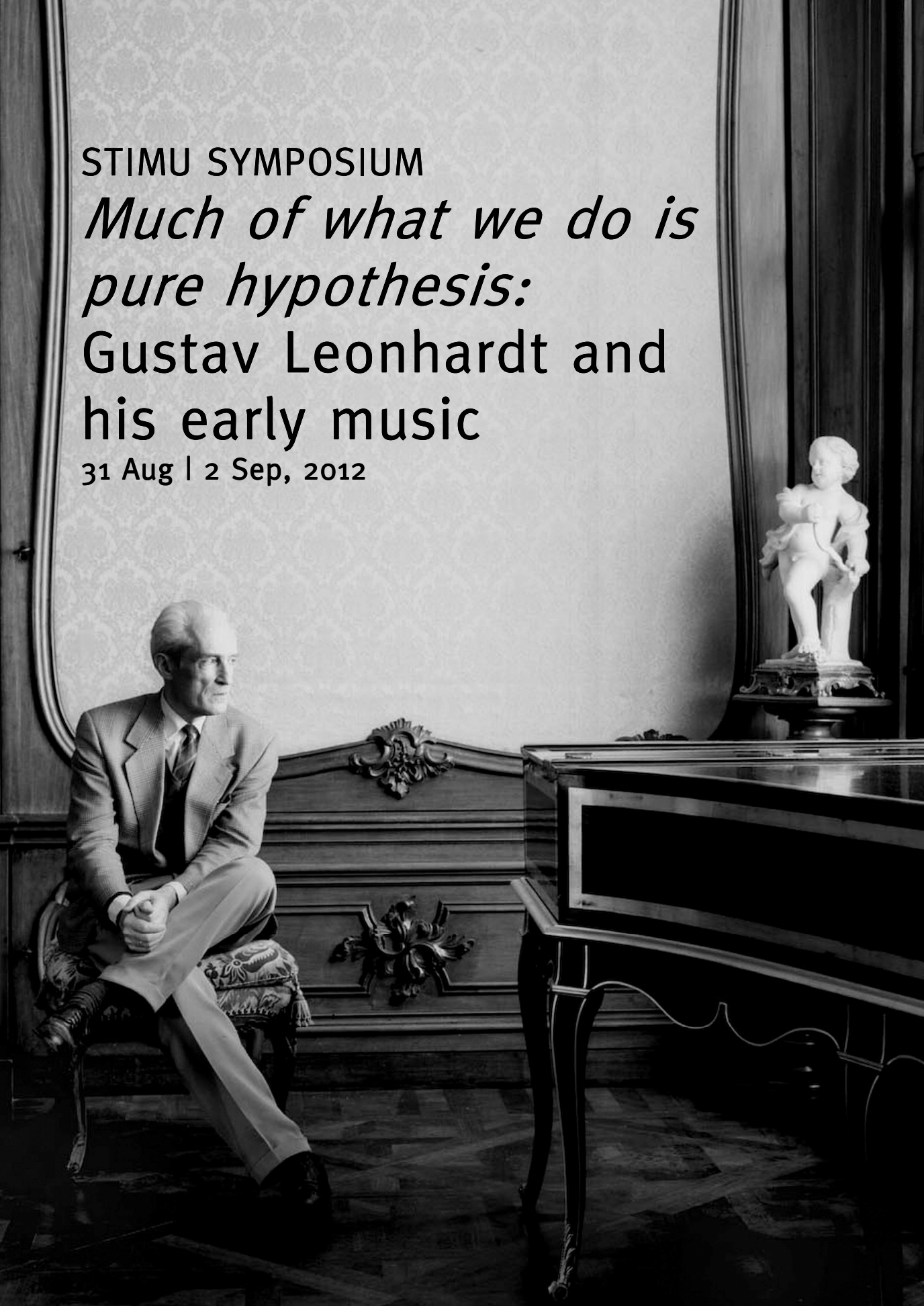


STIMU SYMPOSIUM

*Much of what we do is
pure hypothesis:*

Gustav Leonhardt and
his early music

31 Aug | 2 Sep, 2012



Stichting Muziekhistorische Uitvoeringspraktijk, Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht and the Conservatorium van Amsterdam present the symposium:

*MUCH OF WHAT WE DO IS
PURE HYPOTHESIS:*
GUSTAV LEONHARDT AND HIS
EARLY MUSIC

Utrecht, 31 August – 2 September, 2012

Noblesse Oblige: a personal apology for the 2012 FOMU symposium 'Much of what we do is pure hypothesis: Gustav Leonhardt and his Early Music'

Jed Wentz

The wraithlike figure of the elderly Gustav Leonhardt, at first slightly distorted by the old glass panes of the doors through which he appeared, came into focus as he advanced through the long, long, high, white, dim, cool hallway to meet me. He stopped halfway between the glass doors and the street. This was an unexpected honour, for hitherto he had waited for me in his *achterhuis*, behind the glass, shimmering there like a mirage. With a slight feeling of dread, I shortened the distance between us, placing myself before him in the darkest part of the hall, suspended between the dull glow from the street at one end, and the sparkling light from the garden at the other. I waited in purgatory, and I listened when he spoke.

He was kind. I had just published a piece in the Dutch Early Music magazine *Tijdschrift voor Oude Muziek* entitled 'The Top Hat and the Chamber Pot: is Satie the father of Early Music?' ['De Hoge Hoed en de Nachtspiegel: is Satie de grondlegger van de oude muziek?'] (Tom 1/2008, 40-48) In it I had examined Leonhardt's 1953 recording of the *Goldberg Variations* in the context of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, and this article had infuriated some of my colleagues, who found it unjustifiably hostile to Early Music in general and to Leonhardt in particular. Without repeating his words, I can assure the curious that they were kind, generous, bold, noble...in short, that they came straight from a lion's heart. Having comforted me, however, he quickly- and, it seems, characteristically- retreated, vanishing into his beautiful house, his connoisseur's collection, his highly personal aesthetic world. I let myself out, and closed the door on the sparkle behind me.

Since the death of Leonhardt many tributes have appeared; colleagues and former pupils have praised him, sketched his unusual personality, recounted anecdotes and waxed rhapsodic about the influence he had not only on them personally, but on entire generations of Classical music-lovers. The mounting heap of florid tributes means that would-be co-contributors must aspire to ever-greater heights. This places the Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht in a pretty predicament; for just what tribute can we make, how can an *institution*, even one with as many strong personal and professional ties to Leonhardt as FOMU, contribute meaningfully to that mountain of praise that has already appeared? Such have been the nagging thoughts at the Mariaplaats in Utrecht, in the office where the Utrecht Festival is planned, programmed and produced.

The answer to the puzzle seems to lie in the allegorical image of Leonhardt's hallway. An intensely private man, one sensitive to the art, architecture, music and literature of the 17th and 18th centuries, Leonhardt could have lived the life of a refined Dutch *amateur*, reserving his music, like his art collection, for himself and his intimate circle. But he did not do so. Again and again, he came down the hallway, out of his own world, to meet his audience. Though disdainful absolutely the street, with its worldliness and vulgarity, he was still willing to share his art. If the audience made the effort to meet him, he

displayed to them his musical insights, his intellectual delight and most of all, his fervent conviction that the music of the 'Baroque' mattered.

Sometimes, when the mood took him, he met the audience halfway; sometimes they had to make a longer journey towards him than usual: but meet them he continued to do. Why? Was he hoping to improve us, to teach us? Leonhardt's close friend from his days at the Schola Cantorum in Basel, Christopher Schmidt, recently told me about those early days they shared together. He mentioned Leonhardt's kindness and patience, and how the Dutchman taught by example, never by verbal instruction: it was by playing for, and playing with, his friend that Leonhardt conveyed his ideas. Had he been he trying, all those years, to teach *us* by example as well?

But face facts we must: the very private *connoisseur* and *amateur* Leonhardt would have hated the idea of a symposium being dedicated to him and his work at the Utrecht Festival; and yet that is exactly what we have chosen to do. Between August 31 and Sept 2 an international conference will take place entitled 'Much of what we do is pure hypothesis: Gustav Leonhardt and his Early Music'. Why, if one side of Leonhardt's character would have been averse to such a symposium, do we do it? Because, as the meeting in the hallway showed me, he was more than an *amateur*, and he knew it. Though Leonhardt lived in his own aesthetic world, he also very well knew his place in the world outside; he knew and understood his importance to the Early Music movement he had done so much to launch; most significantly, he understood that his work was formed not only in relationship to centuries past, but within the context of those imperfect and disappointing centuries unfolding around him. Formed by bitter years of war followed by grey years of recovery, and by battles nearly as bitter between tainted, sensual German Romanticism and the fresh, intellectual crispness of *Neue Sachlichkeit*—between Mahler and Stravinsky—Leonhardt's work nobly cleared a way forward to a noble, distant musical past. And if there was one thing Leonhardt knew to the depth of his being, it was this: *noblesse oblige*.

The reason, then, for planning this symposium is that we, Early Musicians, need it: *we* need the chance to honour and examine the work of arguably the most influential exponent of our cause in the 20th century. But we do so with propriety and grace. No impertinent attempts will be made to pierce the barriers between private and public that Leonhardt so carefully constructed: we will focus on the work, not the man.

GUSTAV LEONHARDTS STUDIENJAHRE IN BASEL

Christopher Schmidt

Im Jahre 1949 reiste ich mit Gustav Leonhardt von Basel nach Holland, um bei seinen Eltern in Laren eine Woche zu verbringen. Mit uns reiste ein junger Chinese namens Wang-En-Shao, der kurz zuvor in einem Konzert der Freunde Alter Musik in Basel mit klassischer chinesischer Musik aufgetreten war. Leonhardt war vom Spiel Wang's so begeistert, dass er ihn einlud, im Hause seiner Eltern ein Privatkonzert zu geben. Es war vor allem das Spiel auf der Pipa, der chinesischen Laute, das ihn faszinierte. Die Pipa wird mit einem Plektrum gespielt; ich glaube, dass diese an Schattierungen so reiche Sprache des chinesischen Plektrums dem jungen Leonhardt eine Vision eröffnete, welche die damaligen Cembali noch gar nicht erfüllen konnten. In der Schola Cantorum Basiliensis standen einige Cembali von Neupert, dann gab es in Basel noch ein grosses Cembalo von Pleyel, ein wahres Ungetüm, das Wanda Landovska für Paul Sacher ausgesucht und in einem Konzert des Basler Kammerorchesters eingeweiht hatte. Die Vision eines Cembaloklages, die Leonhardt schon damals gehabt haben musste, war auf keinem dieser Instrumente zu verwirklichen; sie führte auf einen Weg, den er selber finden musste und im Laufe der Jahre fand.

So wie beim Plektrum der Pipa war es mit allem, was ihm während der Studienjahre an der Basler Schola Cantorum begegnete: Was ihm gemäss war, was er brauchen konnte, nahm er in sich auf, was nicht auf seinem Wege lag, wurde verworfen, oft mit einer Vehemenz, die mir unverständlich war. Es war nicht seine Sache, einer ihm fremden Weise des Musizierens Gerechtigkeit widerfahren zu lassen, auch oder gerade nicht in ihrer vollendeten Form, wie etwa bei Wilhelm Furtwängler, den wir gemeinsam in Basel hörten, ebenso wenig konnte er das Cellospiel von Pablo Casals ertragen. Leonhardt selber war ein hervorragender Cellist, wenn ihm auch das „cantabile“ fehlte; sein Spiel war eher sprechend als singend, und die Nahrung für seine Spielart fand er nicht in der üblichen Konzertmusik, sondern in einer Musik, die abseits vom Konzertbetrieb lag, eine Musik, die er in den Kursen von Ina Lohr an der Schola Cantorum kennenlernte: Bei Aufführungen von Werken des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, die Ina Lohr vor allem in Museen veranstaltete, war er fast immer dabei. Noch im Jahre 1990 spielte er auf der Schwalbennestorgel der Basler Predigerkirche „Ach reine zart“ aus dem Glogauer Liederbuch.

Was er nach Basel mitbrachte, war die Musik von Bach. Er liebte schnelle Tempi, ohne aber je in Hektik zu geraten. Es war ein Vergnügen, mit ihm die Bachschen Violinsonaten mit obligatem Cembalo zu spielen; im Musizieren wie überhaupt im täglichen Zusammensein mit ihm herrschte eine heitere Stimmung. Sein holländischer Sinn für Geselligkeit hatte für mich und andere, die wir in der Stadt Basel lebten und lernten, etwas Befreiendes. Aber auch hier konnte bei ihm jene Schroffheit zutage treten, mit der er sich von allem, was nicht zu ihm gehörte, abgrenzte.

Cembalo und Orgel standen im Zentrum seiner musikalischen Arbeit, aber damals komponierte er auch. Er liebte die Musik von Strawinsky und spielte, wenn ich mich recht erinnere, den Cembalopart in einer Aufführung des Rake's Progress unter Ferdinand Leitner. In Leyden hörte ich ein Orchesterwerk von

ihm, das den Namen „Carmen Appolinis“ trug. Aber obwohl ihm Paul Sacher riet, sich bei Frank Martin weiterzubilden, wandte er sich vom Komponieren ab.

Im Jahre 1950 beschloss Leonhardt seine Studien an der Schola Cantorum und erhielt bald darauf eine Professur an der Musikakademie in Wien. Aus Briefen, die ich aus Wien erhielt, zitiere ich einige Stellen; (Wien 28. 2. 1951): „Am 8. 4. habe ich im Brahmssaal mein erstes grosses Solokonzert: Kunst der Fuge. Bekomme ein sehr schönes Cembalo von der Akademie. Da es für Wien „Uraufführung ist“, wird viel tam-tam gemacht: spezielle Zeitungsartikel, Flugblätter und vielleicht auch Pressekonferenz. Hoffentlich weiss ich mich recht zu benehmen. Ich traf den berühmten amerikanischen Komponisten Samuel Barber, der sich sehr für die Kunst der Fuge interessierte und mich bat, sie ihm schon vorzuspielen. Resultat: Er wird der „Westminster Recording Company“ in New York sagen, sie sollen es mich auf Platten spielen lassen, womit ich in Amerika in kürzester Zeit berühmt würde und gleich zu Konzerten engagiert werden würde. So hat man immer etwas zu hoffen (natürlich hofft man zu viel). Weißt Du, warum der Storch so lange Beine hat ??? : Damit er den Boden erreichen kann.“

Die ersten Briefe aus Wien klangen noch recht heiter, aber dann las ich in einem Brief vom 9. 12. 1952 folgende Sätze: „Wien ist immer noch der scheusslichste Ort, den es gibt für einen Musiker; ich sehne mich fort, Länger wie diese Saison bleibe ich auf keinen Fall. Meine Cembalo-Klasse ist gewachsen bis zu 7 Schülern (darunter Italiener und Amerikaner) und mit einigen ist es ganz schön zu arbeiten. Im Februar habe ich wenigstens ein Engagement für die Goldberg-Variationen (grosser Saal +/- 1000, klingt aber gut), sonst habe ich nichts zu tun, was einerseits ganz schön ist: Jetzt arbeite ich sehr viel auf der Nat. Bibliothek.“

Was ihn an Wien störte, habe ich nie genau erfahren, aber ich konnte mir denken, dass der Wiener Musikbetrieb ihm nicht zusagte.

Am 18. 5. 53 lud er mich ein, bei seiner Hochzeit als „Brautjunker“ und Organist mitzuwirken. Im selben Brief erwähnte er eine Aufnahme „auf der wunderbaren Orgel in Klosterneuburg (1642)“ mit Kompositionen von Kerll, Froberger, Merula, Frescobaldi, Erbach, Praetorius und Scherer. Die frühere Orgel- und Cembalomusik wurde damals noch wenig gespielt; einige Jahre später waren es Cembalisten wie Thurston Dart, die Leonhardt auf die früheren englischen Meister aufmerksam machten. Begeistert war er vor allem von Alfred Dellers Gesang. Ich versuchte im Jahre 1957, die Freunde alter Musik in Basel zu überreden, ein Konzert mit Deller und Leonhardt zu veranstalten, erhielt aber den Bescheid, Deller sei wohl „zu teuer“. Am 3.9.57 schrieb mit Leonhardt: „Falls Deller zu teuer sein möchte (warum glaubt man nie, dass *ich* zu teuer sein könnte!??), kann ich diesen Vorschlag machen: Ich glaube nämlich, dass ich ein Cembalosoloprogramm machen kann mit Werken aus dem 17. Jahrhundert, das sogar Laien nicht langweilt (erfahrungsgemäss). Es gibt gerade noch genug Werke aus dem 17. Jahrhundert für Cembalo, die – merkwürdigerweise – schön *und* publikum-wirkend sind“.

Schön und doch wirksam! Nur wenige Musiker ahnten damals etwas vom Reichtum der frühen Cembalo-und Orgelmusik. Leonhardt fand den Zugang zu Meistern wie Frescobaldi und Froberger, wie ich glaube, durch das Studium der

Vokalmusik des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts: hier lag wohl der Hauptgewinn seiner Jahre an der Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Es verging kaum eine Woche, ohne dass wir zusammen mit Ina Lohr Werke von Josquin, Schütz und vielen andern probten. Auf unseren Instrumenten spielten wir in den Kursen oder an Wochenenden für uns alte Liedsätze, aus denen ja viele der frühen Werke für Tasteninstrumente hervorgingen. Für Leonhardt tat sich hier ein Weg auf: das Poetische, „Sprechende“ etwa der Toccata von Frescobaldi fand er ja im Gesang von Alfred Deller wieder. Unter den wenigen Büchern, die er von Holland nach Basel brachte, waren die Werke Shakespeares.

In späteren Jahren sagte mir Leonhardt einmal: „Ich bin jetzt Konzertlöwe.“ Unausgesprochen erinnerte er mich in dem halb lachend hingeworfenen Wort an unsere gemeinsame Studienzeit, in der es ja für ihn nicht so sehr um Ausbildung von „Fertigkeiten“ ging (die brachte er schon mit), sondern um Erfahrungen, die sein Spiel zu einer Reife zu führen vermochten, die es ihm erlaubte, Schönheiten, die wir in unserer Studienzeit entdeckt hatten, „merkwürdigerweise Publikum-wirkend“ werden zu lassen.

GUSTAV LEONHARDT'S STUDENT YEARS IN BASEL

Christopher Schmidt

In the year 1949, I travelled from Basel to Holland with Gustav Leonhardt, to spend a week at his parent's home in Laren. Wang-En-Shao, a young man who had just played a concert of Chinese classical music for the *Freunde Alter Musik* (Friends of Early Music) in Basel, travelled along with us. Leonhardt was so enthusiastic about Wang's playing that he invited him to give a private concert at his parent's house. What most fascinated him was Wang's performance on the *pipa*, or Chinese lute. The *pipa* is played with a plectrum; I believe that the richly varied language of the Chinese plectrum stirred up, in the young Leonhardt, dreams that simply could not be fulfilled on the harpsichords of the day. There were a few Neupert harpsichords at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, and then in Basle there was a large harpsichord by Pleyel, a real monster, that Wanda Landowska had chosen for Paul Sacher and that she had inaugurated in a concert with the Basler Kammerorchester. Leonhardt already must have dreamt of a harpsichord sound that could not be produced on any of these instruments; this dream drove him forward, but he had to find the path himself; and, after years of searching, he found it.

His reaction to the *pipa* was entirely in character; that's how he was with everything that came his way during the student years at the Schola Cantorum in Basel: whatever fit him, whatever he could use, he absorbed; that which lay beside his path was refused, often with a vehemence that I could not understand. It was not his way to treat a style of making music that was foreign to him with fairness; not even, and perhaps especially not, when he encountered it in its perfected form. This was the case with Wilhelm Furtwängler, whom we heard together in Basel, and whose performance he found just as unbearable as the cello-playing of Pablo Casals. Leonhardt was himself an excellent cellist, though he lacked 'cantabile'; his playing 'spoke', rather than 'sang'. He did not find nourishment for this playing style in the standard concert repertoire, but in a music that lay beyond the bounds of the music business, a music that he got to know in the classes of Ina Lohr at the Schola Cantorum. He almost always took part in the performances of 15th- and 16th-century music that were organized by Ina Lohr, usually in museums. As late as 1990 he played 'Ach reine zart' from the *Glogauer Liederbuch* on the *Schwalbennestorgel* of Basel's Predigerkirche.

What he brought with him to Basel was the music of Bach. He loved quick tempi, but was never hectic. It was a pleasure to play Bach's violin sonatas with obbligato harpsichord with him; his mood, both in music-making and in daily companionship, tended towards the cheerful. His Dutch feeling of *gezelligheid* was liberating for myself and for the others living and studying in Basel. But here too, he could demonstrate that brusqueness with which he separated himself from everything that did not belong to him.

Harpsichord and organ were at the centre of his musical work, but at this time he also composed. He loved the music of Stravinsky and played, if I remember correctly, the harpsichord part in a performance of *The Rake's Progress* under Ferdinand Leitner. I heard an orchestral work of his, called *Carmen Appolinis*, in

Leiden. However, even though Paul Sacher advised him to continue his studies with Frank Martin, he turned away from composition.

In 1950 Leonhardt finished his studies at the Schola Cantorum and shortly thereafter became a professor at the Vienna *Musikakademie*. I will cite a few passages from letters that I received from Vienna:

(Vienna: 28-02-1951) 'On 8. 4. I will give my first big concert in the Brahmssaal: Kunst der Fuge. Will get a very beautiful harpsichord from the Akademie. Because it is a Vienna 'premiere' there will be a lot of publicity: special articles in the newspaper, flyers and perhaps even a press conference. Hopefully I'll know how to behave properly. I met the famous American composer Samuel Barber, who is very interested in the Kunst der Fuge and who asked me to play it for him. Result: He will tell the Westminster Recording Company in New York that they should allow me to record it, which will instantly make me famous in America and will result in a lot of concert engagements. There's always something to hope for (naturally one hopes too much). Do you know why the stork has such long legs ? ? ? : to reach the ground.'

The first letters from Vienna sound sincerely cheery, but then I read the following in a letter from 09-12-1952:

'Vienna remains the most appalling place possible for a musician; I drag myself forward, I won't by any means stay longer than this season. My harpsichord class has grown to 7 students (including Italians and Americans) and some of them are very nice to work with. At least I am engaged to play the Goldberg Variations (big hall +/- 1000, but sounds good), otherwise I have nothing to do, which on one hand is really great: I have recently been working an awful lot in the Nat. Bibliothek.'

I never precisely heard what it was that bothered him about Vienna, but I can imagine that the Vienna music business never accepted him.

On 18-05-1953, he invited me to participate in his wedding as groomsman and organist. In the same letter he mentioned a recording of compositions by Kerll, Froberger, Merula, Frescobaldi, Erbach, Praetorius and Scherer 'on the wonderful organ of Klosterneuburg (1642)'.

Early organ and harpsichord music was little-played at that time: a few years later Leonhardt pointed out the early English masters to harpsichordists like Thurston Dart. He was particularly enthusiastic about the singing of Alfred Deller. In 1957 I attempted to convince the *Freunde Alte Musik* in Basel to organize a concert with Deller and Leonhardt, but was told that Deller was 'too expensive'. Leonhardt wrote me (on 03-09-1957): 'If Deller is too expensive (why can no one imagine that / might be too expensive.!?), I can propose the following: I believe, in fact, that I can put together a programme for harpsichord solo of works from the 17th century that not even laymen will find boring (as experience has shown). There are enough works from the 17th century for harpsichord that are—remarkably—both beautiful *and* crowd-pleasers.'

Beautiful, and yet pleasing! Very few musicians at the time suspected anything of the richness of early harpsichord and organ music. I believe that Leonhardt found his entry to masters like Frescobaldi and Froberger through the study of vocal music of the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries: this was the 'jackpot' he hit

during his years at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Hardly a week passed without us reading, together with Ina Lohr, the works of Josquin, Schütz and many others. On our instruments we played (in classes, or, in the weekends, just for ourselves) those old psalm settings on which many of the early keyboard works are based. This was a revelation for Leonhardt: he rediscovered the poetic, 'speaking' quality of Frescobaldi in Alfred Deller's singing. Among the few books that he brought from Holland to Basel were the works of Shakespeare.

In later years, Leonhardt once said to me: „Ich bin jetzt Konzertlöwe“ ('I am a concert lion'). By casting down that word with a little laugh, he discretely reminded me of our student days, which for him were not about developing skills (those he had brought with him); rather, they were about the experiences that had made it possible for his playing to ripen to a point that allowed him to make the beauties we had discovered during our student days 'remarkably crowd-pleasing'.

ABSTRACTS

Lars Berglund

Imitatio auctorum. Roman music as a model for composers in the Baltic area

In Christoph Bernhard's treatise of composition, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, Bernhard instructs his reader in the basics of both strict and licentious counterpoint. Before moving on to discussing the modes, he inserts a chapter termed "Von der Imitation". There Bernhard explains that after having learnt to handle consonants and dissonants, the disciple has to go on by imitating and emulating the most distinguished composers. He lists some of the leading musicians of the last century, from Willaert to Schütz, and then adds: "and contemporary Roman musicians would well-nigh take the prize of the others". Composers in Northern Europe seem to have shared his opinion, because after ca 1650 Roman music served as their arguably most important model for imitation. I will give some examples of both stricter parody pieces and stylistic emulation in instrumental and vocal works by composers such as Kaspar Förster, Christian Geist, Dietrich Buxtehude and others, and then move on to a discussion of the theoretical and historiographical implications of this practice of emulation.

Nicholas Clapton

Deller's 'discrimination', or 'Tradition display'd'

The collaboration of Deller and Leonhardt was a remarkable one in many respects, particularly as they came from very different musical traditions and had very different approaches to performance practice. Did this collaboration influence either's subsequent work, and how was it typical of meetings between singers and non-singing directors and conductors within the 'historically informed performance' movement, both at that time and subsequently?

Kathryn Cok

Basso continuo sources from the Dutch Republic ca. 1620-ca. 1790

Between 1600 and 1800 countless manuals appeared on the subject of basso continuo. In this lecture musician and researcher Kathryn Cok will unravel the secrets of the Dutch basso continuo accompaniment for modern-day musicians. She will demonstrate the important contribution made by Dutch 17th- and 18th-century authors to the theory and practice of the basso continuo accompaniment. Her research has revealed an unknown chapter in Dutch musical history.

Pieter Dirksen

Georg Böhm's keyboard music: Defining the corpus

Georg Böhm (1661-1733) has always been recognized as a key figure in the development of the young J.S. Bach, and more likely than not he was his most important teacher. This stature is amply reflected in the quality and versatility of his preserved keyboard music. However, the exact outline of this corpus is still uncertain. In my lecture I will re-examine the stylistic parameters of Böhm's music,

address some problematic attributions and discuss a few new pieces from the anonymous realm as possible candidates of his authorship.

Martin Elste

From Landowska to Leonhardt, from Pleyel to Skowronek: The conceptual change of the harpsichord from stringed organ to mechanized lute

When speaking about harpsichord playing during the early 20th century, one tends to consider the instruments then used as inferior to the reproductions made during the second half of the century. However, this belief in an organological progress in harpsichord making does not do justice to the makers and players, as during the first half of the 20th century, Wanda Landowska's notion of the harpsichord, and, more so, of harpsichord playing, was the then acknowledged standard of harpsichord playing world-wide. It was heavily influenced by the idea of the harpsichord as a stringed organ and not so much by the harpsichord as predecessor of the pianoforte. Yet during the 1950s, Gustav Leonhardt, along with some other performers, departed from that very notion propagated by Landowska. The new style in harpsichord playing was based on categories of not just objectivity, but also of the keyboard instrument as a mechanized lute, thus departing from the richness in instrumental colours that were emphasized before and now focussing on the touch by the fingers. In order to bring forth this change, these musicians found allegedly objective proofs for their new concept in historical instruments and in copies of those. Thus, strictly speaking, there was a second revival of harpsichord and harpsichord playing which had very little to do with the first revival. The presentation looks into the early years of this second revival in which Leonhardt was to become the leading figure.

Thérèse de Goede

Playing the Keyboard Works of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck; Some Notes on Analysis and performance Practice

If it is of any importance to us, as musicians, to express to an audience what a composer was attempting to express to his contemporaries, then we have to take his own fundamental musical thoughts into account. With regard to Sweelinck this means that we need to have at least a basic knowledge of hexachords, of modes and cadences, as well as of rules governing voice-leading. For instance, knowledge of the various cadence types is indispensable if we want to understand Sweelinck's syntax and punctuation (Frescobaldi even asked performers of his keyboard works to slow down at every cadence). Furthermore, knowledge of the rules governing voice-leading will help to make decisions about the additions of accidentals: although Sweelinck's works seem to be sufficiently provided with the necessary sharps and flats, the editorial accidentals in present-day editions demonstrate that decisions still have to be made on numerous occasions. Accidentals had to serve various purposes: not only did they add to the expression of certain affects but they could also locally define the level of energy, and as a consequence they were supposed to influence tempo and dynamics to a certain extent.

In my talk I will discuss these subjects (and illustrate them with sections from Sweelinck's works played on the harpsichord), and relate them to relevant passages

in Zarlino's *Istitutione harmoniche* (1558), and in Sweelinck's own treatise, the *Compositions Regeln*, which drew heavily on that by Zarlino.

Ulf Grapenthin

Jan Adam Reincken (1643-1722) – An important 'Lehrmeister' of J.S.Bach

It seems impossible to obtain a comprehensive picture of J.S. Bach's musical education. We have no statements from himself about it. The 1754 Obituary details a number of composers which served as role models. As a real teacher only Bach's older brother Johann Christoph is mentioned, who taught him keyboard playing. Further teachers are not mentioned. However, C.P.E. Bach speaks in a letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel about "der lüneburgischen Lehrmeister Böhmen". This passage was however subsequently deleted by C.P.E. Bach, and Böhm is therefore mentioned in Forkel's 1802 biography in general terms only. Similar questions arise with regard to the Hamburg Catharinen organist Jan Adam Reincken. It is known that Bach in his Lüneburg years (1700-1702) more than once went to Hamburg to hear Reincken play. However, a personal meeting between the two composers is only documented for the year 1720. Bach's music bears numerous traces of Reincken's works. In the lecture new evidence is presented for the hypothesis that Bach not only might have studied with Böhm but was probably taught by Reincken too.

Johan Hofmann

Sweelinck's Stadsclavecimbel

Lecture in Dutch:

Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, wiens 450e geboortejaar wij in 2012 vieren, wordt algemeen gezien als een van de belangrijkste Nederlandse componisten van de muziekgeschiedenis. Sweelinck was een vermaard speler van het orgel en klavecimbel. Analoog aan de stadsorgels die na de reformatie hier in de Nederlanden in diverse steden werden gebouwd, waren in meerdere steden, waaronder Amsterdam, Dordrecht, Deventer en Utrecht ook zogenaamde stadsklavecimbels aanwezig.

In 1604 reisde Sweelinck in opdracht van het Amsterdamse gemeentebestuur naar Antwerpen om persoonlijk toe te zien op de levering zo'n klavecimbel. Van het oorspronkelijke instrument bleef slechts het deksel bewaard. Toch weten we dat het zich hier om een zogenaamd transpositieklavecimbel moet hebben gehandeld. Het is een zeer bijzondere vorm van een klavecimbel met twee klavieren die in toonhoogte een kwart van elkaar verschillen. Ze werden met name, en in grote aantallen, gebouwd door verschillende generaties van de beroemde Antwerpse klavecimbelmakerdynastie Ruckers.

Helaas is van de originele instrumenten de essentie verloren gegaan toen ze aan de smaak van de tijd werden aangepast. Geen enkel onveranderd, origineel transponerend klavecimbel is nog in speelbare conditie. Daardoor is tot op heden een belangrijk deel van Sweelinck's klankwereld, en die van zijn tijdgenoten en beroemde leerlingen, verborgen gebleven.

De Groningse klavecinist Johan Hofmann heeft juist dit illustere instrument laten reconstrueren. Als uitvoerend musicus, en als docent aan meerdere Nederlandse conservatoria, wil hij die klankwereld opnieuw tot leven laten komen. De

reconstructie, gemaakt door Matthias Griewisch (Bammental, Duitsland) is vanaf april te beluisteren.

Michael Maul

Die 'Cantoreyen' der Thomasschule im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert - neues Licht auf alte Dokumente

Lecture in German:

Die Frage nach der Leipziger Chorpraxis Johann Sebastian Bachs wird in der Bach-Forschung seit langem kontrovers diskutiert. Dabei hat man sich im wesentlichen auf die Aussagen von Bach selbst, aus dessen Ära und auf Dokumente zum Thomanerchor aus der Zeit nach Bachs Kantorat konzentriert. Nicht berücksichtigt indes wurden die Dokumente des 17. Jahrhunderts. Versucht man aber die Organisationsprinzipien der 'Chöre' und 'Cantoreyen' der Thomasschule von den Anfängen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein durchgängig zu erhellen, ergibt sich – auch für die Dokumente der Bach-Zeit – eine neue, wesentlich schlüssiger erscheinende Lesart der Quellen. Es zeigt sich, daß die Organisationsstrukturen des Chors über Jahrhunderte unverändert waren, und das Bach – notgedrungen – eine vorgefundene Praxis fortsetzen mußte, jedoch durch veränderte äußere Rahmenbedingungen permanent zum 'Improvisieren' gezwungen war.

Gaëtan Naulleau

Dancing an odyssey: Gustav Leonhardt and the complete Bach cantatas

Between 1971 to 1990, Gustav Leonhardt and Nikolaus Harnoncourt together built a musical monument that would soon be seen as an emblem of the Early Music movement itself: they recorded J. S. Bach's complete cantatas for Das alte Werk, and received for this odyssey the Erasmus Prize in 1980. The pioneering project was renowned for its uncompressing musical choices – of which the use of children's voices was the most striking – as well as for the difference in musical approaches between the two conductors, which they themselves attributed to 'Differences of character only'. In fact, Harnoncourt's recordings provide precious comparative material, helping us more clearly to evaluate Leonhardt's approach to the cantatas. Additional insights can be gained from the accounts of those who performed under Leonhardt's direction, especially in the first cantatas he recorded, in 1954, with Alfred Deller. And finally, we must place the recordings in the context of Leonhardt's unique career as organist, conductor, teacher, creator of transcriptions, and, of course, harpsichordist.

Stephen Rose

Georg Böhm as musical go-between: perspectives on his vocal works

In his career and his compositions, Georg Böhm mediated between the various musical styles present in north Germany around 1700. Born in Thuringia and active at the Hamburg opera-house and the Johanniskirche in Lüneburg, Böhm was a pivotal figure in the exchange of musical repertoires. His sacred music explores the blurred boundaries between operatic and church music, and between private and public. His sacred songs for Heinrich Elmenhorst's *Geistreiche Lieder* (3rd ed., 1700)

mingle the intimate style of the domestic aria with the more virtuosic writing found in operatic arias. His vocal concertos likewise combine the strophic aria with operatic gestures, despite the heated debates at the time about the legitimacy of operatic styles in church. My paper will relate the stylistic fusions in Böhm's music to the dissemination networks through which he obtained repertory and circulated his own compositions.

Kailan Rubinoff

Leonhardt in the 1960s: an Antiquarian in a Climate of Change

It is ironic that Gustav Leonhardt, a staunch advocate for historical performance and historical building preservation, achieved widespread critical and commercial success in the 1960s and early 1970s, an era marked by the rhetoric of renewal and technological progress. This period experienced tremendous socioeconomic, political and artistic changes, including rapid deconfessionalization in the Netherlands, and student and anti-war protests there, in the U.S., and abroad. At the same time, early music achieved new heights of popularity, as Leonhardt transformed from a locally successful Dutch musician into a global phenomenon.

An analysis of Leonhardt's reception reveals several paradoxes of taste, aesthetics and political engagement. Record company advertisements, interviews and other materials demonstrate Leonhardt's promotion as both a virtuoso performer-conductor, and a serious and scholarly personality. While Leonhardt's 1950s Bach LPs received mixed reviews, his 1960s recordings demonstrate an 'authenticist' stance, distinguishing him from the Romantic subjectivity of earlier Bach interpreters and the flamboyant showmanship of competing harpsichordists. Complementing this positioning were Leonhardt's austere performances in Straub-Huillet's film *Chronicle of Anna Magdalena Bach*, his advocacy for historical instruments or faithful reproductions, and his uncompromising repertoire choices—Bach, but also lesser-known composers (Sweelinck, Froberger, Louis Couperin). Associations with the Fulbright program and universities in New York, Boston and Berkeley further strengthened his reputation as a scholar-performer in America.

To a conservative older generation, Leonhardt represented a voice of sobriety and a link to the past. Nonetheless, Leonhardt's staid persona had broader appeal in an age of rock star worship: an unlikely 'guru', he attracted flocks of devotees. Younger musicians, inspired by Leonhardt's speech-like harpsichord articulation and use of reduced performing forces in Bach cantatas, viewed his performances as anti-mainstream protest music—despite Leonhardt's own self-consciously apolitical stance. Moreover, the antiquity of the harpsichord and historical instruments complemented concurrent interests in craftsmanship, whole foods and authenticity; yet early music's popularity was dependent upon—and mediated by—high fidelity stereo recordings. Leonhardt thus emerges as a complex figure whose appeal transcended generational boundaries and bridged technological mediums.

Geoffrey Webber

Hoc Germanus Italizat': the alchemy of Buxtehude's free keyboard works

Martin Furrhmann's 1706 description of Buxtehude's keyboard music invokes terms from alchemy to account for the nature of Buxtehude's toccatas in relation to those of the great Italian master, Girolamo Frescobaldi. Whilst his comments may be controversial in some respects they do confirm the significance of Italian keyboard music for the development of German traditions of keyboard playing in the later seventeenth century. But to what extent did Italian keyboard music after the death of Frescobaldi in 1643 and other forms of Italian music also function as part of this process of Italianisation? If we can begin to identify the substance, mechanics and limits of this wider process we should be able to develop a deeper understanding of the nature of Buxtehude's free keyboard works.

Jed Wentz

Fairy tales by candle light: images of Gustav Leonhardt from the Dutch television archives

Though Leonhardt was renowned for his reserved character, he appears with surprising frequency in the catalogue of the Dutch television archives. Not only was Leonhardt something of a 'regular' on the Dutch small screen, but he can be found there in some rather startling contexts: from a children's programme of fairy tales in 1961 to a 1973 interview on the satirical *Het gat van Nederland* ('Holland's Hole'), produced by the left-wing television station VPRO.

By showing a selection of historical footage, this presentation serves a dual purpose: it tracks the public presentation of Leonhardt's carefully crafted and meticulously maintained public image from 1958 to 1980, and, most importantly, it allows the symposium to close with the words and music of the man himself.

Jed Wentz

Gustav Maria Leonhardt in Basel: portrait of a young harpsichordist

It is well known that Leonhardt studied with Eduard Müller at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis from 1947-1950. Although he afterwards moved on to Vienna in order to study conducting, the Basel years formed the most intense period of his formal musical education. What did he study there, and more importantly, what did he learn? This presentation will make use of oral histories as well as previously unknown material from the archives of the Schola Cantorum to lay bare some of the influences the young Leonhardt felt at a critical moment in his musical development. In doing so, it will attempt to paint the portrait of a zealous young student preparing himself to teach the Western world about his Early Music.

Peter Wollny

A Tale of Two Tunes: Johann Adam Reincken's 'Schweiget mir vom Weibernehmen' and Johann Christoph Bach's 'Aria pro dormiente Camillo'

It has long been recognized that Jan Adam Reincken's 'Schweiget mir vom Weibernehmen' and Johann Christoph Bach's 'Aria pro dormente Camillo' represent two of the most sophisticated sets of keyboard variations from the second half of the seventeenth century. Yet our factual knowledge about these works is still rather limited. In my paper I will look at the origins of the themes chosen for these two sets of variations, which apparently were taken from two widely disseminated popular tunes. Also known to us from Johann Jacob Froberger's famous variations entitled "Die Meyerin", the melody used by Reincken goes back to 'Hylas will kein Weib nicht haben', a poem about a young man, who is allegedly not interested in women written by Georg Greflinger (1620–1677). Similarly, the song of J. C. Bach's 'sleeping Camillo' was also transmitted with an alternative text, a folk tune telling the story of a young girl who does not wish to marry. Thus the two pieces by Reincken and J. C. Bach seem to form a thematic pair with numerous hidden connections and allusions.

Frits Zwart

Bach at the Concertgebouw: the conductor Willem Mengelberg and early music

The conductor Willem Mengelberg (1871-1951), whose name is indissolubly linked with that of the Concertgebouw Orchestra, is best known as an advocate of the music of Richard Strauss and Gustav Mahler. However, the J.S. Bach's *St. Matthew Passion* was also one of the foundation stones of his repertoire. Mengelberg began his annual performances of the work in 1899, a tradition that lasted until 1944. For many people the performances of Mengelberg are no longer acceptable, but year after year his Matthew Passion was the artistic highpoint of the Amsterdam season and became enormously popular. Mengelberg, however, also performed other 'early music', and in doing so sought a contemporary performance style for this old music. His lack of interest in a historical approach soon resulted in Dutch critics taking him to task for his large orchestra and ahistorical orientation.

SCHEDULE

FRI 31 AUG (curator: Jed Wentz)

FILM: *A BRILLIANT, RICH AND VERY SERIOUS FILM:*
THE BACH FILM *IN SITU* / WOLFF CAMERA CINEMA

- 10.30-10.45 **Kailan Rubinoff** (University of North Carolina at Greensboro): An introduction to the *Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach*
- 10.45-12.15 *Chronik der Anna Magdalena Bach*, film by Jean-Marie Straub & Danièle Huillet (Dutch spoken, no subtitles)
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SESSION 1: *I WAS NOT DRAWN TO THE HARPSICHORD: INFLUENCES AND EARLY CAREER I* / INSTITUTO CERVANTES
(chair: Michiel Schuijjer, Conservatorium van Amsterdam)

- 13.00-13.15 **Xavier Vandamme**, director Utrecht Early Music Festival
- 13.15-14.00 **Frits Zwart** (Nederlands Muziek Instituut): *Bach at the Concertgebouw: the conductor Willem Mengelberg and early music*
- 14.00-14.45 **Jed Wentz** (Conservatorium van Amsterdam): *Gustav Maria Leonhardt in Basel: portrait of a young harpsichordist*
- 14.45-15.00 tea break
-

SESSION 2: *I WAS NOT DRAWN TO THE HARPSICHORD: INFLUENCES AND EARLY CAREER II* / INSTITUTO CERVANTES
(chair: Anne Smith, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis)

- 15.00-15.45 **Nicholas Clapton** (Royal Academy of Music, London): *Deller's 'discrimination', or 'Tradition display'd'*
- 15.45-16.30 **Kailan Rubinoff** (University of North Carolina at Greensboro): *Leonhardt in the 1960s: an antiquarian in a climate of change*
- 16.30-16.45 tea break
-

PANEL: *I NEVER HAD TO TEACH LITTLE HOOLIGANS: FORMER LEONHARDT STUDENTS REFLECT ON STUDYING AND TEACHING AT THE (SWEELINCK) CONSERVATORY OF AMSTERDAM* / INSTITUTO CERVANTES

- 16.45-17.30 Panel members: **Ton Koopman** (Universiteit Leiden), **Menno van Delft** (Conservatorium van Amsterdam) and **Richard Egarr** (Conservatorium van Amsterdam). (moderator: **Leo Samama**)
- 17.30-18.30 wine reception, sponsored by the Royal Society for Music History of The Netherlands (KVNMM)

SAT 1 SEP (curator: Pieter Dirksen)
ACADEMIEGEBOUW, SENAATSZAAL

SESSION 3: *VERY SERIOUS AND WORKED OUT ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL*: BACH AND
SWEELINCK: TWO CONTROVERSIES RESOLVED? (chair: Pieter Dirksen)

- 10.00-10.45 **Michael Maul** (Bach-Archiv Leipzig): *Die 'Cantoreyen' der Thomasschule im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert - neues Licht auf alte Dokumente*
- 11.00-12.00 **Johan Hofmann** (Conservatorium van Amsterdam): *Sweelincks Stadsklavecimbel* (Zomerschool)
- 12.00-13.00 lunch break (lunch not included)
-

SESSION 4: *VERY SERIOUS AND WORKED OUT ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL*: GEORG BÖHM
(chair: Peter Wollny, Bach Akademie Leipzig)

- 13.00-13.45 **Stephen Rose** (Royal Holloway University of London): *Georg Böhm's vocal music: sources and style*
- 13.45-14.30 **Pieter Dirksen**: *Georg Böhm's keyboard music: defining the corpus*
- 14.30-14.45 tea break
-

SESSION 5: *VERY SERIOUS AND WORKED OUT ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL*: ITALIAN
INFLUENCES IN NORTHERN EUROPE
(chair: Pieter Dirksen)

- 14.45-15.30 **Lars Berglund** (Uppsala University): *Roman music as a model for composers in the Baltic area in the seventeenth-century*
- 15.30-16.15 **Geoffrey Webber** (Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge): *'Hoc Germanus Italizat': the alchemy of Buxtehude's free keyboard works*
- 16.15-16.30 tea break
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SESSION 6: *VERY SERIOUS AND WORKED OUT ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL*: JOHANN ADAM
REINCKEN (chair: Pieter Dirksen)

- 16.30-17.15 **Ulf Grapenthin**: *Johann Adam Reincken (1643-1722) – An important "Lehrmeister" of J.S. Bach*
- 17.15-18.00 **Peter Wollny** (Bach-Archiv Leipzig): *The tale of two tunes: Reincken's 'Schweiget mir von Weibernehem' and J. C. Bach's 'Aria pro dormente Camillo'*

SUN 2 SEP (curator: Jed Wentz)
ACADEMIEGEBOUW, SENAATSZAAL

SESSION 7: *VERY SERIOUS AND WORKED OUT ON THE HIGHEST LEVEL: THE HARMONIOUS UNITED PROVINCES* (chair: Anne Smith, Schola Cantorum Basiliensis)

- 10.00-10.45 **Thérèse de Goede** (University of Leeds, Conservatorium van Amsterdam): *Playing the keyboard works of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck: some notes on analysis and performance practice*
- 11.00-12.00 **Kathryn Cok** (Koninklijk Conservatorium Den Haag): *Dutch Continuo Treatises* (Zomerschool)
- 12.00-13.00 lunch break (lunch not included)
-

SESSION 8: *NOTICING THINGS THAT YOU HAD PREVIOUSLY OVERLOOKED: PERFORMANCE, INSTRUMENTS AND AUTHENTICITY* (chair: Johannes Boer, STIMU)

- 13.00-13.45 **Martin Elste** (Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung PK, Berlin): *From Landowska to Leonhardt, from Pleyel to Skowronek: the conceptual change of the harpsichord from stringed organ to mechanized lute.*
- 13.45-14.30 **John Butt** (University of Glasgow): *Modern, Postmodern or simply Romantic? Where is historical performance after Leonhardt?*
- 14.30-14.45 tea break
-

SESSION 9: *ALTHOUGH I CAN FIND THINGS TO CRITICISE, I FIND NOTHING TO BE ASHAMED OF: DOCUMENTATION, IMAGE AND RECEPTION* (chair: Kailan Rubinoff)

- 14.45-15.30 **Gaëtan Naulleau** (Université François-Rabalais, Tours): *Dancing and odyssey: Gustav Leonhardt and the complete Bach cantatas*
- 15.30-16.15 **Jed Wentz** (Conservatorium van Amsterdam): *Fairy tales by candlelight: images of Leonhardt from the Dutch television archives*

CLOSING STATEMENT

- 16.15-16.30 **Frans de Ruiter** (Universiteit Leiden)
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Related event

MON 3 SEP, 20.15 HRS / AMSTERDAM, WAALSE KERK
MEMORIAL CONCERT / *Free admission*

Memorial Concert for Gustav Leonhardt (1928-2012) by his former students at the *Conservatorium van Amsterdam* (formerly *Amsterdamsch Conservatorium* and the *Sweelinck Conservatorium*). Organised by the Conservatorium van Amsterdam in co-operation with the Waalse Kerk and the Festival Oude Muziek Utrecht.

The Symposium *Much of what we do is pure hypothesis*: Gustav Leonhardt and his Early Music is also made possible by:

Conservatorium van Amsterdam



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We would like to thank all participants for their efforts.

www.oudemuziek.nl/symposium

The quotations used as session titles in the symposium schedule were taken from an interview that first appeared in *Goldberg Early Music Magazine*, and that can currently be found here: <http://www.earlymusicworld.com/id2.html>.

LOCATIONS UTRECHT

Wolff Camera: Oudegracht 156

Instituto Cervantes: Domplein 3

Academiegebouw: Domplein 29

COLOPHON

programming: Jed Wentz and Pieter Dirksen

production: Marijse Poutsma

booklet: Susanne Vermeulen

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