical “French” way of writing for the harp, where augmented sixth chords are notated, hence becoming instantly the pedal solutions for the harpist (see Krumpholtz rule, where a notated D $\flat$  is played as C $\sharp$ ). The second example on the right is the same music, but notated with diminished 7th chords. This would point to cultural differences in naming chords and understanding their various functions. If Backofen’s statement was founded upon evidence that French harp composers notated scores using the enharmonic solution for ease of reading rather than for musical reasons, it would constitute a

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<sup>73</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 49; Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), 41: “Es giebt in den Kompositionen für die Pedalharfe (besonders in den Krumpholtzischen) Sätze, welche wohl für denjenigen Harfenspieler leicht sind, der sehr fertig im Notenlesen, in den Pedalen, und (welches schon viele theoretische Kenntnisse des Generalbasses voraussetzt) im Voraussehen der Ausweichungen ist; demjenigen aber, der diese Eigenschaften nicht in so hohem Grade besitzt, unausführbar scheinen. Hierunter gehören vorzüglich rasche Übergänge [...]. Vorher muss ich aber noch bemerken, dass die Franzosen meistens die  $\sharp 6$  statt der  $\flat 7$  setzen, welches sie wahrscheinlich blos in der Absicht thun, um die zu tretenden Pedale deutlicher anzuzeigen”.

precedent to the modern approach to writing harp scores. Contrary to Backofen's statement, I have found no examples in the repertoire of what he describes.<sup>74</sup> Even Backofen's extract from the Concerto by Krumpholtz illustrates the opposite (Fig. 10). Bar 35 is notated as a diminished 7th chord on E, and the harpist mentally deduces that the  $b7$  chord is played as a  $\sharp 6$  chord, playing  $C\sharp$  for the notated  $D\flat$ . The harpist reads the score and then translates the score to pluck a different string and to use a different pedal than those of the notated pitch. Generally,  $G\sharp$  and  $D\sharp$  are most often used throughout the harp repertoire of Backofen's time as added enharmonic notes. This points to the use of a temperament close to equal where  $A\flat$  and  $D\flat$  can be replaced by  $G\sharp$  and  $D\sharp$ .

## Temperament

A harp with a single-action pedal mechanism can produce fourteen pitches in an octave, with two pitches doubled, begging the question of whether these instruments were built to play in unequal temperaments.<sup>75</sup> Sadly, the 18th- and early 19th-century harp methods do not specify temperaments, offering only practical advice on how to tune the harp. Backofen writes that:

The pedal harp is tuned in fifths and octaves in a temperament with beats\*) in the following way. (It is understood that only the subsequent notes, or new tones are tuned to the preceding ones. For example, after the first octave is tuned purely, there then follows the fifth of  $E\flat$ , then the octave  $E\flat$ , the  $B\flat$ , F, etc.). The left hand strikes the strings, and the right one tunes. \*) Temperament with beats means: the fifths should not be tuned totally purely, but have to be tuned down a bit [diminished].<sup>76</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Other examples of French composers or music published in France that conflicts with what Backofen describes include: Pollet, *Méthode de harpe* (see n. 49), 79: bars 210, 215; Krumpholtz, *Deux symphonies*, op. 11 (see n. 69), *Allegro assai*, bars 31–36. Krumpholtz avers the harpist to use  $G\sharp$ , for the notated  $A\flat$  in bar 31.

<sup>75</sup> Patrizio Barbieri, "Harps versus pianos: Parisian *querelles* on tuning 1770–1830", in: *Galpin Society Journal* 70 (2017), 45–63. This excellent article discusses temperaments for the harp, but does not consider the musical and acoustical reasons for playing a written note or its enharmonic alternative.

<sup>76</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), 11 and Fig. 13.



Figure 13: Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801, 11: Tuning the harp after Backofen.

Backofen’s description points towards an equal temperament tuning (see also Fig. 13), and implies that the mentality of composers and players considered a note and its enharmonic as the same pitch, or at least that the difference was inconsequential. Unequal temperaments are possible on harps with a moveable bridge pin, an “AR/RA” crutch, *crochets* or *fourchettes* mechanism.<sup>77</sup> In the first two editions of the *Anleitung*, Backofen mentions only one family of Parisian harp builders: the Naderman family with whom Krumpholtz collaborated.<sup>78</sup> It is not known what harp Backofen played, but perhaps he used a Naderman harp with a *crochets* mechanism. The temperaments of several harps have been measured by Beat Wolf, the leading expert on early pedal harps, who considers that Naderman harps were primarily built for equal temperaments.<sup>79</sup>

Backofen’s three methods represent the most comprehensive guide to moving pedals. They provide the basis for all possible pedalling techniques, presented in a context where the music, harmony, acoustics and gesture all come together to create an elegant dance on the pedals of a *harpe organisée*.

<sup>77</sup> Cleary, *Harpe organisée* (see n. 7), 24–29.

<sup>78</sup> Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1801 (see n. 2), “Vorrede”. Backofen, *Anleitung*, 1807 (see n. 3), “Vorrede”. The Naderman harp family consisted of Jean-Henri Naderman (1734–1799), and his son Henri-Pascal Naderman (1783–1842).

<sup>79</sup> Beat Wolf, “Timeline pedalharps 2012”. [www.beatwolf.ch/Portals/14/pdf/Timeline\\_pedalharps\\_2012.pdf](http://www.beatwolf.ch/Portals/14/pdf/Timeline_pedalharps_2012.pdf) (17 November 2017).



# The development of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, its music aesthetic and its influence on the performance practice of Early Music

Anne Smith

Due to the political and social repercussions of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, and its involvement in the cultivation of a sense of community among adolescents in Nazi Germany, it is difficult to speak exclusively about its music aesthetic outside of this context without being immediately criticized as being ignorant or naive. Moreover, as music-making in the *Jugendmusikbewegung* served social rather than artistic purposes, talking about its aesthetic would appear to be on the same level as talking about the artistry of campfire singing in the Boy Scouts; its relevance seems questionable. In its origins, this is even true, as the first impulses came from a group of adolescents enjoying the freedom of hiking in company. The timing of these first trips was essential, coming at a moment when there was a sense of need for social renewal throughout Europe, a need to break out of the bourgeois social constraints and return to the simplicity and purity of nature, which in turn caused the burgeoning of many reform movements: teetotalism, vegetarianism, eurhythmics, etc. As a result, the organizations that later were known collectively as the *Jugendmusikbewegung* became incredibly popular within a very short period of time.

However, just before World War I, people in various branches of this movement became more critical about the quality of the music-making involved, and began to push for a heightened sensitivity to the requirements of the music. This came at the same time that the movement's musical repertoire was expanding to include many works from earlier eras. In the chaos after the war, the cooperation and cohesion of the youth groups was particularly attractive; this was in part what led to their co-option by the Nazis in 1933. The underlying moral and musical basis of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, however, served as a foundation for the development of an aesthetic of its own, albeit it one very much in line with its time.

Through the focus on the more central issues concerned with the role of the German *Jugendmusikbewegung* during the Nazi regime, the political, sociological, pedagogical, and musicological aspects of the movement have been investigated thoroughly. The specific aspect of the development of its music aesthetic, however, has been largely overlooked in the secondary literature.<sup>1</sup> This scholarly lacuna needs to be addressed, as this aesthetic was the precursor of that of today's Early Music movement. More specifically, as this aesthetic was part of the background of two of the primary figures in the founding of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in 1933 – Paul Sacher and Ina Lohr – it seemed imperative to investigate the *Jugendmusikbewegung's* roots within the context of my research on the subject of “Ina Lohr (1903–1983), an Early Music Zealot: Her Influence in Switzerland and the Netherlands”. What is interesting is how both Sacher and Lohr transformed this aesthetic's influence in their professional musical lives in entirely different ways: Sacher commissioned and premiered many of the foremost compositions of the

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1 An excellent summary and bibliography of this research may be found in the article by Heinz Antholz, “Jugendmusikbewegung”, in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Second Edition, *Sachteil 4* (1996), 1569–1587. The two documentary compilations, *Wandervogel und freideutsche Jugend*, ed. Gerhard Ziemer and Hans Wolf, Bad Godesberg: Voggenreiter Verlag 1961 and *Die deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933*, ed. Wilhelm Scholz and Waltraut Jonas-Corrieri, Wolfenbüttel and Zurich: Mösel Verlag 1980, offer an excellent introduction to both the language and manner of thinking of the various movements, although inevitably in their selection they do, of course, present the perspective of their own participation in the movement. Walther Gerber, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Wandervogelbewegung: Ein kritischer Beitrag*, Bielefeld: Deutscher Heimat-Verlag Giseking 1957, is the first to critically examine the documentary evidence in relation to the various movements, and is therefore a valuable cross-reference in relation to the earlier documents. To get a flavour of the nature of these movements, it is useful to browse through their journals, such as *Die Laute*, *Die Musikkantengilde* or *Die Singgemeinde*, as there one is confronted with the *Jugendmusikbewegung's* day-to-day concerns, the music reviews, the music, the advertisements, as well as their ideals, giving the whole a broader context. As may be obvious from the above, essentially none of the background information on the *Jugendmusikbewegung* is available in English.

“modern classic”, while Lohr was responsible for building up the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis as a pedagogical institution.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly before these two instigators of the Schola were born, at the end of the nineteenth century, increasing interest in European music of earlier epochs began to develop in Europe and the United States. One of the sources of the revival of fifteenth and sixteenth-century music in German-speaking countries was the *Wandervogel* (Migratory Bird) movement from which the *Jugendmusikbewegung* (Youth Music Movement) evolved after World War I. In order to understand how a movement that shared many features with Baden-Powell’s Boy Scouts could actually affect the later performance practices of Early Music, it is necessary to first look into the background of the *Wandervogel* movement and the subsequent formation of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, particularly in reference to the music that the youth sang on their outings and at their meetings. Only then will we be able to understand the origin of their attitude towards this music, to comprehend the seriousness and the severity with which they approached it, and as a consequence the music aesthetic which they came to adopt.

In looking at these movements, however, we immediately become aware of the mutability of history, of the fact that its interpretation lies in the hands of the historian. Hans Blüher, for example wrote the first retrospective of the movement in 1912, *Wandervogel: Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung* (*Wandervogel: History of a Youth Movement*), only fifteen years after it had come

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2 Ina Lohr, for example, came to Switzerland from the Netherlands in 1929 and soon met up with Paul Sacher, one of the greatest patrons of music of the 20th century, and became his assistant in 1930. A large portion of the numerous articles written by Ina Lohr appeared in the journals *Volkslied und Hausmusik* (1934–1942) and *Singt und spielt* (1942–2008) of the *Schweizerische Vereinigung für Volkslied und Hausmusik* (Swiss Association for Folksong and House Music), which came into being in 1934 as a consequence of the Swiss desire to distance themselves from the Nazi’s co-optation of the German *Jugendmusikbewegung* when they assumed power in 1933. Indeed, one of the reasons Ina Lohr actively chose to become Swiss in 1942, thereby giving up her Dutch citizenship, was to be able to help the refugees during the war. It is thus clear that nationalism was not the reason she was attracted to the *Singbewegung*. Nonetheless, her approach to performance was very much affected by the musical ideals with which the movement was imbued.

into being. In this review, Blüher denigrated the originator of the movement in order to place his own personal hero, Karl Fischer, at its figurehead. In addition, he also imbued its first members with motivations for coming together which were in line with his own view of the state of society in 1912, rather than an actual reflection of the events leading to its inception in the 1890s. Because, however, these motivations were so much in line with the ideals of many of the members of the *Wandervogel*, they in turn altered the general perception of the organization, both from within it and without, and have come to prevail even today in the writings on the movement's history, in spite of numerous contradictions found in the memoirs some of the original members, written in the 1950s.

An additional difficulty encountered by the historian is that the movement had many different structural groupings, some on very local levels, and some on larger ones. The documentation of each of these groups is devoted to comparatively trivial information – e.g. who took part in which trip, where they went and when – as well as with analyses of the specific differences between the groups. It is not until one has read a large number of such reports that one can begin comprehending the underlying issues and place these accounts within a larger context.

In what follows, I present a highly simplified history of the *Wandervogel* and *Jugendmusikbewegung* in so far as it is relevant to the history of the Early Music revival. A discussion of its more important strands thus became unavoidable, both as an indication of their initial disparate natures as well as their shared romantic anti-Romanticism.<sup>3</sup> This in turn will serve as a basis for my subsequent discussion of the movement's music aesthetic.

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3 One of the seeming paradoxes about these movements is that they choose romantic means – the ideal of going back to nature and past beauty as a source of purity – in order to fight Romanticism.

## The *Wandervogel* movement

The origins of the *Wandervogel* can be traced back to a dull German literature class in 1890 about the essay *Hoch das Wandern!* (Long Live Hiking!), when the attention of Hermann Hoffmann-Fölkersamb (1875–1955) was abruptly rekindled:

Suddenly our Professor Sträter pounded with his fist on his desk: “Boys, what dullards you are! You simply don’t care about what you are listening to! When we were young, we saved up our pennies, and at Whitsun or the long vacation we went on hikes [...]”<sup>4</sup>

The drama of this lesson led to Hoffmann-Fölkersamb going on hikes during his vacations, first in his immediate environs, and later enlarging his radius. On these trips, he and his brother and other companions travelled simply, carrying their belongings in a satchel on their back, sleeping in barns or outdoors, and cooking simple meals on hand-made camping stoves.

Thereafter, in 1894, Hoffmann-Fölkersamb came to study law at the University of Berlin where he lived in Steglitz, now one of the southern boroughs of the city. He was already an enthusiast of the Schrey stenographic system, a recently developed shorthand method, and sometime during 1895/96 he received permission to teach it to those interested at the local gymnasium. At one meeting some students saw sketches he had made during hiking trips and insisted that he take them on similar excursions. He accordingly sought consent from both the school and the boys’ parents before organizing the first shorter excursions, which were gradually extended over time. A certain Spartan simplicity was enforced on these trips, which perhaps was only of significance because the scholars were all from the upper middle to aristocratic classes, often coming from highly intellectual and cultured home environments. Hoffman-Fölkersamb left Berlin for the diplomatic service in Constantinople in 1900, turning the organization over to Karl

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4 “Plötzlich ein Faustschlag unseres Prof. Sträter auf das Pult: ‘Jungens, was seid ihr für Schlafmützen! Was ihr da hört, ist euch wohl ganz egal? Als wir Jungens waren, da sparten wir unsere Groschen zusammen, und zu Pfingsten oder in den großen Ferien, da ging das Wandern los [...]’” Quoted in Walther Gerber, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte* (see n. 1), 15–16. All translations into English are by the author.

Fischer, requesting that he actively seek to expand this type of hiking for young people throughout the country.

Karl Fischer took on this request and created a form of organization that became standard for the *Wandervogel* and all later groups that were based on similar ideals. The groups needed, namely, a structural framework which allowed them to advertise their excursions publicly while at the same time maintaining the young people's complete independence during the actual undertakings themselves.<sup>5</sup> To achieve this, Fischer formed a board made up of parents and friends called *Wandervogel, Ausschuß für Schülerfahrten* (Wandervogel, Committee for Student Excursions) towards the end of 1901, which represented the young participants publicly while remaining uninvolved in the organization and execution of the excursions. Its first president was Wolfgang Kirchbach, an author and theatre critic who was interested in questions of education for the lower classes, as well as being a father of one of those participating in the excursions. In 1902 this organization was officially recognized by the head of the Steglitz Gymnasium, Richard Lück.

Fischer created inflexible autocratic hierarchical structures among the youths, with initiation procedures for accepting new members – who had to promise “respect, loyalty, and obedience”<sup>6</sup> – and strict requirements for those desiring to lead excursions, which were advertised in monthly bulletins. His vision of the *Wandervogel* aimed at something between a reenactment of the life of the medieval wandering scholar and that of vagrants, between some ideal of the past and the physical freedom of the wayfarer. There was an emphasis on the development of physical strength and military games.

Due to its rigidity and its focus, this structure did not meet the needs of everybody. Already in 1904 certain members were expelled, causing the disbandment of the original organization and the formation of the first of many others, *Wandervogel, Eingetragener Verein zu Steglitz bei Berlin* (Wander-

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<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that this is also the structure Paul Sacher chose when he founded his independent school orchestra, the *Orchester junger Basler*, the forerunner of the *Basler Kammerorchester* (Basel Chamber Orchestra).

<sup>6</sup> “Respekt, Treue und Gehorsam.” Heinrich Ahrens, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung von den Anfängen bis zum Weltkrieg*, Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag 1939, 15.

vogel, Registered Association in Steglitz near Berlin). The board of this organization, too, was led by a reform pedagog, Ludwig Gurlitt, a teacher at the Steglitz gymnasium. The impetus for this new grouping came from one of the “rebels”, Siegfried Copalle, who envisioned the excursions as a means for aesthetic development, encouraging the acquisition of observation skills and the knowledge of one’s environment. One of his first acts after founding the *Steglitzer Wandervogel e. V.*, as the organization came to be called, was to create an orchestra of its members, an indication of their cultural interests and musical abilities. They were seen to be the aesthetes of the movement, as opposed to those who were modelling themselves on the image of the wandering scholar. Although the *Steglitzer Wandervogel e. V.* remained relatively small, restricted to Berlin and its environs, the intellectual and innovative capabilities of its leaders brought it to the forefront of the development of the movement as a whole.

Fischer and his allies re-banded under a new supervisory board, the *Eltern- und Freundesrat im (zum) Altwandervogel* (“Euftrat”, or “Parents and Friends Board for the Old Wandervogel”), but because his autocratic structures were retained, troubles soon arose again, causing him to resign in 1906 and join the diplomatic corps in China. During this period, however, the organization expanded throughout Germany with independent external groups being founded in Posen, Stettin, Hamburg, Hannover, Magdeburg, Amberg, Bayreuth, and elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

With the formation of these new external groups and the expansion of the movement on the whole, new issues arose stemming from particular regional interests, resulting in further splits and the formation of new umbrella organizations, such as the *Bund Deutscher Wandervogel* (Organization of German Wandervogel), the *Wandervogel, Deutscher Bund* (Wandervogel, German Organization), the *Jung-Wandervogel* (Young Wandervogel), the *Freideutsche Jugend* (Free German Youth), and others. One of the sources of these divisions was the obvious success of these youth groups, causing numerous reform movements to see them as an optimal means of furthering their own aims, whose goals ranged from abstinence from alcohol

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7 Siegfried Copalle, *Chronik der deutschen Jugendbewegung: Die Wandervogelbünde von der Gründung bis zum 1. Weltkrieg*, I, Bad Godesberg: Voggenreiter Verlag 1954, 24.

and tobacco, nationalism, vegetarianism, to pedagogical reform, just to mention a few.

In 1911, the various leaders decided to endeavour once again to consolidate these various organizations, an effort which culminated in the meeting on the Hoher Meißner (a mountain) from 11–13 October 1913 – at which 2,000 members of the *Wandervogel* movement took part – and the creation of the *Wandervogel-Einigungsbund* (Wandervogel Joint Organization). At this meeting the following wording was unanimously agreed upon:

The free German youth desires to shape their lives through their own determination, [assuming] the responsibility themselves with inner fidelity. They will unite together and stand up for this inner freedom under all circumstances.<sup>8</sup>

This clever formulation allowed the *Einigungsbund* to draw the line against outside (reformist) forces whilst at the same time ensuring that the individual subgroups could live and act according to their own tenets.

Throughout this initial period, the movement primarily involved youths from the upper middle class and aristocracy – the intellectual elite, so to speak – which was perhaps one of the reasons it was so successful. Indeed, one of the points of dissension during this process of renewal was whether to include pupils from lower level schools at all. The first organizers always worked in cooperation with both the school and parents. As Fritz Hellmuth wrote in relation to Hoffmann-Fölkersamb, there was “no talk of revolution against the school and parents. Hoffmann was not a revolutionary. He just enjoyed nature and the experience of hiking with youths with similar interests.”<sup>9</sup> Both Hoffmann-Fölkersamb and Fischer were partially supported actively by the more progressive, reform-oriented teachers at the gymnasium.

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<sup>8</sup> “Die freideutsche Jugend will aus eigener Bestimmung vor eigener Verantwortung mit innerer Wahrhaftigkeit ihr Leben gestalten. Für diese innere Freiheit tritt sie unter allen Umständen geschlossen ein.” Knud Ahlborn, “Wie es zum Jugendtag auf dem Hohen Meißner kam”, in: *Wandervogel und freideutsche Jugend* (see n. 1), 443.

<sup>9</sup> “Keine Rede von Revolution gegen Schule und Elternhaus. Hoffmann war kein Revolutionär. Er hatte nur Freude an der Natur und am Wandererlebnis mit gleichgesinnter Jugend.” Walther Gerber, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte* (see n. 1), 18.

As mentioned above, however, Hans Blüher published his history of the movement, *Wandervogel: Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung* in 1912, immediately causing a furore, in part due to its exclusive recognition of Karl Fischer as the founder of the *Wandervogel*. In addition, it was a polemic outcry against the mechanization of society and the restrictions placed on the younger generation growing up, forcing them to turn to nature in order to be able to educate themselves naturally:

The *Wandervogel* is up to his last romantic blooming, the noblest and finest and at the same time wildest [creation] that youth has ever been able to forge without asking anything of the generation of their fathers. They had to create it because they were suppressed by an eternally unsuccessful educational system. It is a process of nature, a regeneration, a great purification of identity [*Gemüt*], and that is how one must understand the *Wandervogel* in his deepest core, if one does not want to remain a stranger to him. But it happened, as all such great transformations, below the level of common awareness. There is no intention there, no system, and that which an individual has thought out and planned for himself never had a big influence over that which really happened. The *Wandervogel* never had a unified intention, a goal, an ideal, unless it was romanticism itself. It was always only the protest of the youth against the deformation of its identity [*Gemüt*].<sup>10</sup>

The book was extraordinarily successful due to the degree that it managed to capture the atmosphere of the movement at the time. As a consequence it caused those involved in the *Wandervogel* to accept much of its content

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10 “Der Wandervogel ist bis in sein Letztes romantisches Geblütes, das Edelste und Feinste und das Wildeste zugleich, was je eine Jugend hatte schaffen können, ohne einen Deut nach der Generation ihrer Väter zu fragen. Sie mußte es schaffen, weil sie unterdrückt war durch ein ewig mißlingendes System der Erziehung. Es ist ein Naturprozeß, eine Regeneration, eine große Reinigung des Gemütes, und so muß man den Wandervogel in seinem tiefsten Innern verstehen, wenn man ihm nicht fremd bleiben will. Aber es geschah, wie alle solche großen Umbildungen, unterhalb des allgemeinen Bewußtseins. Es steckt keine Absicht drin, kein System, und was ein einzelner dabei sich ergrübelt und geplant hat, das ist für das wirkliche Geschehen nie von großem Einfluß gewesen. Der Wandervogel hat niemals eine einheitliche Tendenz gehabt, ein Ziel, ein Ideal, es sei denn die Romantik selber. Es war immer nur Protest der Jugend gegen die Verbildung ihres Gemütes.” Hans Blüher, *Wandervogel: Geschichte einer Jugendbewegung*, Prien: Anthropos Verlag 1919<sup>4</sup>, vol. 1, 73.

without question, thereby colouring all later histories of the movement, transforming the organization from its very origins into a protest movement. Reading the book today, I am reminded of J. D. Salinger's *Catcher in the rye* which in a similar fashion managed to delineate the adolescent world of the 1950s so accurately that everybody read it, thus also changing society's view of that world. Based on the evidence presented in Walther Gerber's book, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der deutschen Wandervogelbewegung*, however, the over-simplification of Blüher's argumentation must be rejected.<sup>11</sup> Nonetheless, it is clear that the nature and success of the organization made it attractive to many reform movements, in time imbuing it with a revolutionary character and a romantically tinged drive for solving the difficulties of the industrial age through a return to nature.

One of the strongest external reformist forces the movement encountered was that represented by Gustav Wyneken, one of the founders of the *Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf* (Free School Wickersdorf) in 1906, who not only gave a fiery speech at the meeting on the Hohe Meißner, but followed it up with an essay, *Was ist Jugendkultur?* (What is Youth Culture?). There he writes that

[t]he *Wandervogel* signifies a completely unprecedented enkindling and awakening of the youth. Here they learned what life is, and in contrast to the lifelessness within the family and the passivity in school, it now takes hold of its own effervescent life. The *Wandervogel's* elementary force is based upon this. In it life, until then repressed, was set free [...]. Despite the enormity of the biological accomplishment of the *Wandervogel* – the saving of the independent life of youth – its “spiritual” [*geistige*] achievement is imperfect and provisional. Here it has done nothing other than formulate the question, the question namely about a new special youth culture. The answer it has given, however, cannot be other than unsatisfactory in the long run.<sup>12</sup>

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11 See n. 1.

12 “Der Wandervogel bedeutet ein ganz beispielloses Aufatmen und Erwachung der Jugend. Hier lernte sie, was Leben heißt, und in Gegensatz zu der Unlebendigkeit in der Familie und der Passivität in der Schule hält sie sich jetzt an ihr eigenes in ihr aufquellendes Leben. Hierauf beruht die elementare Kraft des Wandervogels. In ihm wurde das bisher unterdrückte Leben entfesselt [...]. Aber so groß die biologische Tat des Wandervogels ist, die Rettung des Eigenlebens der Jugend, so unvollkommen und provisorisch

and further

Youth's task is now to learn, i. e. to somehow acquire the spirit [*Geistesbesitz*] of the present and the means, to manage and propagate this spirit.<sup>13</sup>

In this Wyneken was advocating the cultural theology that he, together with August Halm, one of the initial teachers and an influential music theorist, had promulgated through the *Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf* (Free School in Wickersdorf). Lee Rothfarb describes it in the following manner:

the Wickersdorf ersatz religion stressed social and moral values inherent in objective spirit; mythologized the works of selected artists, musicians, and poets as models of cultural values; replaced institutionalized objectives of mass education with personalized objectives for unfolding unique talents, and rejected "conventional wisdom" and fostered critical thinking to build individuality and develop independence.<sup>14</sup>

Although the *Einigungsbund* refused to cede control to Wyneken and his desire to transform it into an agent of pedagogical reform, these values later came to dominate the *Jugendmusikbewegung*.

With the outbreak of World War I, all real development in the movement stopped, as most leaders and members joined the war effort immediately, their physical strength and patriotic feelings having been honed by their communal activities. When the members returned after the war, there was a need for general reorganization, as they had not only lost so many of their numbers, but in addition, those who came back were no longer of the proper age group. It is through this reorganization that the *Jugendmusikbe-*

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ist seine geistige Leistung. Hier hat er eigentlich nichts getan als die Frage gestellt, die Frage nämlich nach einer neuen besonderen Jugendkultur. Die Antwort aber, die er gegeben hat, kann auf die Dauer nicht befriedigen." Gustav Wyneken, *Was ist Jugendkultur?*, Munich: Georg C. Steinicke 1914 (Schriften der Münchner Freien Studentenschaft 1, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition), 10–11.

13 "Die Aufgabe der Jugend ist nun einmal, zu lernen, d.h. sich irgendwie den Geistesbesitz der Gegenwart und die Mittel, selber diesen Geistesbesitz zu verwalten und zu vermehren, anzueignen." Ibid., 13.

14 Lee A. Rothfarb, *August Halm: a critical and creative life in music*, Rochester: University of Rochester Press 2009 (Eastman Studies in Music [68]), 16.

*wegung* arose. Before turning to this, however, let us look at the role music had played within the *Wandervogel* up until that time.

### The role of music in the *Wandervogel* movement

From the movement's very inception, music had been an important element, both as a means of creating communal cohesion and as a motivating force for establishing and maintaining the march tempo during the excursions. We know this not only from the stories, but also from the list of songs that participants were expected to learn for the four-week summer excursion to the Bohemian Forest which Hermann Hoffman-Fölkersamb led in 1899. Of the 68 songs, 47 were to be learned by heart and it was suggested that one should begin practicing them early with colleagues in preparation for the trip. The songs are almost exclusively from the 19th century, with subjects in praise of the life of the wayfarer, soldier or student, as well as the countryside, or Germany. There are only two love songs among them (see Appendix 1).<sup>15</sup>

Two factors soon led to a shift in interest. On the one hand, around or slightly before the time Karl Fischer assumed the leadership of the *Wandervogel*, Max Pohl took over the choir at the Steglitz Gymnasium. Employed as a teacher at the school, Pohl had a love for music, but no experience as a choir director. His choice of works for the school choir's first concert was too ambitious and he was therefore advised to turn to folk songs and music from earlier eras instead. For this purpose he drew on the repertoire found in several nineteenth-century collections of German folk songs: two of Rochus von Liliencron, *Historische Volkslieder der Deutschen* (1865) and *Deutsches Leben im Volksliede um 1530* (1884), Franz Magnus Böhme's *Altdeutsches Liederbuch* (1877), and Max Friedländer's *Hundert deutsche Volkslieder*

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<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to the Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung in Burg Ludwigstein for providing me a copy of the transcription Fritz Hellmuth made of the original instructions, which are notated in the Schrey stenographic system found under the signature A 1 Nr. 2. As far as I am aware, the names of the songs in this list are not found in the secondary literature on the *Wandervogel*, and I have therefore included them in Appendix 1.

(1885).<sup>16</sup> Pohl became so enthusiastic about this approach that in 1905 he published an essay – “Das deutsche Volkslied im Gesangunterricht des Gymnasiums” (The German Folk Song in Music Instruction at the Gymnasium) – as a supplement to the annual report of the school.<sup>17</sup> In it, he speaks of the specific value of the entire “medieval” repertoire that had up until that time been overlooked in the school, citing numerous pieces from the middle of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. His interest in this music was thus an important influence on the first generation of the *Wandervogel*, in that they had been members of his choir. In addition, Pohl joined the board of the *Steglitzler Wandervogel, e. V. Steglitz* in 1905.

Parallel with this musical activity was Karl Fischer’s perception of the *Wandervogel* as being the successors of the medieval wayfaring scholars, to the extent that they also imitated their clothing, wearing capes and hats with feathers, and of course, singing their music. In doing so, they felt that they were reliving the period in which “all classes and estates of the nation participated in the writing and the singing of these songs, not only the people in the sense of the common man.”<sup>18</sup> Thus Pohl’s advocacy of this music was timely.

One of Copalle’s first acts after the founding of the *Wandervogel, e. V. Steglitz*, apart from founding the orchestra, was to create a committee, together with Frank Fischer and Bruno Thiede, to put together a songbook specifically for the *Wandervogel*. Their ideals were enumerated in a report about singing exercises in preparation for the excursions:

We place the main emphasis on the folk song; for from it stems the original strength of the German song from the time of the wayfaring scholars and hand-workers, the minnesinger and meistersinger. In the new as well as especially in the old folk song we find everything that moves the soul of the wayfaring youth, in

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<sup>16</sup> Max Pohl, “Musik im Steglitzer Gymnasium zu Breuers Zeiten”, in: *Die deutsche Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten ihrer Zeit von den Anfängen bis 1933*, ed. Wilhelm Scholz and Waltraut Jonas-Corrieri, Wolfenbüttel and Zürich 1980, 15–18.

<sup>17</sup> Steglitz, 1905.

<sup>18</sup> “an dem Dichten und Singen dieser Lieder alle Klassen und Stände der Nation sich beteiligten, nicht allein das ‘Volk’ im Sinne des gemeinen Mannes.” Rochus von Lilien-cron, *Deutsches Leben im Volkslied um 1530*, Berlin: Möseler 1884, x of the foreword.

particular the wayfarer's song, then the scholar's song, or better said the apprentice's song. We intentionally omit the crude student beer songs with little content.<sup>19</sup>

And further in the introduction of *Das Wandervogel-Liederbuch*, Berlin, 1905 he writes that

[w]e hope on the whole to have only included songs which, no matter how artistic or how simple they are, are authentic in spirit and true in form; for that reason we have been especially happy to grant space for many robust, strong and true-hearted songs of earlier centuries, and forbidden on the other hand false romanticism and sentimentality [...].<sup>20</sup>

This description of the dichotomy between earlier music and that of the nineteenth century is one that we will frequently encounter when examining the music aesthetic of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*.

Hans Breuer was also influenced by Max Pohl's instruction. He had stayed together with Fischer in the *Altwandervogel* (Old Wandervogel), but decided to join the *Wandervogel, Deutscher Bund* in 1907. On moving to Heidelberg to complete his medical studies, he founded, together with Hans Lißner, the Heidelberg *Pachantei*. Through his personality and his own clear vision of what the *Wandervogel* movement could and should achieve, Breuer assumed a leading ideological role within it. What he is primarily known for today is his collection of folk songs, the *Zupfgeigenhansl*, which first appeared in print in 1909 and, with revisions, had sold over 300,000 copies

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19 "Den Hauptwert legen wir auf das Volkslied; denn hierin ruht die ursprüngliche Kraft des deutschen Gesanges aus den Zeiten der fahrenden Scholaren und Handwerksburschen, der Minne- und Meistersänger. Im neuen wie auch ganz besonders im alten Volksliede finden wir alles, was die Seele der wandernden Jugend bewegt, vor allem das Wanderlied, dann das Studentenlied oder besser gesagt das Burschenlied. Absichtlich übergehen wir die abgeschmackten und wenig inhaltreichen Kommerzlieder." In Ahrens, *Wandervogelbewegung* (see n. 6), 58.

20 "Überhaupt hoffen wir nur Lieder gebracht zu haben, welche, sie mögen noch so kunstvoll oder noch so schlicht sein, echt im Geiste und wahr in der Form sind; darum haben wir insbesondere vielen schönen derb-festen und treu-herzigen Liedern älterer Jahrhunderte gern Raum gegönnt, dagegen falsche Romantik und Sentimentalität [...] verboten." *Ibid.*, 58.

by 1926.<sup>21</sup> It is mainly made up of folk songs from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries, which, however, often exhibit rhythmic simplifications and at times melodic modifications. Breuer claimed that that “which the *Wandervogel* seeks outdoors is written in the folk song! One can verily say: the folk song is the perfect artistic expression of our *Wandervogel* ideals.”<sup>22</sup> According to Heinrich Ahrens, one of the major later historians of the movement, Breuer had three intentions with the *Zupfgeigenhansl*: 1) it should be used in the education of the German people; 2) it should be used to enhance the singing of the *Wandervogel*, as well as deepening their musical understanding; and 3) it should be used as an appeal to collect old folk songs as a creative act.<sup>23</sup> This led a song-collecting frenzy, with each group collecting and publishing its local songs.

A further musical development within the *Wandervogel* movement was the publication of Frank Fischer’s *Wandervogel-Liederbuch* (Zickfeldt-Osterwiek, 1910). It complemented the *Zupfgeigenhansl*, in that it presented songs largely from the 19th century for two voices, whereas the earlier songbook was for a single voice, in later versions with a guitar accompaniment.

This turn towards the use of more voices was taken one step further by the edition of *Alte Volkslieder* in 1913 by Waldemar von Baussnern. Von Baussnern observed that the guitar accompaniments were inappropriate for the older melodies as

every note has weight, requires independence, it is not merely a fleeting, ornamental neighbour note. As a result, these melodies require a more independent harmonization, since a *unisono* singing of such airs, which can only be understood melodically, is something we no longer know. This harmonization is difficult, often impossible on the guitar, the modern folk song instrument, because it also absolutely demands the free improvisation of counter-melodies for these songs by a practiced musician. – These difficulties have thus also hindered the old songs from the Zupf-

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<sup>21</sup> Hilmar Höckner, *Die Musik in der deutschen Jugendbewegung*, Wolfenbüttel: Kallmeyer 1927 (Werkschriften der Musikantengilde, 1), 30, footnote 1.

<sup>22</sup> “Was der Wandervogel draußen sucht, das steht im Volkslied geschrieben! Man kann wohl sagen: das Volkslied ist der vollendete Ausdruck unserer Wandervogel-Ideale.” Cited in Höckner, *Musik in der Jugendbewegung* (see n. 21), 44.

<sup>23</sup> Heinrich Ahrens, *Die deutsche Wandervogelbewegung von den Anfängen bis zum Weltkrieg*, Hamburg: Hansischer Gildenverlag 1939, 101–104.

geigenhansl from being correctly sung. One could not do justice to them, although they, in particular, could lay claim to caring attention, as they are often small musical works of art of great value.<sup>24</sup>

There is a bitter-sweetness to this introduction: on the one hand it acknowledges that the guitar accompaniments typical of the *Wandervogel* were inappropriate for this music, but the settings themselves are, both melodically and harmonically, typical of nineteenth-century arrangements for men's choir, rather than an actual return to the original mode of composition, as can be seen in Baussnern's arrangement of *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen* (see Example 1).

Early in the movement, in emulation of the wayfaring medieval scholars, the *Wandervogel* began taking along guitars or lute-guitars to accompany their songs (to which the *Zupfgeige*, the "plucked violin", a colloquial expression for the guitar, is a reference). Indeed, playing the guitar became such a rage, that there were many complaints about the poor quality of the playing, and the dissonances resulting from lack of agreement on the harmonies, no doubt in part due to lack of knowledge. Among others Heinrich Scherrer published a lute method in 1911, "An abbreviated folk method for lute and guitar; easily understood instructions in how to teach yourself to harmonize (even without being able to read music, that is by ear and according to your rhythmic sense)" in order to deal with this problem.<sup>25</sup> This was of sig-

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24 "Jeder Ton ist gewichtig, verlangt Selbständigkeit, er ist nicht einfach ein flüchtiger Nebenton, der schmücken soll. Dadurch ergibt sich, daß diese Melodien eine selbständigere Harmonieunterlage fordern, denn ein einstimmiges Singen solcher nur melodisch zu denkenden Weisen kennen wir heute nicht mehr. Diese Harmonisierung ist auf der Gitarre, dem modernen Volksliedinstrument, sehr schwer, oft unmöglich, wie es auch unbedingt einen geübten Musiker verlangt, Gegenstimmen für diese Melodien frei zu improvisieren. – Diese Schwierigkeiten haben es denn auch verhindert, daß die alten Lieder aus dem Zupfgeigenhansl recht gesungen wurden. Man konnte ihnen eben nicht gerecht werden, obwohl gerade sie ein liebevolles Eingehen verlangen können, da sie nicht selten kleine musikalische Kunstwerke von hohem Werte sind." Waldemar von Baussnern, *Alte Volkslieder, dreistimmig gesetzt*, Marburg: Elwert 1913, 6.

25 *Kurzgefaßte volkstümliche Lauten- und Gitarrenschule; eine leichtverständliche Anleitung für den Selbstunterricht im Akkordieren (auch ohne Notenkenntnis, also nach*

14. Abschied von Innsbruck.

Gemessen. 1539.

1. Innsbruck, ich muß dich las · sen, ich fahr da · hin mein Stra · ßen ins frem · de Land da · hin. Mein  
 freud ist mir ge · nom · men, die ich nit weiß be · kom · men, wo ich im E · · · · · lend bin.

2. Groß Leid muß ich jetzt tragen,  
 Daß ich allein tu Klagen  
 Dem liebsten Sühlen mein.  
 Ach Lieb, nun laß mich Armen  
 Im Herzen dein erbarmen,  
 Daß ich muß dannen sein!

3. Mein Trost ob allen Weiben!  
 Dein tu ich ewig bleiben,  
 Stet, treu, der Ehren fromm.  
 Nun soll dich Gott bewahren,  
 In aller Engend sparen,  
 Bis daß ich wiederkomm.

Ex. 1: "Innsbruck ich muß dich lassen" arranged by Waldemar von Baussnern, in: idem (ed.), *Alte Volkslieder, dreistimmig gesetzt*, 1913, 17.

nificance, as he was to become the director of the Münchener Lautenistenkreis (München Lutenists' Circle), thus establishing a direct connection between the *Wandervogel* movement and those interested in the revival of the performance of earlier music on historical instruments. Scherrer's book was followed by the *Wandervogel-Lautenbuch* in 1913, lute (or guitar) settings by various *Wandervogel*, edited by Alfred Curella, and in 1914 by the tenth edition of the *Zupfgeigenhansl*, in which simple lute (or guitar) accompaniments by Scherrer were added.

In the same period Richard Möller was active in Hamburg. He wrote in 1916 that after ten to twelve years of increased interest in the lute and guitar, it was now in decline. Möller attributed this to the excellence of Hermann Scherrer's and Robert Kothe's performances, which made listeners aware of their own deficiencies. At the same time, the listeners could not envision taking the time to learn these skills, "only to accompany a few folk songs".<sup>26</sup>

dem Gehör und nach dem rhythmischen Gefühl), ed. Heinrich Scherrer, Leipzig: Hofmeister 1911.

<sup>26</sup> Richard Möller, "Laute und Lautenmusik", in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 40–41.

Möller was convinced – just as, when studying the piano, one normally doesn't plan on only playing song accompaniments – that it was necessary to play the music appropriate for the instrument, in order to gain the technical and musical freedom required for this task.<sup>27</sup> In order to cultivate this repertoire and the original instruments on which it was played, he founded the journal *Die Laute* (The Lute) in 1917. This was a momentous decision, as it not only served as a link between the *Wandervogel* and the Early Music revival movements, but also as a springboard for the development of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*.

### The Jugendmusikbewegung and the Singbewegung

As mentioned above, World War I created a kind of limbo for the *Wandervogel*, as essentially all those of age enlisted in the army, requiring younger boys to assume greater responsibilities. And it is just in this vacuum that the music-pedagogical interests of Fritz Jöde (1887–1970) began to make themselves felt. He trained as a teacher in Hamburg, where he was an elementary school teacher until enlisting in the army at the outbreak of WWI. Wounded in 1915, he returned to teaching in 1916. Upon the sudden death of Richard Möller in 1918, Jöde took over as editor of *Die Laute*, which he increasingly used as a vehicle to further his own interests in the reform of the music instruction in schools. Through him, the ideas of Gustav Wyneken and August Halm – the music theorist who helped Wyneken build up the Freie Schulgemeinde Wickersdorf – came to have a great influence on the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, although as mentioned above, they had been rejected at the meeting on the Hohe Meißner in 1913. Halm saw the source of the difficulties in music pedagogy as being a result of the turn music had taken during the 19th century:

We developed increasingly toward music for musicians and further away from music for amateurs. Music was more and more for the experts, just as once religion was entrusted to the Priest, until someone found the courage to proclaim the teachings of the Priesthood. For us, such a reformation is necessary in music. And the

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid., 40–43.

music clergy, compelled by the reformation, would have to change and renew itself.<sup>28</sup>

For Wyneken and Halm, the *Jugendmusikbewegung* possessed the potential of being the beginning of such a reformation, one that would lead to the renewal of the entire German musical culture. But in order for this to take place, it would be necessary that those in the movement assume the responsibility of moving forward, of self-education, not merely remaining satisfied with the current level of communal singing. As Wyneken wrote in 1918:

There are also people in the *Wandervogel* now who also know a completely different [kind of] music than that of the folk song, namely the so-called great art [music], which is cultivated in the concert hall, on the piano, in the string quartet, etc. Over time these two kinds of music cannot exist in isolation from one another in the minds of these people. And, indeed, a certain superiority of the high art over the [folk] song culture is immediately evident. It moves in larger forms, in endlessly richer harmonies, it knows true development, intensification, structure, and has brought forth an almost boundless wealth of powerful works, a literature that is world unto itself.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, Wyneken was advocating taking advantage of the communal structure and interest in music of the local *Wandervogel* groups in order to advance his ideas on the reformation of music pedagogy of the standard repertoire.

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<sup>28</sup> August Halm, "Gegenwart und Zukunft der Musik", *Von Form und Sinn*, 253, originally in: *Das hohe Ufer 2* (1920), 134–142, as cited in the translation by Rothfarb, *August Halm* (see n. 14), 17.

<sup>29</sup> "Nun sind aber im Wandervogel auch Menschen, die noch eine ganz andere Musik kennen als die des Volksliedes, nämlich die sogenannte große Kunst, die im Konzertsaal, am Klavier, im Streichquartett usw. gepflegt wird. Im Gehirn dieser Menschen können diese zwei Arten der Musik auf die Dauer nicht beziehungslos nebeneinander ihr Dasein führen. Und zwar ist eine gewisse Überlegenheit der großen Kunst der Liedkultur unmittelbar einleuchtend. Sie bewegt sich in größeren Formen, in unendlich reicherer Harmonie, sie kennt wirkliche Entwicklung, Steigerung, Aufbau, und sie hat einen fast unübersehbaren Reichtum an mächtigen Werken hervorgebracht, eine Literatur, die eine ganze Welt für sich ist." In: "Grundsätzliches zur Führerfrage", in: *Musikalische Jugendkultur*, ed. Fritz Jöde, Hamburg: Freideutscher Jugendverlag Adolf Saal 1918, 17.

That this is in line with Fritz Jöde's own convictions, perhaps is even the source of them, is evident by the space he gives these two authors in his seminal collection of essays, *Musikalische Jugendkultur* (Musical Youth Culture, Hamburg, 1918). In 1919, Jöde was responsible for the constitution of the first *Musikergilde* (Musician's Guild) whose intent was to

remain true to the experience of youths, to go to the foundation of life, and also to its truest expression, music; and from there build upon this, and once again serve a recognized spiritual power, one that is being desecrated by a time foreign to it.<sup>30</sup>

He goes still further writing that

a musician's guild, which stems from the ranks of young people, can have no other purpose at all than being a dam against all musical kitsch to the benefit of the development of true art. And it wants to accomplish this, as well as it can, and first within the ranks from which it originally arose, in those of the Youth Movement.

It wants that which really has something to do with art and is destined to serve it, to cultivate and help it, to attain the service it is due, when it is hindered by external or internal circumstances. It wants to prepare the path for true works of art in all possible ways.

Further it wants to endeavour to see whether it can further support, by means of example, joining forces, and stimulation, any kind of musical work, particularly that flourishing from the terrain of the new youth, seriously working music groups on the path to music.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> “[...] dem Erlebnis der Jugend treu, dem Leben, und also auch seinem reinsten Ausdruck, der Musik, auf den Grund gehen, von da sich dann aufwärts bauen und der einmal erkannten geistigen Macht, die durch eine ihr fremde Zeit geschändet wird, aufs neue dienen.” From an individual printed page, probably from 1921, in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 81.

<sup>31</sup> “[Angesichts dieser Tatsache] kann eine Musikergilde, die aus den Reihen der Jugend hervorging, überhaupt keine andere Aufgabe haben, als ein Damm zu sein gegen allen musikalischen Kitsch zugunsten der Entfaltung wahrer Kunst. Und das will sie denn auch erfüllen, so gut sie vermag, uns zwar zuerst in den Reihen, aus denen sie ursprünglich hervorging, in denen der Jugendbewegung. Sie will, was wirklich mit Kunst zu tun hat und ihr kraftvoll zu dienen bestimmt ist, fördern und ihm helfen, den ihm gemäßen Dienst zu erreichen, wenn er durch äußere oder innere Umstände verhindert wird. Sie

This then, is Fritz Jöde's program, one which he followed intensively during the coming years, gradually integrating it with a new music pedagogical approach in the schools. In this he was following a somewhat contradictory path, in that while he was furthering the musical "self-education" of the youth, he was at the same time creating a music curriculum for the schools. This was facilitated by his being named professor of folk music education at the Staatliche Akademie für Kirchen- und Schulmusik (State Academy for Church and School Music) in Berlin in 1923, where, in the same year, Jöde founded the first state *Jugendmusikschule* (Youth Music School) in Berlin-Charlottenburg. In 1924, the first youth music week took place in Lobeda. When it was noticed that more leaders were needed, training for them was also organized. It was just this sort of organization for which Jöde was so talented. He created numerous journals, published his *Alte Madrigale* and *Der Musikant: Lieder für die Schule*, as well as many other works. In addition, he stimulated the interest of contemporary composers, such as Paul Hindemith, in writing music for the use of amateurs through his cultivation of *Hausmusik*. In all of this, Jöde was supported by the publisher Georg Kallmeyer, as well as the musicologists Friedrich Blume, Hans Mersmann and Hans Joachim Moser.

Parallel to this, Walter Hensel (or Julius Janiczek, as he was originally named) was proceeding along another path involving many of the same elements. His training lay in philology and composition, having studied in Vienna, Freiburg (Switzerland), and Prague. In 1912, Hensel was given the job of collecting and notating folk songs from Carinthia, while at the same time he was teaching French and German at the German Handels-Akademie in Prague. During the final year of his studies, in 1911, he was one of the founding members of German Bohemian and Moravian Silesian *Wander-vogel* groups, and after the creation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, became the person responsible for music at the week-long events devoted to folk educa-

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will also wirklichen Kunstwerken auf alle mögliche Weise den Weg bahnen. Sie will darüber hinaus durch Beispiel, Zusammenschluß und Anregung versuchen, ob sie auch jeglicher praktischen Musikarbeit, insonderheit der auf dem Boden der neuen Jugend gewachsenen, ernsthaft arbeitenden Musikgruppen auf dem Wege der Musik weiterzuhelfen vermag." *Ibid.*, 82.

tion held throughout the country. In 1923, Hensel organized his first *Singwoche* (Singing Week) in Finkenstein, which in turn led to the creation of many groups within the *Finkensteiner Bund* throughout Germany and in the countries immediately surrounding it. The movement associated with his work was often called the *Singbewegung* (Singing Movement).

Given his background and his education, Walter Hensel was perhaps more fervently, more eloquently nationalistic in his approach to music than Jöde, in particular, to the German folk song. Exemplary of this are the opening sentences of his book, *Im Zeichen des Volksliedes* (Reichenberg, 1922):

Our people is ill. Its truest friend and comforter, the song, has become silent and has disappeared; replete with ingratitude, one has banned it from the realm. The artificial bird, however proudly as it behaves, is only an illusion for the eye, but has no spirit and no soul. And when the hour of need is nigh, its entire art fails; dazedly it sits brooding. The true bird, the dispossessed child, to which one calls for help in the utmost despair, comes and sings our people back to health.<sup>32</sup>

And he describes just how he sees this taking place in the following words:

A new world of amateurs is growing to the same degree that new, God-filled priests of art arise. The last hour has soon struck for the “prom” brass-band concerts, for the empty beer-table songs of alleged freedom and manly virtues. One world sinks into dust and ruins, another arises ablaze from the depths: all is falling apart and a fresh wind is blowing from the mountain tops.

Singing communities join together throughout the country, the cells for a future song-loving and pious folk community. In the singing community the unholy schism between the worlds of artists and amateurs has been brooked for the first time in hundreds of years. One should not object that there were, however, big choirs, made up almost entirely of amateurs, who were led by an important director,

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<sup>32</sup> “Unser Volk ist krank. Sein treuester Freund und Tröster, das Lied, ist verstummt und verschollen; man hat ihn voll Undankbarkeit aus dem Reiche verjagt. Der künstliche Vogel, so stolz er sich auch gebärdet, ist bloß ein Blendwerk für das Auge, hat aber keinen Geist und keine Seele. Und ist die Stunde der Not da, so versagt seine ganze Kunst; stumpfsinnig brütet er dahin. Der echte Vogel, das verstoßene Kind, das man in der höchsten Verzweiflung zuhelfe ruft, kommt herbei und singt unser Volk gesund.” Kassel: Bärenreiter 1936<sup>2</sup>, 13.

which cultivated the most famous choir works of all time. We do not want to deny the good which they accomplish; but where do you find the spirit of the community there? And who tells us that the effect of the same work for choir, sung by other people, moved to the depths [of their souls], would not achieve a hundred or thousand times more? First let the singing communities grow, which today quietly allow the old folk songs and chorales to imbue them!<sup>33</sup>

The language in these quotations gives an inkling of the charisma of Walter Hensel. The singing weeks he organized were highly successful, demanding unconditional subordination of all participants to the community and “serious cooperation, carried by the consciousness of communal responsibility.”<sup>34</sup> His wife, the singer Olga Pokorny Hensel, contributed to the quality of the choral singing with daily instruction in vocal production. An idea of the seriousness with which they were approaching the task of the musical education of the German people may perhaps best be gained from the questionnaire found in the first volume of the movement’s journal, *Die Singgemeinde*, by means of which the Hensels hoped to expedite their preparation of future courses.<sup>35</sup> The questions range from what one can hear, obviously from the

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33 “Ein neues Laientum wächst heran, in dem Maße, als auch neue, gotterfüllte Priester der Kunst erstehen. Den Promenadeblechkonzerten, den hohlen Biertischgesängen von angeblicher Freiheit und Mannestugend hat bald das letzte Stündlein geschlagen. Eine Welt versinkt in Staub und Trümmer, eine neue fährt flammend aus der Tiefe: Es kracht in allen Fugen, und ein frischer Wind weht von den Berggipfeln her. Singgemeinden schließen sich rings im Lande zusammen, die Zellen für eine künftige sangesfrohe und gottesstarke Volksgemeinschaft. In der Singgemeinde ist der unselige Zwiespalt zwischen Künstlerschaft und Laientum zum erstenmal wieder gelöst seit Hunderten von Jahren. Man wende nicht ein, wir hätten ja große Chorvereinigungen, fast durchwegs aus Laien bestehend, an deren Spitze bedeutende Dirigenten stehen, und die die berühmtesten Chorwerke aller Zeiten pflegen. Wir wollen das Gute, das sie leisten voll anerkennen; doch wo steckt da der Geist der Gemeinschaft? Und wer sagt uns, daß die Wirkung desselben Chorwerkes, von anderen, innerlich ergriffenen Menschen getragen, nicht ein Hundert-, ja ein Tausendfaches ausmacht? Laßt erst die Singgemeinden heranwachsen, die heute noch im Stillen die alten Volkslieder und Choräle auf sich wirken lassen!” In: “Künstler und Laien”, *Die Singgemeinde* 1 (1924), 1–12.

34 “Ernstes Mitarbeiten, getragen von Bewußtsein gemeinsamer Verantwortung”, in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 228.

35 “Ein musikpsychologischer Fragebogen”, in: *Die Singgemeinde* 1 (1925), 75–78.

standpoint of view of a trained musician, to tendentious inquiries concerning whether one can distinguish recorded from live music, and which of these one prefers.

In the building up of the *Finkensteinerbund*, Hensel was actively helped by the musicologist Konrad Ameln, the first editor of *Die Singgemeinde*, and Karl Vötterle, the founder of Bärenreiter Verlag, whose initial publications were solely in support of the movement. The network they established led to the founding of the Neue Schütz Gesellschaft with Friedrich Ludwig, Christoph Mahrenholz, and Hans Joachim Moser, including a new complete edition of that composer's works, as well as to the development of the trombone choirs under Wilhelm Ehmman.

As both of these movements were lucky enough to become affiliated with a publisher early on, they were responsible for most of the first practical editions of what we now consider Early Music. As Hans Mersmann wrote in 1927:

Not only the editions of the large publication houses edited by musicologists maintain a respectable standard of editing criteria, but also the practical publications of the *Jugendmusik* strive for purity and quality in their editions. On the one hand it is symbolic that for this work the *Jugendmusik* appears to have found a connection with current efforts [in this regard], but on the other, their close connection with a number of younger musicologists is a strong and significant benefit.<sup>36</sup>

The difference between the goals of the programs of *Finkensteinerbund* and *Jugendmusik* movements, however, meant that apart from the folk songs and vocal music from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which both organizations published, the *Musikantengilden* under Jöde tended to print more instrumental and modern music for amateurs, whereas there was a greater

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<sup>36</sup> “Nicht nur die von Wissenschaftlern revidierten Ausgaben der grossen Verlage halten im allgemeinen eine achtbare Höhe des Editionsprinzips, sondern auch die ganz in der Praxis stehenden Ausgaben der Jugendmusik bemühen sich um Reinheit und Höhe ihrer Ausgaben. Ist es für diese Arbeit der Jugendmusik einmal symbolisch, dass sie den Zusammenhang mit dem gegenwärtigen Schaffen gefunden zu haben scheint, so bedeutet andererseits ihre enge Verbindung mit einer Reihe jüngerer Musikwissenschaftler eine starke und wesentliche Bereicherung.” Hans Mersmann, “Alte Musik in der Instrumentalen Musikerziehung”, in: *Melos* 6 (1927), 323.

emphasis on vocal and sacred music on the part of Hensel. Although the organizations' paths and goals were clearly not identical, both shared the same roots and many of the same attitudes towards society, which in turn manifested themselves in a common moral code and music aesthetic.

### The music aesthetic of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*

The central amalgamating factor of the various groups was music. At first *Volkslieder*, folk songs, were the preferred musical vehicle, being perceived as works of art that brought people back to their roots. Shortly thereafter German songs from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries came to be perceived as works in which man and nature were most closely united, an antithesis to industrialization, and thus highly suited to the building up of cohesive organizations. The participants were often accused of anachronism, of wanting to turn back the clock. This was rejected by the composer Walter Rein in 1924:

This is not "historicism" as some seemingly modern progressives accuse the young, no, this cultivation of early music [...] stems from another attitude towards the world. The joining together of young people for common walks, common work, common activities and life means a rejection of the refined I-culture, to which the individualism of the previous century has advanced, and the turn towards the commonweal in aspiration towards a goal that lies beyond that of the individual. The young sought connection with something greater, something above man. Music with its ability to create a community began to play a role. The path taken here could be none other than a renunciation of romanticism – which made music into the reflection of one's own soul – and an advance towards a music which could be served, one whose anchor in the end lay in the cosmos [...]. With this music the young found an appropriate style for themselves, the image or, better said, the symbol of their communal life: *polyphony*.<sup>37</sup>

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37 "Das ist nicht Historizismus, wie es manche modern gebärdende Fortschrittler der Jugend vorwerfen, nein, diese Pflege alter Musik [...] entspringt einer andern Einstellung der Welt gegenüber. Der Zusammenschluß der Jugend zu gemeinsamen Wandern, gemeinsamer Arbeit, gemeinsamem Tun und Leben bedeutete eine Abkehr von der verfeinerten Ichkultur, zu der sich der Individualismus des vergangenen Jahrhunderts gesteigert hatte, und ein Hinwenden zur Gemeinsamkeit im Streben nach einem über dem Ich liegenden Ziele. Die Jugend suchte Bindung an ein Größeres, Übermenschliches. Die

The degree of moral idealism within the movement becomes clear through this passage. As with all such movements, the participants wanted to change the world for the better. From their own experiences they had come to realize that the feelings engendered by singing together in a meaningful way could be used to create an expanded sense of community. For instance, in 1925, Hermann Reichenbach declared:

Now that one strips away this indifference and courageously shapes how one experiences life, now that one dares again to acknowledge faith, longing, and life, allows them to have their entire creative effect in daily life, art takes on a completely different task. There are no psychological remnants that are pushing their way out, as life on the inside is in balance with that on the outside. Now music has suddenly become a material, a substance distinct from us, an organism outside of us, one which is, however, a symbol for the divine to the same degree that an animal is, or a landscape, or a human social gathering. And it is because of this symbolic content that we are joined together. Not out of emotional affection, not for beauty, not as an expression of our personality, but as a necessary, self-evident act of living.<sup>38</sup>

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Musik mit ihrer gemeinschaftsbildenden Kraft begann eine Rolle zu spielen. Der Weg, der hier gegangen wurde, konnte gar kein anderer sein, als Abkehr von der Romantik, die die Musik zum Spiegelbild der eigenen Seele machte und Hinwenden zu einer Musik, der gegenüber ein Dienst möglich, die letzten Endes im Kosmischen verankert war [...]. Mit dieser Musik fand die Jugend den ihr adäquaten Stil, das Abbild oder besser das Symbol ihres eigenen Gemeinschaftslebens: die P o l y p h o n i e." Walter Rein, "Erziehung zum polyphonen Singen", in: *Deutsche Musikpflege*, ed. Josef Ludwig Fischer and Ludwig Lade, Frankfurt a. M.: Verlag des Bühnenvolkbundes 1924, as cited in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 595.

<sup>38</sup> "Nun war aber diese Blasiertheit abstreift und das Erleben des Lebens mutig gestaltet, nun wagt man wieder, Glaube, Sehnsucht und Liebe zu bekennen, im Alltag voll und ganz schöpferisch auswirken zu lassen, nun gewinnt die Kunst eine ganz andere Aufgabe. Es sind keine psychischen Restbestände da, die nach außen drängen, denn das Innenleben steht mit dem Außenleben im Gleichgewicht. Nun steht die Musik auf einmal stofflich da, substanziell einen gegenüber, als ein Organismus außer uns, der aber ein Symbol des Göttlichen ist in demselben Maß, wie ein Tier, eine Landschaft oder eine menschliche Gesellschaft. Und um dieses Symbolgehaltes willen sind wir verbunden. Nichts als Gefühlsbewegtheit, nicht als Schönheit, nicht als Ausdruck unserer Persönlichkeit, sondern als ein notwendiger, selbstverständlicher Akt des Lebens." Hermann Reichenbach,

Here we begin to see some of the fundamental underlying issues which will characterize the *Jugendmusikbewegung's* ideals concerning the performance of sixteenth-century music. The task was to bring music to life with other fellow human beings, and in doing so delve down to the depths of their inherent essence, thereby establishing a connection with the divine. They perceived this as being distinct from the Romantic approach, in which it was felt that professional mastery was cultivated at the expense of true musical values. Heine Eppinger expressed this clearly:

We reject vile *virtuosity*, which trains a soulless, purely technical proficiency for use in concerts. All music-making should be pursued for the sake of the joy that it creates, and for the sake of the purifying and moralizing force that flows from it.<sup>39</sup>

Olga Pokorny Hensel formulated this in an even more extreme manner, implying that true music can only be “channelled” by artists who are willing to subordinate themselves to a higher power:

Art is only then really art when it brings us spiritual growth [...]. Only when we experience something divine in music and recognize the creator of a work of art as a vessel through which the divine flows, is there noble music at all [...]. [The artist must be] the mediator and obey – in the truest meaning of the word – God.<sup>40</sup>

Thus for members of the *Singbewegung*, singing became a means of spiritual development, something to be cultivated seriously, plumbed to the depths. This was what separated them not only from what they perceived to be the sentimental excesses of Romanticism, but it is how they perceived that they

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“Die Musik der Jugendbewegung”, in: *Melos* 12 (1925), as cited in *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 933.

<sup>39</sup> “Das üble Virtuositentum, das eine seelenlose, reine technische Fertigkeit zum Konzertgebrauch erzeugt, lehnen wir ab. Alles Muzieren soll um der Freude willen, die es schafft, und um der läuternden, versittlichenden Kraft willen, die daraus quillt, getrieben werden.” Heine Eppinger, *Singgemeinde* 1 (1924), 2.

<sup>40</sup> “Kunst ist nur dann wirkliche Kunst, wenn sie uns geistiges Wachstum bringt]. Nur wenn wir in der Musik etwas Göttliches empfinden und im Schöpfer eines Kunstwerkes das Gefäß erkennen, durch das ein Göttliches strömt, gibt es überhaupt eine edle Musik [...].” Olga Pokorny, “Erneuerung und Veredlung der Hausmusik”, in: *Die Laute* 3 (1919), 39.

might change the world for the better, might overcome the problems that had led to World War I.

This attitude was taken yet further, to the extent that music itself was almost perceived as the godhead. Max Schlenzog voiced the opinion in 1920 that

[m]usic flows from God, has no other purpose than the purpose (of all arts) itself: the representation of God. It is thus always religious in its origin, life and goal. This eternal music – music beyond all purposes – is called *Musik an sich* or “absolute music”! [...] Therefore it does not serve in a church service or in a religious observance; it does not issue from the mood of its creator, but from his convictions. Thus one cannot approach it in a lighthearted state, i. e. with letting go, relaxation, but [only] with conviction, i. e. with structure, tension, not with the desire for leisure but with the desire for work. It knows no other laws than itself, as it itself is the law, that is the law of conviction, generosity, omniperceptency and stringency. It also knows no standards, as it is a standard itself.<sup>41</sup>

Once again we are reminded of the sublime nature of music, that it must be approached with seriousness, so that through it we can move closer to the divine and grow spiritually. In all these quotations we have consistently seen that music is perceived as a mediator to some greater power, or perhaps is even the greater power itself.

How did this moral and ethical background manifest itself in the performance practices of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, and how did these practices differ from those of the Romantic? The differences can be summed up in two

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<sup>41</sup> “Die Musik fließt aus Gott, hat keinen anderen Zweck, als den Zweck (aller Kunst) an sich: Darstellung Gottes, ist also immer religiös in Ursprung, Leben und Ziel. Man nennt diese zeitlose und über alle Zwecke erhabene Musik auch die ‘Musik an sich’, die ‘absolute’! [...] Deswegen dient sie auch nicht dem Gottesdienst oder einer heiligen Handlung, denn sie ist selbst Gottesdienst und heilige Handlung. Sie entquillt nicht der Stimmung ihres Schöpfers, sondern seiner Gesinnung. Daher darf man ihr nicht mit Stimmung, d. i. Auflösung, Entspannung, nahen, sondern mit Gesinnung, d. i. Aufbau, Hochspannung, nicht mit dem Wille zur Muße, sondern mit dem Willen zur Arbeit. Sie kennt keine andern Gesetze denn sich selbst, denn sie ist Gesetz, d.h. das Gesetz der Gesinnung, Großzügigkeit, das Allgeföhls und der Herbheit. Auch kennt sie keine Maßstäbe, denn sie ist selbst Maßstab.” Max Schlenzog, “Die Erfüllung”, in: *Die Laute* 4 (1921), 54.

pairs of antonyms: objective vs. subjective and unsentimental vs. sentimental. For members of this movement, the Romantic style was emblematic for all evils of modern life: the desire to be entertained, to have one's emotions superficially tickled, the chasing of the glamour of current fashion, as opposed to plumbing the depths of cosmic meaning. In this context Fritz Jöde's observation of 1921 makes sense:

The entire path through the musical Romantic of the previous century resulted in the predominance everywhere of subjective lyricisms in our musicality. Thus it is an error and gross contamination of style that today old madrigals are often sung like nineteenth-century choral works, in which the particular emphasis lies in the painstaking elaboration of the performance in the poetic sense; and it is high time to return from these poetic excesses in performance to the actual musical content of *a capella* music itself.<sup>42</sup>

What exactly was Jöde referring to when he wrote of "poetic excesses in performance"? This can perhaps be illustrated by an edition of the folksong *Ich weiß mir ein Maidlein hübsch und fein*, set by numerous composers in the nineteenth century, among them Mendelssohn, Brahms, and here Richard Strauss. In this connection, Strauss was considered to be one of the greatest anathemas of the Romantic style. Typical for this is Paul Klikstat's condemnation of this arrangement when he wrote in 1931 that it represents a "purely artistic juggling with the folksong", and further that its melody is truly shaped into a choral art song of a highly Romantic nature. The art and skill of the arranger degenerates into mannerism. In spite of the extreme effort to write independent voices, all of the harmonic effects indelibly mark

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42 "Der ganze Weg durch die musikalische Romantik des vorigen Jahrhunderts hat es mit sich gebracht, daß subjektive Lyrismen an allen Ecken und Enden unsere Musikalität durchsetzen. So ist es ein Irrtum und eine arge Stilverunreinigung dazu, daß alte Madrigale heute oft wie Chöre des 19. Jahrhunderts [...] gesungen werden, bei denen ein besonderes Schwergewicht auf die Vortragsausarbeitung in dichterischem Sinne liegt, und es ist höchste Zeit, von diesem dichterischen Vortragsunwesen wieder zum eigentlichen musikalischen Gehalt der A capella-Musik zurückzukehren." Fritz Jöde, "Zur Wiedererweckung der alten Chorkunst", in: *Die Laute* 5 (1921), 19.

this air as a concert or virtuoso piece.<sup>43</sup> Apart from the harmonies themselves, which were not a subject of Klikstat's discussion, two aspects of this arrangement would have been considered decadent, unrelentingly Romantic by members of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*. The first is its homophonic harmonic style, which one attained best by accompanying the melody in thirds or sixths, as opposed to polyphony with its more prevailing "severe" fourths and fifths (see Example 2).<sup>44</sup> Walter Hensel characterized this style as being sentimental.<sup>45</sup>

The second aspect is the care taken in marking the dynamics, particularly as evidenced at the end of the piece, which was understood to be contrary to the simplicity of a folksong (see Example 3). Jöde opposed this approach, writing that, as the dynamics are an automatic result of the association of the melodic line with the text, the only thing one needs to do is

make sure that the linear musical values do not in any way overstep a minimum that could cause damage, so that, for instance, an occasional crescendo or decrescendo must result solely from the architecture of the entire structure, but never may be applied subjectively for poetic reasons.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> "Ein rein artistisches Jonglieren mit dem Volkslied stellt beispielsweise der Satz 'Ich weiß mir ein Maidlein hübsch und fein' dar. Hier wird wirklich die Volksweise zu einem chorischen Kunstlied mit hochromantischem Einschlag gemacht. Kunst und Können des Bearbeitens artet aus in Künstelei. Bei allem Streben nach selbständigen Stimmen stem-peln alle harmonischen Effekte die Weise zu einem Konzert- und Virtuosenstück ab." Paul Klikstat, "Der Volksliedsatz", in: *Die Harmonie* 1 (1931), as cited in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 589.

<sup>44</sup> Walther Hensel, "Bearbeitung von Volksliedern", as cited in: *ibid.*, 596.

<sup>45</sup> Walther Hensel, "Zur Musikerziehung", as cited in: *ibid.*, 214.

<sup>46</sup> "Was dann im weiteren in dynamischer Hinsicht jeweils zu beachten ist, ergibt sich aus der Verbindung mit dem Text dann ohne weiteres, und es ist ganz im Gegensatz zur heute noch herrschenden Chorschulung nur darauf zu achten, daß ein die linearen musikalischen Werte in keiner Weise beeinträchtigendes Mindestmaß nicht überschritten werde, daß z. B. ein auftretendes Crescendo oder Decrescendo sich ausschließlich aus der Architektonik des ganzen Baues zu ergeben hat, niemals aber subjektive Hinzufügung aus der dichterische Erwägung sein darf." Fritz Jöde, "Zur Wiedererweckung der alten Chorkunst", in: *Die Laute* 5 (1921), 19.

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## 389. Hüt du dich!

Volkslied (1542)

Leicht bewegt

Volksweise, 1542 aufgezeichnet,  
bearbeitet von Richard Strauss

*p* *pp*  
 Ich weiss mir ein Maid-lein hübsch und fein; hüt du  
*p* *pp*  
 dich! *p* Ich weiss mir ein Maid-lein hübsch und fein, sie  
*sfz* *p*  
 kann wohl falsch und freundlich sein; hüt du dich,  
*sfz* *p* *#p.*  
*p*  
 hüt du — dich! Sie hat zwei Äug-lein, die sind braun;  
*p*

9320

Ex. 2: Richard Strauss, "Hüt Du Dich!" from Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, *Volkslieder für Männerchor*, 1906, 221.

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ei - nen Nar - ren wirst du ge - acht; hüt du dich,  
 hüt du dich, hüt, hüt  
 dich, hüt du dich, hüt, hüt  
 du dich! Hüt du dich, ver -  
 trau ihr nicht! Sie nar - ret dich, sie nar - ret  
 dich; hüt du dich!  
 hüt du

9320

EX. 3: Conclusion of Richard Strauss, "Hüt Du Dich!" from Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, *Volkslieder für Männerchor*, 1906, 223.

The adumbration with which this manner of performance is rejected makes one wonder what the leaders of the *Jugendmusikbewegung* were really reacting to. Luckily we have one specific reference to the Thomanerchor from 1926 in which Konrad Ameln complains about the frequent changes of tempo and strong alteration of dynamics, lamenting about how they disturbed the “polyphonic framework of the piece”; in addition, the “quiet flow of the events” was often ruined by a “racing, nervous drive”.<sup>47</sup> There is a recording made by this choir in 1930 (available online) of *In Dulci Jubilo*, a fourteenth-century Christmas song, which eloquently demonstrates – with its dynamic changes and *rallentando* at the end of each strophe – what Jöde and Ameln were referring to.<sup>48</sup>

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that Max Pohl who, as we have seen, was largely responsible for introducing this genre of music to the first *Wandervogel* groups in Steglitz, believed that

the danger that a choir could do too much in this regard [i.e. dynamically] was extraordinarily small [...]. A school choir can never be too vigilantly on guard against a boring performance of a song, no matter how simple.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> “Durch häufigen Wechsel der Geschwindigkeit, starke, steigend und fallend angewandte Veränderungen der Klangstärke wurde das polyphone Gefüge des Werkes verunklärt, ging der ruhige Fluß des Geschehens oftmals in einem überhasteten, nervösen Jagen unter.” Konrad Ameln, “Singwoche auf Burg Ludwigstein, Ostern 1926”, in: *Die Singgemeinde* 2 (1926), as cited in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 270.

<sup>48</sup> [http://media.slub-dresden.de/fon/snp/b/016608/fon\\_snp\\_b\\_016608\\_02.mp3](http://media.slub-dresden.de/fon/snp/b/016608/fon_snp_b_016608_02.mp3) (31 May 2018). On the other hand in a review of a Bach cantata by the Thomaner in *Melos* 6 (1927), 384, Hans David writes, “In the cantata [...] the boys in the alto sang the aria; and in that one experienced the individual interpretation as being completely eliminated, one discovered the essence of the movement in a profundity, which no concert singer would be able to make accessible.” (“In der Kantate [...] sangen die Knaben des Alt eine Arie; und indem man individuelle Interpretation als völlig ausgeschaltet empfand, ergründete sich das Wesen des Satzes in einer Tiefe, die kein Konzertgänger zu erschließen vermöchte.”)

<sup>49</sup> “Die Gefahr, daß ein Chor auf diesem Gebiete zu viel tun könnte, ist außerordentlich gering [...]. Ein Schulchor jedenfalls kann nicht genug vor eintönigem Vor-

Pohl's words demonstrate the extent of the aesthetic transformation of the movement within a mere twenty years.

In 1931, Arnold Schering also spoke of the necessity of having faster and more consistent tempi for this music, going so far as to say that the conductor in that era had “no other function than that of a living metronome”.<sup>50</sup> Although he was disdained by members of the *Singbewegung* as favouring a subjective approach to music,<sup>51</sup> Schering's advocacy of a tempo of around MM 80 for the semibreve matched theirs, musically and aesthetically:

All dissolution, ambiguity, subjectivity is thereby eliminated in advance. Even the music of the *a capella* singers in the sixteenth century, which in the eyes of posterity seems to float in the higher spheres, has its feet firmly on the ground in this regard. Where an *accelerando* or *ritardando* was desired, it was written into the music in such a way, that in spite of a continuous, steady beating of the *tactus*, it seemed to happen automatically.<sup>52</sup>

There is a recording from 1913 (available online) of the Johann Strauss Orchestra performing *Lobe den Herren* with a large choir for which the metronome marking is MM 49–50, which puts this quotation of Schering into the context, making it comprehensible why this issue was of such importance to the movement<sup>53</sup>

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trage eines Liedes, und sei es des einfachsten, gehütet werden.” Max Pohl, *Das deutsche Volkslied im Gesangunterricht des Gymnasiums*, Leipzig: E. Werner 1905, 20–21.

<sup>50</sup> “[...] so hatte der Dirigent keine andere Funktion als die eines lebendigen Metro-noms.” Arnold Schering, *Aufführungspraxis alter Musik*, Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer 1931, 28.

<sup>51</sup> Fritz Jöde, *Musik: ein pädagogischer Versuch für die Jugend*, Wolfenbüttel: Julius Zwißler 1919, 17–18.

<sup>52</sup> “Alles Zerfließende, Unbestimmte, Subjektive ist dadurch von vornherein ausgeschaltet gewesen. Selbst in den Augen der Nachwelt gleichsam in höheren Sphären schwebender Musik der *a Capellisten* des 16. Jahrhunderts hat in dieser Beziehung auf fester Erde gestanden. Wo ein *Accelerando* oder *Ritardando* gewünscht wurde, ist dies derart in die Musik einbezogen worden, daß es trotz fortgehender gleichmäßiger *Tactusschläge* sich gleichsam automatisch einstellte.” Schering, *Aufführungspraxis* (see n. 49), 27.

<sup>53</sup> <http://cylinders.library.ucsb.edu/mp3/s/6000/6413/cusb-cyl6413d.mp3> (31 May 2017).

The music aesthetic of the movement also became characterized by a certain “objective” sound quality as early instruments became popular during the 1920s. Indeed, in a meeting in 1930, representatives of the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, instrument makers, professional musicians, and musicologists spoke of “the transformation of the sound ideal from a thick, loud, spongy sound to a clear, precise, focused one, from colour to line.”<sup>54</sup> The “characteristic, quiet *non espressivo* sound”<sup>55</sup> of the recorder was seen to be particularly suitable for polyphony, as

the recorder player can only bring his instrument to the essence [of the matter] if he is prepared – by placing his own personal expressive desires to the side – to serve the sound. By striving after this sound and timbre, he relinquishes the expression of his feelings and overcomes that which is most personal to him. In that he serves the sound, he serves something objective. And it is just through this intent to serve the objective that he creates also the basis for a community.<sup>56</sup>

The rigid, static quality of recorders, old flutes and oboes was seen as being more appropriate for early music than the dynamic and expressive possibilities of modern instruments. This quality was then taken as a model for

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<sup>54</sup> “der Wandel des Klangideals vom dicken, lauten, schwammigen, zum klaren, präzisen, scharfen Ton, von der Farbe zu der Linie”, Herbert Just, “Die Barockinstrumente in der Gegenwart”, in: *Musik und Gesellschaft* 1930/31, 34, as cited in Erika Funk-Hennings, “Über die instrumentale Praxis der Jugendmusikbewegung – Voraussetzungen und Auswirkungen”, in: Karl-Heinz Reinfandt (ed.), *Die Jugendmusikbewegung: Impulse und Wirkungen*, Wolfenbüttel and Zürich: Mösel Verlag 1987, 226.

<sup>55</sup> “charakteristischen, stillen ‘non expressive’ Ton”, Waldemar Woehl, “Die Blockflöte in der Hausmusik”, in: *Die Musik*, May 1932, as cited in: *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 462.

<sup>56</sup> “Der Blockflötenspieler kann sein Instrument nur zum Kern bringen, wenn er bereit ist, unter Zurückstellung seiner persönlichen Ausdruckswünsche dem Ton zu dienen. Indem er diesem Ton und Klang nachstrebt, verzichtet er auf Ausdruck seiner Empfindungen und überwindet sein Persönlichstes. Indem er dem Ton dient, dient er einem Objektiven. Und gerade durch diesen willen zum Dienst am Objektiven schafft er auch die Grundlagen zu einer Gemeinschaft.” Hans Peter Gericke, “Mit Blockflötenspiel allein ist es nicht getan”, in: *Der Blockflötenspiegel* 2 (1932), 183, as cited in: Funk-Hennings, “Instrumentale Praxis” (see n. 53), 226.

stringed instruments. Arnold Schering gives a description of this model in his book on performance practice:

One bowed the instruments [...] with a quietly guided bow, regular in timbre and without accents, so that the sound flows on continuously and softly like a recorder.<sup>57</sup>

and further, in a footnote:

This playing without pressure and accentuation, which comes equally from the construction of the instruments, the peculiarities of the old bow and the stringing, is difficult for our modern players, and is attained only after much practice with great self-discipline [...]. By putting on a mute, the harshness of the modern instrument can be softened.<sup>58</sup>

Or as Walther Pudelko wrote in the concluding remarks to his edition for stringed instruments of five pieces by Dowland:

A long, quiet bowing and the greatest discretion in vibrato will best match the sound of the viol family. Any soloistic impulse must be destructive, and even then, when an individual voice or the whole structure cries out for expression and intensification, one may not use today's style of playing to breach the limits of the integrity [of the whole].<sup>59</sup>

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57 "Man strich die Instrumente [...] mit ruhig geführtem Bogen, gleichmäßig im Ton und ohne Akzente, so daß der Klang ununterbrochen und weich wie der einer Blockflöte dahinströmte." Schering, *Aufführungspraxis* (see n. 49), 75–76.

58 "Dieses druck- und akzentlose Spiel, das sich ebenso aus dem Bau der Instrumente wie aus der Eigenart des alten Bogens und des Saitenbezugs ergab, fällt unsern heutigen Spielern schwer und wird erst nach längerem Üben unter scharfer Selbstkontrolle erreicht [...]. Durch Aufsetzen des Dämpfers kann die Schärfe der modernen Instrumente gemildert werden." *Ibid.*, 76, n. 1.

59 "Ein langer, ruhiger Bogenstrich und grösste Zurückhaltung im Vibrato werden am besten die Klangfarbe der Violenfamilie treffen. Jede solistische Anwendung muss zerstören und auch dann, wenn die einzelne Stimme oder die Gesamtheit nach Ausdruck und Steigerung begehren [...] darf nicht die heutige Spielart die Einheit sprengen". Walther Pudelko, *John Dowland: Fünf Stücke für Streichinstrumente*, Kassel: Bärenreiter 1923, Nachwort.

Thus through the gradual introduction of instruments, first as an adjunct to the vocal polyphony, and then in their own right, the aesthetic ideals of purity and objectivity came to be associated with all of early music, not just with the polyphony of the 15th and 16th centuries. Instrumentalists were expected to cultivate the same abstract sound as the vocalists, and for the same reason: through objectivity one created a sense of community, created the sense of direct contact with the music for those immediately involved.

There are, unfortunately, no recordings from this period of groups associated with the *Jugendmusikbewegung*, a fact that no doubt has to do with their scruples about singing for audiences, for people who did not take part in the actual act of making music. What is striking, however, is how many of the above descriptions are negative, speaking out against what is not wanted, not just simply stating – as we find in most of the treatises of earlier times – how something is to be done.

I believe this reflects the attitude of those attempting to change the musical conventions – the performance habits of decades – which was an enormous task. It is only under such circumstances that August Halm, the musician and pedagogue who served as the figurehead of the educational, reformative portion of the *Singbewegung*, could in 1913 answer the question of how the performer should proceed when faced with the decision of how to phrase in the following manner:

He shouldn't phrase at all, for he in particular should not decide. The theme wants to be played as it is written, thus in a manner where no phrasing, not even an undoubtedly correct one, is forced upon the listener.<sup>60</sup>

On one level, this advice is an attempt to reduce the Romantic effulgence of personal interpretation to nothing. This is, of course, an impossibility, as the

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<sup>60</sup> “Wie hat denn nun der Vortragende zu verfahren? Wie wird er in einem Fall, wo er zu wählen hat, phrasieren? Halten wir der Frage stand, und geben wir die beste Antwort, die wir wissen. Gar nicht soll er phrasieren, denn er hat gerade nicht zu wählen. Das Thema will so gespielt sein, wie es komponiert ist, also so, daß den Zuhörer keine, auch keine zweifellos richtige Phrasierung aufgezwungen wird, wo der Autor selbst neben und zugleich mit ihr noch eine andere offen läßt und sogar andeutet, ja mitsprechen lassen will”. August Halm, *Von zwei Kulturen der Musik*, München: Müller 1913, 215.

decision to perform without Romantic expressive devices is also an expression of individual taste. But in connection with the recordings mentioned above, this attitude can perhaps be understood as a very human reaction: if too much is bad, then none must be good. Furthermore, it is in line with Richard Taruskin's comments on modernist historical reconstructions where "the artist trades in objective, factual knowledge, not subjective feeling. His aim is not communication with his audience, but something he sees as a much higher, in [T. S.] Eliot's words 'much more valuable' goal, communion with Art itself."<sup>61</sup>

However, in 1926, Konrad Ameln, commenting on a presentation of Leonard Lechner's *Passion according to St. John*, expressed this desire for objectivity in a more positive manner, suggesting that the music should occupy the forefront of a performance, rather than being a reflection of the personality of the performer:

What made this performance particularly valuable for [Ameln] was the circumstance that the choir was successful to a high degree in singing objectively, that is avoiding any investment of personal feelings or personal agitation, so that the choir, or better said its members, did not sing *from themselves*, but rather let *it* sing and only served as instruments [for the music]. The singers themselves will be most aware how far they really succeeded and how much we all still have to overcome various inhibitions for a perfect rendering of polyphonic works.<sup>62</sup>

It is clear that much of the aesthetics of most historically-informed performances of fifteenth and sixteenth century music on the Continent, as well as

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<sup>61</sup> Richard Taruskin, "On letting the music speak for itself?", in: *Text & act: essays on music and performance*, New York: Oxford University Press 1995, 61.

<sup>62</sup> "Was mir diese Aufführung besonders wertvoll machte, war der Umstand, daß es dem Chor gelang, in einem hohen Maße objektiv zu singen, d.h. jedes Hineindeuten von Ichgefühlen und -erregungen zu vermeiden, so daß nicht der Chor, bzw. seine Glieder etwas *a u s s i c h h e r a u s* sangen, sondern daß sie *e s* singen ließen und nur dienende Werkzeuge waren. Wieweit das wirklich gelungen ist, und daß bis zu einer vollendeten Wiedergabe polyphoner Werke wir alle noch mancherlei Hemmungen zu überwinden haben, wird gerade den Sängern am meisten zum Bewußtsein gekommen sein." Konrad Ameln, "Singwoche auf Burg Ludwigstein, Ostern 1926", in: *Die Singgemeinde* 2 (1926), as cited in *Jugendmusikbewegung in Dokumenten* (see n. 16), 270.

the interest in this earlier era, was a result of a romantic rejection of Romanticism and all that was perceived to be connected with it. This rejection, of course, was shared by other musical trends of the time, such as the ‘classical modern’ of Stravinsky or *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Although these styles came about in other cultural contexts, had sway on different kinds of musicians, all of these movements were seeking a ‘new’ music, one lacking the nimbus of the Romantic era. Taruskin, for example, quotes Stravinsky’s definition of *execution* as “the strict putting into effect of an explicit will that contains nothing beyond what it specifically commands”,<sup>63</sup> continuing on to say that the composer thereby “invoked the doctrine of quasi-religious fundamentalism alluded to before: what is not permitted is prohibited”.<sup>64</sup> *Neue Sachlichkeit* in the field of music, on the other hand, sought novelty through the creation of new objective works, music suitable for modern ears. Nils Grosch, citing the observation of Kurt Weill, writes that

[a]ll concrete changes, which resulted from such demands, particularly the “internal and external lack of complexity (in content and expressive means), in the manner that they correspond to the naive stance of the new listener”, therefore remain linked to such *receptio-aesthetic* premisses in the aesthetic discourse concerning *Neue Sachlichkeit*.<sup>65</sup>

The *Jugendmusikbewegung*, however, sought salvation through older music, as in the words of the Dutch theologian, Gerardus van der Leeuw, “the quality of age is one of the most important means which enables art to express the holy”.<sup>66</sup> Common to all of these movements was the desire for objectivity

<sup>63</sup> Igor Stravinsky, *Poetics of music*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. 1947, 127.

<sup>64</sup> Taruskin, *Text and act* (see n. 60), 129.

<sup>65</sup> “Alle konkrete Veränderungen, die sich aus solchen Forderungen ergaben, so vor allem die ‘innere und äußere Unkompliziertheit (im Stoff und in den Ausdrucksmitteln), wie sie der naiveren Einstellung des neuen Hörers entspricht’, bleiben im ästhetischen Diskurs der Neuen Sachlichkeit somit auf solche *rezeptionsästhetischen* Prämissen bezogen.” Nils Grosch, “Neue Sachlichkeit”, in: *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Second Edition, *Sachteil* 7 (1997), col. 123.

<sup>66</sup> Gerardus van der Leeuw, *Sacred and profane beauty: the holy in art*, New York: AAR and Oxford University Press 2006, 58. Although primarily known as a theologian and philosopher who studied the phenomenology of religion, Gerardus van der Leeuw

and clarity, as well as the breaking away from traditional perception and analysis of music combined with a search for something new. Thus it is with some justification that Richard Taruskin writes that

There is no [...] aspect of today's performance practice more pertinent to twentieth-century aesthetics, and none harder to justify on historical grounds, than its ambience of emotional detachment, its distancing of voice from utterance.<sup>67</sup>

The music aesthetic of the *Jugendmusikbewegung* can thus be seen to represent not only the desire to break with the perceived evils of Romanticism, but also as the advocacy of an entirely new approach to music, for new sounds, for modernity.

This approach to music on the part of the *Jugendmusikbewegung* corresponds with the situation in Basel at that time. As mentioned above, in 1929 Paul Sacher and Ina Lohr, two of the protagonists of the modernist and Early Music movements – both active in each of the fields – came together in Basel. It is not surprising, therefore, that they applied similar aesthetic criteria to both modernist and Early Music performances. Indeed Christopher Schmidt, a student at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis from 1947–1951, in the context of a discussion on Lohr's use of solmization, remarked that her method was a means of breaking away from functional theory, that she wanted to hear “new sounds”, and that this was a characteristic she shared with Paul Sacher.<sup>68</sup>

The material presented in this article thus not only provides documentary substantiation for Richard Taruskin's linkage of the aesthetic of the Early Music movement to that of the modern classic, but also indicates the necessity for today's performers to recognize and acknowledge the extent of

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was very much interested in Early Music, as is made manifest by his being a member of the board of the Naarden Circle (which was responsible for the founding of the Nederlandse Bachvereniging in the 1920s) from 1933 and its president from 1948 until his death in 1950.

<sup>67</sup> Taruskin, *Text and act* (see n. 60), 136.

<sup>68</sup> 31 October 2014.

the influence of pre-war ideals on post-war style. The difficulty of this process is highlighted by Nils Grosch's passage concerning *Neue Sachlichkeit*:

The musical and political climate in both parts of Germany did not allow for an uncompromised interaction with *Neue Sachlichkeit* after 1945 [...]. Neither the musical attitude in the east, largely dominated by political functions and government-sanctioned, nor the almost completely depoliticized avant-garde aesthetic in the west, left room for a reconnection to the ideas before the war.<sup>69</sup>

It is only by coming to terms with these aesthetic parameters from the first half of the twentieth century as sources for today's performance practices of fifteenth and sixteenth-century music that we will become free to reexamine our current styles, become able to call our interpretations into question. A concomitant acknowledgement of our inability to escape our own culture could then have the potential of liberating musicians in their search for convincing, historically-informed performances from the binds unwittingly placed upon them by these pioneers of the Early Music movement. We can, in any case, only understand the historical sources from our own perspective: they cannot tell us how to "do" things correctly, but only have the potential of increasing our own understanding of the subject at hand. What is done thereafter with this understanding then lies solely in the hands of the artist in his own world.

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<sup>69</sup> "Das musikalische und politische Klima in beiden Teilen Deutschlands ließ eine Unbefangenheit im Umgang mit der Neuen Sachlichkeit nach 1945 nicht zu [...]. Doch weder das weitgehend von politischen Funktionen dominierte staatlich sanktionierte Musikdenken im Osten noch die weitgehend entpolitisierte Avantgardeästhetik im Westen gaben Raum für ein Anknüpfen an die Ideen der Vorkriegszeit." Grosch, "Neue Sachlichkeit" (see n. 64), col. 128.

## Appendix I

### Hermann Hoffmann-Fölkersamb – List of songs for a trip in 1899, signature A 1 Nr. 2, Archiv der deutschen Jugendbewegung, Burg Ludwigstein

Ein T hinter dem Lied bedeutet, daß auch der Text auswendig gelernt werden muß. Um die meistbekannte Lieder einzuüben, genügen unsre wöchentlichen Zusammenkünfte nicht. Es ist am hoffen, wenn unsere [unleserlich] sich zusammentun und gemeinsam üben!<sup>70</sup>

1. Das Wandern ist des Müllers Lust	T
2. An der Saale hellem Strande	T
3. Der Mai ist gekommen	T
4. Drunter im Unterland	T
5. Ein freies Leben führen wir	
6. Es kann ja nicht immer so bleiben	
7. Freude schöner Götterfunken	
8. Hoch vom Dachstein her	T
9. Morgen marschieren wir	T vier Str.
10. Muß i denn	T
11. Nun ade, du mein lieb Heimatland	T
12. O Täler weit, o Höhen	T
13. Wem Gott will rechte Gunst	T
14. Zu Mantua in Banden	
15. Der Sang ist verschollen	T
16. Hier sind wir versammelt	T
17. Als die Römer frech	T
18. Im Krug zum grünen Kranze	T
19. Wer hat Dich Du schöner Wald	T
20. Wohlauf noch getrunken	T
21. Deutschland, Deutschland über alles	T

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<sup>70</sup> A “T” behind the song means that the text must also be learned by heart. Our weekly meetings are not sufficient for practicing the most well-known songs. It is to be hoped that our [illegible] will join together and practice together.

22. Du Schwert an meiner Linken	T unsre Verse
23. Wacht am Rhein	T
24. Freiheit, die ich meine	T 1.2.5.–8.
25. Ich hatt einen Kameraden	T
26. Kennt ihr das Land, so wunderschön!	T
27. Kaiser Wilhelm saß ganz heiter	
28. Stimmt an mit hellem hohen Klang	T
29. Was blasen die Trompeten	
30. Was glänzt dort vom Walde	T
31. Alles schweiget	
32. Hört Ihr nicht den Ruf erklingen?	
33. Zwischen Frankreich u. dem Böhmenwald	
34. Preisend mit viel schönen Reden	
35. Ein Römer stand in finstrer Nacht	T
36. Studio auf einer Reis!	T
37. Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?	T
38. Wohlauf Kameraden, aufs Pferd	T 1.2.
39. Bekränzt mit Laub	T
40. Krambambuli	
41. Die Hussiten zogen vor Naumberg	
42. Ein lustiger Musikante	T
43. Gaudeamus igitur	T
44. Ich habe mich ergeben	T
45. Am Brunnen vor der Tore	T
46. Es klingt ein heller Klang	
47. Dort wo der Rhein	T
48. O Deutschland hoch in Ehren	T
49. Schier dreißig Jahre	
50. Wo Mut und Kraft	T
51. Sah ein Knab ein Röslein stehn	T
52. Treue Liebe bis zum Grabe	T
53. Turner ziehe froh dahin	
54. An den Rhein, an den Rhein	
55. Auf Ihr Brüder, laßt uns wallen	T
56. Froh u. frei, froh u. frei	T

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| 57. Und hört Ihr das mächtige Klingen?       | T |
| 58. Der Gott, der Eisen wachsen ließ         |   |
| 59. Laßt tönen laut (Hipp hipp hurrah)       |   |
| 60. Erhebt Euch von der Erde                 |   |
| 61. Frei u. unerschütterlich                 | T |
| 62. Wohlauf, die Luft geht frisch und rein   | T |
| 63. Turner auf zum Streite                   | T |
| 64. Wir sind vereint zur guten Stunde        | T |
| 65. Wir heißen Deutsche, kennt unsre Zeichen |   |
| 66. Alt Heidelberg, du feine!                |   |
| 67. Hinaus in die Ferne                      | T |
| 68. Prinz Eugen, der edle Ritter             |   |

Wir raten, mit dem Erlernen der Lieder sofort tüchtig zu beginnen. Trotzdem die empfohlenen nur ein kleiner Teil der Lieder sind, die ein halbwegs zivilisierter Mensch ... [Rest unleserlich].<sup>71</sup>

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71 We recommend that you immediately begin learning the songs thoroughly. And this in spite of the fact that those recommended are only a fraction of the songs that a half-way civilized person ... [the rest illegible].

# Crossing borders – some Dutch and American influences on the 1930s Swiss chant revival

*Kelly Landerkin*

## 1. Introduction

In 1929, when through a string of coincidences Ina Lohr (1903–1983) arrived in Basel from Amsterdam, she was a young woman at the beginning of her musical profession; it could not have been foreseen at the time that her presence would have a lasting impact on Basel's musical direction.<sup>1</sup> Her previous training in Amsterdam had given her a broad, vigorous and liberal education in the performing arts; she was an accomplished violinist and had already shown considerable potential as a composer, but her own deep religious devotion drew her more to the church than to the concert stage. Yet Lohr's introduction that very year to Paul Sacher led to a cooperation of mutual profit and musical import, and one that ensured her long-term residency in Basel. For Sacher and his Basel Chamber Orchestra, Lohr became an invaluable asset. In her capacity as his assistant, Lohr's analytical skills and knowledge of early repertoires contributed to the programming of public concerts but were also instrumental in the preparation of the performing scores, even those of their own contemporaries. Their enthusiasm for ancient music led to the founding of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis in 1933. Here Lohr was able to assert her influence on the curriculum of both amateur and professional students, and as the main teacher of theoretical subjects in that house, to impart her knowledge and passion to students through direct supervision. Central to Lohr's work and impact was her erudition on the sub-

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<sup>1</sup> Anne Smith, "Ina Lohr: transcending the boundaries of Early Music", url: [www.rimab.ch/content/research-projects/project-ina-lohr-1/papers-from-the-project-ina-lohr/ina-lohr-transcending-the-boundaries-of-early-music-a-smith](http://www.rimab.ch/content/research-projects/project-ina-lohr-1/papers-from-the-project-ina-lohr/ina-lohr-transcending-the-boundaries-of-early-music-a-smith) (30 May 2017); Ina Lohr, 1980 audio recording "Gründung der SCB", Basel, Paul Sacher Stiftung (= Basel, PSS), Ina Lohr Collection, CD 4.

ject of liturgy and ecclesiastical music, and her classes on Gregorian chant and Protestant church music were a cornerstone of the general program of studies.<sup>2</sup> But Lohr was only one of a number of influences on Swiss plainchant practice. This paper will discuss some aspects of the contemporary situation of Gregorian chant in Dutch society and international connections forged by influential chant practitioners in Holland, Switzerland and the United States. It will explore how they may have worked upon Ina Lohr's understanding of Catholic plainchant, especially upon the hotly debated point of rhythmic interpretation, and how she in turn influenced her students and colleagues.

Two differing approaches to chant practice were actively cultivated in Holland during Lohr's musical formation in the 1920s. On one side were the Caecilianist and mensuralist approaches to chant interpretation, connecting melody and note length to the declamation of the corresponding text. A representative of this interpretation was the teacher of Gregorian chant at the Amsterdam Muzieklyceum, Hubert Cuypers. The other approach was the equalist interpretation propagated by the Benedictine monastery in Solesmes, which assumed an underlying, consistent pulse for the rhythmic flow. Solesmes' influence was growing in Dutch chant circles at the time, especially through the outreach work of Justine Ward (1879–1975), the esteemed American music pedagogue whose Solesmes-based method enjoyed popularity across the United States and Europe in the early part of the 20th century. As a leading figure in the music education platform to the Netherlands, Ward offers an interesting counterbalance in the context of Lohr's upbringing. Although their paths seemingly never intersect, these two figures each in their way shape the reception of Gregorian chant for their generations and those that followed.

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2 Documents and course materials, Basel, PSS, Ina Lohr Collection, IL 20/21.

## 2. Dom Mocquereau and Justine Ward

The efforts of Dom André Mocquereau of Solesmes to mobilize the congregation in the active participation in Gregorian chant have received wide press in the course of the past century.<sup>3</sup> Some of these efforts were met with appreciation: in particular, Mocquereau's work in publishing facsimiles of early manuscripts, under the title of *Paléographie Musicale*, which allowed the population at large to learn to read plainchant in ancient neumes, paved the way for the acceptance of the Solesmes' transcriptions as authentic, and served as the basis for the official Vatican editions. Other efforts were more controversial, especially aspects of his approach to rhythm. There was strong and particular opposition to Mocquereau's editorial markings – as many lacked a basis in the chant sources – and especially to his subdivisions of melodic gestures into *ictus* groupings, which emphasized notes he considered to have an inherent strength.<sup>4</sup> These liberties seemed to a wide public to be an unwarranted infringement on their sovereign right to a personal and individual interpretation, and hardened negative impressions of the mainstreaming of this neo-Solesmes<sup>5</sup> tradition.

Mocquereau's approach however, laid the groundwork for numerous other publications that helped to facilitate performance by the laity in general. One of the most influential of these was developed by the American

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3 Dom André Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien: ou rythmique grégorienne, théorie et pratique*, Rome and Tournai: Desclée, 1908/1927; idem, *Paléographie Musicale: Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican, publiés en fac-similés phototypiques par les Bénédictins de Solesmes*, Solesmes: Imprimerie Saint-Pierre, 1889–1930.

4 See, for example, Amédée Gastoué and Maurice Emmanuel, “Bibliographie”, in: *La tribune de St. Gervais* 14 (Nov. 1908), 264, <https://archive.org/stream/latribunedesaint190814pari#page/264/mode/2up> (30 May 2019). Gastoué and Emmanuel criticized Mocquereau's “personal interpretation of the medieval rhythms. It is time to protest against this pretention, so little justified. The practitioners of plainchant must not let themselves be ruled by a scholar who defends his own glory with such partiality.” All translations into English are by the author unless noted.

5 The term “neo-Solesmes” was used by contemporary critics to distinguish the new direction of Dom André Mocquereau from the approach of his teacher and predecessor, Dom Joseph Pothier.

music pedagogue Justine Bayard Ward.<sup>6</sup> A Catholic convert from Episcopalianism, Ward took the reform and advancement of plainchant as her personal calling, and chose to focus specifically on the education of the youth as the most effective path, creating a learning environment that would best suit young minds.<sup>7</sup> In 1920 she began working with Mocquereau, combining the teaching of folksongs and nursery rhymes with the introduction of plainsong according to the Solesmes approach, formulating her newly fashioned system of musical pedagogy to reflect his teachings.<sup>8</sup>

Ward applied Mocquereau's understanding of rhythm in a manner appropriate to the teaching of children, integrating movement into the learning process and into the expression of sung chant. In this way she was able to help children internalize the flow of the melodic line: "It is not easy, in our day, to describe rhythm, and particularly the free musical rhythm of Gregorian chant, because even those educated musicians who vaguely sense in practice the beauties of *rhythm*, recognise in theory nothing beyond *measure*".<sup>9</sup>

Ward also employed a number of creative didactical devices, including finger and number notation systems, adding markings to transmit the desired suppleness and flow, while also pragmatically offering the eye the necessary information for learning the tones.<sup>10</sup> Mocquereau complimented Ward's didactical application of gesture and props as aesthetic tools, writing in the foreword to her method: "Some European readers may perhaps smile

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<sup>6</sup> Pierre Combe, *Justine Ward and Solesmes*, Washington: The Catholic University of America Press 1987; Justine Ward, *Music fourth year: Gregorian chant*, Washington: Catholic Education Press 1923.

<sup>7</sup> Justine Bayard Ward, "The reform of church music", first published in: *The Atlantic Monthly* 97 (Apr. 1906), 4–5, and republished as "The chant of the church", in: *Popular liturgical library*, series 4, no. 5, Collegeville: Liturgical Press 1930.

<sup>8</sup> Jolande van der Klis, *Oude muziek in Nederland. Het verhaal van de pioniers 1900–1975*, Utrecht: Stichting Organisatie Oude Muziek 1991, 94.

<sup>9</sup> Ward, *Music fourth year* (see n. 6), XVII, quoting Mocquereau, *Le nombre musical grégorien* 1, 1908, 19.

<sup>10</sup> See also the systems of Emile J. M. Chev  and Jean-Jacques Rousseau.

at these small tricks and find them childish. They would be quite wrong; all means are good if they bring quick, decisive results”.<sup>11</sup>

The success of Ward’s method led to its establishment throughout the American Catholic school system, and it spread rapidly to other countries, the first of which was Holland in 1928. Following an opportune introduction in Solesmes to Father Henri Vullinghs and Joseph Lennards, Justine Ward was soon invited to give lectures and performances at that year’s Gregoriusvereniging meeting in Utrecht. She brought with her a *schola* of highly able American girls. She had made sure to gain the approval of Dom Mocquereau before their public appearance. His reaction was positive: “As soon as the first notes are heard [...] the whole audience is charmed; [...] discretion in the nuances, suppleness and daintiness of the Solesmes rhythm which governs and envelops all the melody, truly everything is perfect [...] they may go to Holland and elsewhere, with full confidence [...]”.<sup>12</sup> Their presentation impressed the participants so much as to lay the groundwork for the foundation of a Ward Institute in Holland, in cooperation with Vullinghs and Lennards, and to name Justine Ward an honorary member of the Gregoriusvereniging. A Dutch translation of her method was published in 1929.<sup>13</sup>

The Ward Method soon also found use in the public school system as well as in Protestant institutions. To this purpose, a new edition was published in 1935 with Justine Ward’s approval, in which the performance and interpretation of Gregorian chant were replaced by a new focus on psalm settings in the Dutch vernacular; strophes and texts considered too Catholic were hereby removed. This change resulted in the loss of a central focus of the Ward Method, the propagation of Gregorian chant in Latin, and may have been an early sign of a gradual shift in the Dutch form of Wardian pedagogy, which in 1933 had begun offering courses in non-sacred musics such as folksong and dance as well as instrumental lessons on recorder play-

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11 Dom Mocquereau, *Revue grégorienne* (1922); cited in Combe, *Ward and Solesmes* (see n. 6), 14. Translation original.

12 Letter from Mocquereau to Ward (22 Aug. 1928), cited in Combe, *Ward and Solesmes* (see n. 6), 40.

13 Justine Ward, *Gregoriaansche Zang volgens de leer van Dom Mocquereau. Handboek voor de school*, Doornik: Desclée 1929. Translation original.

ing. Justine Ward herself did not countenance this direction, as she feared it would result in the weakening of her devotional goals. Thus ensued a dissolution of the ties binding the Ward Institute and the Gregoriusvereeing, but the efforts of this new, more secular direction were not completely stymied. The year 1940 brought with it a cooperation between the Ward Institute and the organization founded by Jop Pollmann, “Het Nederlandsche Lied”, which positioned the Ward Institute as a reluctant player in a fraught political landscape.<sup>14</sup>

As Mocquereau had alluded to in his preface to the Ward manual, there was indeed tangible ambivalence in Europe regarding the Ward Method. In early 1932, Ward’s efforts in Holland were impaired by the long-brewing altercation between proponents of differing interpretations of chant. The public feud was between followers of the Solesmes school, principally informed in the region by the Ward Method, and those who favored Caecilian or mensuralist chant performance and an approach unfettered by Solesmes doctrine. The divide caused considerable insecurity and upheaval within individual congregations. Vullingsh, then director of the Ward Institute in Roermond, appealed to the Congregation of Rites to use its authority to intervene on his behalf. The statement that followed was a forceful rebuke of mensuralist interpretation and represented a full endorsement of the Solesmes approach.<sup>15</sup> The Ward Institute in Holland was once again able to advance its platform for the next several years until the war broke out in full.

Adverse forces were not exclusive to Ward’s work in Europe. Despite a general attitude of support, her method was also subject to open public criticism at home in the United States, as displayed in a 1931 article by Alastair Guinan in the American Catholic music journal, *The Commonweal*: “[...] many of us smile when we are informed that the dignity which is at present lacking in much of our service music will be supplied when the children of the parochial schools have been taught to sing the melodies of the *Kyriale* in

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<sup>14</sup> Gisbert Brandt, *Die Ward-Methode und ihre Anwendung im Musikunterricht an niederländischen Schulen*, Schriftliche Hausarbeit, Seminar für Musik und ihre Didaktik, Universität zu Köln, 1984, 66; Gabriel Steinschulte, *Die Ward-Bewegung*, Regensburg: G. Bosse 1979, 332; van der Klis, *Oude muziek in Nederland* (see n. 5), 94.

<sup>15</sup> Brandt, *ibid.*, 55–58; Steinschulte, *ibid.*, 243–254.

the thoroughly emasculated fashion made – alas – too familiar by the work of a faction prominent among Gregorianists”.<sup>16</sup> We can be in no doubt of Guinan’s intended target, as Guinan follows this passage with a quote from Ward’s article, “The Reform of Church Music”, which had just reprinted the year before.<sup>17</sup> Here she makes a plea for plainchant as the only viable music for the liturgy, setting it apart from all other musics, and claiming that: “Modern liturgical music, if it succeeds in being non-scandalous, becomes, at best, negative [...]”. Although such a statement could be read in favor of the Early Music Movement, it is perhaps better understood in the light of the 1903 papal *Motu Proprio*, in which Gregorian chant was given pride of place as the reigning musical form of the liturgy. Her remarks were widely received regionally as well as abroad: the *Commonweal* article survives among the effects of the Dutch gregorianist Hubert Cuypers, with this passage specifically underlined for special notice. This article, along with an accompanying letter portraying Ward as “dangerous” to the mensuralist cause, places Ward within Cuypers’ field of vision and offers an additional impetus for his public trouncing of the Solesmes position in the early 1930s, to be discussed below.<sup>18</sup>

The Ward Method’s impact on the Dutch music landscape was substantial. The vast majority of students in Holland – and nearly all church musicians – who had musical instruction in the mid-20th century were educated according to the Ward Method, and towns in which Ward centers were established enjoyed a high level of musical activity in private formations and public music schools. Due to this influence, Brandt posits an implicit connection between Ward’s teachings and the Early Music Movement: “[...] it is an obvious conjecture that the leading role played by the Netherlands in today’s interpretation of early music can be directly connected with the Ward Movement, which occupied itself from its founding especially with modal music”.<sup>19</sup> This is most probably an overstatement, as it denies the Protestant

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16 Alastair Guinan, “Plainsong only?”, in: *The commonweal* (19 Aug. 1931), 381.

17 See n. 7.

18 See n. 38.

19 Brandt, *Die Ward-Methode* (see n. 14), 72: “Nicht zuletzt ist es eine naheliegende Vermutung, dass die führende Rolle, die die Niederlande heute bei der Interpretation Alter Musik spielt, direkt mit der Ward-Bewegung in Verbindung gebracht werden kann,

leaders of the Early Music Movement their due credit in its development,<sup>20</sup> but the pervasive presence of the Ward Method in Holland during a formative stage of activity in ancient repertoires may certainly have been a contributing factor.

Dom Mocquereau passed away in early 1930, but Ward's popular approach reached a large audience of young churchgoers, who through her method quite naturally gained access to and internalized Mocquereau's Solesmes system. Her efforts in the teaching of Gregorian chant to children were honored by the Vatican with a Medaille d'Or.<sup>21</sup> The Ward Method stands alone among the manuals developed for schoolchildren at that time in its didactical application of movement and notation systems to plainchant. Its successfully age-appropriate pedagogy was in line with the progressive education movement of the time, perhaps the main reason why the Ward Method still enjoys use today.

### 3. Hubert Cuypers

Whereas the work of Justine Ward can be seen as an example of Mocquereau's influence as a catalyst for popular proliferation, participation, and interpretation according to the Solesmes method, a contrasting position to the neo-Solesmes influence in Holland is represented by Hubert Cuypers (1873–1960).<sup>22</sup> Cuypers' own strong interest in a natural text declamation and word accent drove his compositional process just as it informed his interpretation

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die sich ja schon von ihrem Ursprung her besonders mit Modaler Musik auseinandersetzt."

<sup>20</sup> Jed Wentz, "H.R. and the Formation of an Early Music Aesthetic in The Netherlands (1916–1921)", url: [www.rimab.ch/content/research-projects/project-ina-lohr-1/papers-from-the-project-ina-lohr/h-r-and-the-formation-of-an-early-music-aesthetic-in-the-netherlands-1916-1921](http://www.rimab.ch/content/research-projects/project-ina-lohr-1/papers-from-the-project-ina-lohr/h-r-and-the-formation-of-an-early-music-aesthetic-in-the-netherlands-1916-1921) (29 May 2019).

<sup>21</sup> Dom Paolo Ferretti, "Mrs. Justine Ward received at the Vatican", in: *The Caecilia* 9 (1933), 265–266.

<sup>22</sup> *Hubert Cuypers 80 Jaar*, Amsterdam: Huldigingscomité Hubert Cuypers 1953, 28–33.

of chant.<sup>23</sup> His rhythmic interpretation of early plainsong leaned toward the mensuralist approach of Dom Jeannin, whom he championed publicly.<sup>24</sup> In program notes for a performance of Notker's "Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia" in July 1931, he stated that it was "most probably originally sung with single and double notes in measured rhythm. This mensuralist rhythm seems to have been lost since the 11th century [...]"<sup>25</sup> His archives include a transcription of this piece, in proportional note values, reaffirming the direction of his rhythmic interpretation. But Cuypers' correspondence with the composer Alphons Diepenbrock confirms that he also saw his own priorities – in respecting the word-accent of the text as well as a well-proportioned musical phrase – just as well reflected in the equalist, "natural oratorical rhythm" of Dom Mocquereau's mentor, Dom Pothier, which formed the basis for the Solesmes interpretation. Upon hearing a live performance, Cuypers com-

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23 Letter from Herman Rutters to Hubert Cuypers (23 Sept. 1909), The Hague, Netherlands Music Institute, Hubert Cuypers Collection, 157/089.28: "Vergis ik mij erg, als ik meen dat juist in die eigenaardige aanwending der rhythmië het geheim schuilt van een gezinde verbinding en dat Uw studie van het Gregoriaansch daartoe veel heeft bijgedragen?"

24 Letter from Ewald Jammers (25 Sept. 1935), to Hubert Cuypers Jr., Nijmegen, Catholic Documentation Centre (= CDC), Hubert Cuypers Collection, 25: "In kurzer Zeit wird von mir ein Buch über den Choralrhythmus erscheinen, in dem ich zu Jeannin usw. Stellung nehme; ich möchte auch zu den mensuralen Theorien, die jener Notiz in der Revue grégorienne zufolge bzw. dem Vorgehen des H. Vullinghs zufolge in Holland existieren, Stellung nehmen. Ich darf in Ihrem Herrn Vater einen Hauptvertreter des holländischen Mensuralismus vermuten – aber ich habe bisher keine theoretische Veröffentlichung feststellen können; Sie sehen also, dass Sie mir da etwas helfen können. Sonst müsste ich in meinem Buche schreiben: „Der Mensuralismus Jeannins scheint im Holland (durch Cuypers?) eine besondere Fortführung erhalten zu haben; näheres war aber nicht festzustellen.“

25 Program notes by Cuypers for a Schola Cantorum concert (3 July 1931), Nijmegen, CDC, Hubert Cuypers Collection, 15: "De tree volgende zangen ... worden gezongen in den naar alle waarschijnlijkheid authentieken stijl met enkele en dubbele noten en maat-rhythmië. Deze rhythmië ('mensuralisme' genoemd) schijnt sinds de 11de eeuw verloren geraakt te zijn, en plaats gemaakt te hebben voor den z g. cantus planus met principieel gelijke noten, zooals zulks in de liturgie is voorgeschreven."

mented: “The overall impression was the closest I have ever heard in my life to that which is in my imagination”.<sup>26</sup>

Despite his affinity with the priorities of Dom Pothier, Cuypers became disillusioned with the intractability of the new Solesmes rhythmic interpretation according to Dom Mocquereau.<sup>27</sup> This brought Cuypers into direct conflict with the neo-Solesmes doctrine and eventually led around 1930 to his public rejection of it, most vividly in his series of articles shedding a new light on the “Gregorian question”.<sup>28</sup> He railed against what he called the axiom of inviolability of the neo-Solesmes interpretation which had gained favor in Holland.<sup>29</sup>

Two letters from Ewald Jammers in September 1935 offer a surprising connection between Cuypers and Vullingsh of the Ward Institute, suggesting that mensural chant transcriptions obtained from Vullingsh and published in the *Revue du chant grégorien* were in fact the work of Cuypers or his immediate circle.<sup>30</sup> In pursuing evidence for this connection, Jammers had hoped

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<sup>26</sup> Hubert Cuypers *80 Jaar* (see n. 22), 28; Petra van Langen, *Muziek en religie. Katholieke musici en de professionalisering van het Nederlandse muziekleven, 1850–1948*, Hilversum: Petra van Langen & Uitgeverij Verloren 2014, 199: “De totaalindruk kwam mijn phantasie voor ‘t eerst van mijn leven nabij.”

<sup>27</sup> van Langen, *ibid*; Martin J. M. Hoondert, “The appropriation of gregorian chant in the Netherlands, 1903–1930”, in: *Christian feast and festival: the dynamics of western liturgy and culture*, ed. Paulus G. J. Post et al., Leuven etc.: Peeters 2001, 643–676.

<sup>28</sup> “Nieuw licht in het Gregoriaansche vraagstuk”, a series of three articles in the January, February and March 1931 volumes of the *Caecilia het Muziekcollege*; Henri van der Burgh’s article “De Gregoriaanse kwestie”, in: *De Gemeenschap* (1935) details a radio interview with Cuypers in September 1930 defending his position: [www.dbnl.org/tekst/\\_gem001193501\\_01/\\_gem001193501\\_01\\_0082.php](http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/_gem001193501_01/_gem001193501_01_0082.php) (30 May 2019).

<sup>29</sup> An article (4 Oct. 1931) in *De Tijd* speaks explicitly of the “axioma van Solesmes’ wetenschappelijke onaantastbaarheid”; Dr. Bonaventura Kruitwagen, “De knuppel in het gregoriaansche hoenderhok”, *De Maasbode* (8 June 1931). In Nijmegen the CDC Hubert Cuypers Collection, 19, offers details of Cuypers’ view on performance practice in the Netherlands.

<sup>30</sup> Ewald Jammers postcard (13 Sept. 1935) to Hubert Cuypers Jr: “Die Revue du chant grégorien haben eine mensurale Choralübertragung abgedruckt, die H. Vullingsh nach Rom geschickt habe. Woher hat denn H. Vullingsh diese Übertragung? Was sind seine Quellen? Vermutlich doch Arbeiten Ihres Vaters oder seiner Freunde.”; Ewald Jam-

to include Dutch modes of interpretation in his upcoming book, and assumed Cuypers to be a leading figure of Dutch mensuralism according to Jeannin's approach. No direct contact between Cuypers and Vullinghs can be ascertained through this exchange, but it is telling that Jammers' second mis-sive includes the following statement: "The person of Rector Vullinghs does not interest me in the least, nor the way he works. Much more interesting to me are the descriptions of mensuralism [...]" (see note n. 28). This remark reveals a certain distance between Cuypers and Vullinghs, and although the personal politics of the rift in Holland may not have been internationally consequential, the local rhythmic debate itself was clearly of universal interest.

Cuypers was well established and enjoyed correspondence with colleagues on both sides of the issue.<sup>31</sup> His opinion carried weight in Dutch musical circles, and he was also in the happy situation of being able to demonstrate his aesthetic interpretation with his excellent vocal ensembles, above all with his Schola Cantorum. Chant was an important part of their work, and the beautiful singing of the youth in particular garnered high praise. Cuypers' work on "Gregoriaan spreekgezag" with children emphasized "the accent of the word [...] the meaning of the content [...] connected with a flowing musical rhythm".<sup>32</sup> His formations toured frequently to critical acclaim, and won praise and prizes both within Holland and abroad.

Cuypers' public reckoning with Solesmes provoked reactions from active dissenters in the liturgical music scene – both to their rhythmic standpoints

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mers letter (25 Sept. 1935) to Hubert Cuypers Jr: "Die Persönlichkeit von Herrn Rektor Vullinghs interessiert mich gar nicht, und wie er seine Sache verführt [sic]. Mich interessieren viel mehr die Darstellungen über den Mensuralismus, d.h. also theoretische Abhandlungen über die rhythmische Bedeutung der Neumen usw."

31 His archives include letters from Jeannin, Gastoué, Jammers, Angie, Bonvin, McDonald, Murray, Dom David of Solesmes, and many more.

32 Herman Leonard Berckenhoff, "Gewijde Musik", *Kunstwerken en Kunstenaars*, Amsterdam: De Degel 1905, 67–69: "Dat het Gregoriaansch spreekgezag den jongen zangers als tot natuur geworden ist, bleek uit de weinige aandacht, die zij behoefden te schenken aan de directie van hun voorganger, den heer Cuypers, die de declamatie met den vinger ever pointeerde – want eigenlijk dirigeren is bij het Gregoriaansch natuurlijk uisgesloten. Deze zang mondt den roomschen kinderen als hun moedersprake."

and to the imposed straightjacket – from within Holland as well as internationally. Of particular relevance for this study is his connection with the circles of Ludwig Bonvin in Switzerland and in the United States.

#### 4. Ludwig Bonvin

A regional bridge of communication between Holland, Switzerland, and the United States was built through the figure of Ludwig Bonvin (1850–1939), a Swiss priest hailing from Sierre in the canton of Valais. Having pursued his novitiate in Exaten, Holland, Bonvin was sent early in his priesthood to teach music at Canisius College in New York, an institution founded by a Dutch Jesuit.<sup>33</sup> There he quickly gained a reputation as an inspiring composer, and successfully published his compositions in Germany and the United States in the decades around the turn of the twentieth century. Around the same time, Bonvin began to devote himself to theoretical and philosophical discussions of music, and especially questions of chant interpretation and performance. His active participation in these debates is well-documented in articles in the *Gregorius-Blatt* and *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (Germany), *Der Chorwächter* (Switzerland) and *The Musical Quarterly* as well as *The Caecilia* (United States) between the 1910s and 1930s.<sup>34</sup>

In a 1913 article for *Der Chorwächter*, Bonvin advocated an approach to rhythm according to the source work and conclusions of Antoine Dechev-

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<sup>33</sup> The Bonvin Collection, Andrew L. Bouwhuis Library, Canisius College, url: <http://library.canisius.edu/archives/bonvin> (30 May 2019).

<sup>34</sup> A selection of relevant publications includes: “Zielt Guidos Vergleichung der Neumen mit Versfüßen”, in: *Gregorius-Blatt* 36 (1911); “Undeelbaarheid der ‘temps premier’ / Betreffe der ‘unteilbaren Primärzeit’ im Choral”, in: *Gregorius-Blatt* 3 (1911); “On Syrian liturgical chant”, in: *The Musical Quarterly* 4 (Jan. 1918); “Lösung eines Rätsel in Guidos Micrologus”, in: *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1921), 585–587; “Die heilige Hildegard als Komponistin”, in: *Gregorius-Blatt* 45 (1920), 57–59 (cited in Honey Mecconi, “The unknown Hildegard. Editing, performance, and reception (an *ordo virtutum* in five acts)”, in: *Music in print and beyond*, Rochester, NY 2013, 300, n. 82); “Über die erste Taktzeit und ihren Akzent”, in: *Gregorius-Blatt* 47 (1922); “The measure in Gregorian Music”, *The Musical Quarterly* 15 (Jan. 1929).

rens.<sup>35</sup> With his assertion that the chant of the “Golden Age” from the fourth until the twelfth century was sung in regular proportional values which could be marked and counted, he placed himself firmly in the mainstream of mensuralist interpretation.<sup>36</sup> He continued a year later and took the Solesmes supporters to task: “In the aforementioned debate on Solesmes theories I have included some adversarial arguments against them. On these Solesmes is not willing to enter a discussion. Solesmes ‘owns’ and wishes to enjoy its possession in peace. A convergence of the parties with regard to the concept of rhythm is not expected”.<sup>37</sup> Even when Mocquereau admitted the corruption of chant rhythm in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Bonvin took issue with his interpretation of it, as “for D. Mocquereau these longs and shorts are not precisely measurable and proportional, but only approximate”.<sup>38</sup> Bonvin considered this view to be too vague and subjective, arguing that chant interpretation should be based on concrete and objective criteria both by the early singers and by the interpreters of his own day.

After emigrating to America from Switzerland, Bonvin became the editor of the American journal *The Caecilia*, which alongside *The Commonweal* canvassed the popular liturgical movement as well as serious academic and ecclesiastical issues. This duty kept him in direct correspondence with many active participants in the plainchant discussions, both in the Old and the

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35 Ludwig Bonvin, “Dechevrens’ Forschungsmethode oder: Auf welchem Wege wurde von ihm der Rhythmus der Neumen entziffert?”, in: *Der Chorwächter* (May 1913), 49–52; “Der gegenwärtige Stand der Rhythmusfrage im gregorianischer Gesang”, in: *Der Chorwächter* (Dec. 1914), 5–8 and 15–18.

36 Ludwig Bonvin, “Der gegenwärtige Stand” (see n. 35), 16: “Ich habe in Vorstehendem der Auseinandersetzung der Solesmer Theorien zugleich einige gegnerische Einwände beigemischt. Auf eine Diskussion derselben lässt sich Solesmes nicht ein. Solesmes ‘ist im Besitz’ und will sich seines Besitzes in Ruhe erfreuen. Eine Annäherung der Parteien bezüglich des Rhythmusbegriffes ist nicht ersichtlich [...]. Der gregorianische Gesang ist ursprünglich wie jede andere Musik, zu allen Zeiten in Noten von verschiedenen proportionellem Dauerwert komponiert und gesungen worden, in Dauerwerten, welche gleiche Zeiteile bilden oder sich zu solchen zusammensetzen, so dass die Melodie nach diesen Zeiteilen sich regelmässig markieren (taktieren) lässt.”

37 Ibid., 16.

38 Ibid., 17: “[...] nur sind für D. Mocquereau diese Längen und Kürzen nicht genau abgemessene und proportionelle, sondern nur ungefähre.”

New Worlds, and, perhaps continuing a connection forged during his novitiate in Holland, in 1932 he invited Cuypers to write an article on behalf of the mensuralists.<sup>39</sup> Cuypers obliged and came under heavy criticism from Solesmes followers in America, and twenty years after his *Chorwächter* articles Bonvin pointedly waded into the discussion in his defense:

For more than three quarters of a century Mensuralists have been presenting proof for their contention that, like every other kind of music, the Gregorian melodies were composed and performed in notes of various proportional time-value. They have never been refuted. If Solesmes fights shy of entering into a discussion with Mensuralists, she should at least furnish some positive evidence for her own thesis. Solesmes teaches that in Gregorian Chant all notes have the same value, and that this is an essential and characteristic feature. Music of that sort undoubtedly forms a great exception from the general practice in music. Such an exception must be proved [...]. The Equalists have always and everywhere contented themselves with mere assertion.<sup>40</sup>

Bonvin and Cuypers continued to engage in a lively correspondence during the early 1930s. Seeking the approbation and support of a like-minded colleague, Bonvin enclosed a German translation of the aforementioned *Caecilia* article in one of his letters, appending to it a closing plea for corroborating evidence from Cuypers' pen: "Therefore, for clear, objectively satisfying proof from the Gregorian authors of the Golden Age and from the rhythmic neumed codices, Ludwig Bonvin – and certainly countless other chant lovers – would be very, very grateful".<sup>41</sup> A further affirmation of respect from his

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<sup>39</sup> Herbert Cuypers, "Rhythm in gregorian chant", in: *The Caecilia* 10 (1932), translated by Arthur Angie; he offers a further explanation of his standpoint in a letter published in *The Caecilia* 5 (1933), 158.

<sup>40</sup> Ludwig Bonvin, "A Request for Proof", in: *The Caecilia* 9 (1933), 290.

<sup>41</sup> "Für einen klaren, objektiv befriedigenden Beweis also aus dem gregorianischen Autoren des goldenen Zeitalters und aus den rhythmischen Neumenkodizes würde – und zwar sicherlich mit unzähligen anderen Choralliebhavern – sehr sehr dankbar sein Ludwig Bonvin." See also in the same letter from Bonvin to Cuypers (3 Mar. 1933), Nijmegen, CDC, Hubert Cuypers Collection, 10: "Ich hoffe wenigstens bald Ihre Antwort auf Ferretti für *Caecilia* zu erhalten. Ferretti & Ward Co. wird, fürchte ich, dem Mensuralismus, nicht eigentlich wissenschaftlich, wohl aber politisch, sich als gefährlich erweisen." A second appell on 29 March of the same year quotes Ferretti, in reaction to a Cuy-

circle is found in a letter to Bonvin from a certain J. G. H., offering explicit and fervent support of Cuypers' position: "I have just read and marveled at Cuypers' article in Volume 4 of *Musica Sacra*. He says nothing more than what you have often said; but he may express himself more strongly than you, and he did too, so that it was simply devastating for Solesmes. I am curious to see how they will react to it. Perhaps you will witness the actual and practical triumph over aequalism after all".<sup>42</sup> This letter found its way to Cuypers, who must have been highly gratified at the wide-reaching effects of his efforts. His pursuits were intended for reception by many venues – the church, the stage, and in the conservatory. He argued for the right to a personal approach and interpretation, in the face of sharp criticism from the Benedictines, bringing him local as well as international respect and recognition.

The same 1933 issue of *The Caecilia* as quoted above offers us an interesting glance at the intersection of the various chant movements active at the time. Not only do we find a chronicle of the Medaille d'Or awarded to Justine Ward by the Vatican, cited above, but also a lead article on the church music movement in Switzerland. Here Friedrich Frey, a canon of Engelberg and erstwhile president of the *Allgemeine Cäcilienverein der Länder deutscher Zunge*, offered a vivid description of the difficulties encountered in Switzerland's position with regard to the liturgical movement. The influence of its various neighboring cultures strongly affected the Swiss church music scene, and in describing the happenings in his country, Frey was relegated to fracturing the picture into small regions of activity. St. Gallen's exemplary musical culture flourished, indeed its "Gregorian tradition was never interrupted [...] the venerable chant continues to flourish as of old [...]", but the situation in Basel as he described it was but a poor contrast to that celebrated

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pers' article in *The Caecilia* 10 (1932) as writing: "There is not a single mensuralist fact established scientifically."

<sup>42</sup> J. G. H. to Bonvin (20 Apr. 1932), Nijmegen, CDC, Hubert Cuypers Collection, 10: "Er sagt eigentlich nicht mehr als Sie schon öfter gesagt haben; aber er darf sich kräftiger ausdrücken als Sie und hat es auch getan, so dass es für Solesmes einfachhin vernichtend ist. Ich bin begierig darauf zu sehen wie man darauf reagieren wird. Vielleicht werden Sie doch noch den wirklichen und praktischen Sieg über den Aequalismus erleben."

tradition, as “during a century congregational singing was dormant in the diocese of Basel. [...] Notwithstanding many difficulties, it is now making some progress”.<sup>43</sup>

“What a mighty impulse would be given Church music should a school of liturgical music be established in Switzerland [...]”:<sup>44</sup> Frey places some of the blame for the lamentable state of church music on the neglect of school choral training which had “a disastrous effect for church choirs”.<sup>45</sup> This situation, along with the devaluation of traditional structures in the liturgy in the years leading up to the *Motu Proprio*, had led to some occurrences of quite remarkable musical selections for liturgical ceremonies.<sup>46</sup> But gradually new opportunities for local organists, choir directors and singers, offered in the form of short workshops or extended courses for the amateur as well as those more specifically targeting the serious musician, began to signal an urgency for the cause. The ever-increasing list of offerings seen in advertisements in the *Chorwächter* of the late 1920s and early 1930s also includes announcements from the newly founded *Schola Cantorum Basiliensis*, taught among others by Ina Lohr.<sup>47</sup> Frey attested that “the people of Switzerland are willing and ready to make sacrifices for music [...]”,<sup>48</sup> efforts which were aided by active societies such as the *Allgemeine Cäcilienverein*. But the fact remained that even the regional presence of the highly influential Gre-

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43 Frederick Frei (sic), “Church music in Switzerland”, in: *The Caecilia* 9 (1930), 264.

44 Ibid., 264.

45 Ibid., 263.

46 Johann Stehle, “Vor 50 Jahren und heute”, in: *Der Chorwächter* (May 1913), 128: “Ein Ohrenzeuge, der als Knabe dem Begräbnis eines Pfarrers und Dekans in einer Gemeinde des luzernischen Hinterlandes beiwohnte, versicherte, beim Seelamte sei, vielleicht als ‘Offertorium’, gesungen worden: ‘Von ferne sei herzlich gegrüßet’; nach der hl. Wandlung aber habe man den rührenden ‘Kantus’ eingelegt: ‘Wenn die Schwalben heimwärts ziehen’. [...] wenn es ‘hoch’ hergehen sollte, der Intonation des Gloria durch den Priester das ‘Trittst im Morgenrot daher’, das sich P. Zwissig sicherlich nie als ‘Gloria’ gedacht hatte.”

47 “Rundschau”, in: *Der Chorwächter* (Jan. 1934), 17; Pirmin Vetter, “Liturgische Musik im Konzert”, in: *Der Chorwächter* (Feb. 1933), 27–30; “Rundschau”, in: *Der Chorwächter* (Mar. 1934), 58.

48 Frei, “Church music” (see n. 40), 263.

gorian Academy at the Catholic University of Fribourg under Peter Wagner could not yet signal a widespread Gregorian resurgence in Switzerland.

Inspiration for successful implementation of the goals of the liturgical movement on a local level was to be found in part within the walls of individual local churches, but also from impressions received abroad. Pater Gähwiler of Henau offered the following account of a performance he witnessed in 1931:

At the Caecilian conference in Cologne I was taken with the boys' choir of the Amsterdam "schola cantorum". These 36 boys also earned the most applause with their simple, unaffected songs and chants. They sang all together from a common score set in large print. I immediately had such a copy prepared for my singers. A large stand is placed on the side altar. On top comes a large sheet, on which the diligent organist writes the melody in large chant notation, so that all of the young singers can see it. The singers are arranged in three rows. In the first row the boys in purple robes, in the second and third rows the girls in white dresses, a garland in their hair. On the highest feast days of the year we sing the introit, the communion and at vespers the antiphons without the organ. The whole congregation takes great delight in the fresh voices of the children, who often present the simple melodies of the service probably somewhat roughly, but delightfully agreeably.<sup>49</sup>

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49 "Die liturgische Bewegung und der Choral", in: *Der Chorwächter* (1931), 46: "An der Cäcilientagung in Köln hatte die 'schola cantorum' in Amsterdam mit dem Knabenchor es mir angetan. Diese 36 Buben haben auch am meisten Applaus geerntet mit ihren schlichten, einfachen Volksweisen und Choralpartien. Alle zusammen haben nach einer gemeinsamen, in grossen Noten gehaltenen Vorlage gesungen. Sofort liess ich mir für meine Choralsänger ein Nachbild machen. Ein grosses Pult wird auf dem Seitenaltar aufgestellt. Darauf kommt ein grosses Blatt, worauf der eifrige Organist in grossen Choralnoten die Melodien schreibt, so dass es alle kleinen Sänger sehen können. In drei Reihen sind die Sänger aufgestellt. In der ersten Reihe die Choralknaben, mit violetten Talärchen gewandet, in zweiter und dritter reihe die Mädchen in weissen Kleidern, das Kränzlein im Haar. So singen wir ohne Orgel an den höchsten Festtagen des Kirchenjahres den Introitus, die Communio und bei der Vesper die Antiphonen. Die ganze Schar der Gläubigen hat eine helle Freude an den frischen Stimmen der Kinder, die oft wohl noch etwas rau, aber herzlich wohlilig die schlichten Melodien zum Gottesdienste darbieten".

Although not explicitly named, it is most likely that the “schola cantorum of Amsterdam” that served as inspiration for this novel Swiss performing convention was that renowned ensemble of Hubert Cuypers himself.

## 5. Ina Lohr

By the time Ina Lohr became a public figure in Switzerland in the early 1930s, Dutch chant efforts were therefore already beginning to exert an influence through various channels in Switzerland. With her arrival in Basel the singing of chant extended beyond the walls of the church and into the training of professional and academic musical circles, specifically at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis.

Lohr’s musical formation in the 1920s at the then-newly-founded Muzieklyceum in Amsterdam had included a required course in Gregorian chant, offered by Hubert Cuypers. She was deeply affected by the repertoire and by his approach to it: “He worked practically, [...] interpreted the texts with hymnic enthusiasm and accompanied with devotion and great musicality, unencumbered by any questions of style”.<sup>50</sup> Lohr’s affinity with the repertoire awarded her with the opportunity to work on chant with the boys of Cuypers’ Catholic church choir, and his infectious joy in music-making as she described it must have influenced her own attitude. But her later writings reflect a liberalism regarding the plurality of interpretation which seems to surpass Cuypers’ own views. A critique of contemporary chant recordings remarks benignly: “even when you begin with the same principles, you can arrive at different ways to perform plainchant. In our opinion, this is not a disadvantage”.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Ina Lohr, “Sprachmelodik im Gregorianischen Choral und in neuen, deutschen Messgesängen”, separate print from the *Basler Volkskalender* (1967), 78: “Er ging praktisch vor: brachte uns zum Singen aus der alten Notation, deutete die Texte mit hymnischer Begeisterung und begleitete mit Hingabe und grosser Musikalität, unbelastet von irgendwelchen Stilfragen.”

<sup>51</sup> Ina Lohr, “Der Gregorianische Choral auf Schallplatten”, in: *Schweizerische Musikzeitung* 72 (1932), 596: “Interessant ist die Beobachtung, dass man selbst wenn man von

Lohr's recording critique also offers a persuasively complimentary review of the singing of the monks of Solesmes for their homogenous sound – “well-tuned though unaccompanied”, their well-controlled dramatic expression, and their beautiful, gently flowing lines.<sup>52</sup> Lohr maintained a respectful distance from the debate on rhythm, and publicly abstained from declaring an allegiance to either side.<sup>53</sup> She described Mocquereau's method in her teaching notes, calling it “controversial”, but making a point of offering it to the budding professionals in her classes as the officially accepted approach of the Catholic church.<sup>54</sup> This inclusion of the neo-Solesmes approach in her teaching sets her apart from Cuypers' decided musical bias.

Although Ina Lohr evidently appreciated the beauty of the Benedictine aesthetic, her own performance transcriptions displayed a proportional pragmatism,<sup>55</sup> inviting communal singing within a clearly defined rhythmic

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den gleichen Grundsätzen ausgeht, zu verschiedenen Arten des Choralvortrags kommt. Ein Nachteil ist das unseres Erachtens nicht.”

52 Ibid., 595.

53 Even on the cusp of Cuypers' death, Hubert Cuypers Jr., son of the musician and respected linguist in his own right, urged Ina Lohr in a letter (17 Aug. 1959) to consider the chant edition of Dessain/Mechlin which “wants nothing to do with the Neo-Solesmes idiocy” of Mocquereau, reiterating previous statements of the “spirit, terror, and inquisition which was aroused by the Neuf-Solesmes in the field of ‘Gregorian.’” A further letter (27 Aug. 1959) offers yet more heated pronouncements: “The (apparently agreeing) epistolary reactions (from the Jesuit and well as Benedictine sides) are already sufficient to offer new material for an account about the spirit, of the terror, and inquisition which was aroused by the Neuf-Solesmes in the field of ‘Gregorian’ [...] tells me of having received the prohibition from higher powers against maintaining any contact with P. Vollaerts (mensuralist, thus heretical!), etc. Such reactions are for me extremely symptomatic, confirm everything that I already knew about the tactics and method of Neuf-Solesmes (fortunately well documented), and should for you also throw an interesting (and probably unexpected) light on the subject.” Nijmegen, CDC, Hubert Cuypers Collection, 12.

54 Basel, PSS, Ina Lohr Collection, IL 14/3: “Nach der Rhythmuslehre von Solesmes (Dom André Mocquereau) bleibt die Länge der Punkte grundsätzlich gleich. Eine Gruppe von 3 Achteln ergibt also keine Triole! Ob diese Lehre stimmt, ist umstritten. Sie kommt erst im 10. Jhdt. auf [...] Vor dem 10 Jhdt. hatten die ‘Neumen’ (Winke) wahrscheinlich rhythmische Bedeutung.”

55 For example in Ina Lohr, *Solmisation und Kirchentönenarten*, Zurich: Hug 1949/50.

structure. In line with her early training under Hubert Cuypers, she leaned toward the Caecilianists in a certain flexibility of rhythm adapted to the requirements of the text, and reflected a conscious appreciation of clarity and order akin to that of the mensuralists: “Rhythm is – first and foremost – *movement*. And this movement is not random, but *ordered* [...] In this ordered movement there reigns a great, overriding freedom, which we poor people – trapped by ‘measure’, that is by petrified order – take at first glance for caprice.”<sup>56</sup> Her transcriptions were keenly well-suited to their intended purpose, whether for open publication, or for use by the various groups with which she worked, such as the ensembles of the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis and the Basler Kammerchor. For the singers with the BKC she offered interpretative details such as dynamics and rubato markings; for the SCB and in her musicological publications she merely transcribed the tones, allowing for an unbiased interpretation on the part of the reader. These subtle differences are an indication of her awareness of the needs of her specific audiences. Where the musical repertoire was a novelty to the singer she assisted in finding a tasteful interpretation, and if the singer could take responsibility for a personal interpretation she left extraneous information by the wayside. In her transcription of melody, Lohr was a woman of her upbringing as well as of her time, defining the pitches in specific rhythmic values; only later did this fashion yield to the current chant transcription approach without note stems.

Lohr made her mark on the Swiss music scene through her teaching, through her writing in the public forums of the day, through her efforts on behalf of the trial volume of the new Swiss Protestant church hymnal, and by her readiness to put her knowledge to use in the church, both Protestant and Catholic. She was a presence in Switzerland, influential in the local and regional scene, but also for international musicians who worked with her.

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<sup>56</sup> Ina Lohr, “Rhythmische Probleme im Choral”, in: *Singt und Spielt* 9 (1942/1943), 51: “Rhythmus ist in erster Linie *Bewegung*. Und diese Bewegung ist nicht willkürlich, sondern *geordnet*. Jede Bewegung hat ein *Ziel* [...]. Denn in dieser Bewegungsordnung herrscht eine grosse, eine überlegene Freiheit, die wir armen, vom Takt, d.h. von der erstarrten Ordnung, vom geschriebenen Gesetz gefangenen Menschen auf den ersten Blick für Willkür halten.”

She was treasured by many, such as Gustav Leonhardt and Eric Ericson, who claimed her teaching as an inspiration for their future work.<sup>57</sup>

Lohr's respect for the viewpoints of others allowed her to synthesize and reflect upon the ideas of various chant traditions, from Solesmes and Regensburg as well as the Dutch scholars and practitioners of her upbringing. Despite her own interpretative preferences, Lohr also taught chant according to the Solesmes method, following the official position of the Vatican in the context of professional education for church musicians. Although Lohr's articles and teaching materials make little mention of the Ward Method,<sup>58</sup> as a pervasive force in the chant landscape and musical environment of Holland Justine Ward may have been an implicit contributing factor in Lohr's future endeavors. Lohr also echoes Ward's educational philosophy – and that of the church itself – in striving to encourage both the aspiring professional student and the amateur to an active participation in the official music of the church. Ina Lohr's presence at the Schola Cantorum in Basel brought a new generation of early musicians into contact with liturgical plainchant, which was embraced by them for its simplicity, authenticity and purity. These characteristics may have also played a role in the performance aesthetic of the incipient Early Music Movement in Switzerland and beyond.

## 6. Conclusion

Switzerland was inspired by Dutch plainchant activities both directly and indirectly. Through the distribution of periodicals, webs of interconnectedness among scholars and practitioners allowed a discourse across continents, creating public spaces for conflict and consensus. The Ward Method, begun in the U.S. and imported to Europe through Holland, lived its own short life in Switzerland, though it never gained the popularity it had achieved elsewhere. The influence of Hubert Cuypers was felt perhaps more strongly, through his own outreach in print, at conferences and other public perform-

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<sup>57</sup> Smith, "Ina Lohr" (see n. 1); Anders Dillmar, "Eric Ericson in memoriam", in: *Svenskt Gudjäntliv*, Skellefteå: Artos & Norma 2013, 16.

<sup>58</sup> "Leitfaden für den Blockflöten-Unterricht auf Grund der Solmisation", Basel, PSS, Ina Lohr Collection, IL 20/2, states that its approach is freely based on the Ward Method.

ance venues, and through his direct contact with Ludwig Bonvin and Ina Lohr, who incorporated aspects of his teaching into her own approach. Ina Lohr's role at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis and in Switzerland has been unjustly forgotten, and her work in the realm of Gregorian chant was but one of many musical fields in which her expertise fostered access to long-forgotten musical repertoires. Her efforts at Basel's "Teaching and Research Institute" – the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis – helped meld and ground church music within the young Early Music Movement, and the fruits of that work are still felt today.