

Zeitschrift: Basler Beiträge zur Historischen Musikpraxis : Veröffentlichungen der Schola Cantorum Basiliensis
Herausgeber: Schola Cantorum Basiliensis
Band: 39 (2019)

Artikel: The development of the Jugendmusikbewegung, its music aesthetic and its influence on the performance practice of Early Music
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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-961734>

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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.¹ 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

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.²

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

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.³ This in turn will serve as a basis for my subsequent discussion of the movement's music aesthetic.

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 [...]”⁴

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

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.⁵ 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”⁶ – 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-

⁵ 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).

⁶ “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.⁷

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

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.⁸

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.”⁹ Both Hoffmann-Fölkersamb and Fischer were partially supported actively by the more progressive, reform-oriented teachers at the gymnasium.

⁸ “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.

⁹ “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*].¹⁰

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

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 1919⁴, 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.¹¹ 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.¹²

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.¹³

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.¹⁴

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-*

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, 2nd 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).¹⁵

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*

¹⁵ 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).¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ 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.”¹⁸ 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

¹⁶ 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.

¹⁷ Steglitz, 1905.

¹⁸ “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.¹⁹

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 [...].²⁰

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

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 1926.²¹ 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.”²² 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.²³ 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-

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

²² “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.

²³ 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.²⁴

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.²⁵ This was of sig-

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 Suhlen 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 wiedertomm.

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”.²⁶

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

²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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

²⁷ Ibid., 40–43.

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

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.²⁹

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.

28 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.

29 "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.³⁰

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.³¹

30 "[...] 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.

31 "[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-

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.³²

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,

³² “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; stumpsinnig brütet er dahin. Der echte Vogel, das verstoßene Kind, das man in der höchsten Verzweiflung zuhilfe ruft, kommt herbei und singt unser Volk gesund.” Kassel: Bärenreiter 1936², 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!³³

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.”³⁴ 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.³⁵ The questions range from what one can hear, obviously from the

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.³⁶

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

³⁶ “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*.³⁷

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.³⁸

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.

³⁸ "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.³⁹

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.⁴⁰

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

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

³⁹ “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.

⁴⁰ “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.⁴¹

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

⁴¹ “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.⁴²

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

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.⁴³ 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).⁴⁴ Walter Hensel characterized this style as being sentimental.⁴⁵

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.⁴⁶

⁴³ "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.

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

⁴⁵ Walther Hensel, "Zur Musikerziehung", as cited in: *ibid.*, 214.

⁴⁶ "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.

★★

389. Hüt du dich!

Volkslied (1542)

Leicht bewegt

Volksweise, 1542 aufgezeichnet,
bearbeitet von Richard Strauss

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

9320

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

223

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

9320

EX. 3: Conclusion of Richard Strauss, "Hüt Du Dich!" from *Rochus Freiherr von Liliencron, Volklieder 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”.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

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.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ “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.

⁴⁸ 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.”)

⁴⁹ “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".⁵⁰ Although he was disdained by members of the *Singbewegung* as favouring a subjective approach to music,⁵¹ 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.⁵²

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 movement⁵³

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.

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

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

⁵² "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.

⁵³ <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.”⁵⁴ The “characteristic, quiet *non espressivo* sound”⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶

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

⁵⁴ “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.

⁵⁵ “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.

⁵⁶ “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.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸

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].⁵⁹

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.⁶⁰

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

⁶⁰ “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."⁶¹

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.⁶²

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

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

⁶² "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”,⁶³ continuing on to say that the composer thereby “invoked the doctrine of quasi-religious fundamentalism alluded to before: what is not permitted is prohibited”.⁶⁴ *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*.⁶⁵

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”.⁶⁶ Common to all of these movements was the desire for objectivity

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

⁶⁴ Taruskin, *Text and act* (see n. 60), 129.

⁶⁵ “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.

⁶⁶ 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.⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸

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

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.

⁶⁷ Taruskin, *Text and act* (see n. 60), 136.

⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹

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.

⁶⁹ "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!⁷⁰

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

70 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

- | | |
|--|---|
| 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].⁷¹

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].